IDEOLOGIES OF TRANSLATION

I

medieval worlds

comparative & interdisciplinary studies

Volume 11, 2020

Ideologies of Translation, I

ÖAW AUSTRIAN
ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES

medieval worlds
comparative & interdisciplinary studies

Table of Contents

Instead of an Introduction:
Medieval Europe Translated

Pavlína Rychterová*

In the years 2011-2017, the ERC Project »Origins of the Vernacular Mode. Regional Identities and Textual Networks in Late Medieval Europe (OVERMODE)« was carried out at the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. The project addressed Central and Eastern Central Europe and focused on the formation and transformation of vernacular mentalities, especially on the transfer of a theological body of knowledge into various vernaculars in the late Middle Ages. One aspect of the project was a collaboration with colleagues from the Department of Byzantine Studies, in which a transcultural approach was developed. Results were presented in a series of sessions on the ideology of translation at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 2013. Individual papers concerned politics, »professional« translators and the cultural dynamics of translations.[1] Lively and productive discussion following the individual papers led to an agreement among the participants to pursue the comparative approach further, which was then carried out in the years 2013-2017 within the framework of the COST Action IS 1301 »New Communities of Interpretation. Contexts, Strategies, and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe« and in collaboration with the research network of the Cardiff conferences on the theory and practice of translation in the Middle Ages (The Medieval Translator).[2] In the Journal »Medieval Worlds« we found an appropriate platform to pursue further the debate on medieval translation cultures. In the present issue, a first group of articles focusing on various aspects of medieval translation are collected, and further clusters will extend the scope in future issues of the journal. The following introductory essay will address some of the research problems on medieval cultures of translation. Rather than summing up the individual articles presented in the following, it returns to the research on medieval Latin Europe pursued in the ERC Project which stood at the beginning of our engagement with the issue of translation.

---

*   **Correspondence details:** Pavlína Rychterová, Institute for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Hollandstraße 11-13, 1020 Vienna, Austria; email: pavlina.rychterova@oeaw.ac.at.

1   www.imc.leeds.ac.uk/imcarchive/2013/sessions/130/ (/131 and /132).

2   The 11th Cardiff conference took place in Vienna in March 2017, see Rychterová and Odstrčilík, *Medieval Translations.*

Translating Societies

In the year 2007, when Peter Burke edited a volume[3] including his programmatic article on cultural translation in Early Modern Europe, the practice of (cultural) translation moved into the focus of historiography, especially in Medieval Studies. The broad scope of the article – from purely linguistic towards cultural translation opened up new possibilities for analysis, and made material which was often very well known to generations of philologists appear new and unexplored. As Mareike Menne observed in her review,[4] there is little distinction between translation of cultures and cultures of translation of texts in this volume. Both terms appear as subsidiary in the approach of Burke, Hsia and their contributors. This merging may be regarded as methodologically questionable, but it relieves the researcher of strict and conservative disciplinary boundaries and allows him or her to formulate questions targeting the social whole, social transformations and their legacies contained in the language of individual textual witnesses. Articles in Burke's and Hsia's volume analysed European as well as non-European early modern material, but historians of the European Middle Ages felt encouraged by the approach which relied so strongly on an interdisciplinary collaboration. The authors challenged nationally defined philologies, which had split the study of medieval material into several specialized thematic and methodological discourses. This enabled the development of a common approach, which may define new common ground for research on the abundantly transmitted, often cumbersome multilingual medieval textual material.

The European Middle Ages may be regarded as very conscious of the role of languages in society. As Patrick Geary pointed out, »Language, then, is only one of the cultural artifacts that under specific circumstance can be mobilized (one is attempted to say 'weaponized') for political action«.[5] As such, languages, their use and the methods of their distinction represent a research topic which may help us to achieve a better understanding of processes of political decision making, of the construction of political or cultural loyalties (among others strategies of social inclusion and exclusion), as well as of processes of formation and transformation of collective identities. The historical dimension of modern European languages is related to the Middle Ages. The history as well as the interpretation of the Middle Ages reflected back on the research on these languages since the nineteenth century. Back then an approach was formulated which merged romantic representations of the European Middle Ages, modern political claims of distinct social groups using individual languages as the vehicle of the right of self-determination, and newly developed methods of textual criticism which had to guarantee the »scientific« validity of the resulting narratives on the origins of European peoples and their languages. The peoples and languages in focus were nevertheless not ancient but modern, which has trapped the research on their ancient and medieval predecessors in a flawed hermeneutic circle. Not least because of this research, especially by the nationally defined philologies, »we have come to think of linguistic communities as somehow natural, even primordial, and we take it for granted that the history of the linguistic diversity of Europe from antiquity to the high Middle Ages is indicative of the history of Europe's people«, as Patrick Geary put it.[6] Geary interestingly excludes the late Middle Ages from his reasoning

---

3   Burke and Hsia, *Cultural Translation.*

4   See the review by Mareike Menne, *Rezension.*

5   Geary, *Language and Power*, 3.

6   Geary, *Language and Power*, 3.

on the character of our understanding of European languages, although the relevant late me-
dieval material at our disposal is incomparably richer and more diverse than the textual wit-
nesses transmitted to us from previous centuries. The reason for this exclusion may be the
character of the traditional but still powerful narratives on the medieval origins of modern
European languages on which Geary focused. Nationally-defined philologies tried to trace
their own, highly-developed literary languages as early as possible into the high or even early
Middle Ages. Consequently, they made great efforts to justify an early dating of language ma-
terial contained in late medieval textual witnesses. This effort entailed the need to ignore the
genuine character of this late medieval material, and more or less to ignore the late Middle
Ages as a specific period with its own literacy and its own political aims, in which languag-
es played various roles. Only the origins mattered.[7] The scarcity of relevant early and high
medieval vernacular material opened a space for the dominance of speculation over textual
evidence and made the formulation of simplified and straightforward narratives possible. In
consequence, one particular role, one particular purpose, one particular function among the
many which these languages fulfilled in the respective times, places, and societies came to
be highlighted.

Therefore, assessing the history of the roles European languages played in the self-un-
derstanding of medieval societies has to start with consideration of the histories of modern
European philologies. Of the many available, Patrick Geary has chosen the Slavonic ones.[8]
The history of political instrumentalizations of *lingua slavonica* (or *linguae slavonicae*),
which were woven into the fabric of the research on these languages from the very begin-
ning, shows how persistent particular narratives may be. It demonstrates how important
the languages, as vehicles of collective identity, may be and are for a society, in the past as
well as in the present; and how dominant the narratives on them may be and are among the
strategies of identification that European societies have negotiated and negotiate in the past
and in the present. The example of the Slavonic languages shows how problematic it is to
challenge these narratives – when they fall, great parts of the self-understanding of the re-
spective societies will be cast into question, which is something these societies, for the most
part, are not yet ready to permit.

The weight that modern political demands during the formation of national identities
put on individual European vernacular languages shaped not only the modern philologies
but also our perception of the past and our ideas on how to interpret the stories transmitted
from this past. Being aware of this problem nevertheless does not help us replace these sto-
ries with new ones. An inevitable requirement here is an examination of available sources,
abstaining from preconceived interpretative models. The context and the discourse in which
the individual texts are embedded has to be reconstructed in as much detail as possible. Texts
transmitted to us in more than one copy, in more than one version, are regarded, for good
reason, as particularly valuable. This is all the more valid for texts transmitted in more than
one language. They make it possible to reconstruct the semantic as well as the sociolinguistic
context of individual words, phrases, and expressions as a translator understood them. The
question is how we can transform this particular knowledge about language/s into a narra-
tive about society and the roles the languages played in them.

---

7   Kössinger *et al., Anfangsgeschichten.*
8   Geary, *Language and Power,* 11-37.

We usually resort to comparison in the hope that we will then be able to hierarchize the plethora of information contained in the source material according to the different significance and weight accorded to it in different cultural settings. Comparison, which »can help to defamiliarize the familiar«,[9] is nevertheless a delicate matter, as Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt have stressed. A comparative method has to be multi-layered[10] and take not only the material itself and its original context into account, but also the context of the research on this material, individual theoretical and methodological approaches, their interactions in time and their varying influence on the final interpretative framework. Of the methodological issues defining the comparative effort, the most interesting one is to ask »whether the comparison undertaken today by the historians already has been practiced by contemporaries in the past. Very often societies are defining themselves in relation to or against other societies.«[11] In any translation, a comparison is intrinsic – to compare historical phenomena, languages, texts, etc. in fact means translating them, in order to understand their meaning within our own frame of reference. We have to be very careful, of course, that their original meaning does not get lost during this operation. This can only be achieved through a constant hermeneutic effort, which means that any research result we formulate, any knowledge we win by the examination of sources, has to be regarded as only preliminary.

Translation as a theoretical concept and a methodological tool is a complex approach. First, the concept of translation is inseparable from the concept of culture in the same way as the concept of comparison is inseparable from it. With the expansion of cultural studies – to which Peter Burke's approach mentioned at the beginning of this essay is related –, the concept of translation was stretched beyond the linguistic discipline of translatology which had first formulated its points of reference. Roman Jakobson, with his concept of intra-lingual, inter-lingual and inter-semiotic translation, opened the door to a culturology-based understanding of translation.[12] His approach was further discussed and broadened by, among others, Umberto Eco, who defined translation as an art of interpretation of semiotic systems.[13] On the one hand, this broadening of the concept of translation increased its applicability; on the other hand, it diminished its terminological edge. As Peeter Torop put it:

> ... it should be added ... that translation itself is a concept that is extremely loaded methodologically. Still the fact that translation as a concept is loaded does not mean it is metaphorised. Translation and translating are concepts concurrent with an active culture and allow us in the situation of the scarcity of culture theoretic means to approach the essence of cultural mechanisms in a way that the analysis of both translation and translating as well as culture are enriched.[14]

---

9   Kocka and Haupt, Comparison and beyond, 4.

10 Kocka and Haupt, Comparison and beyond, 14: »One cannot compare phenomena in their multi-layered totality – as complete individualities – but only in certain regards. Comparison thus assumes to some degree a selection, abstraction, and detachment from context. (...) In other words, comparison always means abstraction.«

11 Kocka and Haupt, Comparison and beyond, 16.

12 Jakobson, On linguistic aspects of translation.

13 Eco, *Experience in Translation.*

14 Torop, Translation as translating culture, 603; Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories,* 139. According to Pym the term »translation« was appropriated by various disciplines in a »willfully metaphorical« manner. Cf. also Woodsworth and Lane-Mercier, Introduction.

The Bible and the Vernaculars

Medieval European societies sharing Latin written culture may be defined as translating societies. Interlingual translation concerned mainly Latin on one side and the so-called »vernaculars« on the other side. Terminology is an issue here: the German translation of the English term »vernacular« is *Volkssprache* (»language of the people«), whereas, for example, the Czech translation goes even further: *národní jazyk* means »the language of the nation«. It is therefore not easy to »translate« the idea of the vernacular from one research context (nationally defined historiographies, linguistic sciences, and philologies) into another. The functions which the vernacular languages fulfilled in individual medieval societies varied over time. In some cases the terms »national« or »people's« language may actually be more appropriate than the term »vernacular«. In Bohemia, in the second decade of the fourteenth century, a vernacular Czech chronicle was written, containing passages which have been interpreted by František Graus in his influential analysis as one of the first, genuinely pre-modern definitions of a »national« language.[15]

Although medieval societies were, from time to time, inclined to regard one or the other vernacular language as a crucial element of collective identity, such attributions were by no means long-lasting and/or stable. The absolute majority of vernacular texts extant from the Middle Ages concerns religious education, and as such had a pragmatic purpose – to reach social groups uneducated in Latin with a basic (and later more complex) religious message. Discussions accompanying these efforts usually included various attempts to define the role and value of the (respective) vernacular language in the (respective) society, attempts which relied on biblical as well as late antique authorities; of these, the narrative of the Tower of Babel embedded in various forms of exegetic reflection was the most virulent.[16]

The translation of the Bible plays a specific, and in many aspects the most important role in the history of medieval translation. Vernacular Bibles had the potential to elevate the target language to a new level of dignity in the eyes of its users. The reasons for the many translations of the biblical text were, in the first place, purely devotional. They were often aimed at noble ladies in religious orders – the Book of Psalms belongs to the earliest biblical books translated into European vernaculars in the Middle Ages, and the most frequently translated ones, together with the Gospel of Matthew. In the second half of the fourteenth century, complete translations were made in several European vernacular languages – German, Czech, and English; complete French and Castilian translations had appeared several decades earlier.[17] With the dissemination of the printing press, the complete vernacular Bibles were successively printed in all European vernacular languages, laying the foundation for their later codification – for example, the so-called Kralice Bible, a complete humanistic Czech translation from Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek models made at the end of the sixteenth century, which served as a basis for the codification of the standard Czech language elaborated by a group of nationalistic Czech philologists in the first half of the nineteenth century.

15　On the interpretation of the chronicle as evidence of Czech proto-nationalism (Graus, Nationale Deutungsmuster) see Rychterová, Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil.

16　For the medieval exegesis of the Tower of Babel narrative, see the still unsurpassed Borst, *Turmbau von Babel.*

17　On the late medieval vernacular translations of the Bible, see Solopova, *Wycliffite Bible.*

Although the reasons for individual Bible translations varied, the effort to make the Bible accessible for non-professionals was, from the beginning, an issue of power. The first medieval »vernacular« translation of the Bible appeared in the fourth century with Jerome's Latin and Wulfila's Gothic translation, aimed at the priestly elite, which was attempting to make the Christian liturgy comprehensible for newly-Christianized peoples.[18] The »vernacularization« of the Bible represented a part of the struggle for control of Christian teaching in the fourth century, when the »Arian« heterodoxy was an issue in the time and place where the Gothic translation originated. In the ninth century, Slavonic translations of biblical material accompanied by a newly invented script again served as a means in the fight for dominance in newly-Christianized areas in the Carpathian Basin between the Frankish Church, the Roman papacy and the Byzantine Empire.[19] In the twelfth century, Peter Valdés drew upon the Bible to formulate his heterodox teachings aimed at lay people and directed against the professional elite, the hierarchic church. In reaction to the spread of Valdensian heterodoxy, the papacy tried to prohibit the translations of the Bible, so the interpretation of scripture would stay in their hands. Nevertheless, the more the Church hierarchy departed from the ideal of the New Testament (Apostolic) Church in the eyes of its critics, the more the message of the Scripture became politically charged. When, two hundred years after Valdes, John Wyclif formulated his own concept of Church reform, he regarded the secular lords, i.e. the laymen, as the guarantors and executors of the reform. The complete English translation of the Bible originated in the milieu of the noble supporters of Wyclif's ideas, who formed a significant opposition to the institutional Church.[20] In Bohemia, some fifty years later, the noble supporters of Jan Hus and of his Wycliffite reform ideas commissioned prestigious copies of the Czech translation of the Bible, which they regarded, so it seems, as a statement of their own leading role in the future reformed Church.[21] Hussite reformers regarded the Bible as the only guidance in their reform effort, and the vernacular language as the medium in which the reform had to be spread. Vernacular language played an important role in the formation of the reform party which defined itself as »the true and rightful Czechs«, a definition mirroring the initially quite academic debate at the University of Prague between masters, in the main members of the Artistic Faculty belonging to the Czech nation of the university who supported Wyclif's universalist philosophical approach, and nominalist masters, in the main belonging to the Theological Faculty and to the Saxon, Bavarian and Polish nations at the university (who were mostly German-speaking inhabitants of Silesian principalities).

---

18 On Gothic translation, see Zironi, Gothic texts.

19 Rychterová, Old Church Slavonic.

20 Catto, Wycliffite Bible.

21 Rychterová, Preaching.

Translatio studii et imperii

Czech reformers elevated the vernacular language, but they did not have to translate the Bible for the purpose, in contrast to their English paragons. A full translation of the Bible had been available in Czech already half a century before Hussite theologians formulated the first elements of their reform approach. It was very probably commissioned by Emperor Charles IV and executed by a group of Dominican translators in the 1360s. Although active participation by the emperor in the translation is disputed in the research and by no means certain, it is a very probable hypothesis because it makes sense in the context of similar well-evidenced activities of Charles IV. All of them were aimed at the elevation of the Czech language, which, nevertheless, was not defined as Czech in this context, but as Slavonic. The emperor had chosen the »Slavonic« language as an important strategy of identification for all the diverse inhabitants of his increasing domain, which he called the Lands of the Bohemian Crown and in which people with various regional, linguistic and historical identities lived. This Slavonic language included besides medieval Polish and Czech (the only distinct medieval Slavonic languages in the 14th century Latin Europe) very probably also eastern and south European Slavic languages. The emperor founded an abbey in Prague for which he obtained papal permission to perform the liturgy in Church Slavonic. In the scriptorium of the abbey several translations were made, including, among others, of the *Historia scholastica* by Peter Comestor, a very popular medieval rendering of the Bible especially suitable for lay readers.[22] This translation was written in the Glagolitic script in Czech, not in Church Slavonic. It is therefore questionable for what purpose the translation was made. We may assume that the group of possible readers was very, very small, actually practically non-existent, as the abbey was staffed by Croatian monks proficient in Church Slavonic as well as in the Glagolitic script, but not in the Czech language. In Bohemia the Glagolitic script had been used in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which is evidenced by a few extant texts containing the oldest legends of St Wenceslas and Ludmila. However, after the abbey in Sázava was taken over by Latin Benedictines at the end of the eleventh century, the use, knowledge and even the *memoria* of Slavonic literacy disappeared in Bohemia. Charles IV revived the lost tradition; he supported the cult of St Jerome in his role as a translator of the Bible into Slavonic, as well as the cult of the Slavonic missionaries Constantine and Method, who had introduced the Slavonic liturgy in the Carpathian Basin in the ninth century. Finally, Charles IV commissioned a chronicle in which the Slavonic identity was defined as the original and common identity of the inhabitants of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (including the newly incorporated principality of Brandenburg).[23]

What purpose did the Czech-Glagolitic translations from Latin made in the second half of the fourteenth century have, if not to mediate new contents to new recipients? Here the context of the representation of rulership has to be considered, which was present in medieval Europe, although it took different forms at various times and in various places. The concepts of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* had been present in the Latin medieval

---

22   *Staročeský hlaholský Comestor,* ed. Pacnerová.

23   Žůrek and Rychterová, Slavonic and Czech identity.

culture since the (symbolic) restoration of the Roman Empire by the Frankish king Charlemagne. The four empires defined in the biblical Book of Daniel preceded the Second Coming and thus determined the course of history. In the exegesis of the Book of Daniel, the fourth (and last) empire was identified with Rome, and as such it was firmly rooted in the European eschatological and political discourse from the early Middle Ages till the Napoleonic Wars. During the Middle Ages it was an integral part of the discourses of rulership representation, especially in the Holy Roman Empire and in France. It received a boost in the apocalyptical discourse which became virulent after the bubonic plague that reached Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century. In this discourse the idea of *translatio imperii* was crucial. Individual authors had previously taken on the challenge of interpreting the Book of Daniel in an effort to find a clue for the time of the Second Coming, among them, Adso of Montier en Der, Otto of Freising, Chrétien de Troyes, but especially Joachim of Fiore and his followers from among the Franciscan Spirituals. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the interpretations of John of Rupescissa were the most popular.[24] All these authors searched for the signs of the Second Coming and tried to interpret contemporary polities on the basis of the Book of Daniel. The fourth empire was predominantly identified with the Roman Empire, sometimes with France, and less frequently with other ambitious European polities. All these interpretations spread through the medium in the anonymously transmitted and very popular genre of prophecy (ascribed to various Sibyls for example), and, as such, became an integral part of the European rulership discourse.

Individual European polities relied on, and instrumentalized the concept of *translatio imperii*[25] in various ways, they emulated each other in their efforts, and re-interpreted the approaches borrowed from each other so that these would be appropriate in the competition for political dominance and ideological influence. The stylization of the Glagolitic-Slavonic/Czech language as a strategy of identification for the people joined under the rule of Emperor Charles IV pointed towards the Fourth Empire of Daniel, an empire which in this particular interpretation should also include the areas of Slavic Orthodoxy. It reverted to the original idea (formulated during the mission of Constantine and Method) of a Slavonic realm. A complete translation of the Bible into Czech, the Czech translation of the *Historia scholastica* written in Glagolitic script, the translation of the *Life of St Jerome* into German and Czech simultaneously,[26] and also the foundation of the University of Prague may be understood as loosely connected individual elements of the specific implementation of the concept of *translatio studii* in late medieval Bohemia complementary to the concept of *translatio imperii*. At the same time as Charles IV was designing his policies of rulership representation, several intellectuals at the court of Charles V of France, called the Sage, were working on a very similar concept, an integral part of which was the translation of crucial philosophical and political texts of Greco-Latin literary culture into French.[27] We may assume that the French

---

24   John of Rupescissa, *Vade mecum in tribulatione,* ed. Tealdi = ed. Lerner and Rychterová.

25   See, on this concept, the old-fashioned but rock-solid Goez, *Translatio imperii.*

26   Černá, *Hieronymus-Briefe des Prager Kanzlers.*

27   Gilbert Ouy, Humanism and nationalism in France; Richter Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*; Berman, Translatio studii.

and Roman imperial courts influenced each other in their efforts.[28] Charles IV's translation policies were further emulated and reinterpreted at the court of the Habsburg dukes, who appointed masters from Paris to their newly founded university in Vienna in direct competition with the University of Prague. In this milieu, a number of handsome, representative manuscripts originated, destined for the ducal court and containing newly made German translations of political and philosophical Latin works. The works of the so-called Viennese school of translators may be regarded as influenced by the same effort, although for the most part they were not directed at the ducal court but at various addressees, and did not contain any explicit statements aiming at the concepts of *translatio studii et imperii.* Their explicit purpose was, in the main, an improvement of religious lay education.[29]

Lay Theology

Religious educative texts (homiletic works included) represent the largest group of texts translated from and into languages used in Latin Europe in the Middle Ages. Especially from the twelfth century onwards, translation activity in this area increased exponentially, as compared to previous centuries. The flourishing of cities brought along differentiated literary cultures as well as differentiated approaches to Christian catechesis, trying to meet the varying demands of a steadily increasing number of urban inhabitants. With increasing urban prosperity, literacy gradually became more common among urban populations. The willingness of the economically successful burghers to share their wealth with Church institutions stimulated the latter to compete for the favour of the believers, and this not only among themselves: in urban environments, heterodox ideas spread very quickly. Many high- and late-medieval dissident religious leaders, among others, Peter Valdés, Geert Groote, Jan Hus, or Girolamo Savonarola, started their careers as popular preachers and religious leaders in prosperous medieval cities. From the middle of the thirteenth century, the newly established orders of Dominicans and Franciscans started to focus on the cities and towns in Latin Europe, and the competition of the individual institutions became more complex and more ruthless. An exchange of (verbal) blows between the parish priests and the mendicants was a common phenomenon in many European towns and cities, and it contributed to the loss of authority of the institutional Church, and stimulated the self-initiative of the urban laity in the search for individual paths to salvation. Sympathetic clerics accommodated the wishes of their flocks and provided them with crucial elements of Christian teaching formulated in their own vernaculars.

Translations and adaptations from Latin formed the basis of this lay teaching, and increasingly provided ever more loose adaptations and compilations. From the end of the fourteenth century onwards, with an increasing number of universities, which were tied more closely to their immediate environment and depended more on regional powers and local social networks, the understanding of lay participation in the debate about the right path to salvation gradually changed. It became more sophisticated and better rooted in university theology, increasingly frequently formulated and mediated by university-trained people – clerics as well as laymen.[30]

---

28 Remarkable evidence of the rulership representation conducted at both courts is contained in the textual and iconographic production concerning the visit of Charles IV and Wenceslas IV in France in 1377-1378. See, on this, Šmahel, *Journey of Emperor Charles IV.*

29 Müller, Wiener Schule.

30 Van Engen, Multiple options.

A hundred years before the Reformation in the first half of the sixteenth century decided to spread its teaching in vernaculars to highlight the breach with the Catholic-Papal church, the academic Wycliffite heresy of the Czech masters at the University of Prague turned to the Czech vernacular to mobilize their followers among the laity, and to put the Church hierarchy represented by the chancellor of the university, the archbishop of Prague, under pressure. Lay participation in the struggle increased with time, and the initial scholarly dispute transformed into a heterodox lay reform movement, which, after twenty years of religious wars, established its own Christian confession in Bohemia. During these years the vernacular religious teaching aimed at lay recipients gradually separated from the Latin sources and models. This by no means straightforward development found its apex in the teaching of the Czech lay theologian Petr Chelčický, a founding figure of the Church of Bohemian Brethren (Unity of the Brethren), which, at the end of the sixteenth century, produced the above-mentioned Bible translation from the original languages.

Active lay participation in the debate on the *reformatio ecclesie* was an issue throughout Europe. Complex theological as well as ecclesiological works were available in various vernaculars. Especially in the northern Italian city republics, the Netherlands and Flanders, the fixed roles of the clerics as pastors and of the laity as their obedient flock were often reformulated. Lay people took their spiritual education into their own hands.[31] The production of vernacular books of religious education in the communities of the Devotio moderna movement was, for example, the main task of the lay members.[32] Thus, they were able to produce hand-written books very quickly and in high numbers. To own religious books in one's own vernacular was a matter of prestige for many people, especially in prosperous late-medieval cities,[33] not only for the noble military leaders of Hussite troops, who defied crusades organised by the pope and the Roman emperor to solve a problem which the Church elite was not able to cope with by means of theological disputation.

The violent Bohemian reformation nevertheless produced a predictable side effect. In the neighbouring country Poland, which suffered from Hussite raids, the Church officials led by the archbishop of Cracow and the University of Cracow grew extremely suspicious of any clerical or lay activity concerning the religious education of lay people. They devoted enormous efforts to prohibiting any attempts to discuss religious topics in the vernacular, i.e. in Polish. They indeed managed to slow down the production of Polish religious literature significantly for the next hundred years.[34] We cannot observe any similar effects of the Hussite revolt in neighbouring German-speaking countries, the Austrian duchy and the German principalities. This is due to the language situation – Polish vernacular literacy closely followed Czech literacy, and Czech texts had been received in Poland since the beginning of the fourteenth century and had, to some degree, formed the basis of religious, educative vernacular literature in Polish. The Church officials in Cracow were concerned with good reason: the danger that the »Bohemian heresy« would migrate across the border together with a heterodox body of thought written in the vernacular was indeed high. There was no need to translate the texts in question, the Polish recipients were able to read them in the Czech original.

---

31 Corbellini and Steckel, Religious field. This article refers to the results of the debate held in the frame of the COST Action IS 1301 »New Communities of Interpretation«.

32 Staubach, Devotio moderna; Staubach, *Kirchenreform von unten.*

33 Corbellini *et al., Discovering the Riches.*

34 Kras, Vernacular eulogy.

Multilingual Europe

Research on the relationship of Polish and Czech medieval vernacular literacies is very modest and does not go beyond a shared supposition among the researchers involved. The national(-istic) character of the responsible philologies determined the questions that researchers asked when they interpreted the extant sources. The history of one's own modern language was the most important question in national linguistics, and the question of the originality of one's »own« literary culture was central for the philologies and literary studies. The interests of modern polities which defined the »national« language determined the questions the research had to ask. This is very probably the main reason why the multilingual character of medieval Europe did not receive the attention which it deserves regarding the character of extant textual material. The various ways in which the individual languages influenced each other; the emerging awareness of differences between individual languages and dialects; the role of known or anonymous authors, writers and scribes who shaped the forms of individual medieval languages known to us, and many other issues, have not been sufficiently studied to date. In Latin Europe the absolute majority of translations were made from Latin, the dominant language of elite literacy. Cultural dominance seems to be a general principle if we search for the reasons for the translations from one vernacular into another. This is the case with the presence of French in England, as well as with the presence of German in Bohemia. In European polities, inhabitants of various languages and dialects lived, and often formed communities with an uneven share of economic and/or political power and with more or less distinct identities. These identities were often unstable, but they could be mobilized if any benefit loomed and/or any aspect of immaterial, real or imagined privileges was in danger.

The largest distinct communities with their own languages and identities in Latin Europe were Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, Greeks and Arab Muslims. Translation activities in these communities co-shaped the culture of Latin Europe, especially in the high and late Middle Ages, as the university-based understanding of knowledge became an issue of power and prestige.[35] There are many references to Hebrew and Greek in extant medieval Latin as well as vernacular sermons intended for lay recipients, and often written by university-educated preachers, who, nevertheless, almost certainly had no noteworthy knowledge of either language. The Greek and Hebrew quotations (often present in the expositions on biblical pericopes) had, among other things, the purpose of demonstrating the high level of education of the respective preacher to his flock.[36] There was, so it seems, a hierarchy of the three »Holy Languages«: in the second half of the fourteenth century, a lay translator of theological tracts into the Czech vernacular characterised Latin as just another language of the people into which St Jerome translated the Bible to make it understandable for lay believers.[37]

35　The rich history of translating societies in medieval Spain is evidenced not only by the translation of the Bible conducted by Jewish translators from Hebrew into Castilian (the Alba Bible). The popular prophetic *Vade mecum in tribulation* by John of Rupescissa was translated into Castilian several times. There is an Aljamiado version extant and Hebrew translation is evidenced too. See Codita *et al.,* Castilian versions; Lerner, Putative missing Hebrew translation. See also Hebrew translations of Latin theological works: Visi, Latin to Hebrew translations.

36　 Rychterová, Vernacular theology.

37　Rychterová, Autorität und Wahrheitsdiskurs.

With the increasing quality of a number of universities, Latin literacy indeed lost something of its previous exclusivity. As it grew more common, Latin could increasingly be used as a *lingua franca* with the help of which various recipients could share texts without the need for translation. »Latin as vernacular«[38] was a phenomenon in late medieval Europe. A genre in which the convergence of Latin and individual vernacular languages happened most often was sermons. Performed in vernaculars but written in Latin with its fixed textual structures, rhetorics, key words, and – most importantly – abbreviations, the sermons were copied across Europe and adapted to the needs of the individual preachers. When it comes to sermons, the number of macaronic texts in which two or even three languages may be found is remarkably high. The Latin in these texts is often adjusted massively to the syntactic structures of the respective vernacular so that a quick translation back and forth would be possible.[39] The »vernacular revolution« of the late Middle Ages finds here its telling expression. We can regard the Latin translation of the Bible from Greek made by Erasmus of Rotterdam or the works of Lorenzo Valla and his contemporaries, who turned away from medieval Latin to restitute the »lost« prestige of the learned language, as a symbolic end of the entangled history of medieval European vernaculars and Latin. By means of an exclusive command of the classical Latin language, the humanists wished to introduce new hierarchies in the ever-growing stratum of learned men competing for appropriate positions in both Church and secular administrations.

The introduction of the printing press accelerated many developments already present in the European societies: mass (manual) production of (vernacular) books was practised already decades before the first books were printed, because the demand was rising. Diverse groups with a strong religious and/or political agenda (adherents of Devotio moderna, Hussites) understood the power of the written word – and so did the leaders of the Reformation. The codification of the individual languages that accompanied the printing press was an issue too, long before the linguistic interests that the early Reformists displayed in their elaborated translatologic commentaries.

The translating cultures of medieval Latin Europe were much more complex than this short survey of the main traits of the development of vernacular mentalities can show. Although we may observe tempting similarities between European and, for example, South Asian processes of vernacularization already on this rather simple level of comparison,[40] much research has to be done to understand them better. Our present as well as future clusters in this journal, focusing on medieval translations, aim to contribute to this field with a distinctly transcultural approach.

---

38   Mortensen, Latin as vernacular.

39   Odstrčilík, Translation and transformation.

40   Pollock, *Language of the Gods.*

References

Berman, Antoine, Translatio studii et pouvoir royal, *La revue PO&SIE* 80 (1997) 190-200.

Borst, Arno, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* 1-4 (Stuttgart, 1957-1963).

Burke, Peter and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007).

Catto, Jeremy, The Wycliffite Bible: The historical context, in: Elizabeth Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*. Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts 16 (Brill, 2016) 9-26.

Černá, Soňa, *Hieronymus-Briefe des Prager Kanzlers und Notars Johann von Neumarkt. Eine kurze Überlieferungsgeschichte. Katalog.* Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Olomouc, 2018).

Codita, Viorica, Robert E. Lerner, Alberto Montaner Frutos and Rosa Vidal Doval, The Castilian versions of the *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, in: Robert E. Lerner and Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), *John of Rupescissa: Vademecum in tribulatione Translated into Medieval Vernaculars.* Ricerche, Storia Diers nova: Fonti e studi per la storia del profetismo 4 (Milan, 2019) 209-300.

Corbellini, Sabrina, Margriet Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers (eds.), *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* Intersections 38 (Leiden, 2015).

Corbellini, Sabrina and Sita Steckel, The religious field during the long fifteenth century: Framing religious change beyond traditional paradigms, *Church History and Religious Culture* 99 (2019) 303-329.

Eco, Umberto, *Experience in Translation* (Toronto, 2001).

Geary, Patrick J., *Language and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Waltham, MA, 2013).

Goez, Werner, *Translatio imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958).

Graus, František, Nationale Deutungsmuster der Vergangenheit in spätmittelalterlichen Chroniken, in: Otto Dann (ed.), *Nationalismus in vorindustrieller Zeit.* Studien zur Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts 14 (Munich, 1986) 35-54.

Jakobson, Roman, On linguistic aspects of translation, in: Roman Jakobson (ed.), *Selected Writings 2: Word and Language* (The Hague, 1971) 260-266.

John of Rupescissa, *Vade mecum in tribulatione,* ed. Elena Tealdi, intr. Robert E. Lerner and Gian Luca Potestà (Milan, 2015).

John of Rupescissa, *Vademecum in tribulatione Translated into Medieval Vernaculars*, ed. Robert Lerner and Pavlína Rychterová, Ricerche, Storia Dies nova: Fonti e studi per la storia del profetismo 2 (Milan, 2019).

Kocka, Jürgen and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Comparison and beyond: Traditions, scope and perspectives of comparative history, in: Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (eds.), *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York, 2009) 1-32.

Kössinger, Norbert, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller and Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), Anfangsgeschichten/Origin Stories: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive/The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective. MittelalterStudien 31 (Paderborn, 2018).

Kras, Pawel, The vernacular eulogy of John Wyclif by Master Andrzej of Dobczyn: Textual transmission of dissident ideas in fifteenth-century Poland, in: Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), *Pursuing a New Order II: Late Medieval Vernacularization and the Bohemian Reformation.* The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge 17/2 (Turnhout, 2019) 185-204.

Lerner, Robert, The putative missing Hebrew translation of the *Vade mecum*, in: Robert E. Lerner and Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), *John of Rupescissa: Vademecum in tribulatione Translated into Medieval Vernaculars.* Ricerche, Storia Diers nova: Fonti e studi per la storia del profetismo 4 (Milan, 2019) 491-494.

Menne, Mareike, *Rezension. Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* by Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia. Reviewed in H-Soz-Kult (online, 25th September 2008). Accessed on 4th May 2020: www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-10888.

Mortensen, Lars Boje, Latin as vernacular: Critical Mass and »Librarization« of new book languages, in: Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller and Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), *Anfangsgeschichten/Origin Stories: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive/The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective.* MittelalterStudien 31 (Paderborn, 2018) 71-90.

Müller, Stephan, Die Wiener Schule: Deutsche Texte im Umkreis der Universität Wien im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, in: Viktor Schwarz and Heidrun Rosenberg (eds.), *Wien 1365: Eine Universität entsteht* (Vienna, 2015) 162-179.

Odstrčilík, Jan, Translation and transformation of Jan Hus's *Czech Sunday Postil,* in: Pavlína Rychterová (ed.), *Pursuing a New Order II: Late Medieval Vernacularization and the Bohemian Reformation*. The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge 17/2 (Turnhout, 2019) 153-184.

Ouy, Gilbert, Humanism and nationalism in France at the turn of the fifteenth century, in: Brian Patrick McGuire (ed.), *The Birth of Identities: Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 1996) 107-125.

Pollock, Sheldon, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Chicago, 2006).

Pym, Anthony, *Exploring Translation Theories* (New York, 2010).

Richter Sherman, Claire, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1995).

Rychterová, Pavlína, Autorität und Wahrheitsdiskurs im vernakularen katechetischen Schrifttum im spätmittelalterlichen Böhmen, in: Gian Luca Potestà (ed.), *Autorität und Wahrheit: Kirchliche Vorstellungen, Normen und Verfahren (XIII.-XV. Jahrhundert).* Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 84 (Munich, 2012) 113-125.

Rychterová, Pavlína, The chronicle of the so-called Dalimil and its concept of Czech identity, in: Pavlína Rychterová (ed.), *Historiography and Identity VI: Competing Narratives of the Past in Eastern Central Europe, 1200c.-1600c.* (Turnhout, 2020) (forthcoming).

Rychterová, Pavlína, Old Church Slavonic in Great Moravia and Bohemia: Origins, traditions, interpretations, in: Norbert Kössinger, Elke Krotz, Stephan Müller and Pavlína Rychterová (eds.), *Anfangsgeschichten/Origin Stories: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive/The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective.* MittelalterStudien 31 (Paderborn, 2018) 165-184.

Rychterová, Pavlína, Preaching, the vernacular and the laity, in: Michael VanDussen and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Companion to the Hussites.* Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 90 (Leiden, 2020) 297-330.

Rychterová, Pavlína, The vernacular theology of Jan Hus, in: František Šmahel (ed.), *A Companion to Jan Hus*. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 54 (Leiden, 2015) 170-213.

Rychterová, Pavlína and Jan Odstrčilík (eds.), *Medieval Translations and their Readership.* The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge 18 (Turnhout, forthcoming).

Šmahel, František, *The Journey of Emperor Charles IV to France 1377-1378* (Prague, 2015).

Solopova, Elizabeth (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation.* Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts 16 (Brill, 2016).

Staročeský hlaholský Comestor [The Old Czech Glagolitic Comestor], ed. Ludmila Pacnerová (Staré Město, CZ, 2002).

Staubach, Nikolaus, Die Devotio moderna als Textgemeinschaft, in: Angelika Lehmann-Benz, Ulrike Zellmann and Urban Küsters (eds.), *Schnittpunkte: Deutsch-niederländische Literaturbeziehungen im späten Mittelalter* (Münster, 2003) 19-40.

Staubach, Nikolaus (ed.), *Kirchenreform von unten: Gerhard Zerbolt von Zutphen und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben.* Tradition - Reform - Innovation 6 (Frankfurt/Main, 2004).

Torop, Peeter, Translation as translating as culture, *Sign Systems Studies* 30/2 (2002) 593-604.

Van Engen, John, Multiple options: The world of the fifteenth-century church, *Church History* 77 (2008) 257-284.

Visi, Tamas, Latin to Hebrew translations in late medieval Ashkenaz: Two different strategies, in: Rychterová, Pavlína (ed.), *Pursuing a New Order I: Religious Education in Late Medieval Central and Eastern Central Europe.* The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge 17/1 (Turnhout, 2018) 75-90.

Woodsworth, Judith and Gillian Lane-Mercier, Introduction: Translation as a master metaphor, in: Judith Woodsworth (ed.), *The Fictions of Translation* (Amsterdam, 2018) 1-14.

Zironi, Alessandro, Gothic texts: Translations, audience and readers, in: Pavlína Rychterová and Jan Odstrčilík (eds.), *Medieval Translations and their Readership.* The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge 18 (Turnhout, forthcoming).

Žůrek, Václav and Pavlína Rychterová, Slavonic and Czech identity in the Chronicon Bohemiae by Přibík Pulkava of Radenín, in: Pavlína Rychterová (ed.), *Historiography and Identity VI: Competing Narratives of the Past in Eastern Central Europe, 1200c.-1600c.* (Turnhout, 2020) (forthcoming).

The Byzantine Imperial Chancery and its Language Policy from Justin II to Leo III (Sixth-Eighth Centuries): From Latin to Greek

Christian Gastgeber*

This article traces the development of language use in the imperial chancery of Constantinople. After Emperor Justinian I permitted Greek as the official language for documents concerning the Greek-speaking areas, his successors followed this path; Greek was increasingly preferred and started to replace Latin in documents that addressed the entire empire and, in a final stage, in imperial documents directed to Western addressees. To illustrate this process, the respective documents are discussed insofar as the preserved texts allow the drawing of safe conclusions about their original language and the stages of its development. For this reason, the texts are examined with regard to the target audience and, if Latin, to chancery or local translations.

Keywords: Byzantine chancery; Latin in Byzantium; Byzantine documents; Byzantine laws; Latin documents in Byzantium

Introduction

From a broader perspective, the documents of the Byzantine imperial chancery are an illuminating source with regard to socio-political opportunities. Their shape and text presentation provide further insight into the respective status and policy of the Byzantine emperors. This study will examine one of these parameters: the choice of language for imperial documents in the early Byzantine period.[1] Admittedly, it is a first attempt at studying the language policy in early Byzantine chancery products from this point of view. It is a well-known fact that Latin terms, mainly those from the field of law but also in connection with administration, were gradually replaced by Greek equivalents (in two stages: first the Latin words were written with Greek letters, then the terms were replaced by Greek equivalents), a process that is termed »exhellenism« and seems to have started from the seventh century on.[2] Nevertheless,

---

* Correspondence details: Dr. Christian Gastgeber, Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Hollandstraße 11-13, 1020 Vienna, Austria; email: Christian.Gastgeber@oeaw.ac.at.

1 The documents that are discussed in this article will be presented with their original or contemporary terms in order to avoid a misunderstanding by using translated modern terms. In the tables 2-3 the legal texts are summarised under *novella* (including *edicts*).

2 Cf., e.g., the shape of the note of recognition *legimus* in imperial documents: Dölger and Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 35 and fig. 12a-12f. On exhellenism in legal texts, see Troianos, *Römisches Recht*.

the Byzantine emperors had to maintain at least some Latin words in their documents in order to emphasise their claim of being the »Emperor of the Romans« (*basileus ton Rhomaion*). Therefore, even in Greek documents such terms and phrases were written with Latin letters; but their shape was noticeably changed and in some documents reveals an artificial attempt to draw letters and words with which a notary of the imperial chancery was no longer familiar.[3] It goes without saying that epigraphy, numismatics and sigillography will further contribute to a more complete overview of the use and local particularities of Latin as far as respective witnesses are preserved. In this study I shall not tackle the huge research question of the Hellenism of the Byzantine Empire[4] and of the interaction between Greek and Latin, but shall confine myself to the early documents of the imperial chancery – including all the problems with which the transmission of these texts confronts us.

The main problem with the documents of the early period is the fact that no text is preserved as an original, but only as a copy in collections of laws, letters or council acts;[5] these collections provide text versions full of typical scribal errors and modifications,[6] in both languages, Latin and Greek. Furthermore, some of them still need to be critically edited, a basic desideratum for a linguistic approach and another reason why this study can only serve as the initial access to the topic. The first original witness to a Western addressee, the so called »Kaiserbrief« (imperial letter) of St. Denis, a papyrus dating from the second quarter of the ninth century,[7] is written in Greek alone and does not seem to have been accompanied by a Latin translation. After a gap of more than 250 years, a new wave of preserved original letters to the West (to the pope) started from 1139 on,[8] original contracts as much as half a century later, from 1192 on.[9] Only from this time onwards are authentic and secure data about the shape, layout, script and text presentation in the documents provided.

The Byzantine Empire »started« as the successor or heir to the Roman Empire and consequently used Latin in its higher administration and, at least, in West-oriented contacts. Legal decrees that were issued by the emperor for the whole empire were written in Latin. A remarkable modification is evident under Emperor Justinian I who started (or continued?)[10] issuing his *novellae* in Greek and/or Latin depending on the target audience. Thanks to the meticulous studies by Wolfgang Kaiser,[11] we have a good impression of the practice of how

---

3   See Chitwood, *Byzantine Legal Culture*, 159-162 (with references to former studies).

4   See, e.g., the recent study by Kaldellis, *Hellenism*.

5   The rare exceptions of documents preserved in other collections are presented in the list below.

6   A particular case is the forgery (or »revised version«) of the privilege for Archbishop Maurus of Ravenna, cf. below on regest 233.

7   Dölger *et al., Regesten* 1, 1, 216 (regest 413: the date attributed to this letter, May 827, is not convincing; unfortunately, a critical discussion on the date is missing).

8   Dölger and Wirth, *Regesten* 2, 195-196 (regest 1320a: June 1139), cf. also the next preserved originals: 196-197 (regest 1320b: April 1141) and 206 (regest 1348: August 1146).

9   Dölger and Wirth, *Regesten* 2, 306-308 (regest 1607: February 1192, for Pisa).

10   Kaiser and Chronopoulos, Unterschiede, 495-499 (discussing bilingual issues of two *constitutiones* of Emperor Theodosius II [23rd March 431, 3rd August 435]).

11   See Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit; Kaiser and Chronopoulos, Unterschiede; furthermore, the detailed studies on particular collections of Justinian's novels, Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, and Kaiser, *Authentizität*.

legal decrees were issued. To sum up his results, Justinian issued his *novellae* to the Latin-speaking areas of his empire (Northern Africa, Italy, Latin parts of Illyricum;[12] the addressee was generally the respective *praefectus praetorio*) in Latin, and to the Greek-speaking areas in Greek.[13] *Novellae* that concerned the entire empire were issued in Greek *and* Latin.[14] The latter finding resulted from Kaiser's critical revision of all texts and manuscripts which had to correct the former study by Ernest Stein assuming that universal *novellae* were issued in Greek alone.[15]

With the end of one common (Western and Eastern) Empire and the continuity of the Roman Empire in the East, the situation changed: the need for and use of the former administrative language, Latin, decreased; Greek became the official language of administration since the lower officials of the Eastern areas no longer understood Latin. Even in the capital, the practice and knowledge of Latin were on the decrease, which entailed the following development:16 the shaping of Latin phrases and legal terms originating from Latin times became increasingly artificial, thus indicating that the scribes were no longer familiar with the Latin language and script. Due to such linguistic shortcomings, the Byzantine East transmitted only what was rendered into Greek.

It remains an open question when the chancery finally switched to Greek in imperial legal decrees concerning the entire empire (and promulgated in all parts of the empire) and, in a next step, also in the correspondence with the West. The two cornerstones are, on the one hand, Justinian I, who initiated the process and, on the other hand, Leon III (and Constantine V), who issued their *ecloga* in Greek alone. By reviewing the documents under this aspect, I shall try to elaborate the stages towards the new practice. If a legal order that concerns the entire empire is issued only in Greek, it is important evidence that Latin-speaking regions are actually no longer addressed in their own language. We are on the safer side if documents like personal letters are directed to Latin-speaking addressees in Greek alone. Both cases are present in the documents that we shall discuss below.

The analysis would be easy if the texts were transmitted in their original languages, but some Latin documents confront us with the problem that they can represent the original Latin versions or translations, which, furthermore, have to be differentiated as official or unofficial versions. Four possibilities have to be taken into consideration: 1) an original Latin text from the chancery (alone or together with a Greek version which may be based upon a Latin draft or this Latin document); 2) an official Latin translation (from a Greek original) by the chancery in Constantinople (to be promulgated together with the Greek original), 3) an unofficial, so called *kata poda* Latin translation (of the Greek original) in Constantinople or in another law school city with the object of teaching imperial laws to Latin-speaking students, or 4) an unofficial local Latin translation (of the Greek original) by the addressee of a

---

12   See Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 394-395, 460-472 and the detailed analysis of *novella* 32 of 15th June 535 in Kaiser and Chronopoulos, Unterschiede.

13   Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 393-395.

14   Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, with the summary 472-474.

15   Stein, Deux questeurs, 383-390 = Stein, *Opera*, 377-384; see also Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 395-396, 441-447 (Greek translation of *novella* 111 in the so-called collection of 13 edicts in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179).

16   See Burgmann, Lateinische Wörter.

legal decree in order to understand the Greek text. Generally, the manuscript transmission of a text in one of the two languages is *a priori* no safe indicator of the linguistic authenticity. A famous example is the heterogeneous transmission of Justinian's *novellae*, which led to very different statements among law history experts.[17] However, the detailed studies by Wolfgang Kaiser seem to have solved this question, coming to the aforementioned conclusion that under Justinian *novellae* concerning the entire empire were issued in Greek and Latin.[18] The problem with this research is that no universal *novella* is preserved in Greek and Latin as officially issued by the imperial chancery. Greek and Latin versions of the same *novella* do exist; however, the Latin versions are not products of the imperial chancery, but auxiliary translations in a law school for students who were not familiar with Greek and were provided with a *kata poda* translation which follows the Greek text closely in word order and gram- matical construction. Finally, the problem does not end at the point of three Latin translation categories; it is even possible that an original Latin version was rendered into Greek as a *kata poda* translation for Greek students.[19]

Overview of the Documents, their Transmission and Language

In order to base the results on a solid fundament, I shall first present the textual witnesses under all relevant aspects. Since Kaiser's research on the language of Justinian's *novellae* raises awareness of the text transmission, the addressee of a document and its linguistic authenticity, I shall include these features in the list below.[20] Under »characteristics« I shall summarise the content or important aspects regarding the addressees and the language.

For each emperor I shall add short biographical data about their origins and maternal lan- guage, as far as the sources inform us about these data; originating from Constantinople or having previously dwelt there is not pointed out (e.g. for the sons of emperors). The list ends with Emperor Leo III and his edition of laws (for his entire empire) in Greek.

Linguistic particularities of some phrases that require additional comments regarding the original language will be discussed in the succeeding paragraph.

---

17   See Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 393-396, with summary on the research. A general overview of Justinian's *novellae* and the collections is provided in Kearley, Creation.

18   Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit.

19   See Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 439-448 (*novella* 111 of 1st June 541).

20   This list is based on Dölger *et al., Regesten* 1, 1 (quoted by the regest number). Unfortunately, the recently revised edition of the regests is partially flawed and lacks essential information (e.g. about the manuscript transmission of the documents), controversial statements are not explored in greater depth, or the most recent study is taken as authoritative. – I include here only regests which relate to a transmitted text and exclude forgeries (except for regest 233, since this text is included in *Regesten* as an authentic version) as well as *novellae* which are known by their titles alone (like regests 69-74, 133a, 144, according to a manuscript index of lost pages). Furthermore, documents which are too fragmentary or suspect to base linguistic research on them (like regests 79d, 161) are not taken into account. Documents which are preserved as a direct quote in a Latin or Greek historical work are marked against a blue background, since they are generally suspect of being linguistically revised or adapted (documents that are preserved only in Syrian [regests 203, 221], Armenian [regest 280a] or Georgian [regest 302c] are not included here).

Seven (Greek only) *novellae* of the first (co-)emperors Justin II[21] and Tiberius I[22] are included in the big official corpus of Justinian's Greek *novellae*, the so-called *collectio CLXVIII novellarum* (collection of 168 *novellae*), which is preserved in two main mss. Marcianus gr. Z 179 and Laurentianus Plut. 80, 4 + Leidensis Perizonianus F 35.[23] In addition, the Greek versions of the *novellae* are also transmitted in some compilations from which I shall quote the *Breviarium* of the *scholasticus* Theodorus of Hermupolis in Egypt[24] (active in Constantinople 575-602) and the *Syntagma* of the *scholasticus* Athanasius of Emesa[25] (composed in Antioch [?] in the last quarter of the sixth century).[26]

---

21 *novellae* 140, 144, 148 and 149.

22 *novellae* 161, 163 and 164.

23 See the description in Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 397-404.

24 See Kaiser, Initia; and the introduction to the critical edition by Zachariae von Lingenthal, esp. XLVII-LI.

25 See Simon, Novellenexemplar; Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 411; Kaiser, Initia 509-514; and the introduction to the critical edition by Simon and Troianos.

26 On the abbreviations used in this list, see at the end of the article.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
Justin II, 14/11/565-4-5/10/578					
4	566	πραγματικὸς νόμος	only Greek *novella* 148 (CIC III, 722-723; Zachlus III, 3-5 [no. 1]; Zeplus I, 1-3 [no. 1])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 1 of Justin II in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179 (Diktyon 69650), fol. 410r-410v TheodBrev 148 (157); AthSynt 20, 6 (468)	addressed (in the epilogue) to a high official in Constantinople (no *inscriptio* at the beginning): ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης προγράμμασι χρωμένη κατὰ τήνδε τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ἅπασι φανερὰ καταστήσει content: this *novella* about tax regulations concerns εἴτε τὴν γενικὴν εἴτε τὴν ἰδικὴν τράπεζαν τῆς σῆς ἐνδοξότητος ... ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν παρὰ Ἰλλυρίοις ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων ἢ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ... ἐπάρχου τῶν ἐπὶ Μυσίας καὶ Σκυθίας στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων ἢ καὶ τῶν θείων ἡμῶν θησαυρῶν ἢ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἡμῶν ταμείου ἢ τοῦ θείου πατριμονίου ἢ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου κουράτωρος τῶν οἴκων
5	566 (1st January)	πραγματικὸς τύπος	only Greek (Zachlus III, 8-9 [no. 3]; Zeplus I, 5-6 [no. 3])	supplement (no. 2) to the *novellae* (Justin II) in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 411v-412r	addressed to Petros, *comes rerum privatarum* / τοῦ θείου ταμείου (in the epilogue addressed as ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης καὶ ὁ κατὰ καιρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγησόμενος ἀρχῆς in order to promulgate the *typos*) content: about forbidden marriages with Persians and Saracens in the provinces Mesopotamia, Osrhoene and Euphratesia (περὶ τῶν ἐν Ὀσροηνῇ καὶ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Εὐφρατησίᾳ γάμους ἀθεμίτους συναλλαξάντων)

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
6	566 (14th September)	θεῖος νόμος (/ sacra lex)	Greek (and Latin) novella 140 (CIC III, 701-702 [Gr. and Lat.]; ZachIus III, 6-7 [no. 2] and ZepIus I, 3-5 [no. 2] [Gr.]) (Authenticum [Lat.]: Latin not as the original language, but as *kata poda* [literal] translation)	Coll. CLXVIII (Greek) no. 2 of Justin II in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 411r-411v TheodBrev 140 (153); AthSynt 10, 11 (358) Authenticum[27] und IulEpit,[28] appendix A, ms. Parisinus 4568,[29] fol. 177v-178v (Latin)	addressed to Iulianus, *praefectus urbis* of Constantinople (*inscriptio* only in the Latin *Authenticum*) content: divorces by mutual dislike are again permitted (consensual divorce)

27 On this collection of Latin texts of (mainly) Justinian's *novellae* (including original Latin versions or *kata poda* translations), see Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 404-410.

28 Kaiser dedicated a thorough study to this Latin collection, created in Constantinople by the antecessor Iulianus in about the mid-sixth century: Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*; see also Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 410-411.

29 On the manuscript and appendix A, see Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, 15, 347-354; Kaiser, Wandlungen, 307.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
11	568 (1st May)	(*sacra*: title in the manuscript transmission)	only Latin (original language) (ZachIus III, 9-10 [no. 4]; ZepIus I, 6-7 [no. 4]; Feissel, Acte [edition: 111-112]; Kaiser, *Authentizität*, 39 [edition], 52-60, 156-171 [commentary])[30]	ms. Leipzig UB Haenel 8 = Lips. Univ. 3494, fol. 93r-93v = pp. 225-226, appendix to IulEpit, ab. mid-9th c. (see Kresten, Nachträgliches, 496 n. 5)[31]	addressed to the archbishop of Byzacena (named in the *inscriptio*) content: privilege for the church *concilium* of Byzacena (against interferences by secular or military judges to charge a cleric) and free passage of the bishop's *responsales* to the emperor

30   See also the commentary in Kresten, Nachträgliches.

31   See Kaiser, *Authentizität*, 7-13, 21-28 (first edition by François Pithou).

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
12	569 (19th January)	Θεῖον ἴδικτον	only Greek novella 149 (CIC III, 723-725; ZachIus III, 10-13 [no. 5]; ZepIus I, 7-10 [no. 5])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 4 of Justin II in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 412r-413r TheodBrev 149 (157-158)	addressed (in the epilogue) to an official in order to promulgate the edict in Constantinople and in the provinces (no *inscriptio* at the beginning): τὴν σὴν ὑπεροχὴν κατά τε τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην πόλιν καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις … προθεῖναι εἰς τοὺς περιφανεῖς ἑκάστης πόλεως τόπους, …). the edict is directed to the bishops of the provinces and the (administrative?) »leaders« of the »landowners« and »inhabitants« (τοὺς ἑκάστης ἐπαρχίας ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους κτήτόρων τε καὶ οἰκητόρων τοὺς ἄγοντας τὰ πρωτεῖα) and to the imperial officials (τοῖς ἀρχῆς ἑκάστης παρέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλως ὑπηρετουμένοις αὐταῖς), see also ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἅπαντα προκηρύττοντες content: selection of appropriate candidates for the provincial administration by bishops and land owners
16	570 (1st March)	*pragmatica sanctio*	only Latin (ZachIus III, 13-14 [no. 6]; ZepIus I, 10-11 [no. 6])	appendix A to IulEpit, preserved in ms. Parisinus 4568 (end of the 8th c., Northern Italy), fol. 179r-179v, and in two further mss.[32]	addressed in the *inscriptio* to the ‹praefectus praetorio› *Africae* Theodorus due to a petition of the landowners in Africa. content: children of a free mother and an *adscriptitius* are bound to the land as peasants

32 See Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, 347-354; Kaiser, *Wandlungen*, 307.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
19	571 (after February / March)	πρόγραμμα, ἴδικτον	only Greek Euagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica Historia* V 4, ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 197, l. 26-201, l. 12 = ed. Hübner, II, 556-564	literary transmission only in the Greek church history of Euagrius	addressed to all Christians (γράφει ... τοῖς ἑκασταχοῦ Χριστιανοῖς [ed. Bidez and Parmentier 197, ll. 26-27]) content: profession of faith with μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη and differentiation of two natures
25b	572 (18th May)	νόμος	only Greek *novella* 144 (CIC III, 709-710; ZachIus III, 15-17 [no. 7]; ZepIus I, 11-13 [no. 7])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 5 of Justin II in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 413r-413v TheodBrev 144 (155); AthSynt 3, 3 (126-128)	addressed to Diomedes, ἔπαρχος τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων content: confirmation of Emperor Justinian's law against the Samaritans
32	574 (after 7th December)	γενικὸς νόμος, θεῖος νόμος (by Emperor Tiberius)	only Greek *novella* 164 (CIC III, 751-752; ZachIus III, 17-19 [no. 8]; ZepIus I, 13-14 [no. 8])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 2 of Tiberius, listed in the index of ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 72v (text is missing); ms. Leidensis Perizonianus Fo 35 (Diktyon 37856), fol. 1r-1v TheodBrev 164 (164-165)	addressed (in the epilogue) to the *curatores aedium sacrarum* in Constantinople and in the provinces (no *inscriptio* at the beginning): ἐνδοξότατοι κουράτωρες τῶν θείων οἴκων ... κατά τε τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ταύτην καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις; promulgation by ἡ σὴ ... ἐνδοξότης, ... ἐν τοῖς ἐπισήμοις τόποις τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πολέως; furthermore κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας together with the usual presentation content: inheritance of property with or without testament (against the actions by certain officials)

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
33	574 (after 7th December)	νόμος (by Emperor Tiberius)	*novella* 161 (CIC III, 745-746; ZachIus III, 19-21 [no. 9]; ZepIus I, 15-16 [no. 9])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 3 of Tiberius, listed in the index of ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 72v (text is missing); ms. Laurentianus plut. 80, 4, fol. 192v-193v TheodBrev 161 (163)	addressed (in the epilogue) to a higher official in Constantinople in order to promulgate the law there and in the provinces (no *inscriptio* at the beginning): ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης ... κατά τε τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι τόποις, further-more κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας) content: appointment of provincial administrators (οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἡγούμενοι) to their offices (ἀρχαί) and correct observance of tax collection; confirmation of a former law against simony (which fell into oblivion in the provinces); no additional money collection by the officials

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
40	575 (before 14th April)	θεῖος νόμος (Emperor Tiberius)	only Greek *novella* 163 (CIC III, 749-751; Zachlus III, 21-24 [no. 11]; ZepIus I, 17-19 [no. 11])	Coll. CLXVIII no. 5 of Tiberius, listed in the index of ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 72v (text is missing); ms. Laurentianus plut. 80, 4, fol. 194v + ms. Leidensis Perizonianus F 35, fol. 1r TheodBrev 163 (164)	addressed (in the epilogue) to a higher official in Constantinople in order to promulgate the law in Constantinople und its provinces (no *inscriptio* at the beginning): κατά τε τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ταύτην καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας); in the *dispositio* several officials in the East, Illyricum, the islands and Scythia as well as Mysia are addressed (the order concerns the following officials: θεσπίζομεν μηδεμίαν εἴσπραξιν γενέσθαι τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν φιλοτιμηθέντων εὐσεβῶν τελεσμάτων, εἴτε τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ὁρᾷ ταῦτα τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων εἴτε τὴν παρ᾽ Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπαρχότητα ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν νήσων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σκυθίας τε καὶ Μυσίας στρατιωτικῶν ταγμάτων ἢ τὰς θείας ἡμῶν λαργιτιόνας ἢ καὶ ἄλλην ἀρχήν) content: tax reduction for *coloni* (γεωργοί) and landowners, valid for one year

Tiberius, 26/09/578–14/07/582, seems to have been born in the Latin speaking part of Thracia, began his career in the military service, was familiar with Emperor Justin II and became commander of the imperial guards (comes excubitorum)

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
65	582 (11th August)	*pragmatica sanctio*	only Latin (ZachIus III, 30–31 [no. 13]; ZepIus I, 24 [no. 13])	appendix A to IulEpit, in ms. Parisinus lat. 4568, fol. 1v–2r and in two further mss.[33] original or *kata poda* translation; see the discussion below	addressed to the *praefectus praetorio Africae* Theodorus reply to a petition by the bishop of Carthago and landowners of the province Africa content: the *pragmatica sanctio* of Iustin II (regest 16) is confirmed
67	?	[*novella*]	only Greek (ZachIus III, 24–30 [no. 12]; ZepIus I, 19–23 [no. 12]; Kaplan, Novelle)	no. 1 of Tiberius in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 179, fol. 413v–415v	addressed in the *inscriptio* to the senate (ἱερώτατος σύγκλητος) content: the *curatores* of the imperial houses (τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ἢ τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης βασιλίδος οἴκων) and their officials are not allowed to affix plates with imperial names, pictures and initials to foreign houses and goods in the case of foreclosure; furthermore this *novella* is valid for foreign moveable goods and for foreign *coloni* (γεωργοί); nobody must be impelled to make deposits or transfer income to the imperial house; details about the judicial litigation, including also the provinces

Mauricius, 14/08/582–23/11/602, born in Arabissus (Cappadocia), was military commander before he became emperor

33 See Kaiser, *Wandlungen*, 307; Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, 347–354.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
79a	582/585	[*epistola*, title in the manuscript transmission, ms. Palatinus lat. 869, fol. 2r: index]	only Latin (*Epistola Austrasica* 42, ed. Gundlach, 148, l. 19-149, l. 10)	preserved in the Latin letter collection *Epistolae Austrasicae* (ms. Palatinus lat. 869, fol. 27r-27v)	addressed to the Merovingian king Childbert II. content: admonishment to action
103	591	[*epistola*, title in the manuscript transmission]	only Latin (ACO I, 4, 2, ed. Schwartz, 136)	preserved in a unique collection of documents referring to the *Constantinopolitanum* II of 553 (ms. Parisinus lat. 1682,[34] fol. 27v)	addressed to Pope Gregory I due to a complaint of the bishops in the Lombard domain and of Bishop Severus of Aquileia for having been summoned to the pope; the pope is ordered to take no measures against the bishops of Istria and Venetia
146	?	[ἔδικτον, title in the manuscript transmission]	only Greek short excerpt (ZachIus III, 33 [no. 21], ZepIus I, 26-27 [no. 21])	cf., e.g., ms. Marcianus gr. Z 172, fol. 249r (Epitome Marciana; Diktyon 69643); scribe: the notary Ioannes, July 1175, South Italy	directly addressed to a murderer of a ship-wrecked person (ὦ δυσσεβέστατε; ZepIus I, 27, l. 3) content: the murderer will be buried alive together with the killed shipwrecked person

34   On the ms., see ACO I, 4, 2, ed. Schwartz, XX-XXVI.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
Heraclius, 5-7/10/610-11?/02/641; maybe of Armenian origin and bilingual (Greek and Armenian)[35]					
165	612 (1st May)	πραγματικὸς τύπος	only Greek (HeracNov 62-77)	*novella* 1 of Heraclius (about 40 mss.)	addressed to Patriarch Sergius who informed the emperor about irregularity due to overdrawn personnel costs content: new regulation concerning the number of clergymen (surpassing the limits in *novella* 3, 1 of Justinian)
166	615 (August)	ἀποκρίσεις, ἀναφορά	only Greek (Chronicon Paschale, a. Heracl. 5, ed. Dindorf, 707, l. 1-709, l. 23])	literary transmission only in the *Chronicon Paschale* the text seems to have been linguistically adapted	addressed to the Persian king Khosrow II on behalf of the senate initiating negotiations
172a	617 (1st November)	θεῖος πραγματικὸς τύπος	only Greek (HeracNov 72-79)	*novella* 2 of Heraclius (about 40 mss.)	addressed to Patriarch Sergius content: treatment of clerics arriving from the provinces who were supplied with posts in the capital (or its surroundings) due to wrong personal data; the patriarch will inspect them and decide about employment

35 See Kaegi, *Heraclius*, 21-23.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
175	619 (24th April)	κέλευσις	only Greek (HeracNov 80-85)	novella 3 of Heraclius (about 40 mss.)	addressed to Patriarch Sergius content: due to the increase in clerics in the churches of Blachernae and of the Theotokos τοῦ Οὐρβικίου, the limited posts of Hagia Sophia increased as well; the employment of clerics at Hagia Sophia is problematic due to donations without certification; consequently, according to the report by the patriarch, donations are lacking; regest 165 is repealed, the patriarch is ordered to regulate the posts in both churches
192	628 (8th April)	ἀποκρίσεις, κέλευσις	only Greek (Chronicon Paschale, a. Heracl. 18, ed. Dindorf, 727, l. 15-734, l. 17])	literary transmission only in the Chronicon Paschale the text seems to have been linguistically adapted	addressed to the citizens of Constantinople, written by the emperor from his campaign against the Persians
193	628 (8th April)	[reply]	only Greek (Chronicon Paschale, a. Heracl. 18, ed. Dindorf, 737, ll. 1-21])[36]	literary transmission only in the Chronicon Paschale the text seems to have been linguistically adapted	agreement with the new Persian king Kavad II Sheroe

36   Text reconstructed in Oikonomidès, Correspondence.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
199	629, 21st March	γενικὸς νόμος	only Greek (HeracNov 84-95)	*novella* 4 of Heraclius (about 40 mss.)	addressed to Patriarch Sergius content: regulation of the punishment of clerics and monks (against interferences by secular judges and confirming the rights of the patriarch); the law concerns the capital and the provinces; in the provinces the highest clerical representatives are responsible for the jurisdiction against clerics and monks, their decisions have to be respected by the secular and military officials
211	638 (September/October)	ἔκθεσις [*ecthesis*]	Greek original (ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 156, l. 20-162, l. 13) Latin translation in Rome by Maximus Confessor and his followers (ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 157, l. 20-163, l. 13)	preserved in the acts of the Lateran Council of 649 the original language is Greek, it was translated from Greek to Latin (*de Greco in Latinam vocem translatam* 157, ll. 17-18) Greek Signature: Ἡράκλειος, πιστὸς ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ βασιλεύς, ὑπεσημηνάμην (162, l. 13) *Latin translation: Heraclius, fidelis in Iesu Christo deo princeps, subnotavit* (163, l. 13)	definition of the right dogma combining the doctrine of the *Chalcedonense* and the definition of St Cyril μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, monotheletism is accepted as orthodox doctrine

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
215	640 (2nd August) / 641 (11th February)	κέλευσις	only Greek Rizou-Couroupos, Nouveau fragment; Alexakis, Last days (edition: 97 with mistaken punctuation and without knowing the edition of Rizou-Couroupos)	a fragment is preserved as a linguistically adapted (?) »quotation« in the *Relatio motionis inter Maximum et principes* ed. Allen and Neil, 41, ll. 370-377) another fragment (of the same document?) is preserved in an iconophile collection, ms. Marcianus gr. Z. 573 (Diktyon 70044), fol. 18v-19r	addressed to Pope John IV content: the emperor distances himself from the *ecthesis* which is declared a work by Patriarch Sergius
Constans II (Constantine III), 642, January (?)-15/07/668					
225	648	τύπος	Greek original (ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 208, l. 3-210, l. 15) Latin translation in Rome by Maximus Confessor and his followers (ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 209, l. 3-211, l. 14)	transmitted in the acts of the Lateran Council of 649 the original language is Greek, it was translated from Greek to Latin (*de Greco in Latinam vocem interpraetatam* 207, ll. 34-35)	further disputes about one or two wills or energies in Christ are prohibited. The *ecthesis* of Emperor Mauricius is removed from the narthex of Hagia Sophia

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
233	666 (1st March)	*iussio*	appendix to the Codex Agnelli (Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Holder-Egger, 350-351, n. 8 = Orioli, *Autocefalia*, 11-12)	codex Agnelli Estensis = Modena, Biblioteca Estense universitaria, ms. lat. 371 = α.Π.4.9, fol. 43v-44r the text was created (on the basis of an authentic imperial privilege?) in the environment of the archbishop of Ravenna, see the discussion below	privilege for Archbishop Maurus of Ravenna the archbishopric of Ravenna is declared autocephalous and independent of Rome (*nota bene* regest 251 of 682/3 repealed the independency)[37]

37 The summary in Dölger *et al.*, *Regesten* 1, 1, 109 (regest 233) is partially wrong since the document speaks about a former privilege (*iussio*: ed. Holder-Egger, 351, l. 24) *pro salute … nostre Christo dilecte Italiae provincie* (351, l. 23); the new document (= the iussio regest 233; 351, l. 31; cf. sed et nunc, 350, l. 30) was necessary because Maurus insisted on an exclusive privilege for Ravenna alone (which, according to the emperor, was already included in the former document).

Constantine IV, 668 September-685 early September

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
242	678 (12th August)	θεῖα σάϗρα	Greek original (ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger, 2, l. 5-10, l. 8) Latin translation (in Rome) (ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger 3, l. 6-11, l. 8)	preserved in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III* Greek signature (translated from Latin[38]): τὸ θεῖον φυλάξοι σε ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους, ἁγιώτατε καὶ μακαριώτατε πάτερ (10, l. 8) Latin signature: *divinitas te servet per multos annos, sanctissime ac beatissime pater* (11, l. 8)	addressed to Pope Donus content: the pope is asked to send papal envoys who are competent to discuss the reasons for differences in faith between Rome and Constantinople

38   This kind of signature (blessing) was also written in Latin in Greek documents (one of the remnants of Roman Empire ideology); it is obvious that in the Greek tradition of the acts the Latin phrase, which was no longer understood, was rendered into Greek.

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
244	680 (10th September)	σάκρα	Greek original (ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger, 10, l. 14-12, l. 25) Latin translation (in Rome) (ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger, 11, l. 14-13, l. 25)	preserved in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III* Greek signature (translated from Latin, see on regest 242): τὸ θεῖόν σε φυλάξοι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους, ἁγιώτατε καὶ μακαριώτατε πάτερ (12, l. 25) Latin signature: *divinitas te servet per multos annos, sanctissime ac beatissime pater* (13, l. 25)	addressed to Patriarch George of Constantinople content: all metropolitans and bishops of his see are ordered to come to Constantinople to examine the dogmas about the will and energy in Christ; Patriarch Macarius of Antioch is also ordered to send metropolitans and bishops
245	681 (shortly after 16th September)	ἴδικτον	Greek original (ACO II, 2, ed. Riedinger, 832, l. 1-856, l. 6) Latin translation (in Rome) (ACO II, 2, ed. Riedinger, 833, l. 1-857, l. 5)	preserved in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III* ends with the promulgation order: Greek: *proponatur* (together with the Greek translation: προτεθήτω [856, ll. 5-6], see to regest 242) Latin: *proponatur* (857, l. 5)	addressed to the citizens of Constantinople content: orthodox confession of faith including two wills and energies of Christ against the heresy of Apollinaris, Themistius, Eutyches, Dioscorus and their successors Sergius of Constantinople, Pope Honorius and Patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria; the Greek version was hung in the narthex of Hagia Sophia

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
247	681 (13th December)	Θεῖα σάκρα	only Greek (ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, 894, l. 22–897, l. 30)	preserved in the Greek acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III*, exists only in Greek signature (translated from Latin, see on regest 242) τὸ θεῖόν σε περιφυλάξοι ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους, ἁγιώτατε καὶ μακαριώτατε πάτερ (ἡ ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως) (897, l. 28–30)	addressed to Pope Leo II content: due to the discrepancies between the Christians, a council was necessary; the document of Pope Agatho was handed over by his envoys, read and accepted as orthodox; all agreed to its doctrine except for Patriarch Macarius of Antioch; thus he was deposed; the emperor signed the final decree of the council; the unity of Christianity is re-established
248	681 (23rd December)	Θεῖα σάκρα	Greek original (ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, 856, l. 14–866, l. 9) Latin translation (in Rome) (ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, 857, l. 12–867, l. 8)	preserved in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III* signature: Greek text: *legi* (ἡ ὑπογραφὴ) (866, ll. 8–9) Latin text: *legimus (et manus divina)* (867, ll. 7–8)	addressed to all councils (= council members) subordinated to the Apostolic See content as in regest 247

Regest	Year	Term	Language / Edition	Manuscript / Transmission	Characteristics
Justinian II, 10(?)/07/685-end 695 and again about mid-705-4/11/711					
256a	687 (17th February)	[*divina iussio*, in references to this text]	only Latin (ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, 886, l. 5-887, l. 21)	preserved in an appendix to the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum III*, exists only in Latin; signature: *divinitas te servet per multos annos, sanctissime et beatissime pater (et manus divina)* (887, ll. 15-17)	addressed to Pope John V: the original acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council were kept by some judges; the emperor takes them into his possession; the metropolitans, bishops and administrative as well as military representatives had to sign them
258	688/689	Θεία δωρεά	only Greek (Spieser, Inventaires, 156-159; see also the reconstruction in Kresten, Privilegienurkunde, 285)	preserved as inscription	donation to the Church of St Demetrius in Thessalonica; content: saltworks of Thessalonica and their income are granted to the church as financial support
Leo III., 25/3/717-18/6/741; was born in Germaniceia (Commagene, Asia Minor); entered military service and was deployed in the theme Anatolia					
304	741, 25th March (?)	ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων	only Greek		edition of a law compendium of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (slightly modified)[39]

Table 1: Document overview.

39 For its characteristics, see Trojanos, *Quellen*, 118-128.

Linguistic Aspects of the Texts

This section will scrutinise the original language of the chancery products, in particular when (only) a Latin version is preserved. However, a thorough analysis of the respective texts would exceed the space and limits of an article and, as stressed in the introduction, a first approach to the topic. Therefore, I shall confine myself to some exemplary phrases or words which suffice to confirm a statement regarding whether it is the original or a translation. A more complete study will compare the texts with all contemporary literary witnesses; important support for this comparison is provided by the acts of the Lateran Council of 649 and the Sixth Ecumenical Council of 680/1, both in Greek and Latin translation (organised in Rome). These versions provide extensive material giving an idea of what a term meant at that time and how specific phrases and word combinations were rendered.[40]

Justin II

Under Justin II we expect *a priori* that Justinian's practice of issuing *novellae* was continued, i.e. Latin for the West, Greek for the East, and Latin as well as Greek for the entire empire. Table 2, which displays the language usage (alone) in the chancery products, seems to suggest a tendency towards Greek as the official language except for regests 11 and 16. But due to the aforementioned studies by Wolfgang Kaiser, we have to take into account the addressee and the target audience as well. Regests 11 and 16 are addressed to Latin-speaking Northern Africa and appear to be the original versions, at least not *kata poda* translations; from this we conclude that the chancery still maintained Justinian's system (see Table 3 with differentiation according to language and target audience). Among the preserved Greek *novellae*, only two concern a particular Eastern area (regests 5 and 25b); here again, the use of Greek matches Justinian's practice. Although *novellae* that concern the entire empire are transmitted in Greek due to the manuscript evidence, this does not exclude the possibility that a Latin version was issued by the imperial chancery as well, since the Greek texts are directed to the higher Greek (i.e. Eastern) administration in order to promulgate or execute the legal decrees in their area (a complementary authentic Latin version could have been issued for the Latin-speaking parts).

---

40 Unfortunately, the new critical edition of the acts of 680/1 lacks a Greek-Latin glossary; for the Lateran Council of 649, the editor, Rudolf Riedinger, provided an incomplete index of Greek terms and their Latin equivalents (ACO II, 2, 3).

Tables[41]

Greek	nov?	nov	nov		nov		nov	nov	nov	nov	nov	(nov?)	nov	(le?)	(le?)	nov?
Latin			+ tr	nov		nov						nov, tr? kata poda?		le, tr?	le, tr?	
Year	566	566	566	568	569	570	571	572	574	574	575	582	?	582/5	591	?
Regest	4	5	6	11	12	16	19	25b	32	33	40	65	67	79a	103	146
Emperor	Justin II											Tiberius		Mauricius		

Greek	nov	le (Persia)	nov	nov	le	le (Persia)	nov	nov	le	nov	pr	le	le	le	le	le	le	pr
Latin								+ tr		+ tr		+ tr	+ tr	+ tr		+ tr	+ tr	
Year	612	615	617	619	628	628	629	638	640/1	648	666	678	680	681	681	681	687	688/9
Regest	165	166	172a	175	192	193	199	211	215	225	233	242	244	245	247	248	256a	258
Emperor	Heraclius									Constans II		Constantine IV					Justinian II	

Table 2: Novellae, letters and documents of the Byzantine emperors (Justin II-Justinian II): Language.

41 nov = *novella* (/edict), le = letter, pr = privilege, tr = translation (only or also existing), blue background = secondary transmission in chronicles or histories, red background = Greek language (also or only) for the Latin parts of the empire.

Greek: Empire	nov?										nov		nov			nov?
Greek: Greek part		nov	nov		nov		nov	nov	nov	nov	nov (areas)					
Greek: Latin part												(la?)		(le?)	(le?)	
Latin: Empire																
Latin: Latin part			+ tr	nov		nov						nov, tr? kata poda?		le, tr?	le, tr?	
Year	566	566	566	568	569	570	571	572	574	574	575	582	?	582/5	591	?
Regest	4	5	6	11	12	16	19	25b	32	33	40	65	67	79a	103	146
Emperor	Justin											Tiberius		Mauricius		

	612	615	617	619	628	628	629	638	640/1	648	666	678	680	681	681	681	687	688/9
Greek: Empire	nov						nov			nov								
Greek: Greek part		le (Persia)	nov	nov	le	le (Persia)							le	nov				pr
Greek: Latin part									le?			le			le	le	le	
Latin: Empire																		
Latin: Latin part								+ tr Rome		+ tr Rome	pr forged Ravenna	+ tr Rome	+ tr Rome	+ tr Rome		+ tr Rome	+ tr Rome	
Year	612	615	617	619	628	628	629	638	640/1	648	666	678	680	681	681	681	687	688/9
Regest	165	166	172a	175	192	193	199	211	215	225	233	242	244	245	247	248	256a	258
Emperor	Heraclius									Constans II		Constantine IV					Justinian II	

Table 3: Novellae, letters and documents of the Byzantine emperors (Justin II-Justinian II): Language and target audience.

Tiberius I

At first glance, nothing seems to have changed under Tiberius I: Latin is used (regest 65) in a local matter to the *praefectus praetorio Africae*; the general *novella* regest 67 is preserved in Greek since the addressee is the senate of Constantinople which, however, does not rule out a Latin version to higher Latin officials as well.

Nevertheless, the Latin version of regest 65 raises doubts about its authenticity as the original text since some phrases rather hint at a *kata poda* translation; but to verify a possible verbal law school rendering, either the Greek original or the original Latin translation must be extant for comparison, as in the few cases where a Latin (inappropriate) phrase undoubtedly imitates the Greek construction as a *kata poda* translation,[42] although, theoretically, a somehow cumbersome Latin text can also represent the original Latin version (i.e. issued in that way by the imperial chancery), inadequately rendered from a supposed Greek draft.

First doubts about a genuine Latin version arise if we compare the text with its model, the former *pragmatica sanctio* of Emperor Justin II, also directed to the *praefectus praetorio Africae*, regest 16. One would expect that the new *pragmatica sanctio* refers to the vocabulary, but some technical terms differ:

> (Justin II) *creatos ex libera matre et adscriptitio marito liberos esse ... talem sobolem adscriptitiam esse* (ZepIus 10, ll. 11-12, 13-14), *filios ex libera matre et adscriptitio patre productas liberos quidem esse ...* (10, ll. 26-27) – (Tiberius I) *pro conditione sobolis ab adscriptitio patre et ingenua matre* (ZepIus 24, ll. 14-15).

The sons of a free mother and a *colonus* in Justin's *sanctio* have become sons of an *ingenua* (born free) *mater* instead of a *libera* (free) *mater*.

> (Justin II) *filios, qui nascuntur ex libera matre atque adscriptitio patre, liberos esse ... sed tamen colonos* (10, ll. 19-20); *filios ex libera matre et adscriptitio patre productos liberos quidem* (10, ll. 25-26) – (Tiberius I) *liberi procreati a matre ingenua et patre adscriptitio vel colono*[43] (24, ll. 23-24)

procreare (instead of *nasci* or *producere*) can also be found in a Latin *novella* of Emperor Justinian, dating from 7th April 540 (preserved in appendix A to the *epitome Iuliani*[44]).

> (Justin II) *terrulas, ubi nati sunt, relinquere et alienas colere* (10, ll. 21-22); *sed vicos ipsos, in quibus orti sunt, cum libertate colere* (10, l. 29-11, l. 1), *terras, ubi nati sunt, excolentes* – (Tiberius I) *ipsius autem cespitis, ubi nati sunt, recedere et in aliis quibuscunque locis degere* (24, ll. 27-28)

---

42 See the meticulous analysis in Kaiser, Zweisprachigkeit, 433-467.

43 In *novella* 132, 35 (CIC III, 618, ll. 25-26) κολωνός / *colonus* and ἐναπόγραφος / *adscripticius* are differentiated; but cf. the *lex divina* by Justinian for all *Illyricianae partes* in appendix A (on the appendix, see Kaiser, *Epitome Iuliani*, 25) to the *Epitome Iuliani* (*de adscripticiis et colonis*): *adscripticios vel colonos commiscentes se liberis mulieribus procreare filios ad similitudinem liberorum* (CIC III, 796, ll. 4 and 7-8), *de adscripticiis et colonis constitutis agricolis, quod nascitur, adscripticium et colonum fieri* (CIC III, 796, ll. 10-11).

44 CIC III, 796, ll. 8 and 11.

It is strange that Tiberius' *pragmatica sanction* did not rely on one of the three terms defining the estate of the sons but introduced a new one that is not common in this context. Two phrases are outstandingly cumbersome:

1) *pragmaticam sanctionem ... firmam illibatamque nostris etiam affatibus constitui supplicaverunt* (IusZep 24, ll. 13-17). Generally, *affatus* means something like *adlocutio* or *eloquium*; its Greek equivalent is προσλαλία, ἀπόφασις, πρόσφθεγμα.[45] ἀπόφασις seems to be the word we are looking for, in its particular legal meaning (judgement, sentence).

The subsequent subordinate clause (*ut cultura terrarum permaneat, nulla lege vel machinatione et ab ea separari valitura* [24, ll. 17-19], or *nulla lege vel machinatione ab ea separare valitura*, as the editors propose) reflects Greek rather than Latin wording: the *cultura terrarum* means γεωργία or γεωπονία; the construction with a *participium coniunctum* (to *cultura terrarum*) or *absolutum* (to *lege* and *machinatione*) is comparable to the *kata poda* translation of *novella* 5, 5 in the *authenticum* (CIC III, 33, ll. 2-6): πάντων ... κρατούντων : *omnibus ... valituris*, i.e. the Greek genetivus absolutus is translated as *ablativus absolutus* (the participle being *valiturus*[46]).

2) *... ut liberi ... rusticitatem paternam cognoscant et ... subministrent, deterioris quidem conditionis alieni, ipsius autem cespitis, ubi nati sunt, recedere et in aliis quibuscunque locis degere non permissuri* (ZepIus 24, ll. 23-28)

If *deterioris conditionis* and *cespitis* are correctly transmitted, the two *genetivi separativi*, depending on *alieni* and *recedere*, are typical Greek constructions (instead of the Latin *ablativus separationis*[47]); *permissuri* must have a passive meaning, which the Latin future participle does not include, but the Greek one does (συγχωρηθησόμενοι).[48]

All this seems to hint at a Greek version (at best, at an inappropriate official translation of a Greek draft), which may hint at a change in issuing legal decrees even to Latin-speaking regions (here Africa). It would also explain why the wording of the former *sanctio* was not repeated since its text stems from the new Greek version.

Mauricius

His two Latin documents, directed to Western addressees, give the impression of following the traditional (Latin) language usage. However, these personal letters differ from legal texts insofar as they could have been sent from Constantinople in Latin or in Greek (the latter had to be translated by the addressee), but never underwent a *kata poda* translation in Constantinople.

Regest 79a, addressed to King Childbert II, is preserved as no. 42 in the collection of the so-called *Epistolae Austrasicae* (ms. Palatinus latinus 869, whose part containing the *Epistolae* was written in Lorsch in the first half of the ninth century).[49] This collection confronts us with a further problem in linguistic research on the original version: the text of the letter suffered as a result of the inaccuracy of its scribe so that some errors (like wrong word endings indicating the cases: e.g. *-es* vs. *-is*) are due to the scribe and not to a supposed translator.

---

45 See Götz, *Thesaurus*, 39.

46 Cf., e.g., also *novella* 15, epilogus (CIC III, 115, ll. 12 Latin and 14 Greek).

47 To *alienus* compare e.g. *novella* 6 epilogus: ἀλλότριον ... θεοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ... ἀξίας – *alienus ... a deo et imposito ... ordine* (CIC III, 47, ll. 2-4) or *novella* 42, 1: ἀπηλλοτριωμέναις τῆς ὀρθότητος περινοίαις – *alienis a rectitudine sensibus* (CIC III, 265, ll. 14-16)

48 Cf. the correct use in the past tense in *novella* 89, 12: αὐτοῖς ... δωρεῖσθαι συνεχωρήθη – *eis ... donare permissi sunt* (CIC III, 440, ll. 31-32)

49 See Kautz, *Bibliothek*, II, 912-916.

On the whole, the text is written in good and fluid Latin. Nevertheless, some words and phrases raise doubts about it as an original Latin version:

hoc quod et per alios ligatarios multiplicibus verbis ad nostram pietatem conscriptum invenitur (ed. Gundlach, 148, ll. 27-28); *nos tamen imperialem benevolentiam sequentis* (read *sequentes*) *et praefatos ligatarios vestros suscipimus* (148, ll. 35-36). The term *ligatarii* (envoys) also exists in Greek, but has a different meaning: somebody who receives something by testament; it also became a particular office subordinate to the eparch of the city and is described in the *Eparchikon biblion*.[50] It is hard to believe that Mauricius would have made use of this term in what is supposedly an original Latin letter. On the other hand, *ligatarius* is found several times in other *Epistulae Austrasicae*,[51] meaning *legatus / apocrisiarius* (for which, in a Greek version, we would expect: λε/ηγάτος, ἀποκρισιάριος). Admittedly, the term is used in the *Constantinopolitanum* III, in the list of the signing Latin council members for the papal envoys (also in Greek literally rendered as ληγατάριος),[52] but exclusively in these official documents (and even here alternating with ἀποκρισιάριος[53]). From this we can infer that *ligatarius* is due to the vocabulary of a Western notary (?) rather than to the imperial chancery in Constantinople since there is not sufficient reason to suppose that a Western notary revised an original Latin version of the imperial chancery according to his vocabulary; it is more likely that a Western notary (?) translated »envoy« by a term of particular (local?) meaning and according to local custom. If so, the letter was sent in Greek and translated in the West.

dum in scriptis pollicita atque per sacerdotis (read *sacerdotes*) *firmata et terribilibus iuramentis roborata* (148, ll. 31-32): the redundant use of participles could reflect typical Greek constructions with participles (however, by articles clearly defined as substantives). The same seems to apply to *enarrata* (149, l. 1), the periphrasis *his, quae nunciata ab eis sunt* (148, l. 37) and *ea, que in scriptis inter nos placita sunt* (149, ll. 2-3).

t*anto tempore excesso* (148, l. 32) is a unique phrase. In the preceding letter (41) (the exarch of Ravenna to King Chilperic) the same is expressed through *transacto tempore* (148, l. 10), which is also often found in other Latin texts. *tempore excesso* seems to render the Greek genetivus absolutus χρόνου παρατρέχοντος / παραδραμόντος (several witnesses in Greek texts).

A particular case is the last line before the signature of the emperor (*divinitas te servet per multos annos, parens christianissime atque amantissime*, 149, l. 8): *per Manuhel* (149, l. 7). It was interpreted as a note about the imperial envoy,[54] which would be exceptional at this point in an imperial letter. I assume that *per Manuhel* is rather a mistake by a scribe who misunderstood the introductory words (as usual in copies) to the signature of the emperor: what he read as *Manuel*, has to be divided in *manu(m)* and a word that includes the letters *hel* (or a misread combination) like *imperialem*.

---

50   Chap. 20, ed. Koder, 132-133: the *legatarius* is responsible for merchants coming to Constantinople.

51   See, e.g., letter 19 (King Theodebert to Emperor Justinian; ed. Gundlach, 132, l. 25); letter 25 (King Chilperic II to Emperor Mauricius; 138, l 27); letter 26 (Queen Brunhilda to Emperor Mauricius; 139, l. 15); letter 27 (Queen Brunhilda to her son, King Athanagild; 139, l. 33); letter 28 (King Chilperic to Athanagild; 140, l. 14); letter 30a (Queen Brunhilda to Empress Athanasia; 141, l. 4).

52   See ACO II, 2, 2, act. 18, ed. Riedinger, 778, ll. 18 and 26; epistula Leonis II papae, 870, ll. 3 and 28; 874, l. 9; 884, l. 11.

53   See ACO II, 2, 1, act. 8, ed. Riedinger, 210, l. 3; act. 4, 204, l. 31; ACO II, 2, 2, act. 18, ed. Riedinger 780, ll. 3 and 5; sermo prosphoneticus, 822, l. 35.

54   So also in the new revision of *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, but at least with a question mark.

etiamsi non cognovimus et cum veritate a te transmissus (read *transmissos*) *esse* (148, ll. 36-37): *cum veritate* is somehow cumbersome in Latin (although witnessed in Latin texts); it seems rather to correspond to the typical Greek phrase μετ᾽ ἀληθείας (or σὺν ἀληθείᾳ). It is remarkable that *cognovimus* introduces an *accusativus cum infinito* and not an indirect interrogative clause. Here too, a Greek phrase (*cognovimus* = ἔγνωμεν[55] with a participle relating to *ligatarios vestros*, here *transmissos*) seems to have been imitated.

To recapitulate, regest 79a could already have been issued and sent from Constantinople in the Greek language. A definite decision is impossible since the text obviously suffered during the textual transmission.

Regest 103 reacts to a letter from Bishop Severus of Aquileia and his followers to Emperor Mauricius, preserved in Latin (ed. Schwartz, 132-135), adopting some terms and phrases used by the former:

Letter from the bishops *dinoscimur* (133, l. 24), *dinoscitur* (134, ll. 1 and 9); letter from Mauricius *dinoscuntur* (136, l. 8).

Letter from the bishops *necessitatibus oppressus* (133, l. 42); letter from Mauricius *necessitatem inponentes* (136, l. 11).

Letter from the bishops *suggerimus* (133, l. 8; 135, l. 3); letter from Mauricius *suggerere* (136, l. 16).

Letter from the bishops *oportuno tempore* (134, l. 20); letter from Mauricius *tempore oportuno* (136, l. 16).

Letter from the bishops *Italiae partes* (134, l. 33); letter from Mauricius *partes Italiae* (136, l. 20).

Letter from the bishops *ad pristinam libertatem reduci* (134, l. 35); letter from Mauricius *ad pristinum ordinem redigantur* (136, l. 21).

Some words may have found their way back into a Latin translation even if we suppose a Greek original, but it is more convincing that the imperial letter was composed in Latin and relied on the vocabulary of the incoming letter.

The text contains some remarkable phrases:

consuetam et deo placitam vestram sanctitatem scientes et quod rectam catholicae nostrae ecclesiae dogmatum <in> omnibus doctrinam exercetis, scire vos volumus (136, ll. 5-6): a very intertwined sentence because *consuetam et deo placitam* is hard to combine with *sanctitatem*, it rather relates to *rectam ... doctrinam*. It is alluring to suppose a Greek construction (maybe only from a Greek draft), insufficiently rendered.

episcopi Histriensium provinciarum (136, l. 7): the plural is unusual since it is one province; its bishops also sign as *provinciae Istriae* (genitive singular), i.e. ἐπαρχίας Ἰστρίας, in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum* III (ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger, 154, ll. 9, 12-13, 15 etc.).

quousque ... et partes Italiae paceales constituantur (136, l. 20): *pacealis* is a *hapax legomenon*; again it is tempting to suppose a Greek basis (or draft version?) like the verb εἰρηνοποιέω (for *paceales constituantur*).

---

55 See, e.g., *novella* 40 praefatio (CIC III, 259, l. 9).

To sum up the two Latin letters from Mauricius, the first Latin letter of 582/585 seems to have already been sent in Greek; some phrases strongly hint at a Greek version. Some years (591) later, the emperor wrote to the pope, maybe in Latin. We would rather expect that the later letter would follow the turn to Greek; it depends on the extent to which the references to the incoming letter from the bishops are decisive to assume a Latin version. If we accept that the wording would also appear if translating from a Greek text, since some references are similar but not identical, we could suppose a Greek original for this letter as well.

Heraclius

The majority of his *novellae* are directed to Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople; therefore they are written only in Greek. Three letters are transmitted only in the *Chronicon Paschale* the authenticity of which there is reason enough to question because they are rather linguistically adapted versions (and excluded from this analysis since two of them are directed to Persian addressees).

Regest 215 (640-641), a letter in Greek to the pope, preserved in two fragments, is a very problematic text and it still needs to be examined whether and how the two fragments are really part of one letter and why the second fragment came to be preserved in the unique ms. Marcianus gr. Z 573. From a thorough consideration of the *novellae* of Emperor Heraclius, I am inclined to assume a Greek version only of this text since Heraclius issued his *ecthesis* of 638 (regest 211) only in Greek. An introductory note to the *ecthesis*, as preserved in the acts of the Lateran Council of 649, informs the reader that the text did exist in Greek and was translated into Latin.[56] Greek now really seems to have replaced Latin; the *novella* regest 199 (directed to Patriarch Sergius, but concerning all clergymen of the empire) also confirms this development, unless a Latin version was sent specifically to the pope.

Constans II

Like the *ecthesis* by Emperor Heraclius (regest 211), his *typos* for the entire empire was issued in Greek and continued the new language policy.

His privilege for Ravenna, regest 233, is obviously forged or at least falsified.[57] Past researchers already raised doubts about the authenticity of this document, but mainly because of a serious mistake by the editors, Holder and Egger (in a footnote to their edition of the *Liber pontificalis* of Angellus of Ravenna): the impersonal signature of the emperor in the *Codex Agnelli*, written with odd letters in order to give the impression that an original document has been copied, was misread as *fiat* (ed. Holder and Egger, 351, l. 42) instead of the correct *legi* (and so reprinted in Giorgio Orioli's discussion on the text).[58] This is not the only error: the dispositive verb is also misread (and to date still not corrected) as *iubemus* instead of *sancimus*. The dispositive phrase thus reads *per presentem nostram piam iussionem iubemus* (351, l. 31) – an expression that has no parallels in other sources (as far as I was able to ascertain from consulting databases).

---

56   ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 157, ll. 17-18.

57   Nevertheless, it is included as authentic text in the new revision of Dölger's *Regesten* by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Dölger *et al., Regesten* 1, 1, 109 [regest 233]).

58   Orioli, Autocefalia, 11. Corrected in the commentary of regest 233.

The forger was evidently familiar with imperial documents to some extent, but not in detail. I shall present here some revealing examples; a further study will explore the initial observations more thoroughly. The emperor refers to himself as (*nostra*) *divinitas* (351, ll. 36-37) which is entirely unique in imperial documents. Admittedly, *divinitas* is found in imperial documents in the formulaic signature *divinitas te servet per multos annos* + vocative, but here *divinitas* relates to God, not to the emperor.

Furthermore, the core element of this text is the declaration of autocephaly of the Church of Ravenna. In the Latin text the respective term is AUTOCEPHALON (written in majuscule letters, by which the forger intends to imitate a Greek term and to corroborate the authenticity of his text as issued by a Greek emperor). However, the word is used neither in Latin texts nor in Greek ones, at least not at that time, but does reflect some knowledge of Greek on the part of a (later) forger.

Finally, the *datatio* at the end cannot be authentic due to the phrase *imperantibus dominis nostris pissimis ...* (351, l. 43). A comparable correct *datatio* can be found in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum* III.[59]

These comments are sufficient to exclude regest 233 from a linguistic study of originals and translations. It is, however, not out of the question that there was a real privilege as the base text which was »modified« and from which some phrases were adopted.

Legal Documents of the Lateran Council of 649 (Regest 211, 225)

The *ecthesis* of 638 by Emperor Heraclius and the *typos* of 648 by Emperor Constans II are preserved as documents quoted in their entirety in the acts of the Lateran Council. Their editor, Rudolf Riedinger, corrected the traditional view of a Latin council (composed in Latin) whose Greek version was stated to be its translation. His linguistic analysis revealed that the texts were translated in precisely the opposite direction, from Greek to Latin.[60] Thus, the final product had already been prepared by the Greek monks, Maximus Confessor and his followers, when they initiated the council in Rome, and the Latin translation was intended to serve the Western, Latin-speaking audience. The Greek texts are therefore the original ones, the Latin ones local translations. The acts are very strict in noting the translation of documents (they are said to have been taken from the papal archive in Rome).[61]

---

59 ACO II, 2, ed. Riedinger, 11, ll. 19-20 = regest 244 from 10th September 680: *data quarto Idus Septembris Constantinopoli imperante domno piissimo perpetuo augusto Constantino imperatore anno vicesimo octavo et post consolatum eius anno duodecimo.*

60 Riedinger, Aus den Akten; Riedinger, Grammatiker-Gelehrsamkeit; Riedinger, Griechische Konzilsakten 254-262; Riedinger, Sprachschichten; Riedinger, Lateransynode; Riedinger, Richtung; Riedinger, Lateranakten.

61 See (besides the passages quoted above) ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 38, ll. 4-5 = 39, ll. 4-5; 140, ll. 31-32 = 141, ll. 31-32 (βίβλος / *codex* of Dionysius Areopagites); 144, ll. 32-33 = 145, ll. 32-33 (βίβλος / *codex* of the heretic Themistios of Alexandria); 164, ll. 14-15 = 165, ll. 14-15 (acts concerning the *ecthesis* by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople); 196, ll. 13-14 = 197, ll. 13-14 (letter of Patriarch Paul of Constantinople); 320, ll. 17-18 = 321, ll. 17-18 (quotations of the heretics Lucius of Alexandria, Apollinaris, Polemon, Severus of Antioch, Theodosius of Alexandria, Themistius of Alexandria, Coluthus, Iulianus of Halicarnassus, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Paulus Persus, the Nestorian Theodulus).

Constantine IV and Justinian II
Legal Documents of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinopolitanum III) (Regest 242, 244, 245, 247, 248, 256a)

The original language of the acts of this Ecumenical Council was Greek. The Latin version is a translation that was managed in Rome by translators who were much more skilled than their Greek compatriots about 30 years earlier for the Lateran Council, as the editor of the acts, Rudolf Riedinger, proved.[62] We are informed that one of the six originals of the Greek text which was housed in the imperial palace was burnt by the monotheletic emperor Philippicus Bardanes in December 711.[63] Only one other original (Greek) version was then preserved in Constantinople, in the patriarchate.[64] These acts, together with the definition of faith, were signed by the emperor and the synod, and five likewise signed copies were handed over to the pope and the four Eastern patriarchs. All information stems from Agathon,[65] chartophylax and protonotarius of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who wrote the former originals and a new copy (under the new emperor Anastasius) to replace the burnt one of the imperial palace.[66]

Thanks to the legal documents to the West, included in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum* III, we can unquestionably affirm that the development from Latin to Greek, including in letters to the Latin-speaking West, was finally completed. Against this background we likewise expect a Greek original for the *divina iussio* of Emperor Justinian II to the pope six years after the Sixth Ecumenical Council (regest 256a), and, indeed, the text displays a very cumbersome Latin which still reflects Greek constructions, as some examples illustrate:

dum cognitum est nobis, quia synodalia gesta eorumque difinitio (sic), quam et instituere noscitur sanctum sextum concilium, quod congregatum est in tempore sanctae memoriae nostris patris in hanc a deo conservandam regiam urbem, apud quosdam nostros iudices remanserunt (ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, 886, ll. 12-15): the series of subordinated clauses seems to result from a paraphrasing of Greek participial constructions.

dum cognitum est ... remanserunt, haec omnino non praevidimus alterum aliquem apud se detinere ea sine nostra piissima serentitate. The references of the two demonstrative pronouns (*haec, ea*) remain uncertain. The second seems to relate to *synodalia gesta eorumque difinitio*; the first must have a proleptic sense: »we did not expect this situation (*haec*), i.e. that somebody else keeps them (*ea*) with himself without our most pious serenity.« In the Greek version the harsh construction could have been softened by an infinitive depending on an article.

---

62 Riedinger, Codex; Riedinger, Dokument; see also his preface in ACO II, 2, 1, IX.

63 ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, epilogus Agathonis, 899, ll. 25-28; epistola patriarchae Iohannis VI, 905, ll. 18-20, see also the preface by Riedinger: ACO II, 2, 1, VII. Cf. Dölger *et al., Regesten* 1, 1, 141 (regest 271), without referring to the passage in the acts.

64 ACO II, 2, 2, ed. Riedinger, epistola patriarchae Iohannis VI, 905, ll. 22-27.

65 See Lilie *et al., Prosopographie* 1, 41-42 (#132).

66 Reported in a Greek appendix to the acts of the Constantinopolitanum III: ἅπαντας δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πεπραγμένων τοὺς τόμους ἐν καθαρῷ δι' ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γραμμάτων οἰκείᾳ ἔγραψα χειρί, οἵτινες καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παλατίῳ σφραγισθέντες κατησφαλίσθησαν καὶ ἀπέκειντο σὺν καὶ τῷ ἐκφωνηθέντι ἐνυπογράφῳ τῆς πίστεως ὅρῳ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας τοῖς πέντε πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις ἰσοτύπους ἐνυπογράφους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅρου τόμους κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον ἔγραψα κελευσθεὶς οὕτω παρὰ τοῦ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο προστάξαντος οὕτω γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀνεπιβούλευτον τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀνόθευτόν τε καὶ γνήσιον (ACO II, 2, 2, 898, 14-21).

copiosus in misericordia noster deus (886, l. 16) corresponds to the Greek πολυέλεος, which is rendered in the acts of the *Constantinopolitanum* III as *misericors* or *misericordissimus*.[67]

exercitibus, qui inventi sunt tam ab a deo conservando imperiali obsequio (886, l. 22): the phrase makes no sense unless the Greek term behind *obsequio* is known, i.e. ὀψίκιον (the Byzantine theme Opsikion). Another case of Greek influence is *ex collegiis et popularibus* (886, ll. 20-21), which means the συστήματα (*collegia*) and the δῆμοι (*factiones*), here literally rendered as *populares.*

Et iussimus ... chartas in medio adduci et coram supradictis omnibus lectionem eorum fecisse omnesque diligenter audientes signare ipsas fecimus (997, ll. 1-2): *fecisse* is odd, one ms. corrects to *fieri*, but *fecisse* may reflect a Greek aorist expressing the one specific action.

ut non licentia fuerit: fuerit may again be caused by a Greek aorist, *licentia* seems to correspond to ἄδεια.[68]

usque dum noster spiritus statutus est ex deo esse in nobis (887, l. 10): this cumbersome phrase obviously mirrors Greek wording.

ad sciendum itaque et vestram paternam beatitudinem huiusmodi capituli motiones praevidimus et earum scientiam notam fecisse beatitudini vestrae (887, ll. 12-13): the Latin phrase is obviously imitating a Greek construction of an infinitive depending on an article; *motiones* corresponds to κίνησεις;[69] on *fecisse*, see above.

Summary of the Linguistic Development until Leon III

The products of the imperial chancery in Constantinople – and the summarising overview in tables 2 and 3 – illustrate the language turn in the capital which had its roots in Emperor Justinian's policy of bilingual or monolingual issues for the entire empire or a linguistically confined area, respectively. By studying the laws and letters of the emperors after Justinian, we are confronted with the heterogeneous transmission of the texts and the problem that the language of a preserved version does not automatically indicate the original language of the chancery; the same applies to Latin texts that are identified as translations. To base the results on firm ground, it is absolutely necessary to take the target audience and the quality of translating into account. Safe indicators of a complete turn to Greek are chancery products which are addressed to the entire empire in Greek alone and which are directed to Western addressees in Greek and omit Justinian's practice of respecting the Latin-speaking target audience. The latter are most significant for confirming the final stage of this development (in Table 3 these texts are highlighted against a red background). As discussed above, there is some evidence that this process started under Mauricius or Heraclius and it was definitely completed under Constantine IV. If our considerations are right, already under Tiberius I a *pragmatica sanctio* for a Latin-speaking region may have been issued in Greek (and translated by the addressee's office).

---

67   See ACO II, 2, 3, ed. Riedinger, 188 (the »index« is a first approach to the rich source of the acts, it is neither complete nor exhaustive. Riedinger included only some references, rather by chance).

68   See ACO II, 2, 3, ed. Riedinger, 4.

69   Cf., e.g., in the Lateran Council ACO II, 1, ed. Riedinger, 62, l. 25 = 63, l. 23; or in the *Constantinopolitanum* III: ACO II, 2, 1, ed. Riedinger, 2, l. 12 = 3, l. 13 (negative context).

It was without doubt a gradual development; therefore it makes no sense to query the reason for this change. We can only state that the general decrease in knowledge of Latin and the enthronisation of emperors originating from eastern, Greek-speaking regions contributed more or less to this turn. Finally, the loss of Latin-speaking parts of the empire and the presence of Greek-speaking compatriots, at least in the city of the most important addressee, the popes in Rome, some of whom were even of oriental origin,[70] removed the need to respect Latin from the emperors as well.

A Short Overview of the Subsequent Development of Language Usage in the Imperial Chancery

In contrast to the domestic documents, which retained more or less traditional forms and were issued in Greek until the end of the Byzantine Empire, the Byzantine emperors notably modified the language policy of their documents to the West (i.e. of letters and privileges). This development has been analysed in some detailed studies, so I confine myself to summing up the pivotal steps.

After the Byzantine emperors endeavoured to replace Latin with Greek in the early Byzantine period, Latin was again introduced for accompanying translations (of the same documents) in order to guarantee that the text was not falsified, deliberately or incompetently, by Western translators. Such falsifications were indeed the subject of a complaint, probably by Emperor Constantine V, about the translators at the Frankish court and in Rome responsible for incorrectly rendering the imperial letters to King Pippin and Pope Paul I (765/766).[71] From this one can conclude that at that time imperial letters were written only in Greek and had to be translated by the addressee.[72] This fits with the development that we have demonstrated in this article.

---

70 See Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome.*

71 Dölger *et al., Regesten* 1, 1, 172 (regest 325). The complaint is related in a letter from Pope Paul I to King Pippin (764/766): *Itaque et hoc a Deo protecte christianitati vestrae aptum duximus intimandum: quod relectis imperalibus litteris vobisque defertis per praelatos Anthi spatarium et Sinesyum eunuchum, quas nobis ob earum seriem intuendam pro amore beati Petri fautoris vestri dirigere dignati estis, repperimus in eis adnexum, quod vestri ac nostri homines, qui ipsas imperiales syllabas, quae vobis nobisque directae sunt vel diriguntur, interpretantur, non iuxta ut ibidem exaratum est, sed aliud pro alio false interpretare (sic) audent, sed missi, qui inter partes properant, non sicut illis iniunguntur, sed acceptilationis praemio corrupti alio pro aliis deferent* (*Codex Carolinus*, Letter 36, ed. Gundlach, 546, ll. 10-17 = Letter 20 [36], ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 146; Jaffé *et al., Regesta*, 177 [regest 4180]). It is not entirely evident whether *adnexum* refers to an additional note by Emperor Constantine V or by King Pippin (to the letter[s] sent to the pope).

72 Cf. also Gastgeber, Kaiserliche Schreiben, 91-92.

From documents to Arabic-speaking addressees (starting from the tenth century, the first indirectly preserved text dates from 839)[73] we gain first information regarding bilingual letters, the layout and material of which are also described.[74] The practice of issuing documents together with a translation by the imperial chancery (at least for letters sent to non-Greek-speaking addressees) undoubtedly influenced the correspondence with the West too,[75] but the »exact« date is uncertain; we can only be sure that this innovation must have been introduced before the first preserved original of 1139.[76]

The reintroduction of Latin, which originals confirm only from the end of the thirties of the twelfth century (as for letters), did not mean that both languages were considered equal.[77] The script (ornamental, like an inscription for Greek; simple book script and significantly smaller for Latin)[78] and the placement of the signature of the emperor (after the Greek text; the succeeding Latin translation is not signed) stress the difference[79] between the authentic language and the Latin copy.[80] Treaties – or privileges by imperial grace according to Byzantine policy – were issued in the same format.

However, at the end of the twelfth century, from which time, after a gap between 1146 and 1191, original letters and, from 1192 onwards, treaties are extant, the emphasis on the difference between Greek and Latin disappeared. The Latin translation is still written after the signed Greek text and bears no signature, but no longer differed in the shape of the script: the Greek parts are written in a very cursive script, which could surely be read only by experts from the imperial chancery; the Latin script, which was adopted from the Western chancery style, is even more calligraphic (sometimes with ornaments characteristic of contemporary Western documentary script) and aesthetical than the preceding Greek one. This was possible because Latin notaries were also engaged in the Byzantine chancery to translate Greek documents (and incoming Latin letters) and to write the Latin parts in the typical notarial ductus. Thus, the quality of the translations depended on the engagement of Latin native speakers and the skill of a Greek translator. Some Latin texts apparently reveal the struggle by translators of Greek origin and evidently reflect the low quality of translation skills in the Byzantine chancery. Nevertheless, these cumbersome and even faulty translations were the only texts that the Latin addressee read![81]

---

73 See Kresten, Chrysographie, 157-160.

74 See Kresten, Chrysographie, 157-172; Gastgeber, Kaiserliche Schreiben, 101-102.

75 Since the so-called Kaiserbrief of St. Denis (see note 7) seems to be still written in Greek alone, the new development of letters sent abroad evidently did not start with the correspondence to the West.

76 See Gastgeber, Kaiserliche Schreiben (assuming that first Latin translations were issued in the Byzantine chancery from the tenth century on).

77 To the Byzantines, Latin was the language of the »barbarians«; see below n. 84.

78 Cf. the figures and palaeographic commentary in Hunger, Schriftästhetik.

79 See Gastgeber, Changes.

80 This feature (ἴσον, »copy« in contrast to the Greek text, the πρωτότυπον, the original) is explained in a Greek note by the responsible official on the back of the privilege document for Pisa of February 1192 (Dölger and Wirth, *Regesten* 2, 306-308 [regest 1607]; see Otten-Froux, Enregistrement, esp. 242).

81 All documents of the twelfth century (originals and secondary transmission) are studied in Gastgeber, *Lateinische »Übersetzungskanzlei«*, vols. 2 and 3; cf. also the overview in Gastgeber, Übersetzungsabteilung.

After Constantinople was conquered by the Crusaders in 1204, a gap in preserved originals means that one can only assume that the practice of the end of the twelfth century was maintained (Greek and Latin, in this order, on the same document, signature of the emperor after the Greek text).[82] An innovation was introduced in two stages under Emperor Michael VIII and is connected with the emperor's confessions of faith and letters around the Second Council of Lyon (1274): first, a document was issued in Greek *and* Latin according to the usual practice, but now on two separate documents, both signed by the emperor; second, omitting the respective Greek version and issuing the Latin text alone. This development in practice applied only to letters; for treaties and treaty-like documents (now given new names in order to respect partners of mutual agreements on an equal level) Greek and Latin continued to be used until the end of the Byzantine Empire, but no longer in a *charta transversa* that started with the Greek text. Now these documents display the Greek original and its Latin translation in two parallel columns and express the parity of the two parties to the treaty through visual features as well. This final step seems to have been taken under the late Emperor Michael VIII or under his son Emperor Andronicus II at the latest.[83]

It is noteworthy that this innovation was a big concession by the emperor to the Latin language and the West (and has to be understood with regard to the contemporary political conditions for Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologus since Latin was a »barbarian« language to the Byzantines)[84]. However, it was also maintained by his son, Emperor Andronicus II, although he broke with the Latins and started an anti-Latin policy. So, the Byzantine chancery partially came back to its Latin roots because imperial letters (to Latin addressees) continued to be issued almost exclusively in Latin[85] until the end of the Byzantine Empire – a language that the Palaiologan emperors had no mastery of or ability to speak. This confronts us with the question of how such letters, issued in Latin, were prepared and presented to the emperor in the final version.[86]

With this concluding short overview of the development after the early Byzantine turn to Greek alone, it must be emphasised that the Byzantine imperial chancery was a very dynamic institution which reacted to political changes and needs as well. The traditional image of a sluggish administrative organisation which is burdened und crushed by bureaucracy and inefficiency has to be corrected; on the contrary, the typical Byzantine feature of *oikonomia*, i.e. the acceptance and application of innovations due to a new state of affairs, could allow for modifications even in the very sacred sphere of the emperor's performance of issuing documents and for the deviation to the »barbarian« Latin language.

---

82   The documents are edited with introduction and commentary in Pieralli, *Corrispondenza.*

83   Cf., e.g., Gastgeber, Dossier; Gastgeber, Changes; Gastgeber, Lateinische Texte.

84   See Gastgeber, Kaiserliche Schreiben, 96-99; Gastgeber, Latin, 113-114.

85   The few exceptions demand a particular comment and will be discussed in an article that is planned for the next issue of this journal; furthermore, a new type of letter, the so-called »open letter«, was introduced from the West in the Byzantine chancery; it was shaped like a treaty and confirmed a privilege or the ownership of a gift; see Wirth, Patent.

86   This topic will be explored in greater depth in a subsequent study (see n. 85).

References

Abbreviations

ACO I, 4, 2 = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* I, 4 (Constantinopolitanum secundum)
ACO II, 1 = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 1 (Concilium Lateranense 649)
ACO II, 2, 1-2 = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II 2, 1-2 (Constantinopolitanum tertium)
AthSynt = Athanasios of Emesa, *Syntagma*
CCSG = Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CIC III = *Corpus Iuris Civilis* III
Coll. CLXVIII = *Corpus Iuris Civilis* III, ed. Schöll and Kroll
Diktyon = ID of the Greek manuscripts provided by the database pinakes of the CNRS Paris.
    Accessed on 1 March 2020: https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/
HeracNov = Konidaris, Novellen
IulEpit = Iulianus, *Epitome*
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
TheodBrev = Theodorus scholasticus, *Breviarium*, ed. von Lingenthal (Greek epitome)
ZachIus III = *Jus Graecoromanum* III, ed von Lingenthal
ZepIus I = *Jus Graecoromanum* I, ed. Zepos and Zepos

Primary Sources

Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series prima, tomus 4, volumen 2: *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum*, ed. Eduard Schwartz (Berlin, 1914).
Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen primum: *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. Rudolf Riedinger (Berlin, 1984).
Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen secundum: *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum*, 2 parts and a separate index, ed. Rudolf Riedinger (Berlin, 1990-1995).
Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardarum et Italarum saeculorum VI-IX (Hannover, 1878, reprinted 1988) 265-391.
Athanasios of Emesa, *Syntagma Novellarum,* ed. Dieter Simon and Spyros Troianos (Frankfurt/Main, 1989).
Chronicon Paschale, ed. Ludwig Dindorf (Bonn, 1832).
Codex Carolinus, MGH Epistolae III, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolingici aevi 1, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin, 1892, reprinted Munich, 1994) 469-657 = ed. Florian Hartmann and Tina B. Orth-Müller, Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 49 (Darmstadt, 2017).
Corpus Iuris Civilis III: *Novellae*, ed. Rudolf Schöll and Wilhelm Kroll (thirteenth edition) (Hildesheim, 1993).
Epistolae Austrasicae, MGH Epistolae III, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolingici aevi 1, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin, 1892, reprinted Munich, 1994) 110-153.
Euagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, ed. Joseph Bidez and Léon Parmentier (London 1898, reprinted Amsterdam, 1964) = ed. Adelheid Hübner, Fontes Christiani 57, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2007).
Iulianus, *Epitome Latina Novellarum Iustiniani*, ed. Gustav Friedrich Hänel (Leipzig, 1873).

Jus Graecoromanum III: *Novellae constitutiones*, ed. Konstantin Eduard Zachariae von Lingenthal (Leipzig, 1857) = *Jus Graecoromanum* I: *Novellae et aureae bullae imperatorum post Justinianum ex editione C. E. Zachariae a Lingenthal*, ed. Ioannes Zepos and Panagiotes Zepi (Athens, 1931, reprinted Aalen, 1962).

Leon V, *Eparchikon biblion* (*Liber praefecti*), ed. Johannes Koder, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33 (Vienna, 1991).

Relatio motionis inter Maximum et principes, ed. Pauline Allen and Brodwen Neil, *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia*, CCSG 39 (Turnhout, 1999) 12-51.

Theodorus scholasticus, *Breviarium Novellarum*, ed. Konstantin Eduard Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Anekdota* (Leipzig, 1843) 1-165.

Secondary Literature

Alexakis, Alexander, Before the Lateran Council of 649: The last days of Herakleios the emperor and monotheletism, *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 27/28 (1995/1996) 93-102.

Burgmann, Ludwig, Λέξεις ῥωμαϊκαί: Lateinische Wörter in byzantinischen juristischen Texten, in: Wolfram Hörandner and Erich Trapp (eds.), *Lexicographica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Symposion zur byzantinischen Lexikographie (Wien, 1.-4.3.1989)* (Vienna, 1999) 61-79.

Chitwood, Zachary, *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867-1056* (Cambridge, 2017).

Dölger, Franz and Johannes Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden* (Munich, 1968).

Dölger, Franz and Peter Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches. 2. Teil: Regesten von 1025-1204* (second revised edition) (Munich, 1995).

Dölger, Franz, Andreas E. Müller, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Alexander Riehle, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches. 1. Teil, 1. Halbband: Regesten 565-867* (second revised edition) (Munich, 2009).

Feissel, Denis, Un acte de la préfecture d'Afrique sur l'église de Byzacène au début du règne de Justin II, *Antiquité tardive* 11 (2003) 97-112.

Ekonomou, Andrew J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, a. d. 590-752* (Plymouth, 2007).

Gastgeber, Christian, Changes in documents of the Byzantine chancery in contact with the West (Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologos): Language, Material, and Address, in: Élisabeth Malamut and Nicolas Drocourt (eds.), *Diplomatie byzantine (Ve-XVe s.)* (in print).

Gastgeber, Christian, Das Dossier der *documenta byzantina* des 2. Konzils von Lyon (1274): Ein bislang unbekannter Rotulus aus dem Umfeld eines Konzilsteilnehmers, des Salzburger Erzbischofs Friedrich von Walchen, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 65 (2015) 13-66.

Gastgeber, Christian, Kaiserliche Schreiben des 9. Jahrhunderts in den Westen: Neue Aspekte der Übersetzungsfrage und der materiellen Ausstattung, in: Christian Gastgeber (ed.), *Quellen zur byzantinischen Rechtspraxis, Aspekte der Textüberlieferung, Paläographie und Diplomatik* (Vienna, 2010) 89-106.

Gastgeber, Christian, Latein in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei (12.-15. Jh.), in: Christine Ratkowitsch (ed.), *Medialatinitas: Ausgewählte Beiträge zum Mittellateinerkongress, Wien, 17.-21. 9. 2017* (Vienna, 2020) 105-134.

Gastgeber, Christian, Lateinische Texte und Übersetzer der Palaiologenzeit in Konstantinopel: Der Beitrag der Kanzleien des Kaisers und des Patriarchen, in: Panagiotis Athanasopoulos and Antonio Rigo (eds.), *Translation Activity in Late Byzantium* (Turnhout, 2020) (in print).

Gastgeber, Christian, Die lateinische Übersetzungsabteilung der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei unter den Komnenen und Angeloi: Neue Ergebnisse zur Arbeit in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei, in: Michel Balard, Élisabeth Malamut and Jean-Michel Spieser (eds.), *Byzance et le monde extérieur: Contacts, relations, échanges* (Paris, 2005) 105-122.

Gastgeber, Christian, *Die lateinische »Übersetzungskanzlei« der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei unter den Komnenen und Angeloi.* Unpublished PhD thesis, 3 vols. (University of Vienna, 2001).

Götz, Georg, *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*, vol. 1. Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum 6 (Leipzig, 1899).

Hunger, Herbert, Schriftästhetik in den drei originalen kaiserlichen Auslandsschreiben der Komnenenzeit, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 40 (1998) 187-196.

Jaffé, Philipp, Klaus Herbers, Waldemar Könighaus, Thorsten Schlauwitz, Cornelia Scherer and Marco Schütz, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII* (third edition) (Göttingen, 2017).

Kaegi, Walter E., *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003).

Kaiser, Wolfgang, *Authentizität und Geltung spätantiker Kaisergesetze: Studien zu den sogenannten Sacra privilegia concilii Vizaceni*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 96 (Munich, 2007).

Kaiser, Wolfgang, *Die Epitome Iuliani: Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtsunterricht* (Frankfurt on the Main, 2004).

Kaiser, Wolfgang, Wandlungen im Verständnis der Epitome Iuliani von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart, in: Martin Avenarius (ed.), *Hermeneutik der Quellentexte des Römischen Rechts* (Baden-Baden, 2008) 300-353.

Kaiser, Wolfgang, Zu den Initia lateinischer Novellen im Breviarium novellarum des Theodorus: Studien zu den Novellen Justinians (III), *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 129 (2012) 501-521.

Kaiser, Wolfgang, Die Zweisprachigkeit reichsweiter Novellen unter Justinian: Studien zu den Novellen Justinians (I), *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 129 (2012) 392-474.

Kaiser, Wolfgang and Stylianos Chronopoulos, Unterschiede zwischen griechischen und lateinischen Ausfertigungen von Novellen am Beispiel des Gesetzes vom 15. Juni 535 über Darlehen an Bauern: Studien zu den Novellen Justinians (II), *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 129 (2012) 475-500.

Kaldellis, Anthony, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2009).

Kaplan, Michel, Novelle de Tibère II sur les »maisons divines«, *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981) 237-245.

Kautz, Michael, *Bibliothek und Skriptorium des ehemaligen Klosters Lorsch I: Alba Iulia-Vat. Pal. lat. 202. II: Vat. Pal. lat. 206-Zwickau* (Wiesbaden, 2016).

Kearley, Timothy G., The creation and transmission of Justinian's novels, *Law Library Journal* 102/3 (2010) 377-397.

Konidaris, Ioannes, Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios, *Fontes Minores* 5 (1982) 33-106 = Konidaris, *Zetemata*, 85-158.

Konidaris, Ioannes, *Zetemata byzantinu kai ekklesiastiku dikaiu* (Athens, 1990).

Kresten, Otto, Ἀρκουμένων ἀπάντων: Eine wenig bekannte Formel der großen kaiserlichen Privilegienurkunde in Byzanz, in: Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini (eds.), *Studi sulle società et le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi,* vol 1 (Florence, 2002) 277-300.

Kresten, Otto, Nachträgliches zu Dokumenten für die Kirche der Byzakene unter Kaiser Iustinos II., *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006) 495-514.

Kresten, Otto, Zur Chrysographie in den Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 40 (1998) 139-186.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Claudia Ludwig, Thomas Pratsch and Ilse Rochow, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: Erste Abteilung (641-867). 1. Band: Aaron (#1)-Georgios (#2182)* (Berlin, 1999). Accessed on 1st March 2020: http://www.degruyter.com/pmbz.

Oikonomidès, Nicolas, Correspondence between Heraclius and Kavādh-Široe in the Paschal chronicle (628), *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 269-281.

Orioli, D. Giorgio, L'Autocefalia della chiesa Ravennate, *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n. s. 30 (1976) 3-19.

Otten-Froux, Catherine, L'enregistrement du chrysobulle de 1192 aux Pisans, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 42 (1984) 241-248.

Pieralli, Luca, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'impero bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204-1282) Studio storico-diplomatistico ed edizione critica* (Vatican, 2006).

Riedinger, Rudolf, Aus den Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 69 (1976) 17-38.

Riedinger, Rudolf, *Der Codex Vindobonensis 418, seine Vorlage und seine Schreiber* (Steenbrugge, 1989).

Riedinger, Rudolf, Das Dokument des Petrus notarius regionarius auf seiner Reise von Rom nach Spanien im Jahre 683/4, *Burgense* 29 (1988) 233-250 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 263-280.

Riedinger, Rudolf, Grammatiker-Gelehrsamkeit in den Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976) 57-61 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 27-31.

Riedinger, Rudolf, Griechische Konzilsakten auf dem Wege ins lateinische Mittelalter, *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 9 (1977) 253-301 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 43-91.

Riedinger, Rudolf, In welcher Richtung wurden die Akten der Lateransynode von 649 übersetzt, und in welcher Schrift war der lateinische Text dieser Akten geschrieben?, in: *Martino I Papa (619-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII Convegno storico dell'Academia Tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spirtualià medievale Todi, 1991* (Spoleto, 1992) 149-164 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 283-298.

Riedinger, Rudolf, *Kleine Schriften zu den Konzilsakten des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Turnhout, 1998).

Riedinger, Rudolf, Die Lateranakten von 649: Ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximos Homologetes, *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 517-534 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 223-238.

Riedinger, Rudolf, Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximos der Bekenner, in: Felix Heinzer and Christoph Schönborn (eds.), *Maximus Confessor, Actes du symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur* (Fribourg, 1982) 111-121 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften*, 169-179.

Riedinger, Rudolf, Sprachschichten in der lateinischen Übersetzung der Lateranakten von 649, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 2/3 (1981) 180-203 = Riedinger, *Kleine Schriften,* 137-160.

Rizou-Couroupos, Stamatina: Un nouveau fragment de la κέλευσις d'Héraclius au pape IV, in: Jürgen Dummer (ed.), *Texte und Textkritik: Eine Aufsatzsammlung* (Berlin, 1987) 531-532.

Simon, Dieter, Das Novellenexemplar des Athanasios, *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986) 117-140.

Spieser, Jean-Michel, Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, I: Les inscriptions de Thessalonique, *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973) 145-180.

Stein, Ernest, Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'empoi des langues dans ses novelles, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l'Académie de Belgique* 23 (1937) 365-390.

Stein, Ernest, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam, 1968).

Troianos, Spyros, *Die Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts*, trans. Dieter Simon and Silvia Neye (Berlin, 2017).

Troianos, Spyros, Römisches Recht und byzantinisches Recht: Juristische Kuriosa bei den »Exhellenismoi«, in: Charalambos K. Papastathis (ed.), *Byzantine Law: Proceedings of the International Symposium of Jurists, Thessaloniki, 10-13 December 1998* (Thessalonica, 2001) 15-20.

Wirth, Peter, Das Patent – Ein unerkannter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde, in: Ernst v. Caemmerer, Joseph Heinrich Kaiser, Gerhard Kegel, Wolfram Müller-Freienfels and Hans Julius Wolff (eds.), *Xenion: Festschrift für Pan. J. Zepos* 1 (Athens, 1973) 735-738.

List of Figures

Translation as Interpretation: Translating Galen's Polysemous Term *Physis* into Arabic

Elvira Wakelnig*

In the ninth century almost the entire corpus of the Greek physician Galen was translated into Arabic, mainly by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his circle. A key concept of Galen's thought is nature (*physis*) and the physician uses it in many ways and with different meanings. His late antique commentators show great awareness of the polysemy of the term *physis*, and the same applies to his Arabic translators. So the question arises of how Ḥunayn and his circle dealt with this polysemous term – did they choose a similarly polysemous Arabic term to keep the ambiguity of the original or did they render the text more precise by employing different terms? In the latter case, they would have provided not only a translation but also a concise account of how they understood nature in a given translated passage and/or how they wanted their audience to understand it. The article studies one particular case, the translation of the term *physis* within the Arabic translation of *On Diseases and Symptoms* done by either Ḥunayn or his nephew Ḥubayš. The exhaustive comparison between the Greek passages and their corresponding Arabic translations documented in the appendix shows that the translator mainly translated *physis* by two different terms of the same root, i.e. *ṭabīʿa*, which is mostly used in phrases conveying an activity, and *ṭabʿ*, which is mainly employed in an adverbial sense. Particularly interesting are cases in which *physis* is simply not translated, as in some of them Galen may speak about demiurgic Nature, a principle that he often equates to the divine Demiurge, especially in his *On the Usefulness of the Parts*. These findings also allow for some tentative suggestions regarding the translation's intended audience.

Keywords: Galen; Graeco-Arabic translations; Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq; Ḥubayš ibn al-Ḥasan; nature; On Diseases and Symptoms; *polysemy*

How does a translator deal with polysemous words? Does he choose one term to translate such a polysemous word, consistently sticking to the chosen equivalent and thus rendering the polysemy as well as the ambiguity of the original? Or does he use his translation as an opportunity to make the text less ambiguous by interpreting the polysemous term each time it occurs and by translating it differently according to how he understands the given polysemous word at every particular occurrence? In the latter case, the translator interprets the text he translates and furnishes us not only with a translation but also with his understanding

*   **Correspondence details:** Elvira Wakelnig, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Vienna, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 4, 1090 Vienna, Austria; email: elvira.wakelnig@univie.ac.at.

of it. This, in turn, provides an interesting insight into how a text was read and understood at the time of its translation in the milieu of the translator in question. It may further indicate how the translator wanted to present the translated text to his audience and which understanding he hoped to convey to his readers. As a case in point, I want to pose these questions with regard to the rendering of the polysemous term »nature« (*physis*)[1] in the ninth-century Graeco-Arabic translation of Galen's *On Diseases and Symptoms.* There are various reasons for having chosen this text. The Galenic œuvre which was translated into Arabic almost in its entirety in the ninth century played an important role in the constitution of scientific enquiry in the Arabic-Islamic world, a role which is still understudied. For whereas the Arabic translations of the Aristotelian corpus, which was likewise nearly completely translated into Arabic, are edited and studied, the Galenic translations still remain, for the most part, unedited and unstudied, which also applies to *On Diseases and Symptoms*. Yet, the corpora of these two great Ancient Greek scientists were translated at the same time, sometimes by the same people, and are thus equally important for our reconstruction of the development of scientific terminology in Arabic.[2] Furthermore, the concept of nature is a highly disputed one in the Arabic-Islamic tradition and some groups of Muslim scholars reject it due to its assumed limitation of God's omnipotence. Most prominently refuted is the idea that living beings act and react according to their inborn natures, for if they did, they would no longer be directly dependent on the divine decree.[3] The understanding of nature as an intelligent agent, as an almost personified demiurgic Nature is also denied,[4] although less vehemently, as the idea did not seem to have become sufficiently widespread in Arabic, as will be shown below. *On Diseases and Symptoms* contains passages in which the term »nature« is used in these two meanings as well as passages in which it is applied in several others. Thus the treatise provides an excellent case study for the translation of this polysemous term by one single translator at one particular time in his life and, probably, for one particular patron who commissioned the translation. A good understanding of each individual translation is indispensable for making broader comparisons between various translators and their translation methods possible.

A particularly interesting aspect of the so-called »Graeco-Arabic translation movement« during which the Aristotelian and the Galenic œuvres were translated is that almost all Arabic translators were Christians and thus in a somewhat exposed position within the Muslim society.[5] These Christians translated into Arabic mainly for Muslim patrons, whereas some of

---

1   I have opted for using quotation marks to indicate terms in English, but for omitting them when indicating Greek and Arabic terms in transliteration.

2   The list of the four meanings of nature according to Hippocrates which occurs in a summary or *Ǧawāmiʿ* of Galen's *Book to Glaucon (Kitāb Ǧālīnūs ilā Ǧulūqun)* and is cited below appears almost verbatim in the *Epistle on the Definitions and Descriptions of Things* (*Risāla fī Ḥudūd al-ašyāʾ wa-rusūmihā*, ed. Abū Rīda, I, 179.13-14) in which the so-called first philosopher of the Arabs, al-Kindī (d. after 866) defines philosophical terms.

3   See, for example, Bernand, Critique.

4   The physician and philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 925), for instance, argues against it, see Genequand, Quelques aspects, 123-125.

5   On the translation movement, see Gutas, *Greek Thought*; and Saliba, *Islamic Science*, esp. 60-64 where he advances a very interesting hypothesis about the position of the Christian translators in the developing Muslim society.

them also translated into Syriac for their co-religionists. This has in particular been shown for Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his circle,[6] from which the Arabic translation of *On Diseases and Symptoms* stems. Ḥunayn's translation techniques have already been studied for more than a century, yet his approach to polysemous terms has, as far as I am aware, never been dealt with in any detail.[7]

The Polysemous Term »Nature« in the Galenic Greek and Arabic Traditions

The polysemy of, in particular, scientific terms was already discussed by Aristotle in the fourth century BC. More than once, he turns the attention of his readers to the fact that a term discussed may be applied »in many ways« (*pollachōs*). Half a millennium later, Galen uses the very same expression pollachōs to refer to the manner in which »nature« (*physis*) is said.[8] Unfortunately, he does not list these many ways of saying »nature«, and the account which he claims to have given of the signification (*sēmainomenon*) of »nature« in the fifth book of his *Medical Names* seems lost.[9] However, the late antique commentators of both Aristotle and Galen develop the habit of compiling lists of definitions and divisions in which the various meanings of philosophical and scientific terms are gathered.[10] Galenic commentators supply us with several diverging lists of the meanings of »nature«. Given the crucial importance which the term »nature« has for understanding Galen's medical thought, it comes as no surprise that such lists are found at the very beginning of the late antique Galenic curriculum, i.e. in the commenting and compiling literature of *On the Sects* with which the medical teaching was bound to begin.[11] Due to the fragmentary state of the late antique Greek texts on *On the Sects*, there is only one list of the meanings of »nature« preserved in Greek, namely in the *Tabulae Vindobonenses*. It reads:[12]

---

6   See Watt, Why.

7   Pioneering work was done by Bergsträsser, Meyerhof, Schacht and Strohmaier. For more recent studies and further references, see Vagelpohl, User-friendly Galen; Cooper, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Galen translations; and Overwien, Art of the translator.

8   See his *On Hippocrates' »Aphorisms«* 2, 34, ed. Kühn, XVII.2, 529.14: Τῆς φύσεως πολλαχῶς λεγομένης ... For a discussion of the passage, see Jouanna, Notion, 230-233.
     Porphyry, who was Galen's contemporary and a commentator of Aristotle, uses the same expression in his commentary to the *Categories* in question-and-answer form and employs the same principle, i.e. citing different meanings of one and the same term, in the *Isagoge*, his introduction to the *Categories.*

9   In his *On Hippocrates' »Nature of Man«,* 1, Prooemium, ed. Mewaldt, 6.9-11, Galen claims to have provided an account of the signification of »nature«. His *Medical Names* are lost in Greek and only the first book seems to have been translated into Arabic. See Jouanna, Notion, 229; and Garofalo, Nature, 753. For the edition of the surviving Arabic text of the first book by Meyerhof and Schacht, see Galen, *On Medical Names.*

10   A particularly late product of this development can be found in an anonymous commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* in which a section on definitions and divisions is placed between the introductory material to philosophy and to the *Isagoge* and the beginning of the commentary proper. See Moraux, Unedierter Kurzkommentar, 76-81 and 96-98. For the lists of the meanings of »nature« in Hippocrates and Galen, see Jouanna, Notion; and Garofalo, Nature.

11   See the most recent presentation of the Galenic curriculum with further references in Overwien, *Medizinische Lehrwerke*, 10-18; and on *On the Sects* in the curriculum, see ibid., 30-34.

12   On the various extant fragments on *On the Sects,* see Overwien, *Medizinische Lehrwerke*, 26-30. The Greek text is arranged in tabular form and edited ibid., 122: ἡ φύσις λέγεται τριχῶς· λέγεται φύσις καὶ ἡ ἑκάστου πράγματος οὐσία καὶ πρᾶξις; λέγεται φύσις καὶ ἡ διοικοῦσα τὸ ζῷον δύναμις; λέγεται φύσις καὶ ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος.
     If not otherwise stated, all English translations are mine.

»Nature« is said in three ways: nature is called the substance (or essence) and *praxis*[13] of every thing; nature is called the power governing the animal; nature is called the mixture of the body.

Other lists also going back to the late antique medical teaching tradition survive in Latin[14] and in Arabic and display a considerable range of variation. Some can be found in the so-called *Summaries of the Alexandrians* (*Ǧawāmiʿ al-Iskandarānīyīn*), i.e. summaries of Galenic treatises, which are almost exclusively preserved in Arabic but clearly go back to the Greek Alexandrian tradition. In the summary or *Ǧawāmiʿ* of *On the Sects*, the list of the meanings of »nature« is similar to the Greek of the *Tabulae Vindobonenses*, yet with some remarkable differences:[15]

> For this term, I mean »natural-disposition« (*ṭabʿ*) or »nature« (*ṭabīʿa*) is employed in three ways: One of them is the substance of every thing and its existence, the second is the power governing the animal's body, and the third is the mixture of the body and its habit.

To begin with, two Arabic terms of the same root (*ṭ-b-ʿ*) are given as equivalent to the Greek term *physis*, namely *ṭabʿ*[16] which I translate as natural-disposition, and *ṭabīʿa*. In a number of other texts which we shall consider in what follows, *ṭabīʿa* remains the only term in similar passages, whereas *ṭabʿ* is used to indicate a particular meaning of *ṭabīʿa*, namely the mixture or disposition of a body. *Ṭabʿ* thus becomes restricted to a particular section of the semantic field of *ṭabīʿa*. The unusually wide range of *ṭabʿ* here may be seen as evidence that this Arabic text was translated early on, in a period when the technical terminology was still being developed.[17]

    Regarding the first meaning, the Arabic text mentions substance and existence. If the term »existence« (*wuǧūd*) is not understood along the lines of essence and thus interpreted as part of a hendiadys »substance and existence«, it may be explained as a rendering of *hyparxis* assuming that the Arabic author of the *Ǧawāmiʿ* read this in his Greek model. For in the Late Greek Patristic tradition *ousia* and *physis* are not only said to mean the same thing,

---

13   I leave the Greek term untranslated for the moment as I will refer to it shortly when discussing the Arabic version. Overwien (ibid., 123) translates *praxis* as »Verfassung«.

14   See the Latin version of Johannes Alexandrinus' commentary *On the Sects*, which was probably translated from the Greek, ed. Pritchet, vii and 35-36; and the Lectures *On the Sects* of Agnellus, who probably taught in Latin, *Lectures,* xii-xiii and 62-63.

15   On the Alexandrian summaries of the sixteen books of the Galenic curriculum, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 140-150; on the summaries of other Galenic treatises, see Savage-Smith, Galen's lost ophthalmology, 128-131; on the summary of *On the Sects* in particular, see Pormann, *Alexandrian Summary*; and Overwien, *Medizinische Lehrwerke*, 47-67. The Arabic text has recently been edited with an English translation in Walbridge, *Alexandrian Epitomes* 1, 7-48. For the Arabic of the cited passage, see ibid., 17:

وذلك أنّ هذا الاسم ، أعني طبعاً أو طبيعةً تتصرّف على ثلثة وجوه ، أحدها جوهر كلّ واحدٍ من الأشياء ووجوده ، الثاني القوّة المدبّرة لبدن الحيوان ، والثالث مزاج البدن وعادته.

16   I use two different English terms to distinguish the two Arabic ones. To indicate that my translation »natural-disposition« renders a single Arabic word (*ṭabʿ*), I write it with a hyphen.

17   For the specific use of *ṭabʿ* in contrast to *ṭabīʿa*, see below.

but both are said to indicate *hyparxis*, i.e. existence.[18] A similar identification may also have occurred in the medical milieu, either due to Christian influence or independently, based on philosophical considerations. If this were the case, even the Greek *praxis* in the *Tabulae Vindobonenses* could be a mistransmission for *hyparxis*.[19] The third meaning is rendered more precise by the addition of the concept habit, which is probably meant to exclude the application of the term »nature« to a body whose mixture is out of its normal condition.[20] Alternatively, it may imply the ethical concept of an acquired second nature as expressed in the Arabic epitome of Galen's *On Moral Character*.[21]

Different meanings of »nature« are also presented in the commentary to *On the Sects* by the physician, philosopher and Christian theologian Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043), who commented on a great number of Aristotelian and Galenic treatises making use of late antique commentaries:[22]

> According to Hippocrates' teaching, »nature« (*ṭabīʿa*) is said in four ways:
> in the way of the mixture of every body part – that is to say that some mixtures are good in summer such as (those of) scorpions and serpents and bad in winter; and that is to say that the mixtures of these are by natural-disposition (*bi-l-ṭabʿ*) cold and some others are opposite, such as those over whose mixtures heat prevails;
> in the way of the constitution of every body part – that is to say that the chest of some people is by natural-disposition narrow, and about these Hippocrates says that phthisis quickly comes to them and stays in them due to their minimal ability to inhale air in the degree of hotness, so he links the original hotness to the mixture of their body parts;
> in the way of the powers governing the animal's body – they are those through which the digestion of food is completed, just as Hippocrates says that nature is sufficient in all;
> and in the way of the psychic activities like courage in the lion and fear in the fox as Hippocrates says that the nature of every body part is without instruction – he means that it does what it does without teaching.

---

18   Cf. Theodore of Raïthu, *Praeparatio*, ed. Diekamp, 202.18-21; *Doctrina Patrum*, ed. Diekamp, 40.17-20; John of Damascus, *Institutio Elementaris*, ed. Kotter, 94.26-27, 107.7. I would like to thank Christophe Erismann for having drawn my attention to the Late Patristic tradition in general and in particular to the passage by Theodore, who was the abbot of Raithu in the Sinai peninsula at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries.

19   Unlike Overwien (*Medizinische Lehrwerke*, 172, n. 39), I do not think that *wuǧūd* can be taken as a translation of *praxis*. If one wants to assume that the Arabic author of the *Ǧawāmiʿ* worked on a Greek model very similar to the *Tabulae Vindobonenses*, one may imagine that he, who was most probably a Christian as the great majority of the Graeco-Arabic translators were, may have interpreted the Greek *praxis* according to his religious background.

20   Whether the mention of habit can in any way be linked to the surprising occurrence of »usual power« (*habitudinalis virtus*) in the Latin version of Johannes' commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics*, ed. Pritchet, 212.1-2 remains to be ascertained.

21   See Kraus, Kitāb al-aḫlāq, 49.ult.:

وقد قلنا إنّ العادة طبيعة ثانية

I would like to thank Almuth Lahmann who has brought this notion of a second nature to my attention.

22   In the only manuscript of the commentary known to survive, Manissa, MS 1772, 13b17-14a11, the Arabic text reads as follows:

والطبيعة على مذهب ابقراط تقال على أربعة أوجه على مزاج كلّ واحد من الأعضاء وذاك أنّ بعض الأمزاج في الصيف جيّدة بمنزلة العقارب والحيّات وفي الشتاء ردية وذاك أنّ أمزجة هذه بالطبع باردة وبعضها بالضدّ بمنزلة الذي يغلب على مزاجهم الحرارة وعلى خلقة كلّ واحد من الأعضاء وذاك أنّ بعض الناس صدورهم بالطبع ضيقة وهولاء يقول فيهم ابقراط إنّ السلّ يسرع إليهم وفيهم لقلّة تمكّنهم من استنشاق هواء بمقدار الحارّ فينسب الحارّ الأصليّ بمزاج أعضائهم وعلى القوى المدبّرة لبدن الحيوان وهي التي يتمّ بها هضم الغذاء بمنزلة ما قال ابقراط إنّ الطبيعة تكفي في الكلّ وعلى الأفعال النفسانيّة كالشجاعة في الأسد والفزع في الثعلب كما قال ابقراط بأنّ طبيعة كلّ واحد من الأعضاء هي بغير تعلّم يريد أنّها تفعل ما تفعله بغير تعليم

Ibn al-Ṭayyib's list shows closer similarities to the Latin versions of the commentaries to *On the Sects* than to the *Tabulae Vindobonenses*, but he is, in particular, close to the meanings of »nature« listed at the beginning of the commentaries to Galen's *Therapeutics to Glaucon*, the fourth treatise in the late antique Galenic curriculum.[23] In the summary or *Ǧawāmiʿ* of *Galen's Book to Glaucon* (*Kitāb Ǧālīnūs ilā Ǧulūqun*), a similar list occurs at the very beginning. This seems to be the reason why two manuscripts enhance the title by adding »on nature« to it, i.e. *Galen's Book to Glaucon On (the Term) »Nature« - Kitāb Ǧālīnūs ilā Ġlūqun fī (ism) al-ṭabīʿa:*[24]

> In Hippocrates' discourse the term »nature« (*ṭabīʿa*) conforms to four meanings:
> One of them is the mixture of the body,
> the second is the shape of the body,
> the third is the power governing the body,
> and the fourth is the motion of the soul.[25]

The list is then elaborated in a way similar to the one in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary. The existence of such lists in the literature commenting on the most basic Galenic treatises makes it almost certain that the Arabic translators of Galen were greatly aware of the polysemy of the term »nature«, and this awareness must have left traces on their translations.

The person most associated with the Arabic Galen translations is Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873). He was a native speaker of Syriac, spent time away from the Abbasid capital Baghdad, where he had already started his medical career, to improve his Greek and composed original works in Arabic. Ḥunayn was a physician, philosopher and Christian theologian, and translated Aristotelian and Galenic treatises into Syriac and, to a lesser extent, into Arabic.[26] His writings, and in particular the *Epistle on the Account of What was Translated of Galen's Books According to his [i.e. Ḥunayn's] Knowledge and of Some which were not Translated (Risāla fī ḏikr mā turǧima min kutub Ǧālīnūs bi-ʿilmihi wa-baʿḍ mā lam yutarǧim)*, show him to have been well informed about the philosophical as well as the medical teachings in Alexandria and the Byzantine world.[27] About the medical education he had the following to say:

---

23 See Stephanus, *Commentary,* ed. Dickson, 22-23; and the Arabic versions of the *Ǧawāmiʿ* and of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, for which see Garofalo, *Nature.*

24 I have consulted the following four manuscripts: MSS London, Wellcome Library, Or 62, 1b4-7; Tehran, Kitābḫāne-ye Markazī-ye Dānešgāh 4914, 28a2-3; London, British Library, Add 23407, 72b8-10; and Istanbul, Sulaymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3538 (according to Sezgin's facsimile edition of the *Ǧawāmiʿ,* I, 137.5-6). The first two manuscripts call the summary a *Ǧāmiʿ,* whereas the other two call it a *Ǧawāmiʿ* and add *On Nature* (or *On the Term »Nature«*) to it. The passage quoted above reads:

إسم الطبيعة يجري في كلام ابقراط على أربعة أوجه أحدها مزاج البدن والثاني هيئة البدن والثالث القوّة المدبّرة للبدن والرابع حركة النفس

25 An almost identical list appears in al-Kindī, see n. 2 above.

26 For Ḥunayn's Syriac and Arabic Galen translations, see Watt, *Why.*

27 For the philosophical teaching, see Ḥunayn's *Rare Sayings of the Philosophers* (*Nawādir al-falāsifa),* only extant as excerpts in al-Anṣarī's *Aphorisms of the Philosophers* (*Ādāb al-falāsifa*), ed. Badawī, esp. 41-44. In his *Epistle* (*Risāla*), Ḥunayn provides some information about how the Alexandrians arranged and read the Galenic books, see ed. and trans. Lamoreaux, 14, 18, 20, 24, 30, 38.

These [i.e. the books listed so far[28]] are the books to the reading of which they used to restrict themselves in the place of medical instruction at Alexandria. They used to read them in the order in which I have presented them. They used to gather each day for the reading of a lesson from them and then endeavor to understand it, even as today our Christian colleagues gather each day in the places of instruction known as the »school« [*al-aškūl* transliterating the Greek *scholē*] for the reading of a lesson from the books of the ancients. As for the other books, they used to read them only individually, each one by himself, after having received training in the ones that I have mentioned, even as our colleagues today read the commentaries on the books of the ancients. (Ḥunayn, *Risāla*, trans. Lamoreaux, 38-40)

Apart from such insights into the Alexandrian teaching activities, the *Epistle* contains short descriptions of all the Galenic treatises Ḥunayn knew of, as well as mentions of the existing translations into Syriac and Arabic and indications of by whom and for whom they were translated.[29] Information on the Alexandrian summaries or *Ǧawāmiʿ* of the Galenic treatises is, however, sparse. In this regard the account of the *Epistle* may be complemented with a remark made more than a century later, at the end of the tenth century, by the physician and bio-bibliographer Ibn Ǧulǧul:[30]

[The Alexandrians] abridged all of Galen's books and turned them into abstracts and summaries [*al-ǧumal wa-l-ǧawāmiʿ*], but without changing the original texts, in order to facilitate for themselves their memorization and study. Ḥunayn the translator found these books both in their original form and in summaries, and this is how they can still be found to this day. (trans. Gutas, Aspects, 37, slightly adapted)

Although Ibn Ǧulǧul does not say so explicitly, his report seems to suggest that Ḥunayn and his circle translated the Galenic originals as well as the Alexandrian summaries. This sits well with the manuscript tradition which ascribes the majority of the Arabic Galen translations to Ḥunayn. There is, however, a caveat: in the same way as original compositions, translations are often ascribed to a more famous translator in order to enhance their authority, importance and prestige. Wrong attributions may occur easily in the case of Ḥunayn's nephew Ḥubayš ibn al-Ḥasan, who also translated Galenic treatises into Arabic and whose translations were, according to the *Epistle*, sometimes corrected by Ḥunayn. This is due to the Arabic *rasm*, i.e. the mere undotted outline of Arabic words, of the name Ḥubayš which

---

28   Namely *On the Sects, The Art of Medicine, On the Pulse for Beginners, Therapeutics to Glaucon, On Bones for Beginners, Anatomy for Beginners* [including *On the Dissection of Muscles, of the Nerves and of Veins and Arteries*], *On the Elements according to Hippocrates, On Mixtures, On the Natural Faculties, On the Diseases and Symptoms* [including *Differences of Diseases, Causes of Diseases, Differences of Symptoms*, and *Causes of Symptoms*], *On Affected Parts, The Large Book on the Pulse* [including *Differences of Pulses, Diagnosis of Pulses, Causes of Pulses, Prognosis by Pulses*], *On the Differences of Fevers, On Crises, On Critical Days*, and *On the Therapeutic Method.* For this and different lists of the sixteen books of the Galenic curriculum, see Overwien, *Medizinische Lehrwerke,* 11-14.

29   The *Epistle* has survived in two different recensions, an earlier (B) and a slightly more recent one (A), and a short epitome (C). According to the recent study by Lamoreaux (in the introduction to his edition of Ḥunayn's *Risāla*, xviii-xxvi), both recensions date to the last few months of Ḥunayn's lifetime and both contain additions which were added, to each version independently from the other, after Ḥunayn's death.

30   For the Arabic text, see the entry on the Alexandrian Sages (*al-Ḥukamāʾ al-iskandarānīyīn*) in Ibn Ǧulǧul, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Sayyid, 51.5-7.

is particularly close to the *rasm* of the name Ḥunayn. Therefore the name of the nephew may be misread and interpreted as the name of the more famous uncle. Some confusion between Ḥunayn and Ḥubayš may also have taken place in the case of the Arabic translation of *On Diseases and Symptoms* to which we shall now turn.

The Arabic Translation of On Diseases and Symptoms[31]

The Title

On Diseases and Symptoms is a compilation of four originally separate Galenic treatises. According to the information provided by Ḥunayn in the *Epistle*, it was the Alexandrians who combined the four treatises under a single title which they chose based on the predominant subject, namely the *Book of the Causes (Kitāb al-ʿIlal)*. Particularly interesting is Ḥunayn's remark about the title which was given to the book in the Syriac tradition:

> As for the speakers of Syriac, they entitled them [the four originally separate treatises] *Causes* [*al-ʿilal*] and *Symptoms* [*al-aʿrāḍ*]. Such a title is not appropriate for the book and quite faulty. If they wanted to fill out the title, they ought to have added *and Diseases* [*al-amrāḍ*]. (Ḥunayn, *Risāla*, trans. Lamoreaux, 24)

This remark is interesting because it clearly indicates that in the ninth century Ḥunayn in no way associated the term *ʿilla* (pl. *ʿilal*, from the root *ʿ-l-l*) with the meaning »disease« which it has in classical as well as in modern Arabic and which is even attested in the Graeco-Arabic translation literature.[32] If he had, he may even have interpreted the Syriac title as *Diseases and Symptoms*.[33] In the earliest recension of the *Epistle* (B), the title appears in the form ascribed to the Alexandrians, i.e. as *Book on the Causes (Kitāb al-ʿIlal),* whereas the two other recensions (A and C) use the »Syriac« title about which Ḥunayn complained, i.e. *Book on the Causes and Symptoms (Kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-l-aʿrāḍ).* In the manuscript tradition,[34] the title has undergone some further change and reads *Book on the Things outside Nature known as the Book on the Causes and Symptoms (Kitāb fī al-ašyāʾ al-ḫāriǧa ʿan al-ṭabīʿa al-maʿrūf bi-kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-l-aʿrād).* The new element appearing in the title, namely *»On the Things outside Nature«* may be explained by the Galenic curriculum of the sixteen books. In the curriculum there are five subgroups of books: (1) four introductory books, (2) four books about the

---

31 At least two different *Ǧawāmiʿ*-versions exist as well. One of them has been edited as a facsimile edition by Sezgin (see vol. II, 130-244); the other one is preserved in the Princeton manuscript that I discuss below and that also contains the Arabic translation of the Galenic original. It is often the case that *Ǧawāmiʿ*-versions of the same Galenic treatise differ considerably from one another.

32 See Ullmann, *Wörterbuch* I, 731-733. If Ḥunayn does indeed reject the meaning »disease« for *ʿilla*, its usage in any Galen translation may be taken as an indication against his authorship of this translation.

33 In Syriac, the root *ʿ-l-l* does not mean »disease«. It may do so only due to a later calque from the Arabic, see Maclean, *Dictionary*, 239.

34 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 89-90 and the two MSS which I have used (on which see below), as well as MS Tehran, Kitābḫāne-ye Markazī-ye Dānešgāh 4914, fol. 196b.

natural things, (3) six books about the things outside nature, (4) one book about preserving the natural, and (5) one book about treating the unnatural. The *Book on the Causes* is the first listed in the third subgroup, as may be seen in the listing of the sixteen books in a version by Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī:[35]

> Know that the sixteen (books) are divided into two parts. Among them there is that which takes the place of an introduction to the consideration of the theory and practice of the medical art. They are the first four, I mean the *Book on the Sects*, the *Book on the Small Art*, the *Book on the Pulse* and his *Book to Glaucon*. The (books) considering the theory and practice of medicine are twelve books. Among them, four consider the natural things (*al-ašyāʾ al-ṭabīʿīya*), and they are the *Book on the Elements, The Mixture, The Natural Faculties* and *The Anatomy*. Six of them consider the things outside nature (*al-ašyāʾ al-ḫāriǧa ʿan al-ṭabīʿa*), and they are the *Book on the Causes and Symptoms, The Aching Places, The Great Pulse, The Crisis, The Days of Crisis* and *The Fevers*. One of them considers that which preserves the natural things, and it is the *Book on the Regimen of the Healthy*, and another consider that which allays the things which are outside nature, and it is the *Book on the Method of Treatment.*

It seems as if the heading of the third subgroup has been transferred to its first treatise and thus given the *Book on the Causes* its new name. This may be interpreted as evidence that the Arabic translations of Galen's treatises were, at least for some time, arranged, copied and transmitted according to the Galenic curriculum. One, unfortunately very late example (mid-seventeenth century) is the Princeton manuscript of our treatise[36] which contains precisely the six books on the things outside nature.

As for the four originally separate treatises which were combined to form the *Book on the Causes*, they are listed in Ḥunayn's *Epistle* (B) in the following form: *The Kinds of Diseases (Aṣnāf al-amrāḍ)* in one section (i.e. *maqāla* 1 of the composite text), *The Causes of Diseases (ʿIlal al-amrāḍ)* in one section (i.e. *maqāla* 2 of the composite text), *The Difference of Symptoms (Iḫtilāf al-aʿrāḍ)* in one section (i.e. *maqāla* 3 of the composite text) and *The Causes of Symptoms (Asbāb al-aʿrāḍ)* in three sections (i.e. *maqālāt* 4-6 of the composite text). A tendency towards harmonisation is already detectable in the later recension (A) of the *Epistle* in which the third *maqāla* is entitled *The Kinds of Symptoms (Aṣnāf al-aʿrāḍ).* It continues in the manuscript tradition in which the title of the second *maqāla* is changed into *Asbāb al-amrāḍ*.[37]

---

35 The identity of this Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī or Johannes Grammatikos is still disputed, even if it seems certain that he is not Johannes Philoponus, who is also called Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī in the Arabic tradition. See Gannagé, Philopon, 556-563. The Arabic text of his abridgement (*iḫtiṣār*) of the sixteen books of the Galenic curriculum is preserved in MS London, British Library, Arundel Or. 17 (or Or. 444) and contains at its beginning (2b4-11) the following passage:

اعلم أنّ الستّة عشر تنقسم قسمين منها ما يجري مجرى المدخل إلى النظر في علم وعمل الصناعة الطبّيّة وهي الأربعة الأول أعني كتاب الفرق وكتاب الصناعة الصغيرة وكتاب النبض وكتابه إلى اغلوقن. والناظرة في علم وعمل الطبّ إثناعشر كتاباً منها أربعة تنظر في الأشياء الطبيعيّة وهي كتاب الأسطقسات والمزاج والقوى الطبيعيّة والتشريح ، وستّة منها تنظر في الأشياء الخارجة عن الطبيعة وهي كتاب العلل والأعراض والمواضع الألمة والنبض الكبير والبحران وأيّام البحران والحمّيات وواحد منها ينظر في ما يحفظ الأشياء الطبيعيّة وهو كتاب تدبير الأصحاء وآخر ينظر فيما يبرد الأشياء الخارجة عن الطبيعة وهو كتاب حيلة البرء.

When presenting his abridgement of the *Book on the Causes* further on (fol. 69b3), Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī entitles it *Book on the Causes, Symptoms and Diseases (Kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-l-aʿrāḍ wa-l-amrāḍ).*

36 On the Princeton manuscript, see below.

37 With regard to this change, one may even speculate that later generations, unlike Ḥunayn, associated the term *ʿilla,* pl. *ʿilal* strongly with the meaning »diseases« and wanted to avoid a phrase which could also be interpreted to mean »the diseases of the diseases« and thus be taken as an example of unintelligible medical jargon.

The Contents[38]

At the beginning of *On Diseases and Symptoms*, i.e. in the originally separate treatise *The Kinds of Diseases,* Galen defines health and disease and distinguishes different classes of diseases either according to the body parts which are affected, i.e. the homoiomerous body parts (e.g. arteries, veins, nerves, flesh) or the organs (e.g. heart, brain, liver, eye), or according to the kinds of affections, i.e. imbalances affecting the homoiomerous parts, and inappropriateness in formation, in the number of parts, in size or in composition affecting the organs. In the treatise *The Causes of Diseases*, Galen examines what may cause excessive heat, cold, dryness and moisture and what may cause diseases affecting the organs in the four ways mentioned in the previous book. He also lists a further class of diseases common to homoiomerous body parts and organs, namely the dissolution of their unity. In the treatise *The Kinds of Symptoms,* Galen aims at distinguishing symptoms in the same way as he has done with diseases and starts by defining various crucial terms, i.e. condition (*ḥāl*), activity (*fiʿl*),[39] affection (*āfa, ḥadaṯ, infiʿāl*), health (*ṣiḥḥa*), disease (*maraḍ*), cause (*sabab*), and symptom (*ʿaraḍ*). Then Galen divides the symptoms into conditions of the body (*ḥālāt al-abdān*), damage to the body's activities (*maḍārr li-l-afʿāl*) and things resulting from the two former such as noises of the body. He establishes two main classes of symptoms. The symptoms of the first class affect the activities of the soul (*afʿāl li-l-nafs*), the psychic (*nafsānī*) activities, and the symptoms of the second class affect the activities of nature (*afʿāl li-l-ṭabīʿa*), the physical or natural (*ṭabīʿī*) activities. For each of these classes, Galen then lists and describes a number of subclasses. These subclasses and their causes are also dealt with at length in *The Causes of Symptoms*, whereby its first section (i.e. *maqāla* 4 of the *Book on the Causes*) focuses on the sense organs, the second (*maqāla* 5) on unnatural movements, and the third (*maqāla* 6) on digestion.

The Manuscripts Used[40]

There is still no critical edition of the Arabic translation of *On Diseases and Symptoms*. For my translation samples in the appendix, I have used two manuscripts that are easily accessible in digitised form and that can be dated to different periods of the transmission of the treatise. This confirms that the Arabic text has remained stable and that the manuscripts chosen represent the version normally used.

---

38 For the Greek text, see Kühn's edition, vol. 6 and 7; and Gundert's edition (with German translation) of *On the Differences of Symptoms.* For an English translation of all four treatises, which thus conveniently covers the extent of the Arabic *Book on the Causes,* see Johnston's translation of Galen, *On Diseases and Symptoms*. There is a second English translation of the *Causes of Diseases* by Grant in Galen, *On Food and Diet.*

39 In the majority of cases, the Arabic translation does not distinguish between *ergon* and *energeia*, which are both translated as *fiʿl*. I have opted to translate *fiʿl* in the sense of *ergon* as »action« and in the sense of *energeia* as »activity«. For a discussion of the Greek terms and their English translation, see Johnston's introduction to his translation of Galen, *On Diseases*, 29-30. There, he cites a passage from *The Method of Treatment* (ed. Kühn, X, 43) in which Galen says: »For it is agreed then, in this case, by all men, not only by doctors but also by those they meet, that it is its [the eye's] action [ἔργον] to see. And whether I say ›action‹ (ἔργον) or ›function‹ (ἐνέργεια) certainly makes no difference now in this case.« The corresponding passage in the Arabic translation of *The Method of Treatment* in MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 2855, fol. 20b5-6, uses only the term *fiʿl* and explains that in Greek the term is expressed by different words.

40 For a list and description of the other existing manuscripts of the Arabic translation, see Overwien, Orientalische Überlieferung, 113-115. For the *Ǧawāmiʿ*, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 148.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Arabe 2859

The Paris manuscript contains two Galenic treatises: *On the Sects of Medicine for Beginners (Fī firaq al-ṭibb li-l-mutaʿallimīn)* (fols 1-11a), which is, as we have seen, the first treatise of the Galenic curriculum, and *On the Things outside Nature known as the Book on the Causes and Symptoms (Fī al-ašyāʾ al-ḫāriǧa ʿan al-ṭabīʿa al-maʿrūf bi-kitāb al-ʿilal wa-l-ʿārāḍ)* (fols 12a-86b). If the dating to the beginning of the eleventh century suggested by de Slane and Vajda holds, it would be the oldest manuscript of our treatise.[41] However, both scholars also mention that the dates written at the end of the two treatises (fols 11a and 86b) were scratched and replaced by the *hiǧrī* date 232, which corresponds to the year 846 or 847 of the Common Era. They further refer to the ownership statement on the title page, which gives the name of Ibn Sīnā and the year 407 h (1016/7). Yet, this Avicennian statement is clearly a forgery.[42]

The folios in the second half of the manuscripts are in disorder. The correct order can be reconstructed as the following: fols 12b-51b, 68a[43]-b, 60a-67b, 69a-70b, 52a-59b, 71a-86b.

Princeton, University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, New Series 1532[44]

As mentioned above, the Princeton manuscript contains precisely those six treatises of the Galenic curriculum which consider the things outside nature and thus provides evidence that Galen's writings were copied and read in accordance with this curriculum until the mid-seventeenth century. Interestingly, the manuscript contains not only the Arabic translations of each of the six treatises, but also the corresponding Alexandrian summaries, i.e. *Ǧawāmiʿ.* The arrangement of the texts is remarkable in that each section (*maqāla*) of the translation of a Galenic original is followed immediately by its respective *Ǧawāmiʿ*. This seems to indicate that the *Ǧawāmiʿ* played an important role in the studying of the original Galenic treatises.

---

41 De Slane, *Catalogue*, 515; Vajda, *Notices manuscrits Arabe* 2845-2874, 39. See the digital reproduction of the manuscript's microfilm at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11002054f. However, neither de Slane nor Vajda give any argument for their dating. Should they have relied on the ownership statements, their dating would have to be rejected as these statements have been tampered with.

42 A consultation of the manuscript in Paris clearly showed that part of the ownership statement has left traces of ink on the facing page, which is of European paper and recent date. Therefore, it cannot have been composed by Ibn Sīnā in the eleventh century. Also suspicious is the fact that Ibn Sīnā's name is spelt Ḥusayn and not al-Ḥusayn, the established form. Gacek (*Arabic Manuscripts,* 109) lists this particular ownership statement as an example of a forgery. The same must also hold true for the two other ownership statements which are found on the title page of the Paris manuscript, i.e. one of Buḫtišūʿ and another of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm.

43 In the upper margin of 68a the last sentences of 51b23-28 are repeated in a script similar to the one of the main body of the text. This probably indicates that this misordering was introduced rather early, most likely before the manuscript came to Paris (for additions made there would probably look rather different).

44 See the digital reproduction of the manuscript's microfilm at http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/cz30pw240.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:[45]
- *The Book on the Things outside Nature known as the Book on Causes and Symptoms (Kitāb fī l-ašyāʾ al-ḫāriǧa ʿan al-ṭabīʿa al-maʿrūf bi-kitāb al-ʿIlal wa-l-aʿrāḍ)* (fols 1b-85b)[46]
- *Galen's Book on the Knowledge of the Inner Places when Harm occurs in them, known as the Book on the Affected Parts (Kitāb Ǧ[ālīnūs] fī Taʿarruf al-mawāḍiʿ al-bāṭina iḏā ḥadaṯa bihā āfa wa-huwa al-maʿrūf bi-Kitāb al-Aʿḍāʾ al-ālima)* (fols 85b-198a)
- *Galen's Book on the Pulse (Kitāb Ǧ[ālīnūs] fī l-Nabḍ)* (fols 198a-297a)[47]
- *Galen's Book on the Kinds of Fever (Kitāb Ǧ[ālīnūs] fī Aṣnāf al-ḥummayāt)* (fols 297b-328b)
- *Galen's Book on Crisis (Kitāb Ǧ[ālīnūs] fī l-Buḥrān)* (fols 329a-378b)
- *Galen's Book on the Days of Crisis (Kitāb Ǧ[ālīnūs] fī Ayyām al-buḥrān)* (fols 378b-411a)

The colophon at the end of the third treatise *On the Pulse* (fol. 297a) gives the date *Ǧumādā al-Ṯānī* 1016 *hiǧrī*, i.e. May or June 1651 of the Common Era. As the entire manuscript is written by the same hand, it must date in its entirety to the mid-seventeenth century.

The Translator

According to the earliest version (B) of the *Epistle*,[48] Ḥunayn translated the *Book on the Causes* for the physician Buḫtīšūʿ. Into which language is not indicated, but as the *Epistle* states on five other occasions that Ḥunayn translated something for Buḫtīšūʿ into Syriac, this is probably what happened in our case as well. The slightly younger version (A) of the *Epistle* has an addition according to which Ḥubayš translated the six sections of the treatise for Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā into Arabic. The information in the short epitome (C) is ambiguous as the one in version (B) for it only states that the treatise was translated by Ḥunayn without indicating the language into which it was translated. In the extant manuscripts the translation is ascribed to Ḥunayn, if to anyone.[49]

---

45 For a preliminary description of the manuscript, see Mach and Ormsby, *Handlist*, items 76, 92, 505, 509 and 520. The second treatise is not listed.

46 In the illuminated headpiece, the title of our treatise is given in a slightly distorted form as *Kitāb ʿilal aʿrāḍ Ǧālīnūs*. The Arabic text of the Galenic original is not only divided into six sections (*maqāla*), but also into smaller chapters (*bāb*) which are not indicated in the Paris manuscript. The *Ǧawāmiʿ* of the six sections are found on fols 10a-13b, 21b-23a, 31b-32a, 44a-49b, 60a-65a, 78b-85b.

47 The last two sections of the *Book on the Pulse* are not followed by their corresponding *Ǧawāmiʿ*, but are preceded by two very short summaries (of some lines) called *ǧumal*.

48 For an Arabic edition of B (Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3590) and an English translation, see Ḥunayn, *Risāla*, ed. Lamoreaux, 24-27; for the version A (Aya Sofya 3631), see *Risāla*, ed. Bergsträsser, 11-12; for C (Aya Sofya 3593), see *Risāla*, ed. Käs.

49 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 89. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 2859 mentions Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-ʿIbādī al-mutaṭabbib as the translator on the title page (fol. 12a) and at the beginning and end of each of the six sections of the book. MS Tehran, Kitābḫāne-ye Markazī-ye Dānešgāh 4914 indicates Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq as the translator at the beginning of the treatise and at end of sections 5 and 6. MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya Sofya 3591 also ascribes the translation to Ḥunayn, see Ritter and Walzer, Arabische Übersetzungen 812 [14], whereas MS Princeton, University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, New Series 1532 does not mention the name of the translator.

Translating the Term »Nature«

The Method Applied in Studying the Translation

The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* lists about one hundred occurrences of *physis*, i.e. *physis* (12 times), *physin* (18), *physeōs* (42), *physei* (21) and the only occurring plural form *physesi* (1), in the four Galenic treatises that have been brought together in the Arabic *Book on the Causes*, not taking into account the almost double that number of occurrences of *kata physin* (98 times) and *para physin* (85 times).[50] I have listed the 94 Greek occurrences (in Kühn's edition cited from the TLG and with Johnston's English translation) and their corresponding Arabic translations (transcriptions based on the Paris and Princeton manuscripts followed by my very literal English translation) in the appendix. Each quotation is limited to an extent, by which the meaning of the cited occurrence of »nature« should become clear. In a few cases, it was possible to study a longer passage with several similarly translated occurrences of *physis*, thus providing more context to the reader. In such instances, the text is numbered according to the number of occurrences, e.g. »text (16-18)« which contains three instances of *physis*. The numbering follows the Greek because the Arabic translator sometimes adds an Arabic term for nature where it is only implied in the Greek.[51] However, as the present study focuses on the Arabic renderings, the texts are arranged according to the Arabic terms that are used to render *physis* and thus divided into the following six groups: *ṭabīʿa*[52] (texts 1-43), *ṭabʿ* (texts 44-76), *ṭabīʿī* (text 77), *quwwa* (texts 78-80), *ǧawhar* (text 81) and no corresponding Arabic term (texts 82-94). Larger groups are further subdivided according to the grammatical functions in which the Arabic terms occur. Within each group or subgroup, the passages follow their sequence in *On Diseases and Symptoms.* Texts 95-98 present some interesting examples in which the *Book on the Causes* has *ṭabīʿa*, where the Greek reads something else.[53]

Results and Conclusions

The most important and obvious difference between the two main Arabic terms used to express »nature« is that *ṭabīʿa* is employed when referring to an active aspect of nature, either as the agent undertaking some activity (texts 1-12) or as the possessor of, for example, an activity or instruments (texts 13-27). *Ṭabʿ*, on the other hand, is mostly used in phrases functioning as adverbials. This suggests that the translator chooses *ṭabīʿa* for rendering the Galenic meaning of the power governing the animal – for which he also uses the more explicit *quwwa* (power) in texts (78) and (80) – and *ṭabʿ* for expressing the meaning of the body's mixture. This suggestion is further confirmed by the translator himself, for when Galen says that his reader should understand »nature« in a particular occurrence as power governing the animal, the translator renders it by *ṭabīʿa*, not *ṭabʿ* in text (19). This sits well with one particular instance in which the translator distinguishes surprisingly sharply between *ṭabīʿa* and *ṭabʿ*

---

50   The phrase *para physin* is mostly translated as *ḫāriǧ ʿan al-ṭabīʿa,* see texts (21-22), (24) and (95), but also as *ḫāriǧ ʿan al-ṭabʿ*, see text (61); and *kata physin* as *bi-l-ṭabʿ*, see text (96), although other renderings also occur, for example by reformulation, see text (95), or by employing the adjective *ṭabīʿī,* see the second occurrence in text (96). A detailed study would probably result in interesting findings, yet is beyond the scope of this article.

51   See, for example, text (1-2) in which two occurrences of *physis* correspond to four instances of *ṭabīʿa.*

52   See the two occurrences of the plural form *ṭabāʾiʿ* in texts (31) and (34).

53   An exhaustive documentation of these occurrences is certainly worthwhile and may bring highly interesting results. In some cases, the Arabic may attest to a different Greek text than the one edited by Kühn.

within one passage, i.e. in text (38-39) which is immediately followed by text (62-63). However, *ṭabīʿa* is also used to refer to bodily mixtures, namely when employed in the grammatical construction »the nature (*ṭabīʿat*) of something« in texts (28), (29), (32), (33), (35)-(39), (41)-(43). In two of these examples, i.e. texts (35) and (36) the older Paris manuscript has *ṭabīʿa* where the Princeton manuscript has *ṭabʿ*. This may indicate that the distinction between the two terms grew stronger over time and that later copyists changed the translation accordingly. At an early stage of the transmission of Galenic material, the terms seem to have been used interchangeably, as attested in the above-mentioned *Ǧawāmiʿ* of *On the Sects*.[54]

In texts (30), (31), (34) and (40), the same »*ṭabīʿat* of something« refers to the substance or essence of something, whereas in text (59) it is *ṭabʿ* which refers to that very meaning. Therefore one must conclude that apart from the distinction between *ṭabīʿa* and *ṭabʿ*, the translator does in general not attempt to clarify the polysemy of nature in his model by introducing different terms, the only notable exceptions being *quwwa* (twice)[55] and *ǧawhar* (once). In text (34), *physis* is replaced by the hendiadys »*ǧawāhir* (substances) and *ṭabāʾiʿ* (natures)«. Another interesting hendiadys occurs in text (46), which talks about the soul's nature as its »*ṭabʿ* and *naḥīza* (condition)« as if the Galenic dictum that the soul follows the mixtures of the body was somehow implied.

There is one instance, text (9), in which the translator first translates »nature« as *ṭabīʿa* and then adds a second occurrence of *ṭabīʿa* without any counterpart in the Greek, yet in a different meaning. Whereas the first *ṭabīʿa* most probably refers to the power governing the animal, the second one seems to refer to the composition, i.e. the mixture of a body part. If this interpretation is correct, in this case the translator does not clarify the polysemy of the Galenic text but enhances it by adding another occurrence of *ṭabīʿa* with a different meaning than immediately before.

Interesting are also some examples in which nature occurs in the Arabic but not in the Greek. Some of these instances may be explained by the assumption that the translator read a different Greek text than the one preserved today. In text (96), for example, the Arabic reads *ṭabīʿa* where the Greek has *zōon*. As the Arabic reading here coincides with that of the Greek-Latin translation,[56] there are two independent witnesses which make it plausible that, at least in some Greek manuscripts, *tēs physeōs* was read instead of *tou zōou*.[57]

Most interesting are the cases in which the translator decides to omit the term »nature« and to render the Greek differently. In four of them, i.e. texts (89)-(91), he probably considers nature to refer to the essence of something and feels that translating it would not add any informational value to the phrase. These omissions can thus be seen as a simplification and clarification of his Galenic model. In seven other cases, i.e. texts (82)-(88), Galen most probably speaks about personified, i.e. demiurgic Nature, a principle that he equates with

---

54 See above, n. 15.

55 The third occurrence of *quwwa* in text (79) is difficult to interpret. Maybe the Arabic translator had a different Greek text.

56 See Gundert's edition of Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit,* 254, critical apparatus to line 11, which gives the reading of the Greek-Latin translation as »nature« but makes no mention of the different reading in the Arabic tradition.

57 Although the possibility that the two traditions interpreted the Galenic text in the same way must be considered as well. Only the Arabic tradition deviates further from the preserved Greek text, talking about the »power and care of nature« as opposed to those of the animal at the end of the passage.

the Demiurge, especially in his *On the Usefulness of the Parts*.[58] In text (87) he states that the nostrils are »passages of respiration invented by Nature«. This mention of nature is omitted in the Arabic, although immediately before, see text (4), nature (*ṭabīʿa*) is credited with having conceived of coughing and sneezing as a strategy by which to expel irritating matter. The reason for the omission in text (87) seems to be that nature considered as inherent in the body of a living being may well be thought of as making the animal cough or sneeze as in text (4), whereas it is difficult to assume that this nature invented the nostrils and their activity, as claimed in text (87). Similarly, in text (84) the Arabic translator omits the mention of nature, but adds »wisdom and kindness« in its stead, which may be interpreted by the readers of the translation as referring to God. In the Arabic translation of *On the Usefulness of the Parts*, which is also ascribed to either Ḥunayn or Ḥubayš, these two terms are regularly mentioned when Galen talks either about the Demiurge or demiurgic Nature, which is omitted there as well. So the additional mention of »wisdom and kindness« in text (84) may be an indication that the translator interprets »nature« there as the demiurgic principle.[59] In text (48) where the Aristotelian-Galenic dictum that Nature does nothing in vain is referred to, the Arabic translator chooses to rephrase the text slightly and to translate *bi-l-ṭabʿ*. Similaray, in text (53) he replaces the notion that nature has given something to the animal's parts with the formulation that the body parts are made that way by natural-disposition. In this case, the translation is particularly striking as in the immediately preceding phrase, the translator inserts *ṭabīʿa* to render »physical impulse« (*hormē physikē*), apparently having the natural power governing the animal in mind. Using *ṭabʿ* is thus another strategy for removing any mention of demiurgic Nature from the Arabic *Book on the Causes*.

The suppression of demiurgic Nature may either indicate that the Christian translators of Galen did not want to refer to a demiurgic principle other than God or that they considered it a necessary change given their mainly Muslim audience and, in particular, the Muslim patrons and sponsors of the various translations. The intellectual profile of the translators and their readers that emerges from these findings is that they did not have any issues with natural powers said to govern the body or with bodily mixtures acting according to the natural qualities of the elements constituting these mixtures.[60] Yet they did not agree with nature as

---

58   See, for example, May, the modern English translator of Galen's *On the Usefulness of the Parts* into English, who remarks (ibid., 11): »It is significant that whereas Galen usually calls this wise, creative agency »Nature« (ἡ φύσις, a feminine noun and concept), he frequently also refers to it, with nothing to indicate any change in his thinking, as the »Creator« (ὁ δημιουργός, a masculine). I have been content to preserve this idiosyncrasy in translation in spite of the strangeness to our English ears of referring to one and the same person sometimes as »he« and sometimes as »she«.« For a similar assessment, see Kovačić, *Begriff der Physis,* 210: »In Galens Texten, insbesondere in seiner Schrift *De usu partium*, wird die Natur als ein Agens mit kreativer Rolle außerhalb des lebendigen Organismus personifiziert. Sie hält den Organismus als immanente Physis (φύσις) zusammen und kontrolliert, formt und gestaltet ihn schon bei seinem Beginn. ... Dasselbe weise, kreative – also »Natur« (ΦΥΣΙΣ) genannte – Agens nennt Gallen [sic] oft, ohne eine Sinnänderung, »Demiurg« (δημιουργός).«; and Schiefsky, Galen's teleology, 371: »In *De usu partium* and other works, Galen describes the construction of the human body as the result of the effort of a supremely intelligent and powerful divine Craftsman or Demiurge, who exerts foresight or providence (*pronoia*) on behalf of living things. Galen also frequently attributes the construction of the body to a personified nature or *physis*, which is said to be ›craftsmanlike‹ (*technikē*), i.e. capable of art or craft (*technē*).«

59   In any case, it attests to the remarkable consistency with which demiurgic Nature was suppressed in the Galen translations done by Ḥunayn and his circle and on which phenomenon I am currently preparing an extensive study. On some preliminary results, see Wakelnig, Medical knowledge.

60   It would have been difficult to translate Galen, and especially *On Diseases and Symptoms,* replacing these Galenic notions of nature as they are fundamental to his medical theory.

a guiding principle on a higher level, either as the Neoplatonic universal nature or as a divine agent. However, much more research needs to be done before precise conclusions can be drawn. The study of the translations of all the occurrences of *physis* in the *Book on the Causes* presented here is a first step in this direction.

Appendix

If not stated otherwise, the Arabic transcription is based on the readings of the Paris manuscript (ب). Interesting deviating readings of the Princeton manuscript (بر) are indicated in square brackets. The orthography of *hamza* is adapted to modern standards.

I. PHYSIS → ṬABĪ̆A
I. A. **al-ṭabī̆a** *as acting*

Text (1-2)
Paris 28b6-12, Princeton 17b21-26

<div dir="rtl">

فنقول إنّ جميع ما هذا سبيله من الأمراض يحدث عند ما تدفع الطبيعة في كلّ وقت الفضل من أشرف الأعضاء وأنفسها إلى ما هو دونهم في الشرف والنفاسة وقد قال ذلك أيضاً غيري خلق كثير ممن تقدمني إلا أنّهم لم يذكروا كيف تدفع الطبيعة هذا الفضل وعلى أيّ وجه تفعل ذلك. فإنّا إن قلنا قولاً مطلقاً بأنّ الطبيعة تدفع كلّما لا ينتفع به عن الأعضاء الشريفة النفيسة إلى الأعضاء التي ليست بشريفة ولا نفيسة كنا قد جعلنا الطبيعة [للطبيعة بر] فكرة وعقلاً ونحن نجد عياناً أنّ البحرانات الجيدة إنّما تكون في الأمراض بدفع الطبيعة.

</div>

We say that all diseases whose course is like this occur when nature expels, at all times, the superfluity from the nobler and more precious body parts to that which is below them in nobility and preciousness. Among those who have preceded me, many people other than me have also already said that, except that they have not mentioned how nature expels this superfluity and in what way (nature) does that. So, if we say in a general way that nature expels whatever is not useful from the noble and precious body parts to the parts that are neither noble nor precious, we are attributing thought and intellect to nature. We clearly find that the good crises in diseases happen through expulsion by nature.

ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα νοσήματα τῆς φύσεως ἀποτιθεμένης ἑκάστοτε τὸ περιττὸν εἰς ἀκυρώτερα μόρια γίγνεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται πολλοῖς· ὅστις δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀποθέσεως, οὐκ ἔτ' εἴρηται· λογισμὸν γάρ τινα καὶ νοῦν τῇ φύσει δώσομεν, ἐὰν ἁπλῶς αὐτὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι φῶμεν ἐκ κυρίων μορίων εἰς ἄκυρα πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπάρχον μὴ χρηστόν. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοσήμασιν αἱ ἀγαθαὶ κρίσεις ὑπό τινος τοιαύτης γίγνονται δυνάμεως ἐναργῶς φαίνεται· (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 23.9-17)

For all such diseases occur on each occasion when nature sets aside what is superfluous to less important parts. This too has certainly been said before by many others, whereas what the manner of the setting aside is, has not yet been spoken of. We shall be attributing a certain reasoning power and purpose to Nature,[61] if we say that it simply sets aside anything that is not useful from the important to the unimportant parts. But that in diseases the beneficial crises come about through some such capacity is clearly seen. (trans. Johnston, 170)

---

61   Here (170, n. 48) Johnston adds a note to his English translation, remarking that »In this context, and in what follows, I have taken ›nature‹ to be personified.« Unfortunately he provides no further explanation except for a not very helpful reference to Brock's footnote 4, pp. 12-13 in his *De facultatibus naturalibus*, where it says: »As already indicated, there is no exact English equivalent for the Greek term *physis*, which is a principle immanent in the animal itself, whereas our term »Nature« suggests something more transcendent; we are forced often, however, to employ it in default of a better word«. In any case, Johnston's understanding differs from that of the Arabic translator who suppresses the term »nature« when he interprets it as personified, demiurgic Nature.

Text (3)
Paris 61a19-20

لأنّ الطبيعة فيهنّ مشتاقة لقبول المنى لشدّة الشهوة وباللذة

For nature in [this, i.e. the uterus] longs for the reception of sperm due to the intensity of desire and by means of pleasure.

Princeton 40b10-11

لأنّ للطبيعة قوّة تدفع المنى نفسه وقبول المنى بشدة الشهوة وباللذة

For nature has a power, which expels the sperm itself, and a reception of the sperm with intense desire and pleasure.

συνῆψε γὰρ ἡ φύσις ὑπερέχουσαν ἐπιθυμίαν τε ἅμα καὶ ἡδονὴν τῇ τε προέσει καὶ τῇ συλλήψει τοῦ σπέρματος. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 127.3-4)

For Nature has joined powerful desire and pleasure at the same time to the emission and the gathering of the sperm. (trans. Johnston, 225)

Text (4)
Paris 52b22-28, Princeton 53b17-22

وأمّا في السعال فلأنّ الرئة لا تقدر أن تتحرّك مثل هذه الحركة فتدفع بها عن نفسها الشيء المؤذي لها احتالت الطبيعةُ باباً من أبواب المعونة في ذلك حكيماً جداً وذلك أنّه لمّا كان الهواء الذي يجتذب من خارج إنّما يدخل في [إلى بر] أقسام قصبة [+ الحلق و بر] الرئة وكانت هذه الأقسام غضروفيّة صلبة لا يمكنها [+ للذي في طبقها بر] أن ينقبض على الشيء المحتقن فيها لطفت الطبيعة في هذا [+ الشيء بر] الذي احتالته من خروج الهواء بقوّة وشدّة وهو الذي يسميه سعالاً ومن هذا الجنس أيضاً العطاس فإنّ العطسة إنّما لطفت فيها الطبيعةُ لتدفع بها ما يجتمع من الفضول في المنخرين

As far as coughing is concerned, since the lungs are not able to move like this and to expel the thing harming them from themselves in this way, nature has exercised one very wise sort of help with regard to that. That is, when the air, which is attracted from outside, enters into the parts of the lung's tube and when these parts are cartilaginous, hard and cannot contract upon the thing which is collected in them, nature has acted kindly by granting this help that (nature) has exercised by an expulsion of air through power and intensity. It is that which is called a cough. To this kind sneezing belongs as well. For nature has acted kindly by granting the sneeze, so that by it (nature) expels the waste that has been assembled in the nostrils, …

… κατὰ δὲ τὰς βῆχας ἑτέρως. οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ τῷ πνεύμονι τοιαύτην κινηθέντι κίνησιν ἀπώσασθαι τὸ λυποῦν, ἐξευρούσης τῆς φύσεως ἐπικουρίαν τινὰ περιττῶς σοφήν. ἄτε γὰρ εἰς τὰς τραχείας ἀρτηρίας εἰσπνεομένου τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἀέρος, αἳ δὴ χονδρώδεις τέ εἰσι καὶ σκληραὶ καὶ συστέλλεσθαι περὶ τὸ ἐνυπάρχον αὐταῖς ἀδύνατοι, σφοδράν τινα τοιαύτην ἐπετεχνήσατο τοῦ πνεύματος ἔξω φοράν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι βῆχα. τούτου τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πταρμὸς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ διώσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς ῥῖνας, … (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 168.16-169.7)

... although with coughing it is otherwise. Because it is not possible for the lung to expel the distressing agent by initiating such a movement, Nature has invented a certain extraordinarily ingenious aid. Seeing that the external air is inhaled into the bronchial tubes, which are in fact cartilaginous and hard and cannot be contracted around what is contained in them, [Nature] has contrived a certain violent passage of the breath to the outside, which they call a cough. Sneezing is also of this class, by which it pushes out things in the nostrils, ... (trans. Johnston, 248)

Text (5)
Paris 53a24-28, Princeton 54a17-20

فأمّا إذا كان في أقسام الرئة جسم من الأجسام فلأنّ هذه الأقسام غضروفية صلبة لا تقدر لهذا [بهذا بر] السبب أن تنقبض على [عن بر] الشيء المحتقن [المختص بر] فيها احتاجت [احاجت بر] الطبيعة إلى أن تخرج الهواء إخراجاً قوّياً فتحدث لذلك [بذلك السبب بر] السعال وذلك يكون في الآلات التي بها تفعل الطبيعة ما تفعله من إخراج التنفس إخراجاً عظيماً قوياً وهو الإخراج الذي نسميه نفخة

As for when there is some kind of body in the parts of the lungs, then, because these parts are cartilaginous, hard and are therefore not able to contract upon the thing which has collected in them, nature stands in need to expel the air forcefully. So it therefore brings forth a cough. That takes place in the instruments by which nature vigorously and forcefully enacts the expulsion of respiration. It is the expulsion that we call breath.

ἐπειδάν τι κατὰ τὰς τραχείας ἀρτηρίας περιέχηται σῶμα, χονδρώδεις καὶ σκληρὰς οὔσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδυνατούσας περιστέλλεσθαι τῷ περιεχομένῳ, σφοδρὰν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔξω φορὰν ἡ φύσις ἐργάζεται βῆχα κινοῦσα. γίγνεται δ' αὐτὴ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργάνων, δι' ὧν ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς μεγάλας τε ἅμα καὶ σφοδρὰς ἐκπνοὰς, ἃς ἐκφυσήσεις ὀνομάζομεν, ... (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 171.4-10)

Whenever some body is contained in the bronchial tubes, which are cartilaginous and hard and because of this are unable to contract themselves around what is contained [in them], Nature brings about a violent impulse of the breath to the exterior, setting in motion a cough. This occurs through those same organs by which it effects the great and violent exhalations which we call ›emissions of breath‹, ... (trans. Johnston, 249)

Text (6)
Paris 54b23-24, Princeton 55b2

والطبيعة تبعث الحيوان على مثل هذه الحركة عند ما تريد أن تحتال في تحليل الفضول البخاريّة

Nature incites the animal to such a movement when (nature) wants to exercise skill in the dissolution of vaporous residues.

ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην κίνησιν ἡ φύσις ἐξορμᾷ τὰ ζῷα διαπνοὴν τοῖς ἀτμώδεσι περιττώμασι μηχανωμένη. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 178.2-4)

But Nature incites animals to such a movement, contriving an outlet for the vaporous superfluities. (trans. Johnston, 252)

Text (7)
Paris 55b26-28, Princeton 56a20-21

ومنها أيضاً أنّ من به الحمى المحرقة إذا حدث به النافض انقضت حماه لأنّ المرّة التي كانت محتقنة في العروق تدفعها الطبيعةُ
على جهة البحران وتنفذها في العضل واللحم حتى تصير بها إلى الجلد

Among [the fevers] it also happens that, if a shivering fit occurs in him who has burning fever, his fever disappears.[62] For nature expels the bile, which has collected in the veins, in the manner of a crisis and causes (the bile) to pierce the muscles and the flesh until it has led (the bile) to the skin.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ καύσου ἐχομένῳ ῥίγεος ἐπιγενομένου λύσις, Ἱπποκράτης φησὶ, τῷ τὴν τέως ἐν ταῖς φλεψὶν ἀλωμένην χολὴν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπωθεῖσθαι κριτικῶς ἐπὶ τὸ δέρμα διὰ τῶν σαρκῶν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 182.14-17)

But also, in someone having a bilious remittent fever (*kausos*), there is lysis when a rigor supervenes, Hippocrates says, because the bile, which until then was caught up in the veins, is preferentially driven out by Nature through the flesh to the skin. (trans. Johnston, 255)

Text (8)
Paris 57b14-16, Princeton 57b13-15

وإنّما قال هذا لأنّ الطبيعة في مثل هذا النافض تتحرّك لدفع الشيء المؤذي فإذا هي قُهرت وهُزمت حارت وطفئت فبهذا السبب
صار هذا العارض قتّالا

He says this because in such a shivering fit nature moves to expel the harmful thing. Then, when it is overcome and defeated, it perishes and expires. For this reason, this occurrence becomes fatal.

ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ῥίγεσιν ὥρμησε μὲν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τὸ διώσασθαι τὰ λυποῦντα, νικηθεῖσα δὲ καταπίπτει καὶ κατασβέννυται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὀλέθριον τὸ σύμπτωμα. (*Caus. Symp*. II, K VII, 190.8-11)

For in such rigors, Nature sets in motion distressing things for the purpose of expulsion but, having been overcome, it collapses and is quenched, and because of this the symptom is fatal. (trans. Johnston, 258)

---

62 The Arabic version omits the mention of Hippocrates and renders his aphorism slightly differently than in its existing Arabic translation by Ḥunayn, see Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, ed. Tytler 37, IV.57:

إذا كانت بإنسان حمى محرقة فعرضت له نافض انحلّت بها حماه.

Text (9)
Paris 77a27-b3, Princeton 70a12-16

لأنّ هذا يوجب إجاباً ظاهراً أن تكون الطبيعة هي السبب في حدوث العلّة وكان الأصلح لهم فيما أحسب أن يضيفوا [يضيفون بر]
السبب في حدوث العلّة إلى الغذاء مع أنّه ليس يجب أيضاً بسبب أن تشبّه [تشبّه ب: تشبيه بر] العضو المغتذي للغذاء بطبيعته
فعل له وتشبّه [وتشبيه بر] الغذاء وتغيّره انفعال منه ان يقال بهذا السبب إنّه لا يمكن أن يكون المنفعل أيضاً في الفاعل بعض
الشيء ولو كان في غاية القلّة والصغر

For this makes it clearly necessary that nature is the cause for the occurrence of the dis-
ease, yet with regard to what I consider, it would be most suitable for them to attribute the
cause for the occurrence of the disease to the nutriment. Since the body part's assimilation
of the nutriment to its own nature is its action and the assimilation and change of nutriment
are an affection caused by it, it is still not necessary to say that because of that it is impossible
that the affected may also produce something in the agent, even if it is of utmost insignifi-
cance and smallness.

γενήσεται γὰρ οὕτω γε τοῦ πάθους ἡ φύσις αἰτία, πολὺ δ' ἦν ἄμεινον, οἶμαι, τὴν τροφὴν
αἰτιᾶσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὁμοιοῦν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τροφὴν ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ τρεφομένου, τὸ δ'
ὁμοιοῦσθαί τε καὶ μεταβάλλεσθαι πάθος τῆς τροφῆς, διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τῷ πάσχοντι
περὶ τὸ ποιοῦν ἀντιδρᾶσαί τι, κἂν ᾖ σμικρότατον. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII 228.15-229.3)

For in this way at least, nature will become the cause of the affection (*pathos*), whereas it
were far better, I think, to attribute the cause to the nutriment. Although, certainly, the ac-
tion of what is nourished is to make the nutriment like itself, whereas the affection (pathos)
of the nutriment is to be assimilated and changed, it is not impossible because of this for
what is acted upon to act against what affects it, even if only very slightly. (trans. Johnston,
280-281)

Text (10)
Paris 78b16-17, Princeton 71a21-22

وقد يكون ذلك أيضاً مراراً كثيرة من قبل الطبيعة عندما تريد أن تدفع وتنفض عنها الأشياء المؤذية لها

That is also often due to nature when it wants to expel and shake off[63] from it things which
are harmful to it.

ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν ἐκκρίνουσαν τὰ λυποῦντα. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII,
234.11-12)

... and sometimes also as a result of Nature itself expelling distressing things. (trans. John-
ston, 283)

---

63   Here the translator uses a hendiadys.

Text (11)
Paris 80b5-9, Princeton 72b27-73a3

<div dir="rtl">

فنقول إن مجيء [يجيء بر] الفضول الى المعدة والبطن من فوق قد تكون مراراً كثيرة عندما تدفع الطبيعةُ الفضل لقوّتها واستطاعتها [واستطهارها ب: ـ بر] واستطهارها ب: ـ بر] عليه وربّما كان ذلك [ـ بر] بسبب ضعف الطبيعة إذا هي لم تقدر أن تحمل الشيء الذي ينتفع به فضلاً عن غيره والطبيعة تدفع الفضل في البخرانات وكثيراً ما تفعل ذلك أيضاً في وقت الصحّة بمنزلة ما تعرض للنساء في كلّ شهر

</div>

We said that the arriving of the residues towards the stomach and the belly from above often happens when nature pushes the residue with its power and its capacity away from it. Sometimes that is due to nature's weakness, when it is not able to carry the thing that is useful, let alone something else. Nature expels the residue in crises and often it also does that in times of health, e.g. what befalls women every month.

φέρεται τοίνυν ἄνωθεν εἰς τὴν γαστέρα πολλάκις μὲν εὐρωστίᾳ τῆς φύσεως ἐκκρινούσης τὸ περιττὸν, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε ὑπ᾽ ἀρρωστίας οὐδὲ τὸ χρηστὸν βαστάζειν δυναμένης. ἐκκρίνεται μὲν οὖν τὸ περιττὸν ἔν τε ταῖς κρίσεσι καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑγείας ἐνίοτε χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ μηνί. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 243.3-8)

Accordingly, the superfluity is often carried from above the stomach by the strength of the natural separation, although sometimes owing to weakness it is not even able to bear what is useful. The superfluity is then separated in crises and sometimes in a time of health, as it is, of course, in women each month. (trans. Johnston, 288)

Text (12)
Paris 85b3-4, Princeton 78a18-19

<div dir="rtl">

وطبيعة البدن أيضاً على ما وصفت وربّما اعانت على تولّد الأعراض وربّما خالفت ومنعت من كونها

</div>

According to what I have described, the nature of the body also sometimes helps the generation of symptoms and sometimes hinders their coming to be.

καὶ ἡ φύσις δὲ, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συντελεῖ τε καὶ ἀντιπράττει τῇ γενέσει τῶν συμπτωμάτων. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 270.19-271.2)

Also the nature, as has been said, of the person acts with or acts against the generation of symptoms. (trans. Johnston, 301)

I. B. al-ṭabīʿa *as possessor*

Text (13)
Paris 36b7-9, Princeton 25b6-7

فنقول إنّه ينبغي لنا أن نقسّم ضروب [بر:ضرب] الفعل إلى جنسين أوّلين إذ كانت الأصناف الأول من أصناف الأفعال اثنين وذلك أنّ منها أفعال للنفس ومنها أفعال للطبيعة

We say that we must divide the sorts of activity into two primary genera, since the primary kinds of the kinds of activities are two. For to them belong activities of the soul and activities of nature.

τμητέον δὴ ταύτην εἰς δύο τὰ πρῶτα γένη, διότι καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῶν δύο εἰσὶν αἱ πρῶται διαφοραί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ψυχῆς, αἱ δὲ φύσεώς εἰσι. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 55.8-11)

This [i.e. the activity] one must now divide into two primary classes because the primary differentiae of the activities themselves are also two in number. They are those of the soul and those of nature. (trans. Johnston, 188, slightly adapted)

Text (14)
Paris 38b18, Princeton 27a19-20

وذلك أنّ الأعضاء التي هي آلات للطبيعة قد [فقط بر] يعرض فيها هذه الثمانية الأعراض فقط

That is to say that the body parts which are instruments for nature are only befallen by these eight symptoms ...

ὅσα μὲν γὰρ τῆς φύσεως μόνης ἐστὶν ὄργανα, τοῖς ὀκτὼ συμπτώμασιν ἀλώσεται μόνοις· (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 64.1-2)

For those that are of the physical alone will be afflicted with eight symptoms only, ... (trans. Johnston, 193)

Text (15)
Paris 43b1-2, Princeton 31a15-16

إذ كان كلّ واحد منها أحرى وأولى بأن يكون عملاً من أعمال الطبيعة وفعلاً من أفعالها من أن يكون مضرّةً

Since each of these [things in whose occurrence and generation there is usefulness for the body] is more appropriate and better suited for being one of the works of nature and one of its activities[64] rather than being a damage.

---

64 It is puzzling that the Arabic translator, who had just before, see text (96), distinguished between *ergon* and *energeia* by rendering them with two separate terms, namely *ʿamal* and *fiʿl*, now applied the hendiadys *ʿamal wa-fiʿl* to render *ergon* alone.

ἔργον γὰρ φύσεως ἕκαστον αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βλάβη τις ὑπάρχει. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 82.16-17)

For each of these [i.e. things occurring for the purpose of benefit – E. W.] is an action of nature rather than an injury. (trans. Johnston, 201)

Text (16-18)
Paris 66a6-13, Princeton 49b25-50a2

وأمّا التشنّج والرعدة والاختلاج والنافض والقشعريرة والفواق والسعال والجشاء [+ والنافض ب] والعطاس والتمطي والتثاؤب
وتقصقص الأسنان فلجميعها [فجميعها بر] جنس عامّ يشتمل عليها وهو الحركة الرديّة ويخالف بعضها بعضاً في خصال أوّلها
وأوكدها أنّ منها ما هي أفعال للطبيعة تفعلها عندما تضطرّها وتستكرهها بعض الأسباب [الأسنان بر] المرضيّة إلى أن تتحرك
ومنها ما يلحق الأمراض وليس للطبيعة في حدوتها شيء من المعونة ومنها ما يكون منهما جميعاً إذا إتّما فعلا معاً أعني المرض
والطبيعة

As for spasm, tremor, convulsion, shivering fit, shiver, hiccup, coughing, belching, sneezing, stretching, yawning and chattering of teeth, they all have a common genus which contains them, namely defective movement. They differ from one another in [their] properties. The first and most certain of [their differing properties] is that among [these movements] there are actions which belong to nature and which (nature) enacts when some causes of disease force it and compel it to move, and among them there is what adheres to diseases and nature has, with regard to its occurrence, no sort of help. To them belong that which is caused by both of them together, when they act together, I mean disease and nature.

Σπασμὸς δὲ καὶ τρόμος, καὶ παλμὸς, καὶ ῥῖγος, καὶ φρίκη, καὶ λυγμὸς, καὶ βῆχες, ἐρυγαί τε καὶ πταρμοὶ, καὶ σκορδινισμοὶ, καὶ χάσμαι, καὶ τρισμοὶ, κοινὸν μὲν ἅπαντα γένος ἔχει κίνησιν πλημμελῆ· διενήνοχε δ' ἀλλήλων ἑνὶ μὲν καὶ πρώτῳ μάλιστα τῷ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔργα φύσεως εἶναι βιαίως ἀναγκαζομένης κινεῖσθαι πρός τινος αἰτίου νοσεροῦ, τὰ δὲ νοσώδεσιν ἕπεσθαι διαθέσεσιν, οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν συμπραττούσης φύσεως· ἔνια δὲ ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐνεργούντων γίγνεσθαι, τοῦ τε νοσήματος ἅμα καὶ φύσεως ... (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 147.1-148.1)

Spasm (*spasmos*) and tremor (*tromos*), palpitation (*palmos*), rigor (*rigos*), shivering (*phrike*), hiccup (*lygmos*), coughing (*bex*), belching (*eruge*), sneezing (*ptarmos*), stretching (*skordinismos*), yawning (*chasme*) and rasping (*trusmos*) all have a common class, that of disordered movement. They do, however, also differ among themselves, especially in one primary way, in that some of them are actions of a nature compelled to move violently by a disease-making cause, whilst others [of the class of disordered movement] follow disease conditions, nature contributing nothing to their genesis. Some, however, occur in which both are operative, that is disease and nature simultaneously. (trans. Johnston, 238)

Text (19)
Paris 66a12-14, Princeton 50a2-3

<div dir="rtl">

وإذا أنا قلت لك في هذا الكلام طبيعة فإفهم عني [عليّ بر] أنّ هذا الاسم [اسم بر] أصرفه على كلّ قوّة تُدبّر البدن إن كانت ممّا فعله [تفعل ب] بإرادتنا وإن كانت تفعل بلا إرادتنا

</div>

When I say to you »nature« in this discourse, then do understand that I employ this term to mean every power which governs the body, whether what it enacts is due to our will or whether it is acting without our will.

ἀκούειν δὲ ἀξιῶ σε τοῦ τῆς φύσεως ὀνόματος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε κατὰ πάσης δυνάμεως τῆς διοικούσης τὸ ζῷον, εἴτε κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν προαίρεσιν, εἴτε καὶ χωρὶς ταύτης. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 148.2-4)

I would expect you to understand the term »nature« in the following discussion as relating to every power governing an animal, whether in accordance with our choosing, or apart from this. (trans. Johnston, 238, slightly adapted)

Text (20)
Paris 66b2-3, Princeton 50a13-14

<div dir="rtl">

فما دام البدن يجري مجرى الطبيعة [طبيعته بر] فليس من حركات قوّة من هذه القوى شيء عرضٌ

</div>

As long as the body proceeds in the course of nature, nothing among the movements of any of these powers is a symptom.

ἐπειδὰν μὲν νόμῳ φύσεως διοικῆται τὸ ζῷον, οὐδεμία κίνησις οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῶν ἐστι σύμπτωμα· (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 149.5-7)

When an animal is governed by the law of nature, no movement of any one of these is a symptom. (trans. Johnston, 239)

Text (21-22)
Paris 53a3-6, Princeton 53b25-27

<div dir="rtl">

فأمّا الآن فلنأخذ [فانا ناخذ بر] في الشيء الذي ينتفع به في هذا الباب الحاضر وهو أن ما من الحركات على مثل هذه الحال فهي أفعال للطبيعة إلّا أنّها تدخل في عداد الأعراض الخارجة عن الطبيعة لمكان الأسباب التي تضطرّ الطبيعة إلى أن تتحرّك مثل هذه الحركة

</div>

As for now, let us begin the matter which is helpful in this present discussion, and that is that the movements according to this condition are actions belonging to nature, except that they enter into the number of the symptoms outside nature because of the reasons which force nature to move in such a way.

τὸ δ’ εἰς τὰ προκείμενα χρήσιμον ἤδη λαμβάνωμεν, ὡς αἱ τοιαῦται κινήσεις ἔργα μὲν φύσεως ὑπάρχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρὰ φύσιν ἀριθμοῦνται συμπτώμασι, διὰ τὰς ἀναγκαζούσας οὕτω κινεῖσθαι τὴν φύσιν αἰτίας. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 169.12-15)

Let us accept for now what is useful to the matters put forward – that such movements are actions of Nature, although numbered among the symptoms contrary to nature because they are causes compelling Nature to move in this way. (trans. Johnston, 248)

Text (23)
Paris 53a13-15, Princeton 54a6-8

وأمّا في المعدة فعارض إلقىء ظاهر معروف وكثير من الناس يقول في هذه أيضاً إنّها ليست بأفعال للطبيعة [الطبيعة بر] بل إنّما هي أعراض فقط

As with regard to what concerns the stomach, the occurrence of vomiting is clear and known, but many people also say about these (occurrences) that they are not actions belonging to nature, but only symptoms.

Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῆς γαστρὸς ἐναργέστερον ἤδη τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἐμέτους ἐστὶ, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἔργον φύσεως, ἀλλὰ συμπτώματα εἶναί φασιν· (*Caus. Symp*. II, K VII, 170.8-10)

At least in the case of the stomach, what relates to vomiting is now more clear, yet many also say these are not actions of nature but symptoms. (trans. Johnston, 249, slightly changed)

Text (24)
Paris 53a15-19, Princeton 54a12-13

وفي الأعراض سببٌ خارج عن الطبيعة هو المحرّك للطبيعة

In symptoms, a cause outside nature is the mover of nature.

... τῶν συμπτωμάτων, ἐν οἷς αἴτιόν τι παρὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνεργείας ἐξορμᾷ τὴν φύσιν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 170.10-16)

... symptoms in which some cause contrary to nature incites nature to such functions. (trans. Johnston, 249, slightly changed)

Text (25)
Paris 56a20-21, Princeton 56b10-11

بل قد تدفع أيضاً عن هذه فضولها في كلّ يوم دفعاً بيناً بلا أذى وبلا [ولا بر] مشقّة بالتحليل الذي لا يدركه الحسّ ما دام البدن يجري على مجرى طبيعته

Yet (this expulsive power) also expels from these (organs) their residues every day in a plain expulsion without pain and without hardship through dissolution, that the senses do not perceive, as long as the body proceeds according to the course of its nature.

ἀλλὰ κἀκ τούτων ὀσημέραι πᾶν ἀποκρίνει τὸ περιττὸν ἀλύπως τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄδηλον αἰσθήσει διαπνοὴν, ὅταν γε νόμῳ φύσεως διοικῆται τὸ ζῶον. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 184.12-15)

Rather, every day it also separates from these things the entire excess without disturbance and during a transpiration imperceptible to sense – whenever, that is, the animal is governed by the law of nature. (trans. Johnston, 255-256)

Text (26)
Paris 77b3-5, Princeton 70a16-18

لأنا قد بيّنا نحن في الموضع الذي ذكرنا فيه هذه الأشياء خلاف هذا ولم نبيّن ذلك نحن فقط بل قد بيّنه أيضاً كثير من الفلاسفة الذين تقدّموا ممن كان [تقدّموا ممن كان ب: كانوا بر] حاذقاً [حاذقاً بر] بتفسير [بتغيير ب] أفعال الطبيعة كلّها وقبولها لفعل غيرها

We have already made clear a difference to that in the passage in which we have mentioned these things. Not only we have made that clear, but also many of the preceding philosophers, who were proficient in interpreting all the actions of nature and its reception of the action of others, had already made it clear.

αὐτὸ γὰρ δήπου ἐναντιώτατον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τούτων λογισμοῖς ἐπεδείξαμεν οὐχ ἡμεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅσοι δεινότατοι τῶν ὅλων τῆς φύσεως ἐνεργειῶν τε καὶ παθῶν ἐξηγηταὶ γεγόνασι. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 229.3-6)

For surely we have shown quite the opposite of this in the discussions of these matters, and not only us, but also the most able of the philosophers who have been interpreters of all the functions and affections (*pathos*) of nature. (trans. Johnston, 281)

Text (27)
Paris 80a23-26, Princeton 72b18-20

وذلك أنّ نوع هذا الصوت نفسه يدلّ على هذين جميعاً أعني أنّه بسبب أن حدوثه إنّما هو عن حركة الطبيعة صار يدلّ على اندفاع الفضل وبسبب أنّه مع قرقرة صار يدلّ على أن الفضل المندفع رطب

That is that the species of this sound itself indicates these two together, I mean that because its production is through the motion of nature it indicates the discharge of the superfluity, and because of its being with its rumble it indicates that the expelled superfluity is moist.

ἡ γὰρ ἰδέα ψόφου ταῦτ' ἄμφω προμηνύει, διότι μὲν ἐπὶ κινουμένῃ γίγνεται τῇ φύσει, τὴν ἔκκρισιν ἐπαγγελλομένη· ὅτι δὲ καὶ μετὰ βορβορυγμοῦ, τὴν ὑγράν· (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 242.1-5)

For the kind of sound indicates both these things in advance, signifying separation because it occurs in the case of a natural movement, but moisture in that it occurs along with *borborygmos*. (trans. Johnston, 287)

I. C. ṭabīʿat *of someone or something*

Text (28)
Paris 16b8-10, Princeton 5a2-4

<div dir="rtl">

وقد يحدث في البدن على ذلك المثال بعينه أمراض رطبة ويابسة عندما يتغيّر جملة طبيعة الأجرام البسيطة إلى الرطوبة أو إلى اليبس من غير أن ينصبّ إليها من غيرها شيء من الموادّ

</div>

In the body there occur humid and dry diseases according to that very example when the entirety of the nature of the simple bodies is changed towards humidity or towards dryness without any material thing flowing towards them.

κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τά θ' ὑγρὰ καὶ ξηρὰ νοσήματα γενήσεται, τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ἀλλοιουμένης τῶν σωμάτων, οὐκ ἔξωθεν οὐσίαν τινὰ εἰς ἑαυτὰ δεχομένων. (*Diff. Morb.*, K VI, 852.12-15)

In the same way, moist and dry diseases will arise when there is a change in the entire nature of the bodies but they receive no external substance into themselves. (trans. Johnston, 143)

Text (29)
Paris, 24b13-14, Princeton 14b12-14

<div dir="rtl">

متى لم يكن للحركة من المقدار والقوّة ما يغيّر طبيعة المفاصل والعضل لم يحدث لها أعياء

</div>

… when the movement does not have the extent and the power to change the nature of the joints and muscles, no fatigue is produced for them.

… ὡς εἰ μὴ πλείων εἴη καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα τῆς τῶν ἄρθρων τε καὶ μυῶν φύσεως, οὐκ ἄν ποτε κοπώσειεν αὐτὰ, … (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 7.3-4)

… that if the movement were not greater or stronger than the natural constitution of the joints and muscles, these would not then be fatigued at all. (trans. Johnston, 162)

Text (30)
Paris, 34b15-16, Princeton 24a9-10

<div dir="rtl">

وأمّا الشيء الذي يدخل جزء من طبيعته في الشيء الذي يكون فيقال انه يكون سبب كونه [بكونه بر]

</div>

As for the thing, a part of whose nature enters into a thing which is generated, it is called a cause of its generation.

τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως εἰσφερόμενόν τινα τῷ γινομένῳ μοῖραν τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον αὐτοῦ λέγεται. (*Symp. Diff*. K VII, 47.14-16)

That which from its own nature contributes some part of the genesis [of something] by its occurrence is called its cause. (trans. Johnston, 185)

Text (31)
Paris, 39a7, Princeton 27b6-7

لكن يجيد نظره ويتثبت في نفس [بعض بر] طبائع الأمور

But to ameliorate his inspection and to verify the very natures of the matters …

ἀλλ› εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέποντα τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φύσιν. (*Symp. Diff.* K VII, 65.6)

… but to focus instead on the actual nature of the matters. (trans. Johnston, 193)

Text (32)
Paris 44b8, Princeton 32b20

… متى استحال وتغيّر عن طبيعته …

… when it is transformed and changed from its nature ….

τὸ μὲν οὖν τρῆμα κατὰ τέσσαρας τρόπους ὑπαλλάττεται τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως, … (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 88.3-4)

The aperture, then, changes its nature in four ways: … (trans. Johnston, 207)

Text (33)
Paris 68a17-18, Princeton 39a6

من قبل أنّه [إنّما بر] ضدٌّ لجوهر البصر صار تجمعه جمعاً عنيفاً مستكرهاً بأكثر يحتاج إليه للرجوع إلى طبيعته

Due to being opposite to the substance of vision its coming together becomes violent and forceful more than is necessary for the return to its nature

ἐναντίον γὰρ ὑπάρχον τῇ τῆς ὄψεως οὐσίᾳ συνάγει βιαιότερον αὐτὴν, ἢ ὡς εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἐπανάγειν. (*Caus. Symp*. I, K VII, 119.5)

... for being opposite to the substance of vision it draws it together more violently than [allows it to] return to its nature. (trans. Johnston, 222)

Text (34)
Paris, 60a23-24, Princeton 39b26-27

وقد ذكرنا جواهر هذه الطعوم وطبائعها في المقالة الرابعة من كتابنا في [كتابنا في ب: كتاب بر] قوى الأدوية المفردة

We have already mentioned the substances and natures of these flavours in the fourth section of our book on the powers of simple remedies.

εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεως, (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 123.3)

There has been discussion about [*physis* – not translated by Johnston, E. W.] these things in the fourth [book] on the capacity of simple remedies, ... (trans. Johnston, 223, slightly adapted)

Text (35)
Princeton 64b12, Princeton 43a19

وكلّما كان الطعام في طبيعته[65] [طبعه بر] أرطب كان نومه أكثر

The more food is in its nature humid, the more sleep (it gives)

... καὶ ὅσῳ περ ἂν ὑγροτέρα τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑπνοῦσιν· (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 141.12)

... and the more this should be moist in nature the more they sleep ... (trans. Johnston, 233)

Text (36)
Paris 69b23-24, Princeton 52a13

وهذه الأعضاء [+ هي الأعضاء بر] التي هي في طبيعتها [طبعها بر] لينة لين يمكنها معه [ـ بر] أن تقبل الانبساط والانقباض

Softness enables these body parts which are in their nature soft to receive the extension and contraction together with (softness).

ἔστι δὲ δήπου ταῦτα πάντα μαλακὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς διάστασίν τε καὶ συνίζησιν ὑπομένειν δύνασθαι. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 160.12)

---

65 The reading has been corrected by a later hand and may originally have read *ṭ-b-ʿ-t-h*.

These are, of course, all those that are soft in nature, such as to be able to undergo distention and collapse. (trans. Johnston, 244)

Text (37)
Paris, 70a13-14, Princeton 52a27

ونعمل على أنّه أحد شيئين إمّا خلط من الأخلاط وإمّا شيء من طبيعة الهواء

We aim at its being one of two things, either any mixture or something belonging to the nature of air.

διττὴν δ' εἶναι ταύτην εἰκὸς, ἤτοι χυμὸν ἢ ἀερώδη τινὰ φύσιν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 161.15)

The probability in this case is twofold; either a humour or something of an airy nature. (trans. Johnston, 245)

Text (38-39)
Paris 54b2-4, Princeton 55a11-12

وذلك لأنّ هذا المزاج يصير بمنزلة الطبيعة المكتسبة في كلّ واحد من الأجسام التي يصيبها ذلك وليس من الأجسام شيء
ينبغي أن [ينبغي أن ب: ـ بر] يتأذى بطبيعته لأنّ ...

That is because this mixture occurs as the acquired nature in every one of the bodies which are affected by that. Among the bodies there is nothing which may be harmed by its nature. ...

γίγνεται γὰρ οἷον φύσις τις ἐπίκτητος ἡ τοιαύτη κρᾶσις ἑκάστῳ τῶν οὕτω διατεθέντων. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἀνιᾶται, ... (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 176.5-8)

For such a mixing occurs in each of the parts so disposed as if it were some additional nature. No body is distressed by its own nature. (trans. Johnston, 252)

Text (40)
Paris, 55b10-13, Princeton 56a8-10

ومن غير أن تتمثل في ذلك أيضاً بمثال قد نجد في نفس طبيعة الأمر أنّ السبب إذا كان يتحرّك كان أذاه أكثر من أذى السبب
الساكن وخاصةً إذا كانت حركته في جسم حسّاس على ما وصفنا هاهنا

We may find in the very nature of the matter that when the cause is moved, its pain is more intense than the pain of a stationary cause, and specifically, when its movement is in a perceiving body according to what we have now described.

ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς παραδείγματος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος τῆς φύσεως ἔνεστιν ἐξευρεῖν, ὡς τὸ κινούμενον αἴτιον ἀνιαρότερον τοῦ μένοντος, ὅταν γε διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν σωμάτων ἡ φορὰ γίγνηται, καθάπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπόκειται νῦν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 181.11-15)

But also, apart from the example, it is possible to discover from the nature of the matter itself that a cause which is moving is more distressing than one which is stationary whenever, at least, what is borne occurs through perceiving bodies, as was just now proposed in relation to the eyes. (trans. Johnston, 254)

Text (41)
Paris 56b22, Princeton 57a5-6

فإذا كانت الفضول المؤذية للطبيعة رطبةً ...

If the residues harmful to nature are humid ….

ἐπειδὰν μὲν οὖν ὑγρὰ τὰ λυποῦντα τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχῃ, (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 187.3)

Whenever, then, the distressing things are moist in nature, … (trans. Johnston, 257)

Text (42)
Paris 58a25-26, Princeton 58a16

وانطفاؤها يكون بسبب طبيعة العارض لأنّ كونه وحدوثه إنّما هو بتسلّط [بانبساط بر] البرد

Its extinction is due to the nature of the occurrence, for its generation and happening are through the prevailing of coldness.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ σβέννυσθαι δι' αὐτὴν τοῦ πάθους γίγνεται φύσιν ἐν τῷ καταψύχεσθαι τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντος· (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 193.12-14)

For quenching occurs due to the very nature of the affection (pathos) which has its genesis in the cooling, … (trans. Johnston, 260)

Text (43)
Paris 86a24-25, Princeton 78a11-12

ومن قبل طبيعة البدن ومن قبل سرعة حسّه وإبطاء حسّه

… and due to the nature of the body, and due the velocity and slowness of its sensation …

… καὶ τὴν τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως εὐαισθησίαν τε καὶ δυσαισθησίαν, (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 270.9-10)

… and the strong or reduced sensibility of the nature of the person … (trans. Johnston, 301)

II. *PHYSIS → ṬABʿ*

II. A. ṭabʿuhu *as grammatical subject*

Text (44)
Paris, 51a27-51b1, Princeton 38a25-6

وهذا قول الفاضل فلاطون وأما الفاضل ابقراط وقد [وان بر] كان قبل الفاضل فلاطون فأنّه قال إنّ الألم إنّما يحدث بمن [بأن بر] يتغير طبعه ويفسد

And this is the statement of the noble Plato. As for the noble Hippocrates, who was already before the noble Plato, he said that pain befalls him whose natural-disposition is changed and corrupted.

οὕτω μὲν ὁ Πλάτων· ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκράτης ἔτι παλαιότερος ὤν, τοῖς τὴν φύσιν, ἔφη, διαλλαττομένοισι καὶ διαφθειρομένοισιν αἱ ὀδύναι γίγνονται. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 115.14)

Thus, Plato. Hippocrates, who was still more ancient, said that in those who, with respect to the natural state, are changed and corrupted, pains occur. (trans. Johnston, 220)

Text (45)
Paris 59a13-16, Princeton, 58b26-59a1

لإنّ هذا العارض إنّما يكون فيه حسّ الفضل الذي تحدث عنه الحكّة فقط وإنّما قلنا الفضل الذي تحدث عنه الحكّة لأنّه ليس يمكن أن يُسمى بغير هذا الاسم [الإنسان بر] إلّا أن يشاء إنسان أن يُسميه فضلاً بورقياً أو فضلاً مالحاً أو فضلاً مرّاً فأنّ طبعه [طعمه ب] هو على هذا

For in this symptom there is the sensation of superfluity, from which alone the itching is produced and we say »the superfluity from which itching is produced«. For it is not possible to call it any other than this name unless someone wishes to call it nitrous superfluity or salty superfluity or bitter superfluity, because its nature[66] is accordingly.

αἴσθησις γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συμπτώματι μόνον ἐστὶ περιττωμάτων κνησμωδῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀνομάσαι δυνατὸν ἄλλως αὐτὰ, πλὴν εἰ νιτρώδη καὶ ἀλμυρά τις ἢ πικρὰ προσαγορεύειν ἐθέλοι, τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 197.1-4)

For in this symptom the sensation is of superfluities associated with itching alone, in that one cannot give a name to these in any other way unless one wishes to speak of something alkaline or salty or sharp for such is their nature. (trans. Johnston, 261)

---

66 The Paris manuscript reads »taste«.

II. B. al-ṭabʿa *as an adverb*

Text (46)
Paris 58a24-25, Princeton 58a15-16

<div dir="rtl">

وذلك عندما تكون النفس ضعيفة الطبع والنحيزة فيعرض لها عارض قويّ شديد فتطفئ بغتةً وتختنق

</div>

    That (also occurs) when the soul is weak in its natural-disposition (*ṭabʿ*) and condition (*naḫīza*) and something strong and intense befalls it, then it is suddenly extinguished and strangled.

    ... ὅταν ἀσθενὲς φύσει ψυχάριον ἰσχυρῷ πάθει κατασχεθὲν ἀθρόως κατασβεσθῇ τε καὶ καταπνιγῇ. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 193.10-12)

    Accordingly, some have also died in sudden fears, whenever the soul, weak in nature and possessed suddenly by a strong affection (*pathos*), is quenched and smothered. (trans. Johnston, 260)

Text (47)
Paris 73a1-2, Princeton 66a13-14

<div dir="rtl">

وما كان منه تضرب فيه الحموضة فحدوثه عن الأغذئة الباردة البلغمية الطبع

</div>

    (Of that is also) that in which acidity moves and its occurrence is from the cold foodstuff phlegmatic in natural-disposition

ὀξώδεις δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ψυχροτέροις φύσει καὶ φλεγματωδεστέροις. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 209.1-2)

    ... the acidic [›corruptions‹ occur – E. W.] in the case of those that are colder in nature and more phlegmatic. (trans. Johnston, 270)

II. C. bi-l-ṭabʿi – *adverbial*

Text (48)
Paris 17a25-28, Princeton 5b12-14

وذلك أنّا إذا كنّا قد بيّنا أنّه لم تُجعل واحدة من هذه الخصال بالطبع عبثاً ولا باطلاً بل إنّما جُعلت كلّها ليكون العضو يفعل ما يفعله بجملة أجزائه فعلاً أجود وأوثق

That is, since we have already made clear that none of these properties is by natural-disposition made in vain and futile, but all of them are made so that the body part acts as it acts through the entirety of its parts in a better and safer way, …

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπεδείχθη μηδὲν τούτων εἰκῆ γεγονέναι πρὸς τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ἕνεκα τοῦ βέλτιον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον ἐνεργεῖν τὸ σύμπαν ὄργανον, … (*Morb. Diff.*, K VI, 856.2-5)

For since it has been shown that none of these [parts] has been created by nature without a purpose, but in all cases for the better or safer functioning of the whole organ, … (trans. Johnston, 144-145)

Text (49)
Paris 18b8-9, Princeton 6b11

عندما يحدث في العضو الأملس بالطبع خشونة أو في العضو الخشن بالطبع ملوسة

… when roughness occurs in a by natural-disposition very smooth part or smoothness in a by natural-disposition rough part.

…, τοῦ μὲν φύσει λείου τραχυνθέντος, τοῦ δ' αὖ τραχέος λείου γενομένου. (*Morb. Diff.,* K VI, 861.6-7)

… when what is by nature smooth becomes rough, or again, when what is by nature rough becomes smooth. (trans. Johnston, 147)

Text (50)
Paris 29b13-14, Princeton 18b16-17

وذلك أنّ من كانت ساقاه بالطبع منتصبين على استقامة بأكثر ممّا ينبغي …

That is he whose two legs are by natural-disposition straight according to a straightness which is more than it should be …

οἷς μὲν γὰρ ὀρθότερα τοῦ δέοντός ἐστι φύσει, … (*Caus. Morb.,* K VII, 28.3-4)

In those whose legs are straighter than is natural, … (trans. Johnston, 172)

Text (51)
Paris 46b25-26, Princeton 34b9-10

<div dir="rtl">

وذلك لأنّ الرطوبة الجليديّة تكون في هاؤلاء على غاية الصفاء والنقاء [والبقاء بر] بالطبع

</div>

That is because the ice-like humour is in these by natural-disposition at the utmost clarity and purity

καθαρώτατον μὲν γὰρ τούτοις ἐστὶ φύσει τό τε κρυσταλλοειδὲς ὑγρὸν (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 97.7-9)

For in these the crystalline humour is very pure in nature, ... (trans. Johnston, 211)

Text (52)
Paris 63b9, Princeton 42b2

<div dir="rtl">

إمّا بسبب علّة فيهما [بهما بر] وإمّا بالطبع

</div>

... either because of a cause in these two or by natural-disposition

κατά τι πάθος, ἢ καὶ φύσει (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 136.17)

... either in some affection (*pathos*) or by nature (trans. Johnston, 231)

Text (53)
Paris 54b17-20, Princeton 55a24-27

<div dir="rtl">

وفي جميع هذه الأعراض وأشباهها [واسبابها بر] يخبر [يحس بر] من يعرض له باختلاف في بدنه واضطراب فيتمطّون ويمدون جميع أعضائهم بحركة من حركات الطبيعة وهي حركة شبهة بهذه التي قلنا قبل أنّها جعلت لجميع [بجميع بر] أعضاء البدن بالطبع لتنجوا بها من الأذى وتبقى على سلامتها.

</div>

In all these symptoms and their likes whoever is affected by them tells about discordance and disturbance in his body. So (these affected people) stretch and expand all their body parts by one of nature's movements, which is a movement similar to the one about which we have said before that it has been made for all the body parts by natural-disposition so that by it they may be saved from harm and maintain their health.

ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄπασι συμπτώμασιν ἀνωμαλίας τέ τινος αἰσθάνεσθαί φασι καὶ σκορδινῶνται καὶ πάντα διατείνονται τὰ μόρια κατά τινα φυσικὴν ὀρμὴν, ὁποίαν ἐλέγομεν ἀρτίως ἄπασι δεδόσθαι τοῖς τοῦ ζῴου μέρεσιν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τε καὶ διαμονῇ. ... (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 177.11-16)

Certainly, in all such symptoms, people say they sense some irregularity, or they stretch the limbs, or they extend all parts under some physical impulse, the kind we were saying just now has been given by Nature to all the parts of the animal for the purposes of safety and preservation. (trans. Johnston, 252)

Text (54)
Paris 78b7-8, Princeton 71a13-14

وهذه خصال تكون في بعض الناس بالطبع من قبل رداءة الخلقة في الأرحام

These are traits which are generated in some people by natural-disposition on the part of a badness of inborn disposition in the womb.

γίγνεται δὲ ταῦτα καὶ φύσει μέν τισιν εὐθέως ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ διαπλασθεῖσι μοχθηρῶς· (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 233.16-17)

And these occur naturally at the earliest times (i. e. at birth) in some who are formed badly in the womb. (trans. Johnston, 283)

Text (55)
Paris 79b15-16, Princeton 72a14-15

... أعني أن يكون للأعضاء فضل حسّ إمّا بالطبع وإمّا بسبب قرحة

I mean that the body parts have a superfluity of sensation either by natural-disposition or because of an ulcer.

... αἴσθησιν περιττὴν τῶν σωμάτων, εἴτ' ἐκ φύσεως ὑπάρχουσαν, εἴτε δι' ἕλκωσιν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 238.18-239.1)

... an excessive sensation of bodies, whether this is from nature, or due to an ulcer. (trans. Johnston, 286)

Text (56)
Paris 85a9, Princeton 77a8

إذا كان كذلك بالطبع

... when it is by natural-disposition like that

φύσει μὲν τοιοῦτον γεγονὸς, (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 264.6)

... being such in nature (trans. Johnston, 298)

Text (57)
Paris 85a16-17, Princeton 77a13-14

<div dir="rtl">

وأمّا سؤ مزاج الأرحام فقد يكون بالطبع ويكون من طريق حدوت العلل وكذلك كثافة الأرحام

</div>

As for a misfortune in the mixture of the uterus, it may be by natural-disposition and by way of the occurrence of illnesses, and that is like the thickening of the uterus.

ἡ δὲ δυσκρασία τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ φύσει καὶ κατὰ διαθέσεις τινὰς γίγνεται, καθάπερ ἡ πυκνότης. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 264.15-16)

A dyscrasia of the uterus occurs both naturally and in certain conditions, just like a thickening. (trans. Johnston, 298)

II. D. other prepositions + **al-ṭabʿi**

Text (58)
Paris 29a1, Princeton 18a11-12

<div dir="rtl">

... وإمّا من قبل أنّه قد يحتاج في الطبع إلى أن يكون كذلك بمنزلة الجلد.

</div>

... or on the part of its being in the natural-disposition that it is necessarily like that, like the skin.

... ἢ καὶ φύσει δεόμενον εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δέρμα. (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 25.2-3)

... or is required by nature to be such [a part], like the skin. (trans. Johnston, 171)

Text (59)
Paris 34a14-16, Princeton 23b14-16

<div dir="rtl">

فينبغي إذاً لمن كان يحبّ الحقّ أن يبين أمر الأشياء التي بعضها قريب من بعض في الطبع فهي [فهو بر] لذلك يستخفّ بها ويغفل [ويعقل بر] أمرها ثمّ يضع لها أسماء ويتحرى ما أمكنه أن تكون أسماء مشهورة جدّاً قد جرت بها [به بر] عادة اليونانيين.

</div>

He who is truth-loving must make clear the matter of the things which are close to one another in their natural-dispositions (or essences) wherefore no importance is attached to them and their matter is passed over. Then he gives them names and aspires as much as he can that they are very well-known names which the practice of the Greeks entails.

τί δὴ οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀληθείας ἐραστήν; ἐπιδεικνύναι τὰ ἀαπλήσια ταῖς ἀλλήλων φύσεσι πράγματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρορώμενα, κᾆπειτα τίθεσθαι κατὰ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ οἷός τε εἴη, τὰ συνηθέστατα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· (*Symp. Diff.,* K VII, 45.14-18)

What, then, ought one who loves the truth do? Point out the matters that are similar to the natures of others and owing to this are overlooked, and then put names to these, especially, if it be possible, those most customary among the Greeks. (trans. Johnston, 183)

Text (60)
Paris, 45a14-15, Princeton 33a17

... صغر الحدقة وضيقها الحادث عن مرض لا من الطبع ...

... the smallness of the pupil and its narrowness produced by a disease, not by the natural-disposition ...

... ἡ σμικρυνθεῖσα κόρη λόγῳ νοσήματος, οὐ φύσει ... (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 90.6-7)

... a pupil made smaller by reason of disease, not nature ... (trans. Johnston, 208)

Text (61)
Paris, 51a24-27, Princeton 38a22-25

فنقول إنّ السبب العامّ فيها هو السبب الذي ذكره الفاضل فلاطون في كتابه المسمى طيماوس حيث قال إنّ الحدث الذي يحدِث بنا خارجاً عن الطبع باستكراه وفي دفعة هو مؤلم والحدث الذي يردّنا إلى الطبع ويكون أيضاً في دفعة هو لذيذ فأَمَّا إذا كان قليلاً بعد قليل فإنه لا يُحَسّ

So we say that the common cause for this is the cause which the noble Plato has mentioned in his book called Tīmaʾūs when he says that an occurrence that befalls us outside the natural-disposition by force and suddenly is painful, whereas an occurrence that returns us to the natural-disposition and is also sudden is pleasant. As to when it is gradual, it is not perceived.

κοινὴ μὲν, ἥνπερ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαίῳ φησὶ γράφων οὕτως· τὸ μὲν παρὰ φύσιν καὶ βιαίως γιγνόμενον ἀθρόως ἐν ἡμῖν πάθος, ἀλγεινόν· τὸ δὲ εἰς φύσιν ἀπιὸν αὖ πάλιν ἀθρόον, ἡδύ· τὸ δὲ ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἀναίσθητον. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 115.9-13)

Common is what Plato also says in the Timaeus, writing thus: ›An affection (pathos) contrary to nature occurring in us violently and intensely is pain; the return to the natural state on the other hand, when it is intense, is pleasure. What is slow and slight is not perceived.‹ (trans. Johnston, 220)

Text (62-63)
Paris 54b4-6, Princeton 55a13-15

... لأنّ الأمر على ما قال الفاضل ابقراط المتألّه من أن الوجع إنّما يحدث للأشياء [للأجسام بر] عندما تتغيّر في طبعها وتفسد لا بعد ما تكون قد تغيّرت وفسدت لأنّ الأجسام إنّما ينالها الأذى على قدر [ــ بر] ما قد بيّنا قبل في نفس تغيّرها وخروجها عن طبعها

For the matter is according to what the excellent and adored Hippocrates says, namely that the pain is only produced for the things when they change in their natural-disposition and are corrupted not after they have changed and been corrupted. For the bodies only receive harm according to the amount, which we have made clear before, with regard to the essence of their change and their being outside of their natural-disposition.

... ὥσπερ ἔλεγεν Ἱπποκράτης· τοῖσι τὴν φύσιν διαλλαττομένοισι καὶ διαφθειρομένοισιν αἱ ὀδύναι γίγνονται, οὐ διεφθαρμένοισιν ἢ διηλλαγμένοισι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεταβάλλειν τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐξίστασθαι λυπεῖται τὰ σώματα, καθάπερ ἐδείκνυτο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν λόγον. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 176.8-13)

As Hippocrates said, pains occur in those things that are being changed or destroyed in their nature, not in those that have already been changed or destroyed. For in being changed, and in departing from their own nature, bodies are distressed, as was also shown in the earlier discussion. (trans. Johnston, 252)

II. E. ṭabʿ *of something or someone*

Text (64)
Paris 25b24-25, Princeton 15b10

... الأشياء التي في طبعها أن تكون غذاءً للنار ...

... the things in whose natural-disposition it is to be nourishment for fire, ...

... τῶν τρέφειν αὐτὸ φύσιν ἐχόντων ... (*Caus. Morb.,* K VII, 11.9-10)

... those things that are of the nature to nourish it ... (trans. Johnston, 164)

Text (65)
Paris, 26b5-6, Princeton 16a10-11

وجميع ما يوكل ويشرب أيضاً مما له في طبعه فصل برودة يكون سبباً للمرض البارد

All that is also eaten and drunk of that that has an excess of coldness in its natural-disposition is a cause for cold disease.

ὅσα δὲ ψυχρότερα φύσει τῶν ἐσθιομένων ἢ πινομένων, καὶ ταῦτα ψυχρῶν νοσημάτων αἴτια. (*Caus. Morb*., K VII, 13.17-14.1)

However, many of the things eaten and drunk that are too cold in nature are also causes of cold diseases. (trans. Johnston, 165)

Text (66)
Paris 31a16-17, Princeton 20a2-3

... ومرّة يعرض ذلك للعظام من قبل طبع ما في البدن من الرطوبات

... and sometimes that befalls the bones from the part of the natural-disposition of the fluids in the body.

... ἔστιν ὅτε δὲ κἀξ αὐτῆς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις ὑγρῶν ὀρμᾶται τῆς φύσεως. (*Caus. Morb*., K VII, 33.13-14)

... or sometimes being set in motion from the very nature of the fluids in the animals. (trans. Johnston, 176)

Text (67)
Paris 42b26, Princeton 30b18

وإمّا بسبب طبع الرطوبة نفسها

... or due to the natural-disposition of the humidity itself

ἢ δι᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν φύσιν ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 80.13-14)

... or necessitated by the actual nature of the humours. (trans. Johnston, 200)

Text (68)
Paris, 69a28-b2, Princeton 51b20-22

لأن جميع هذه الأشياء وما أشبهها تحدث سوء مزاج بارد وتفعل ذلك مراراً كثيرة في جميع البدن في أصل العصب ومبدأه نفسه
وربّما فعلته في الأعضاء التي تتّفق أنّ تكون في طبعها أضعف من سائر الأعضاء ...

For all these things and what resembles them generate a bad cold mixture. They do that often in the entire body at the source and beginning of the nerves themselves, and sometimes they may do that in the body parts which happen to be in their natural-disposition weaker than the other body parts ...

τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πάντα ψυχρὰν δυσκρασίαν ἐργάζεται, πολλάκις μὲν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τῶν νεύρων τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐνίοτε δ᾽ ἔν τισι μέρεσιν, ἅπερ ἀσθενέστερά τε τῇ φύσει ... (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 158.14-17)

All such things bring about a cold dyscrasia, often in the whole body, and in relation to the actual arche of the nerves, but sometimes in certain parts, which are weaker in nature ... (trans. Johnston, 243)

Text (69)
Paris, 54b13-14, Princeton 55a21-22

وذاك أنّ الإنسان يحس في باطن بدنه كلّه وفي عمقه كأنّ فيه شيئاً غريباً من طبعه منكراً عنده مبثوثاً

That is, man perceives in the interior of his whole body and in its depth as if there is in him something alien to his natural-disposition, unfamiliar to him and spread

βύθιος γάρ τις αἴσθησις γίγνεται καθ᾿ ὅλον τὸν ὄγκον, ὡς διεσπαρμένου τινὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀλλοτρίου· (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 177.6-8)

For some deep sensation occurs in relation to the whole mass as if something alien to our nature has been dispersed in it. (trans. Johnston, 252)

Text (70)
Paris 55a19-20, Princeton 55b21

... وإمّا أن يكون في طبعه عسر الحسّ ...

... or in that it is in its natural-disposition difficult to be affected ...

... καὶ τῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ κάμνον ἢ δυσπαθὲς ... εἶναι φύσει. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 180.3-4)

... as well as in the nature of the fatigued body, whether it is not easily affected ... (trans. Johnston, 253)

Text (71)
Paris 57b16-17, Princeton 57b15-16

ذلك لأنّ المرّة السوداء في طبعها هي خلط بارد

That is because black bile is a cold mixture in its natural-disposition

φύσει μὲν γάρ ἐστι ψυχρὸς χυμὸς ἡ μέλαινα χολὴ, (*Caus. Symp*. II, K VII, 190.12-13)

For black bile is by nature a cold humour, ... (trans. Johnston, 258)

Text (72)
Paris, 74a9-10, Princeton 67a14-15

وفسادها عامّةً يكون بتغيّرها إلى الدخانيّة وفساد كلّ واحد منها خاصّةً يكون بحسب ما هو عليه في طبعه

Their corruption is, in general, due to their changing into vapours, whereas the corruption of each one of them is, specifically, according to what it is like in its natural-disposition

κοινὴν μέν τινα διαφθορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ κνισῶδες· ἰδίαν δὲ ἕκαστον, ὡς ἂν φύσεως ἔχῃ. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 213.18-214.1)

...the usual corruption tending towards steaming although each [food] has a specific [corruption] according to its nature. (trans. Johnston, 273)

Text (73-74)
Paris 74a18-20, Princeton 67a21-23

فإن كانت المعدة قد فعلت في هضم ذلك الطعام فعلاً يسيراً وكان طبع الطعام طبعاً مزاجه مزاج متوسّط وجد صاحبُ ذلك
جشاءً حامضاً وإن كان مزاج الطعام مزاجاً له فضل حرارة وكان في طبعه نافخاً امتلى البطن منه ريحاً [رياحاً بر] بخاريّة

If the stomach does some little work in the digestion of that nutriment and the natural-disposition of the nutriment is a natural-disposition whose mixture is a balanced mixture, he who has that is found belching and acid, and if the mixture of the nutriment is a mixture which has an excess of heat and is flatulent in its natural-disposition, the stomach is filled by it with vaporous wind.

εἰ δὲ καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐνέργεια παρὰ τὴν πέψιν αὐτῶν γένοιτο, καὶ ἡ τῶν σιτίων φύσις ἤτοι τῆς μέσης εἴη κράσεως ἢ τῆς ψυχροτέρας, ὀξυρεγμιώδεις ἀποτελοῦνται. θερμοτέρων δὲ κατὰ κρᾶσιν ὄντων ἢ καὶ φύσει φυσωδεστέρων, ἐμπίπλαται πνεύματος ἀτμώδους ἡ γαστήρ. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 214.10-15)

And if some slight function occurs during the digestion of these, and the nature of the foods is either of indeterminate mixture or of one more cold, heartburns (*oxyrgemiodes*) are brought about. When the foods are hotter with respect to mixture, or also more flatulent in nature, the stomach is filled with vaporous *pneuma*. (trans. Johnston, 273-274)

Text (75)
Paris, 76a14, Princeton 69a9-10

وذلك أنّ بعض الأغذية في طبعها مولّدة للسوداء ...

That is that some foodstuffs are more generative for melancholy in their natural-disposition ...

τὰ μὲν γὰρ μελαγχολικώτερα φύσει, ... (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 223.10)

For some are more melancholic in nature, ... (trans. Johnston, 278)

Text (76)
Paris 79b24-25, Princeton 72a23-24

<div dir="rtl">

إلّا أن يكون الغذاء في طبعه نافخاً

</div>

    ... unless the food is flatulent in its natural-disposition

    ἢν μὴ φυσώδης ὑπάρχη φύσει· (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 239.17)

    ... unless it is vaporous by nature. (trans. Johnston, 286)

III. PHYSIS → *ṬABĪʿĪ*

Text (77)
Paris 51b1-3, Princeton 38a26-38b1

<div dir="rtl">

وحاسّة اللمس يحدث فيها التغييرات عن الحال الطبيعيّة من قبل عنف مماسة ما يلقى البدن من الشيء الحارّ أو البارد أو شيء ممّا شأنه أن يرضّ ويفسخ أو يقطع أو يمدد أو يأكل

</div>

    In the sensation of touch, there occur changes away from the natural condition due to the vehemence of some contact between the body and something hot or cold or something whose matter it is to crush, to tear, to cut, to expand or to erode.

    εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἁφὴν αἱ μεγάλαι μεταλλαγαὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπὸ ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ βιαίας προσβολῆς, ὅσα τε θλᾶν, ἢ τέμνειν, ἢ διατείνειν, ἢ διαβιβρώσκειν πέφυκε. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 115.18)

    And with respect to touch, there are major changes of nature from the violent visitation of cold and heat, and such things as are disposed to crush, cut, stretch or erode. (trans. Johnston, 220)

IV. PHYSIS → QUWWA

Text (78)
Paris 82b6-7, Princeton 74b15-16

وهاهنا شيء هو خلاف هذه العلّة وهو ما يكون في العرق البحراني[الباحوري بر] وذلك أنّ هذا ليس يدلّ على أنّ القوّة قد ضعفت وانحلت

Here a matter is the opposite of this cause, and that is that which is in the critical sweat. For this does not indicate that the power is already weak and dissolved.

τούτῳ δὲ ἐναντία κατάστασίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τοῖς κρισίμοις ἱδρῶσιν, ἐῤῥωμένην ἐνδεικνυμένοις, οὐ διαλυομένην τὴν φύσιν. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 252.11-13)

The opposite state to this is that in the critical sweats which indicate a strong rather than a dissolved nature. (trans. Johnston, 292-293)

Text (79)
Paris 67b22-23, Princeton 51a19-20

وذلك لأنّ الرعدة ليس هي بتبديل [تبديل بر] حركة ابتدأها [تبدلها بر] قوّة واحدة كالنبض بل إنّما هي قتال ومجاهدة بين القوة وثقل الجسم

For the tremor is not brought about by a change of movement whose source is one power like the pulse, but it is a battle and struggle between the power and the weight of the body.

οὐ γὰρ ἀμοιβὴ κινήσεώς ἐστιν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἐπιτελουμένη φύσεως, ἀλλὰ μάχη δυνάμεώς τε καὶ βάρους σώματος. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 155.15-16)

The alternation of movement is not brought about by one nature but there is a struggle between the capacity and the weight of the body. (trans. Johnston, 242)

Text (80)
Paris, 24b24-27, Princeton 14b23-24

... يقول إنّ الرياضة إن كانت يسيرة وكانت مع قلّتها ليست بالقوّيّة بل أضعف من قوّة بدن المرياض بها جداً لم يحدث عنها أعياء أصلاً

He says that if the exercise is slight and together with being little it is also not vigorous, but much weaker than the power of the body of the one exercising it, no fatigue is produced from it at all.

ἢ γὰρ μικρὸς ὁ κόπος, ἢ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἢ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύος ἥττων ἐγένετο, ἢ τὸ μὲν γυμνάσιον, εἰ βραχυχρόνιον εἴη καὶ μὴ σφοδρὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ γυμναζομένου φύσεως ἀσθενέστερον, οὐκ ἄν ποτε κόπον ἐργάσεται, ... (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 7.16-8.4)

... or if the exercise [is – E. W.] of short duration, or not vigorous, or weaker than the natural constitution of the one exercising, it would not then bring about fatigue. (trans. Johnston, 162)

V. PHYSIS → ĞAWHAR

Text (81)
Paris 60a9, Princeton 39b14

كما أنّ حاسّة المذاق إنّما تحسّ الجوهر الرطب

... as the sensation of taste perceives only the humid substance

ὥσπέρ γε καὶ ἡ μὲν τῆς γεύσεως, ὑγρᾶς φύσεως· (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 122.8)

... just as that of taste is one of a moist nature …. (trans. Johnston, 223)

VI. PHYSIS → NO CORRESPONDING ARABIC TERM
VI. A. Omitting Galen's Demiurgic Nature

Text (82)
Paris, 18b6-7, Princeton 6b9-10

... وملاسة الأعضاء أيضاً وخشونتها من الأشياء التي لم تُجعل بالطلاً ولا عبثاً

Also the smoothness of the parts and their roughness belongs to the things which are not made in vain and futile.

ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ λειότης καὶ τραχύτης οὐδ' αὗται ματαίως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐγένοντο διαπλαττούσης τὰ μόρια. (*Morb. Diff.,* K VI, 861.3-5)

But, in fact, even smoothness and roughness are not themselves without purpose in the natural conformation of the parts. (trans. Johnston, 147)

Text (83)
Paris 28b21-24, Princeton 18a6-8

وكانت أعضاء البدن ليست بمتساوية كلّها في القوّة لكن أشرفها وأنفسها خلقت منذ أوّل الأمر أقوى وأشّد وجب أن تكون الأبدان التي ليست بنقية والفضل فيها كثير ينصبّ فيها [منها بر] شيء إلى الأعضاء التي هي أقلّ شرفاً وأقل نفاسةً

The parts of the body are not all equal in power, but the nobler and more precious ones of them have been created more powerful and intense from the beginning. It is necessary that in the bodies, which are not pure and in which there is much superfluity, something flows to the body parts which are of less nobility and preciousness.

καὶ τοίνυν καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μορίων οὐκ ἴσην ἀπάντων ἐχόντων τὴν ῥώμην, ἀλλὰ τῶν κυριωτέρων εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεωτέρων ἀποτελεσθέντων, εὔλογον ἐν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις τε καὶ περιττωματικοῖς σώμασιν ἐπιρρεῖν τι τοῖς ἀκυρωτέροις μορίοις. (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 24.10-14)

Moreover, since all parts of the body are not equal in strength, but the more important parts are from the very beginning made stronger by Nature, it is reasonable that in impure and superfluity-containing bodies something flows to the less important parts. (trans. Johnston, 171)

Text (84)
Paris 29a7-10, Princeton 18a16-19

وذلك أنّ البدن قد جعل فيه منذ أوّل أمره آلات كثيرة قدرت بحكمة ولطف لتنقية ما يتولّد فيه من الفضل فما دام في سلامة وصحّة فتلك الآلات وحدها تقي بتنقيته متى ما لم يحدث له آفةٌ من قبل الهواء أو من قبل تدبير يجري على غير ما ينبغي فيجتمع فيه بسبب ذلك فضول كثيرة مفرطة.

For, from the beginning, many organs have been made in the body which have been appointed by wisdom and kindness to clean the superfluity which is generated in (the body). So as long as it is in well-being and health,[67] those organs alone preserve (it) through cleaning it, whenever no damage occurs to (the body) neither due to the air nor due to a conduct which is not as it should be. For due to that many excessive superfluities gather in (the body).

πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ φύσις ἐτεχνήσατο τῶν περιττωμάτων καθάρσεως ἔνεκεν ὄργανα, καὶ πρός γε τὴν ὑγείαν ἀρκεῖ μόνα ταῦτα, ἐπειδὰν μήτε τις ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐγγίνηται βλάβη τῷ ζώῳ, μήτ' ἐκ πλημμελοῦς διαίτης περιττωματικὸν ἀμέτρως ὅλον ἀπεργασθῇ τὸ σῶμα. (*Caus. Morb.*, K VII, 25.11-15)

Right from the beginning, Nature has crafted many organs for the sake of the evacuation of superfluities, and these alone are sufficient for health whenever neither damage comes upon the animal from what surrounds, nor the whole body is made excessively superfluity-containing from a faulty way of life. (trans. Johnston, 171)

---

67 Health is rendered by the hendiadys *salāma wa-ṣiḥḥa*.

Text (85)
Paris 61b23-26, Princeton 41a11-13

فأمّا الحيوان فإنّه لمّا كان لا يتّصل بالأرض منه خلا اليسير جعلتَ له المعدة ليكون خزانة لغذائه بمنزلة الأرض للنبات وجُعل له أيضاً أن يحسّ بالنقصان كيما إذا تحرّك الحيوان إلى تناول الطعم والشراب امتلت في وقت واحد

As for the animal, since it is not connected with the earth except for a minority of (animals), the stomach has been made for (the animal) so that it may be a treasure house for its nourishment like the earth for the plants. The fact that (the animal) perceives lack has also been made for (the animal) so that (the stomach) is refilled at one time, when the animal is moved to take food and drink.

τοῖς δὲ ζώοις ἅτε μὴ προσπεφυκόσι τῇ γῇ, πλὴν ὀλίγων δή τινων, ἡ φύσις ἐδημιούργησε μὲν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ταμεῖον τροφῆς, οἷόν περ τὴν γῆν τοῖς φυτοῖς· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας αἴσθησιν, ἵν’ ἐξορμῶντα τὰ ζῶα πρός τε τὴν ἐδωδήν τε καὶ πόσιν ἑνὶ χρόνῳ πληρῶνται. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 129.15-130.2)

For animals, inasmuch as they are not made to grow by the earth, apart admittedly from a few instances, Nature has fashioned the stomach as a storehouse of nutriment, like the earth for plants. And it has given a perception of lack so that animals are stimulated to fill themselves with food and drink at one time. (trans. Johnston, 227)

Text (86)
Paris 64b22-23, Princeton 43a26-27

ولقد كان أولى [أولاً ب] وأقرب إلى الإقناع أن يقول إنّ النوم إنّما يكون عندما ترطب الرئة فإنّ الرئة لن تُخلَق [لن تخلق ب: لم يخلق بر] ولم يرد بها شيء [بها شيء ب: بهما شيئا بر] إلّا أن تخدم القلب

In truth, it is better suited and closer to conviction to say that sleep takes place when the lung becomes moist. For the lung is only created and meant for one thing, namely to serve the heart.

πολὺ γὰρ δήπου πιθανώτερον ἦν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ πνεύμονος ὑγρότησι γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ὕπνους, ὃν ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὑπηρετήσοντα τῇ καρδίᾳ περιέβαλε κύκλῳ. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 142.10-12)

For it is, of course, far more plausible for sleep to occur in moistenings of the lung, which Nature placed in a circle around the heart for no other reason than to serve it. (trans. Johnston, 233)

Text (87)
Paris 52b28, Princeton 53b22-23

… المنخرين اللذين هما طريقين للتنفس [للنفس بر]

… the nostrils, which are two passages for respiration.

… αἳ δὴ καὶ αὐταὶ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς εἰσιν ὁδοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως εὑρημέναι. (*Caus. Symp.* II, K VII, 169.7-8)

[the nostrils – E. W.] which are themselves passages of respiration invented by Nature. (trans. Johnston, 248)

Text (88)
Paris 72a22-25, Princeton 65b14-15

ورداءة فعل الهضم تكون على ضربين أحدهما أن يبطي الطعام في الاستحالة والتغيير [والتغيّر بر] إلى الكيفيّة المشاكلة له الخاصّيّة به والآخر أن يفسد الطعام أصلاً حتّى لا يمكن فيه بعد ذلك أن يتغيّر ويستحيل [+ إلى بر] ما ينبغي

The defect of the digestive action is of two kinds: one of them is that the food is slowed down when changing and altering into the quality which is similar and suited[68] to it; and the other is that the food corrupts completely so that with regard to it, it is afterwards not possible that it changes and alters as [or: into what] it should.

οὔσης δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς κακώσεως διττῆς, ἢ τῷ βραδύνειν τε καὶ μηδέπω δέχεσθαι τὴν οἰκείαν μεταβολὴν, ἢ τῷ διεφθάρθαι παντάπασιν, ὡς μηδ' ὅλως δύνασθαι τὸν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως κόσμον δέξασθαι (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 206.15-18)

This malfunction is also twofold, either due to slowing and not yet taking on the proper change, or due to being completely ruined so it is altogether unable to take on the order of nature. (trans. Johnston, 269)

---

68   For *ḫāṣṣī,* see Ullmann, *Wörterbuch*, Suppl.

VI. B. Omitting nature in various meanings

Text (89)
Paris 21b14-16, Princeton 9a12-13

وأمّا النملة والسرطان فهما وسط فيما بين هذه وذاك أنّهما في أكثر الأمر يكونان مع قرحة وربّما كان كلّ واحد منهما بلا قرحة.

As for pustule and cancer, they are both a mean in between these, that is they two are many times with ulcer and sometimes each of them is without ulcer.

μέσα δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὴν φύσιν ἕρπητές τε καὶ καρκῖνοι, τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ἕλκεσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ἐκείνων (*Diff. Morb.*, K VI, 874.16-875.1)

… whereas intermediate in nature between these are *herpetes* and cancers (*karakinoi*), many occurring accompanied by ulcers but sometimes also apart from them. (trans. Johnston, 153)

Text (90)
Paris, 36b6-7, Princeton 25b5-6

ولذلك [وكذلك بر] ينبغي لنا أن نذكرك أولاً بأنّ أصنافها ثلثة ثمّ نتبع ذلك لتقسيم [بتقسيمها بر] كلّها أوّلاً [أَوّل فأوّل بر] ونجعل مبدأنا في ذلك [في ذلك ب: ـ بر] من مضار الفعل

Therefore it is necessary for us that we mention to you first that their sorts are three, then we let that be followed first by the division of all of them and then we make our beginning in that with the damage of the activity.

Ἀναμνησθέντας οὖν πρῶτον χρὴ τὸ τριττὸν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν οὕτω τέμνειν ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βλάβης τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ποιησαμένους. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 55.6-8)

It is necessary, then, having first called to mind the threefold nature of these [symptoms], to divide them all in this way in turn, making a start from the damage of functions. (trans. Johnston, 188)

Text (91)
Paris 43a9, Princeton 30b27

إذ كانت الأعراض كلّها إنّما الفاعل لها الأمراض ...

Since the agent of all symptoms are the diseases …

ἀπάσης γὰρ τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῆς φύσεως ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ νοσήματα, … (*Symp. Diff.,* K VII, 81.7-8)

For diseases must precede every kind [*physis* – E. W.] of symptom, …
(trans. Johnston, 201)

Text (92)
Paris, 47a27-28, Princeton 35a6

فإن لم تكن تلك الرطوبة كثيرة المقدار وكان لونها متغيّراً [مغيّراً بر] أحدثت [حدث بر] في البصر حالات [خيلات بر] بحسب لونها

If this humour is not much in quantity and its colour changed, conditions occur according to its colour in vision.

εἰ δὲ μὴ πολλὰ μὲν εἴη τὰ ὑγρὰ, τῇ χρόᾳ δ' ἐξηλλαγμένα, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων φύσιν παρόρασις γίγνεται. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 99.9)

If the fluids are not great in amount but are changed in colour, a false vision involving the nature of those things occurs. (trans. Johnston, 212)

Text (93)
Paris 68a22-23, Princeton 39a10

واللطيف الأجزاء أبداً أقوى من الغليظ الأجزاء

The fine with regard to its parts is always more powerful than the thick with regard to its parts.

ἀεὶ δ›ἐν τῇ φύσει δραστικώτερόν ἐστι τὸ λεπτομερὲς τοῦ παχυμεροῦς. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 119.11)

Invariably in Nature what is composed of fine particles is more efficacious than what is composed of thick particles. (trans. Johnston, 222)

Text (94)
Paris 64a17-18, Princeton 43a2

لأنّ الدماغ لم يُجعل آلةً حسّاسة بل إنّما جُعل آلة تحسّ بالحواسّ

For the brain is not made as a sensible organ, but is made as an organ which perceives sensations.

αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος οὐκ αἰσθητικὸν ὄργανον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' αἰσθητικῶν αἰσθητικὸς ἐγένετο. (*Caus. Symp.* I, K VII, 139.17)

For the brain itself is not by nature a perceiving organ, but the perceiver of what is perceived. (trans. Johnston, 232)

VII. ADDING NATURE IN ARABIC (some examples)

Text (95) - *ousia* → *ṭabīʿa*
Paris 42b6-9, Princeton 30b3-4

فَأمّا الأشياء التي تستفرغ من البدن خارج عن الطبيعة أو تحتبس فيها [فيه بر] فَأنّها تنقسم إلى ثلثة أصناف أول وذلك أنّها لا
تحلوا من أن يكون خروجها عن الطبيعة إمّا في جملة طبيعتها وإمّا في كيفيّتها وإمّا في كمّيّتها

As for the things which are expelled from the body contrary to nature or retained in it, they are divided into three primary kinds, that is that they are not free from their being contrary to nature either in the entirety of their nature or in their quality or in their quantity.

Τὰ δ' ἐκκρινόμενα τοῦ σῶματος, ἢ κατεχόμενα παρὰ φύσιν, εἰς τρεῖς μὲν τέμνεται καὶ αὐτὰ τὰς πρώτας διαφορὰς, ἢ ταῖς οὐσίας ὅλαις, ἢ ταῖς ποιότησιν, ἢ ταῖς ποσότησιν ἐξιστάμενα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 79.8-11)

Things expelled from the body, or retained contrary to nature, are themselves divided into three primary *differentiae*, according to whether they depart from what accords with nature in whole substances, in qualities or in quantities. (trans. Johnston, 200)

Text (96) – *zōon* → *ṭabīʿa*
Paris 43a11-21, Princeton 31a2-9

وفي مثل هذا الموضع ينبغي لك أن تقف وتلبث حيناً وتجعل ذهنك في الأمر [الامراض ب] حتى تميّز وتفرّق بعناية شديدة بين
الأعراض وبين أعمال الطبيعة. فإنّ [قال بر] في مواضع كثيرة يبلغ من مشابهتها بعض لبعض حتى يظنّ بالعرض أنّه عمل من
أعمال الطبيعة ويظنّ بعمل الطبيعة أنّه عرض من الأعراض. ومن لم يكن معه في ذلك آلة قوّيّة صحيحة يمتحن بها الأمر [الأمراض
ب] اخطاءً وجعل باب خطأه تلباً [تبياناً ب] لنا وطعناً علينا في كلامنا. من ذلك أنّه إن [لو بر] جعل الدستور الذي عليه يجري أمر
ما [أمر ما ب: الأمر فيما بر] يستفرغ بالطبع في أبدان الأصحاء ، كمّيّة الجوهر المستفرغ أو كيفيّته او جملة جوهره واقتصر على
تفقد ذلك فقط والنظر فيه وامتحان الأعراض به أخطأ في أبواب كثيرة. إذ كنا قد نجد مراراً [+ كثيرة بر] أنّ المريض يعرق عرقاً أكثر
من مقدار العرق الطبيعي بأضعاف كثيرة أو يخرج منه بالبراز أو البول [بالبول بر] مثل ذلك من غير أن يكون السبب في ذلك مضرّة
نالت فعلاً من الأفعال بل يكون السبب فيه قوّة وعناية من الطبيعة

With regard to something like this topic, it is necessary for you that you stand still and linger for some time and make up your mind about the matter, so that you distinguish and divide with intense care between the symptoms and between the works[69] of nature. For in many places some attain a high degree of resemblance to others, so that one may suspect the symptom to be one of the works of nature; and one may suspect the work of nature to be one of the symptoms. He, who, with regard to that, does not have a powerful and sound instrument with him, will test the matter faultily by them. He makes the subject of his error a disadvantage for and a criticism of us with regard to our discussion. Therefrom, if he makes the quantity of the emptied substance or its quality or the entirety of its substance the model, according to which the matter of naturally emptying happens in the bodies of the healthy,

---

69   The consistent use of two different Arabic terms for *ergon* (*ʿamal*) and *energeia* (*fiʿl*) here is remarkable as they are normally both translated with the same term *fiʿl*.

and if he restricts himself to the examination of only that, to the consideration of it and to the testing of the symptoms through it, he will err in many subjects. For we often used to find that the sick sweated many times more than the natural amount of sweat or excreted excrement or urine like that without the cause for that being a damage which got hold of one of the activities, rather the cause for it being the power and care of nature.

ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν προσέχειν ἀκριβῶς χρὴ τὸν νοῦν καὶ διορίζειν ἐπιμελῶς τῶν ἔργων τοῦ ζῴου τὰ συμπτώματα. πολλαχῇ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις οὕτως ἔοικεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ σύμπτωμα ἔργον νομίζεσθαι καὶ τοὔργον σύμπτωμα. καὶ εἰ μή τις ἔχει τι κἂν τούτῳ κριτήριον ὑγιὲς, ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς σφάλληται συκοφαντήσει τὸν λόγον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκκρίσεων, οὕτω δὲ καλοῦσι τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὑγιαινόντων γιγνομένας, ἤτοι τὸ ποσὸν, ἢ καὶ τὸ ποιὸν, ἢ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὑποθέμενός τις σκοπὸν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀποβλέπων κρίνοι τὰ συμπτώματα, σφαλήσεται πολλαχόθι. πολλαπλάσιος γὰρ ἰδρὼς ἐνίοτε τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, ἢ γαστρὸς διαχώρησις, ἢ οὖρα τοῖς ἀῤῥωστοῦσι γίνεται, μὴ ὅτι βεβλαμμένης ἐνεργείας τινὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ προνοίας τοῦ ζῴου γιγνομένης. (*Symp. Diff.*, K VII, 81.12-82.7)

But here we ought to pay close attention to, and distinguish carefully, symptoms from the actions of the animal. For frequently one may seem like the other, so the symptom may be thought to be an action or the action a symptom. And if someone does not have sound judgement in this too, from those things he should be mistaken about, he would criticize the argument in a pettifogging way. For if of the expulsions that accord with nature, as they call those occurring in the case of the healthy, someone proposes as an object of attention the quantity, quality or actual class of the substance, and then paying attention to this assesses the symptoms, in many instances he will be wrong. For sometimes it happens that the sweat is much more than accords with nature, or the excretion of the stomach, or the urine of those who are unwell, although it is not that some function is damaged, but that this occurs along with the bodily strength and care of the animal. (trans. Johnson, 201, slightly changed)

Text (97) – *ōmos* → *tadaʿu l-ṭabīʿatu l-aḫlāṭa nīʾatan*
Paris 73a26-27, Princeton 66b9

وأمّا في العروق فانحسام الفعل يكون عندما تدع الطبيعةُ الأخلاط نيئة لا نضج لها أصلاً

As for in the blood vessels, there is the cutting of the activity when nature leaves the humours raw and not having ripeness.

κατὰ δὲ τὰς φλέβας ἡ μὲν τῆς ἐνεργείας στέρησις ἐν τοῖς παντάπασιν ὠμοῖς χυμοῖς· (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII, 210.16-17)

Regarding the veins, there is privation of function in the altogether undigested humours, ... (trans. Johnston, 271)

Text (98) *dynamis* → *ṭabīʿa*
Paris 78b1-3; Princeton 71a8-10

وجميع هذه الأنواع تعرض من ثلثة أسباب إمّا لأنّ الطبيعة تفتح عرقاً من العروق بمنزلة ما يعرض ذلك في الرعاف الباحوريّ وإمّا
لأنّ الدم نفسه حاله حال خارجة عن الطبيعة وإمّا لأنّ واحداً من العروق التي تحويه قد صار إلى حال حاله خارجة عن الطبيعة

All these kinds happen from three causes, either because nature opens one of the blood vessels like that happening in the anomalous nosebleed, or because the condition of the blood itself is a condition outside nature, or because one of the blood vessels, which contain it, arrives at a condition, in which its condition is outside nature.

ἄπαντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπίπτει διὰ τρεῖς αἰτίας, ἤτοι τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναστομωσάσης ἀγγεῖον, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐκ ῥινῶν αἱμορραγίαις, ἢ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα μοχθηρῶς διακείμενον, ἢ τῶν ἀγγείων τι. (*Caus. Symp.* III, K VII 233.7-10)

All such things happen from three causes: either when the capacity opens up a vessel as in haemorrhages from the nose, or by the blood itself being adversely affected, or one of the vessels [being adversely affected]. (trans. Johnston, 283)

Abbreviations
CMG = Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
GAS = Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums
K = Kühn's edition of *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*
Caus. Morb. = *De Causis Morborum*
Morb. Diff. = *De Morborum Differentiis*
Caus. Symp. = *De Symptomatum Causis*
Symp. Diff. = *De Symptomatum Differentiis*
TLG = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae

References

Agnellus of Ravenna, *Lectures on Galen's* De Sectis. Latin Text and Translation by Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (Buffalo, 1981).

Bernand, Marie, La critique de la notion de nature (ṭabʿ) par le Kalām, *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980) 59-105.

Cooper, Glen M., Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Galen translations and Greco-Arabic philology: Some observations from the *Crises (De crisibus)* and the *Critical Days (De diebus decretoriis), Oriens* 44 (2016) 1-43.

Doctrina Patrum De incarnatione verbi: Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts, ed. Franz Diekamp (Second edition, revised by Avangelos Chrysos) (Münster, 1981).

Gacek, Adam, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Reader.* Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: The Near and Middle East 98 (Leiden, 2009).

Galen, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. Carl Gottlob Kühn, 20 vols (Leipzig, 1821-1833; repr. Hildesheim, 1965).

Galen, *On Diseases and Symptoms,* trans. Ian Johnston (Cambridge, 2006).

Galen, *On Food and Diet,* trans. Mark Grant (London, 2000).

Galen, *On Hippocrates' »Nature of Man«,* ed. Ioannes Mewaldt, *CMG* V 9,1 (Leipzig, 1914) 1-113.

Galen, *On Medical Names*, ed. and German trans. Max Meyerhof and Joseph Schacht, *Galen: Über die Medizinischen Namen, Arabisch und Deutsch*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 3 (Berlin, 1931).

Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*, ed. and trans. Arthur John Brock (London, 1916).

Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, trans. M. T. May (Ithaca, NY, 1968).

Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit der Symptome*, ed. and trans. Beate Gundert, *CMG* V 5, 1 (Berlin, 2009).

Gannagé, Emma, Philopon (Jean -): Tradition Arabe, in: Richard Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques: Va de Paccius à Plotin* (Paris, 2012) 503-563.

Garofalo, Ivan, La nature d'Hippocrate chez les Alexandrins, in: Antoine Thivel (ed.), *Le normal et le pathologique dans la Collection hippocratique* 2 (Nice, 2002) 753-765.

[*Ǧawāmiʿ*] *The Alexandrian Compendium of Galen's Work: Jawāmiʿ al-Iskandarāniyyīn*, trans. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, ed. Fuat Sezgin, Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, Facsimile Editions Volume 68, 1-3, 3 vols (Frankfurt/Main, 2001-2004).

Genequand, Charles, Quelques aspects de l'idée de nature, d'Aristote à al-Ghazâlî, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 116/2 (1984) 105-129.

Gutas, Dimitri, Aspects of literary form and genre in Arabic logical works, in: Charles Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Traditions* (London, 1993) 29-76.

Gutas, Dimitri, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)* (London, 1998).

Hippocrates, *al-Fuṣūl al-ibuqrāṭīya: The Aphorisms of Hippocrates. Translated into Arabic by Hosain ben Ishak, Physician to the Caliph Motawukkul,* ed. John Tytler (Calcutta, 1832).

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Risāla,* ed. and trans. Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (Leipzig, 1925).

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Risāla*, ed. and trans. Fabian Käs, Eine neue Handschrift von Ḥunain ibn Isḥāqs Galenbiographie, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 19 (2010-2011) 135-193.

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Risāla*, ed. and trans. John C. Lamoreaux, *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq on His Galen Translations* (Provo, Utah, 2016).

Ibn Ǧulǧul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ wa-l-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1995).

Johannes Alexandrinus, *Commentaria in librum de sectis Galeni*, ed. C. D. Pritchet (Leiden, 1982).

Johannes Alexandrinus, *Commentaria in sextum librum Hippocratis Epidemiarum* (Leiden, 1975).

John of Damascus, *Institutio Elementaris: Capita Philosophica (Dialectica),* ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos I* (Berlin, 1969).

Jouanna, Jacques, La Notion de Nature chez Galien, in: Jonathan Barnes and Jacques Jouanna (ed.), *Galien et la Philosophie.* Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 49 (Genève, 2003) 229-262; English translation: Jouanna, Jacques, Galen's concept of nature, in: Philip van der Eijk (ed.) and Jacques Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen: Selected Papers,* translated from French by Neil Allies. Studies in Ancient Medicine 40 (Leiden, 2012) 287-311.

Krāwus [Kraus], P. [Paul], Kitāb al-aḫlāq li-Ǧālīnūs, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt* 5 (1937) 1-51.

Kovačić, Franjo, *Der Begriff der Physis bei Galen vor dem Hintergrund seiner Vorgänger* (Stuttgart, 2001).

Mach, Rudolf and Eric L. Ormsby, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1987).

Maclean, Arthur John, *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac as Spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-West Persia, and the Plain of Moṣul* (Oxford, 1901).

Moraux, Paul, Ein unedierter Kurzkommentar zu Porphyrios' Isagoge, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 35 (1979) 55-98.

Al-Kindī, *Risāla fī Ḥudūd al-ašyāʾ wa-rusūmihā*, in: *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafīya,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda (Cairo, 1950-1953) I, 165-179.

Overwien, Oliver, The art of the translator, or: How did Ḥunayn ibn ʾIsḥāq and his school translate? in: Peter E. Pormann (ed.), *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition.* Scientia Graeco-Arabica 8 (Berlin, 2012) 151-169.

Overwien, Oliver, *Medizinische Lehrwerke aus dem spätantiken Alexandria: Die* Tabulae Vindobonenses *und* Summaria Alexandrinorum *zu Galens* De sectis. Scientia Graeco-Arabica 24 (Berlin, 2019).

Overwien, Oliver, Die orientalische Überlieferung, in: Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit der Symptome,* ed. and trans. Beate Gundert, *CMG* V 5, 1 (Berlin, 2009) 103-148.

Pormann, Peter E., The *Alexandrian Summary (Jawāmiʿ)* of Galen's *On the Sects of Beginners:* Commentary of abridgment?, in: Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen and Martin W. F. Stone (eds.), *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic, and Latin Commentaries.* Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 83/2 (London, 2004) 11-33.

Ritter, Helmut and Richard Walzer, Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Ärzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken, *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 26 (1934) 801-846.

Saliba, George, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Massachusetts, 2007).

Savage-Smith, Emilie, Galen's lost ophthalmology and the *Summaria Alexandrinorum,* in: Vivian Nutton (ed.), *The Unknown Galen*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 77 (London, 2002) 121-138.

Schiefsky, Mark J., Galen's teleology and functional explanation, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 33 (2007) 369-400.

Sezgin, Fuat, *GAS III: Medizin-Pharmazie. Zoologie-Tierheilkunde bis ca. 430 H.* (Leiden, 1970).

Le Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris, 1883-1895).

Stephanus the Philosopher and Physician, *Commentary on Galen's* Therapeutics to Glaucon, ed. Keith Dickson, *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 19 (Leiden, 1998).

Theodore of Raïthu, *Praeparatio sive De incarnatione*, in: Franz Diekamp (ed.), *Analecta patristica: Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*. Orientalia Christiana analecta 117 (Rome, 1938) 173-222.

Ullmann, Manfred, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts,* Supplement, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 2006-2007).

Vagelpohl, Uwe, The user-friendly Galen: Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and the adaptation of Greek medicine for a new audience, in: Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Sophia Xenophontos (eds.), *Greek Medical Literature and its Readers: From Hippocrates to Islam and Byzantium* (London, 2018) 113-130.

Vajda, Georges, *Notices des manuscrits arabes 2760 à 3184: Notices manuscrits arabe 2845-2874* (handwritten and typed notes) (1940-1969). Accessed on 19th June 2020: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470424s.

Walbridge, John, *The Alexandrian Epitomes of Galen. Volume 1: On the Medical Sects for Beginners. The Small Art of Medicine: On the Elements According to the Opinion of Hippocrates* (Provo, Utah, 2014).

Wakelnig, Elvira, Medical knowledge as proof of the Creator's wisdom and the Arabic reception of Galen's On the Usefulness of the Parts, in: Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Sophia Xenophontos (eds.), *Greek Medical Literature and its Readers: From Hippocrates to Islam and Byzantium* (London, 2018) 131-149.

Watt, John W., Why did Ḥunayn, the master translator into Arabic, make translations into Syriac? On the purpose of the Syriac translations of Ḥunayn and his circle, in: John W. Watt (ed.), *The Aristotelian Tradition in Syriac* (London, 2019) 123-140.

Between Languages, Genres and Cultures: Diego Collado's Linguistic Works

Jan Odstrčilík*

Dominican Diego Collado can be rightfully counted among the most influential missionaries of the sunset of the Christian Century in Japan. Although he spent only three years there, between 1619 and 1622, and never achieved the palm of martyrdom, it transformed the rest of his life. After his return to Europe, he fought vehemently against the Jesuit monopoly in Japan at the Roman curia and the court in Madrid. While severe Christian persecution was raging in the land of the rising sun, he prepared a plan for an ambitious and highly controversial project for a new Dominican congregation devoted only to the missionary activity in Japan and China. This endeavour failed bitterly. His literary activity was similarly focused on a single goal – to promote his mission. He wrote multiple reports disputing and fighting the Jesuits, finished and published a history of the Christianisation of Japan from the Dominican perspective, and – most importantly for this article – composed three linguistic works: a grammar of the Japanese language, a Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary and a Japanese-Latin model confession. This study understands these three influential works as a trilogy that should be treated together as mutually complementary. It recognises them not only as examples of missionary linguistics but as part of a long European (and, in particular, Latin) tradition of language description, language learning and pastoral care.

Keywords: Diego Collado; Christianity in Japan; Japanese grammar; dictionary of Japanese; confession; Early Modern Period

Diego Collado[1] is one of many fascinating, yet still not thoroughly researched missionaries of the seventeenth century. During his controversial life, he clashed many times not only with the enemies of faith but also with other Christians. Even his own religious brothers opposed his extraordinary zeal on multiple occasions, accusing him of using any means to achieve his ends. Some of his endeavours succeeded, others ended up as bitter failures. His literary work corresponds to his life: it is often hasty and imperfect, yet passionate, written with one clear goal in mind, namely, promoting his missionary cause. This preliminary study discusses his three linguistic works with a special focus on his work on Japanese confession. To understand them properly, it is first necessary to introduce the author.

---

* Correspondence details: Jan Odstrčilík, Department for Medieval Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Hollandstraße 11-13, 1020 Vienna, Austria; email: Jan.Odstrcilik@oeaw.ac.at.

1 In his Latin works also known as Didacus Colladus. In the Portuguese secondary literature, he is sometimes named Diego Colhado; in the Japanese literature, he is known as ディエゴ・コリャード.

The Life of Diego Collado

Diego Collado was born in around 1587 in Extremadura in Spain. He entered the Dominican order and professed at the famous monastery San Esteban de Salamanca in 1605.[2] He was ordained priest at the same monastery in 1610. Similarly to many others, he was captivated by the missionary vocation and went to the Philippines in 1611. In the remote regions of the province Cagayán, he proved himself a quick learner of multiple local languages and as a person of impeccable character. This made him suitable for his most difficult and dangerous mission: in 1619 he departed to Japan.[3]

The preceding decades were notable for the remarkable and unprecedented success of Christianisation in the land of the rising sun. In only seventy years since the arrival of the co-founder of the Jesuit Order, St. Francis Xavier, in 1549, the missionaries were able to show a number of impressive achievements: they converted hundreds of thousands of Japanese,[4] among them more than eighty powerful local lords called *daimyō*; established seminaries; ordained local priests (albeit not many);[5] organised a Japanese delegation to Europe and even founded their own city serving as a harbour for Portuguese merchant ships in Nagasaki.[6] Most of these feats can be justly attributed to the Jesuit mission and its ability to adapt to local conditions (according to the so-called Jesuit accommodation method).[7] Nevertheless, Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans gradually started to challenge the Jesuit dominance, providing a more conventional Catholic missionary approach.

When Diego Collado arrived in the city of Nagasaki, the situation was very different than in the »golden age«. Even though waves of Christian persecution had already occurred from the late 1580s, it was Tokugawa Ieyasu (d. 1616), the last of three famous unifiers of Japan and the founder of the Tokugawa shogun dynasty who, after a period of tolerance, gradually took a hard line on missionaries and Christians. In 1614, he promulgated a decree[8] (which could also be interpreted as a political manifesto)[9] expelling missionaries and banning Christianity. As a result, in 1619 Diego Collado found out that all Dominicans in Japan except three were either dead or in jail.[10] He instructed his religious brother Jacinto Orfanell to write a

---

2   Hence also his nickname »El Salmantino«, see Pagés, *Religion chrétienne*, 506.

3   There is still no monograph on Diego Collado. The most substantial study on his life is Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado. Substantial, yet older information can also be found in Quintana, Historia del insigne, 398-429 and Cenjor, Insinuación, 577-579. Also valuable is Pagés, *Religion chrétienne*. The recent studies include especially works by Hiroshi Hino, Carla Tronu Montané, Noriko Hamamatsu, Fernando Cid Lucas and Antonio Doñas Beleña.

4   Estimates of the number of Christians in Japan during this period vary wildly. Scholars mention numbers between 300,000 and 760,000 at its height, see Whelan, *Beginning*, 11, and Miyazaki, Roman Catholic mission, 7. Diego Collado himself mentions that Jesuits estimated around one million believers in 1623, see Doñas Beleña, Diego Collado, 62.

5   Nevertheless, this was still rather a remarkable feat. In many regions, there was a strong opposition to the ordination of any native priests. By contrast, Collado was a strong proponent of this approach, which conflicted with his Dominican brothers, see Boxer, Native clergy, 92-93.

6   On the importance of this endeavour in the Jesuit strategy of Christianisation, see Hesselink, *Dream of Christian Nagasaki*, 5-6.

7   See, e.g., Tronu Montané, Jesuit accommodation. The accommodation, however, should not be understood as some form of religious tolerance, see Schrimpf, *Pro- and Anti-Christian*, 41.

8   Boxer, *Christian Century*, 317-319. Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 139.

9   Screech, English, 9.

10 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 240.

history of the Dominican mission in Japan, thus fulfilling the order he had received from his superiors in Manila.[11] Orfanell's original manuscript covered the period from the year 1602 to the year 1620. After the latter's imprisonment in Japan and execution, Diego Collado continued the work until 1622 and later published it in Europe.

Collado's main task was evangelisation. To be able to fulfil the task, he spent the first year in hiding, learning the Japanese language. According to Jacinto Orfanell, he mastered it so well and quickly that he was already able to hear the confessions of natives in March 1620.[12] He visited various regions in order to serve the Christian populations there, changing his accommodation frequently in order to avoid being arrested. Nevertheless, he faced not only Japanese »enemies of faith« but also Christian ones.

In 1620, a Red-Seal ship of the Japanese Christian convert Joaquín Díaz Hirayama was detained by the English ship Elisabeth, a member of the joint Dutch-English »Fleet of Defence«, on its route from Manila to Japan.[13] Among the deer leather, two suspicious persons, dressed as merchants, were found hiding – in fact, two missionaries: Dominican Luis Flores and Augustinian Pedro Zuñiga. This suspicion was corroborated by the documents found with them. The Englishmen confiscated the cargo and handed the suspects over to the Dutch, who imprisoned them in their factory in Hirado. The »Fleet of Defence« would be allowed to retain the confiscated goods if able to prove that the two prisoners were indeed missionaries. Otherwise, it would be accused of piracy, because the so-called Red-Seal ships operated with the express approval of the Japanese government (in the form of the Red-Seal) and under its protection. This led to the frequent and brutal torture of the said missionaries.[14] There were multiple attempts from Nagasaki to rescue them, that by Diego Collado probably being the most daring. After Pedro Zuñiga was unable to bear the weight of evidence against him anymore and confessed, Collado tried to save at least the remaining Dominican. His plan included collecting alms for bribing a guard and sending a rescue party consisting of Japanese Christians in a boat.[15] The attempt failed. After that, Luis Flores finally confessed as well. Both missionaries were executed on 19th August 1622. Later, the Jesuits argued that the adventurous actions of Diego Collado actually caused the persecution of Christians in Japan.[16]

In the year 1622, Collado was ordered to return to Europe, where he served as a procurator for his province in Rome and Madrid.[17] In the following decade, he vehemently and fervently challenged the Jesuit monopoly in Japan in the curia and at the court. The Jesuits claimed their rights mainly based on their primacy in Japan and the necessity of preventing confusion among believers if multiple customs were allowed. They were supported by the bull of Gregory XIII of 1585 *Ex pastoralis officio*.[18] In 1600, Clement VIII allowed mendicants

---

11   Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 240.

12   Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 241.

13   Hartmann, Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan, 646-647.

14   On the British role in Japan, see Screech, English.

15   Hartmann, Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan, 659.

16   Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 263-264.

17   Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 253.

18   Boxer, *Christian Century,* 160.

to proceed to Japan with his bull *Onerosa pastoralis officii cura*. However, mendicants had to travel through Lisbon and Portuguese India.[19] It was Paul V who opened Japan for all religious orders with his bull *Sedis Apostolicae providentia* in 1608.[20] Nevertheless, this was not put fully into effect and mendicants faced much hostility from the Jesuits.

In the year of Collado's departure from Japan, 1622, an institution was founded with which Collado's future became closely tied. Pope Gregory XV issued a bull *Inscrutabili divinae providentiae arcano*[21] which established the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de propaganda fide*).[22] It was intended to serve two main purposes: (1) to win back souls lost to the Reformation and (2) to further advance the propagation of the faith among non-Christians.

The reach of this congregation was supposed to be enormous.[23] Yet, precisely this aspect necessarily led to conflicts. On one side, there was an old patronage system, which guaranteed the respective royal powers supervision and control over missionary activities in their colonies – Portuguese »padroado« and Spanish »patronazgo« (in modern Spanish »patronato«).[24] On the other side, various religious orders had also previously received numerous privileges and enjoyed vast independence in their missionary work. None of these actors were willing to be subjected to central supervision from Rome, and especially not the Jesuits.[25]

When Diego Collado presented the arguments of mendicant orders for opening Japan to all missionaries, the Congregation sided with him and sent him to deal with the problem in the Spanish court. Finally, after difficult negotiations, in 1631, King Philip IV of Spain (who also served as King Philip III of Portugal) ratified the decision that opened Japan to all missionaries.[26]

Concurrently, Diego Collado was trying to achieve another objective. Already in 1626, in his role as the general procurator of his order for the Philippines, he petitioned the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to create a new Dominican Congregation of St. Paul aimed primarily at missionary activities in Far East Asia. It was supposed to take control over various churches and buildings pertaining to the province of Saint Rosary, which Diego Collado was supposed to represent. Moreover, the new congregation would be subjected directly to the Master of the Order of Preachers, at that time Serafín Secchi.[27] However, when Collado discussed the matter with Secchi, the latter vehemently resisted the proposition, fearing that it would cause damage to the said province. The Master of the Order even stripped Diego Collado of his function of procurator and forbade him to engage further in the matter.[28]

---

19   Boxer, *Christian Century,* 240.

20   Boxer, *Christian Century*, 241.

21   For a critical analysis of this bull, see Prendergast and Prendergast, Invention of propaganda.

22   Santos Hernández, Orígenes históricos.

23   Prendergast and Prendergast, Invention of propaganda, 21: »Let them oversee all the missions for the proclamation and teaching of the Gospel and Catholic doctrine, and let them appoint the necessary agents for this work.«

24   Boxer, *Christian Century*, 255.

25   Despite the fact that the founder of the Congregation, Gregory XIII, as well as his successor, Urban VIII, were both educated by Jesuits, see Lach and Kley, *Asia in the Making*, 223-224. On the conflicts between the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and the Jesuit order, see Pizzorusso, »Propaganda Fide«.

26   Jiménez Pablo, Papel, 159.

27   Schütte, Wirksamkeit der Päpste, 180-181.

28   Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 272-273.

Persistent as he was, Collado did not give up on his idea. After the death of the Master of the Order and the election of the new one, he was able to get approval from both the new Master of the Order, Niccolò Ridolfi in 1630, as well as from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1633. It is notable that the goals of the pontifical congregation were much the same. It also intended to coordinate and boost missionary activity in the Far East by creating an apostolic vicariate, which was vehemently rejected by the Spanish court.[29]

Once Collado had received all the necessary permissions, he set out to return to Asia and to fulfil his plan. In 1634, a suitable occasion occurred. A ship was to sail from Seville with a group of missionaries requested by the province of St. Rosary in the Philippines. Once they had embarked and sailed off in the direction of Mexico, Collado presented them with his plan for the new congregation, of which he was supposed to be a vicar, together with the permissions he had obtained. He then persuaded a number of young missionaries to join him, who, as a sign of their new allegiance, let their beards grow long – hence their nickname »Barbones«.[30] On the ship from Mexico to the Philippines, he also made the acquaintance of the new Governor of the Philippines, Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera – who later became instrumental for his goals.

When Diego Collado finally arrived back in the Philippines with future missionaries under his command in 1635, he faced strong opposition from the local Dominicans. One of their worries was missing royal consent, i.e., the unsolved issue of royal patronage. Besides, they regarded Collado's activity as a critique of their own conduct. They complained that they were falsely accused of neglecting the Japanese mission to which, in their eyes, the province sacrificed many of its best missionaries.[31]

Frustrated by the lack of progress in the matter, Diego Collado was not afraid to overpower the Dominican houses with military assistance from the Governor.[32] Finally, after a considerable struggle, he lost his case and was ordered to return to Spain. On his way from the Philippine province of Cagayán – where he had started his missionary career three decades earlier – to Manila, his boat was shipwrecked, and he died in 1641.[33]

His death corresponds symbolically with »the death« of the mission in Japan and with the end of the so-called Christian Century in Japan. In 1637-1638, a large and unexpected Christian rebellion disturbed the regions of Amakusa and Shimabara on Kyushu Island. It took significant effort to put it down. The shogunate suspected the involvement of Catholic missionaries who were still being smuggled into the country, even though none were found in Hara Castle – the last stand of the rebels.[34] When, in 1639, two Portuguese ships arrived from Macau to Nagasaki, they were not allowed to trade on the grounds that they were helping to smuggle missionaries into the land. The captain was given a copy of the decree prohibiting any further Macau-Nagasaki trade and ordered to sail away as soon as possible.[35]

---

29 Jiménez Pablo, Papel, 159.

30 Pagés, *Religion chrétienne,* 814-815, footnote 1. Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 274-275.

31 E.g., chapter 36 in Audarte's Chronicle of the Philippine Province (the part in question composed by Domingo Gonçales).

32 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 275.

33 Delgado García, Salmantino Diego Collado, 279-280.

34 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 383.

35 Boxer, *Christian Century,* 384.

In 1640, the inhabitants of the »City of the Name of God« (Macau) made a desperate attempt to resume business. Of the crew of the ship sent to Japan, 61 persons were executed and only 13 natives were spared, so they could bring the gloomy news back.[36] Only a few missionaries dared to enter Japan afterwards. They were all quickly caught and executed.[37] No doubt if Collado had attempted to enter Japan again, he would have suffered the same fate.

The linguistic works of Diego Collado

The literary activity[38] of Diego Collado bears similarities to his adventurous life – persistent, fervent and somewhat hasty. From the 1620s on, he wrote multiple reports (so-called memorials) fighting against the Jesuits' monopoly in Japan. The vast majority of them were published within only five years between 1629 and 1634.[39] Between the years 1631 and 1632, he prepared and published three linguistic books of Japanese (grammar, dictionary, and model confession),[40] and finally, in 1633, he published the history of Japanese Christianisation from the Dominican point of view, composed mainly by Jacinto Orfanell and finished by himself, covering the years 1602 to 1622.[41]

Such frantic activity was surely not a matter of chance. I would argue that all these books are the results of the sharply focused effort by Diego Collado to build up support for his missionary cause. Reports addressed to the king and the pope were designed to weaken the Jesuit position. The history of Dominicans in Japan created an alternative narrative to the Jesuits' one and was probably also designed to attract new possible missionaries. Once gained for the cause, those missionaries would then learn the language from textbooks designed for just that purpose.[42]

---

36 Boxer, *Christian Century*, 384-385.

37 Boxer, *Christian Century,* 390-397.

38 There is still some confusion regarding the number of his printed books: the former seems to stem especially from Leon Allatius' work *Apes urbanae,* already published in 1633. Beside the works mentioned here, it also lists No. 4 *Formula protestandi mysteria fidei, No. 6 Dictionarium linguae Chinensis, cum explicatione Latina et Hispanica, charactere Chinensi et Latino,* and No. 7, *Varia opuscula... pro commodiori Evangelii propagatione apud Iapones*. The No. 4, *Formula fidei protestandi fidei* seems to be simply another title for *Modus confitendi*, based on the preface to this work. I have not been able to confirm the existence of the Chinese dictionary despite my best efforts. It is possible that Allatius confused the Japanese dictionary (maybe its *Additiones* – if they were printed out separately) with the Chinese dictionary, see Toribio Medina, *Bibliografía*, 170 and Saracho Villalobos, Obra lingüística, 1565. This conclusion also seems to be supported by *Elenchus librorum*, a catalogue of printed books by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith from 1639. It lists only 3 works by Diego Collado: the Grammar, the Dictionary and *Modus confitendi.*

39 Wilkinson and Ulla Lorenzo, *Iberian Books*, 292, 293, list 14 reports by Diego Collado that were printed, and 16 books in total. However, their list is incomplete and cannot be completely relied on.

40 According to Toribio Medina, these works of Diego Collado have exemplars with different and multiple publishing dates, see *Bibliografía*, 168-171. Nevertheless, the much more recent and trustworthy Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 122-125, lists only the date 1632 for all linguistic books. This date also appears in all exemplars I was able to see.

41 *Historia Eclesiástica de los sucesos de la Christiandad de Japón (1602-1620) ... Añadida hasta el fin de 1622 por el P. Fr. Diego Collado, O.P.*

42 Research on Diego Collado usually focuses on just one of these three works. Notable exceptions are Hamamatsu, Obra lingüística; Tronu Montané, Primeros materiales; Saracho Villalobos, Obra lingüística.

The linguistic work done by Collado is today somewhat overshadowed by the Jesuit linguistics. The Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary (*Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*) from 1595 and especially the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary (*Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*) from 1603[43] are incomparably more extensive than Collado's Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary (*Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium*).[44] With some 32,000 words, the *Vocabulario* was the most comprehensive dictionary of Japanese until the nineteenth century.[45] Likewise, in comparison to the phenomenal grammar of the Jesuit João Rodrigues, *Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, from 1604-1608, comprising three volumes in 240 folios,[46] Collado's grammar (*Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*) seems to be a dwarf with only 75 pages. Yet, such comparisons ignore what Collado was trying to achieve and the conditions under which he worked.

All three mentioned monumental works by (and for) the Jesuit mission were composed in the arguably most suitable period concerning the Christianisation of Japan. They were products of collective knowledge acquired by generations of Jesuits and printed on their own printing press, which was brought to Japan in 1587. Although the first edict against Christians was issued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the same year, it still allowed Christian beliefs, but forbade forced proselytisation. It was almost immediately followed by the order to expel missionaries – which was, however, not strictly enforced. The press was thus able to operate until 1614, when another decree was promulgated by Tokugawa Ieyasu and the severe persecution took off.[47]

Diego Collado was writing in the time of worsening persecution in Japan, ten years after he had left the country and had stopped using its language. In the preface to his dictionary, he states clearly: »[...] I could not find any help, either in books or in a Japanese, [I could not find anybody] with whom I could speak, but I only wrote what I could find in my fragile memory.« (*[...] nullum, aut librorum, aut Iaponii, cum quo communicarem, invenire potui adiutorium, sed ea solum scriptis mandavi, quae fragili memoriae occurrerunt*.)[48] In his *Modus confitendi*, he almost wonders about the circumstances of his work: »... after so long a time not only not to lose the foreign language but to preserve it in such way that without any help, I was able to compose the grammar, the dictionary of so many thousand words, the form of confession and profession of faith – all this was without any doubt granted by God.« (*tam longo enim temporis intervallo linguam extraneam non amississe; sed illam sic conservasse, ut sine aliquo adiutorio, artem grammaticae, dictionarium tot millium verborum, et formulam confitendi et fidem protestandi, potuerim perficere, a Domino sine dubio factum est istud*.)[49] He was aware of deficiencies in his work, but, nevertheless, wanted to publish his books in order to help preachers to learn the language before embarking on the mission in Japan (*ut possint illam* [sc. linguam] *extra Iaponiam addiscere*).[50]

---

43   For a concise overview of Japanese lexicography, see Lewin, Japanische Lexikographie.

44   The Jesuits also printed out the monolingual Japanese dictionary of Kanji (i.e. Chinese characters used by Japanese) called *Rakuyōshū* (落葉集), see Laures, *Kirishitan bunko,* 58-60.

45   Frellesvig, *Japanese Language,* 302-303.

46   Frellesvig, *Japanese Language*, 302.

47   Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 1-24.

48   Collado, *Dictionarium*, 3-4.

49   Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

50   Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 5.

Often forgotten is the fact that nobody published books on the Japanese language in Europe before this. Even though Collado's books were printed using the Latin alphabet instead of Chinese signs and Japanese scripts, it was still a great challenge.[51] This alone can explain difficulties with typesetting and typographical errors and inconsistencies.[52] Diego Collado himself states in his *Dictionarium*: »Do not (please) wonder when you see a number of mistakes, because the Japanese language is so unknown to European typesetters.« (*erratorum vero multitudinem videns, ne (quaeso) mireris, cum typographis Europeis, sit lingua Iaponica tam incognita*).[53] The works of Diego Collado were among the first linguistic books the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith commissioned.[54]

The goals of Diego Collado and the Congregation were almost perfectly aligned. Collado probably thought of preparing suitable textbooks for his planned Congregation of St. Paul, while the pontifical Congregation strove to become the central institution of all missionary activity. Nevertheless, it also seems that the Congregation forced Collado to make one important change in his original publication plan. The grammar was first composed in Spanish, as surviving manuscripts testify, and it was then translated into Latin (thus becoming the first Latin grammar of Japanese).[55] Similarly, Collado composed the dictionary in Spanish and Japanese. However, he was forced by his superiors (*ex superiorum ordine*) to add Latin lemmas very quickly. He asks the reader to place more trust in the Spanish explanations than in the Latin ones.[56]

It is hopefully not a stretch to say that Diego Collado, albeit a great Japanese linguist, was somewhat insecure about his Latin. He obviously preferred Spanish, as his memorials and drafts of the grammar and the dictionary show. The Latin part of the *Modus confitendi* represents his only published Latin text that does not seem be a translation from Spanish. It is, however, a translation of the text in Japanese. Collado describes the Latin version as *congruam tantum et non elegantem* – just corresponding, not elegant.[57] This may also explain

---

51 Japanese writing is notoriously difficult. The language uses not only Chinese signs (so-called kanji) but also two scripts: hiragana and katakana. Today, all three writings are usually combined, nevertheless, they were already all in use in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits were one of the most important innovators in printing in Japanese, using movable types for Chinese characters, including introducing a new diacritic mark for hiragana that is still used even today (so-called handakuten), see Frellesvig, *Japanese Language*, 165. Despite this, they still also printed out many Japanese books using Latin characters, e.g. the already mentioned (*Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*) and the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary (*Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*).

52 These are mentioned multiple times by Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar,* e.g. 5, 28, 30.

53 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 157.

54 Older grammars published directly by the Congregation are the grammars of Syrian (1628), Ethiopian (1630) and Arabic (1631), see *Elenchus librorum*, 3. The only older dictionaries are those of Georgian (1629) and Malay (1631), see *Elenchus librorum*, 4.

55 Osterkamp, Manuscript precursors.

56 »I would like to ask you to have greater trust in the proper signification of the Spanish explanation than the Latin one. I originally decided to use only the Spanish one, however, it was necessary to add the Latin one very quickly because of the order of superiors.« (*Mallem etiam te maiorem fidem adhibere proprietati explicationis Hispanicae, quam latinae: quia cum Hispanicam solam ponere decrevissem, fuit necessarium ex superiorum ordine acceleratissime latinam adicere.*), Collado, *Dictionarium*, 157.

57 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

some unusual Latin constructions that make reading of his books difficult. Nevertheless, by persuading Collado to write these three books in Latin, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith made them accessible to a broader audience than just the Iberian one, and thus helped promote its own cause of opening missionary activity to all.

This study does not attempt to be a deep analysis of the Japanese language of the Early Modern period that Collado described and used. These questions lie in the domain of Japanese historical linguistics and philology which extensively use linguistic material collected by early modern Christian missionaries. I will focus instead on the overall concept of the trilogy and the Latin linguistic and philological tradition in which it is rooted.

Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae

The first and most important element of Collado's project was the grammar that he called *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae*.[58] The preface is dated to 30th August 1631, but it was printed in 1632, as the title page shows. In the preface, Collado states that the extensive grammar of João Rodrigues *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* from 1604-1608 was neither perfect nor easily accessible at his time. For this reason, he decided to extract parts of it, leave out what he regarded as incorrect, and add new material based on his own experience.[59] An important feature is Collado's stress on the brevity (*sub brevitate*) of his explanations. And indeed, his work is miniscule compared to its model. Both works also differ in their structure. Rodrigues followed the example of his religious brother, Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez, who in 1572 composed the highly influential grammar *De institutione grammatica.* The concise version of this Latin grammar from 1573 was published in Japan by the Jesuit Press in 1594.[60] Collado, on the other hand, states that he wants to follow the example of another renowned grammarian: »In this grammar we have observed the arrangement which the experienced Antonius Nebrissensis and others have followed in their writings on the Latin language, that is, through parts of speech, namely, nouns, pronouns, etc.«[61] Antonio de Nebrija (also known as Antonio de Lebrija) composed the *Introductiones Latinae* (»Introduction to Latin«), first published in 1481 in Salamanca. Yet, it would probably be mistaken to search for any direct influence of Nebrija on Collado; Collado seems rather to profess his adherence to the long-standing grammatical tradition than to any particular work.[62]

---

58   The grammar has been translated into English by Richard Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar*.

59   *[Si] extractis ab arte praedicta necessariis (sunt enim multa) et relictis, quae peritis in praedicta lingua talia non probantur, additis etiam iis, quae experientia, et usus, lectioneque continua librorum, Deo largiente (qui dat verbum Evanelizantibus) sum adeptus.* Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 3.

60   Assunção and Toyoshima, Amakusa Edition, 59.

61   Usually, the translation by Spear is used when quoting from the *Ars grammaticae*. However, in this case I have decided to rework it. The original Latin version says: *In hac arte grammaticae servavimus ordinem, quem peritus Antonius Nebrissensis, et alii servaverunt in suis linguae Latinae, per partes, videlicet, orationis, nempe nomen, pronomen, etc.* Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 6. Spear translates the passage as: »In this grammar we have for the most part observed the arrangement which Antonius Nebrissensis and others have followed in Latin for the treatment of sentences, namely, nouns, pronouns, etc.« Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar*, 111.

62   According to Takizawa, there is no direct influence of either Alvarez or Nebrija on the structure of Collado's grammar, see Takizawa, *Study of »Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae«,* 216.

To highlight the difference between the two approaches: Alvarez and Rodrigues first discuss the declensions of nouns, pronouns and the conjugations of verbs and then treat all the parts of speech again. Collado, on the other hand, seems to have preferred to streamline this and to address the declensions and conjugations within the corresponding parts of speech (noun with adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction and separation,[63] interjection.) A very similar structure can already be found in Antiquity, e.g., in Donatus' *Ars minor* (noun with adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, participle, conjunction, preposition, interjection).

Collado's grammar is divided into the following parts:

1. Prologue to the Reader with some advice on the correct pronunciation (pp. 3-5)
2. Parts of speech (pp. 6-61)
3. Syntax (pp. 61-66)
4. Japanese arithmetic (pp. 66-74)
5. Some rules on the conjugations of the verbs in the written language (pp. 74-75)

The individual chapters vary in length. The parts of speech are the longest ones, while the expositions on syntax and rules concerning the written language cover only a couple of pages. Dealing with Japanese, Collado used the framework of the Latin language, e.g., he speaks about cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative and ablative) and calls various forms of Japanese verbs »gerundium« or »supinum«. Nevertheless, he is aware of radical structural differences between the languages: »In the Japanese language there are no case declensions as they are in Latin; but there are certain particles, which when suffixed to nouns, determine the differences between the cases for both common and proper nouns.«[64]

While it may be argued that Diego Collado was not able to step outside of the Latin grammatical framework, it is important to note that even today the grammars of the Japanese language for the general non-Japanese public often do something very similar. They also speak about nominative, genitive, etc.[65] And even linguistic works intended for an academic audience use terms like »nominative Case marker ga«.[66] Such usage does not seem to be much different from the observation by Collado that »[t]he particles which form the nominative are five; *va*, *ga*, *cara*, *no*, and *iori*«.[67] The Latin (and Greek) grammatical framework became in great part the basis for philologies studying non-European languages at the same time as European missionaries, adventurers, armies, and at least colonial bureaucratic machineries expanded across the world.

---

63 Takizawa translates »divisiones« as »separators«, see Takizawa, *Study of »Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae«*, 103.

64 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 111.

65 E.g., Funatsu-Böhler, *Grammatik kurz und bündig*, passim.

66 E.g., Matsumoto, *Noun-Modifying Constructions*, 39

67 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 111.

Collado's grammar is, however, much more than just a description of the language. By choosing specific sample words, phrases and sentences, Collado reflects both the contemporary realities of life in Early Modern Japan as well as cultural preconceptions by him and his fellow missionaries. This is apparent in such little things as the choice of names for people appearing in sample sentences: the most common of these is not a Japanese name but Pedro, followed by Juan, e.g., *Pedro to juan to Nagasaqi ie ita* »Peter and John went to Nagasaki«[68] (*Petrus et Ioannes ierunt Nagasaquim*).[69] This may reflect the fact that the Japanese converts were supposed to use their baptismal names instead of their native names.

A large portion of the sample sentences understandably concerns religious contents, e.g.: *Jesu Cristo Deus de gozari nagara, fito ni taixite cruz ni cacaraxerareta*, »while Jesus Christ was a God, he was crucified for man«[70] (*Iesus Christus cum esset Deus crucifixus est propter hominem*).[71] *Deus ni tai xite cuguio vo coraiuru*, »I endure the pain (*labor*) because of God«[72] (*suffero labores propter Deum*).[73] *[Ten] ni maximasu varera ga von voia*, »Our Father who is in Heaven«[74] (*Pater noster qui est in caelis*).[75] In one case, there is also a sentence that mirrors the later *Modus confitendi: nhóbógata ni vochita coto ga atta ca?,* »did you fall into the sin of adultery with this woman?«[76] (*incidisti ne in peccatum luxuriae cum muliere?*).[77] However, we would look in vain for sample sentences regarding the ongoing persecution, with the exception teaching the imperative: *Christiani naru na to no xógun no fatto ga aru [Christian ni . . .],* »it is the law of the Shogun (*imperator*) that no one should become a Christian«[78] (*est lex imperatoris, quod non fiat quis Christianus*).[79]

Probably the most interesting examples are those in which grammar and the cultural background of the missionaries intersect. The Japanese language is extremely sensitive in approaching various social ranks. While politeness is mainly expressed in the European languages by the 2nd person plural, 3rd person plural or 3rd person singular form of a verb in addressing another person, the Japanese language shows a complex system of politeness consisting of various particles, pronouns and verbs. The first European description of this issue comes from João Rodrigues in *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* from 1604-1608,[80] and Diego Collado followed him in his grammar, explaining the use of »-sama« after the name of a person or his/her function referring to specific European Christian social hierarchies:

---

68 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 166.

69 Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 59.

70 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 155.

71 Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 48.

72 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 164.

73 Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 57.

74 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 122.

75 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 17.

76 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 129.

77 Collado, *Ars grammaticae,* 24.

78 Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 126.

79 Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 21.

80 See Fernandes and Assunção, Japanese politeness.

Si autem loquamur cum personis in dignitatibus constitutis, nomen dignitatis, si illi super addatur particula, sama, supplet vicem pronominis: v.g. Padre samã gozare, veniat vestra paternitas.[81]

When speaking to persons of high rank, if we place the name of their office before *sama*, it serves as a pronoun; e.g., *Padresama gozare* »will the Father come.«[82]

Si vero anteponatur illis sic constitutis, vo, honorantur verba satis: v.g. vomõdori arõca? *revertetur ne vestra dominatio?* Tono sama vo xini atta toqi, *quando dominus mortuus est,* Deus cono xecai uo gosacu atta, *Deus creavit hunc mundum, his particulis utimur loquendo cum personis honoratis quas diligimus, et cum quibus habemus amicitiam.*

Particula, nasare uru, honorem supremum, aut satis magnum dat verbis; postponitur vero eorum radicibus: v.g. Deus cono xecai uo go sacu nasareta, *Deus creavit hunc mundum.*[83]

If you add *vo* in front of the verb it is honored moderately (*satis*); e.g., *vomodori aró ca?* »Your Lordship is going to come back?« *Tono sama vo xini atta toqi* »when the master died,«

Deus cono xecai vo gosacu atta »God created the world.« We use these particles when we are speaking with honored persons whom we like and with whom we are on friendly terms.

The particle *nasare,uru* gives the highest (*supremus*), or moderately great (*satis magnus*) honor and is placed after the root of the verb; e.g., *Deus cono xecai vo gosacu nasareta* »God created the world.«[84]

The same hierarchisation also applies to places: »*Mairi,u* means to go to a place to which honor should be shown; e.g., *iglesia ie maire* ›go to church!‹«[85] (*mairi, u, significat ire ad locum cui honor debetur: v.g.* iglesia ie maire, *eas Ecclesiam*)[86].

Probably the most peculiar example of hierarchisation given by Collado is the following: »The particle *ra* forms the plural of nouns which indicate very low things which are to be despised; e.g., *ludeo ra* ›Jews.‹«[87] (*Particula,* ra, *facit pluralia nomina significantia res vilissimas, vel quae despectui habentur: v.g. Iudeora, Iudaei.*)[88]

81　Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 14.

82　Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 119.

83　Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 39.

84　Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 145.

85　Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar,* 148.

86　Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 42.

87　Spear, *Diego Collado Grammar*, 113.

88　Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 8.

Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium

The *Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium* (Latin-Spanish-Japanese dictionary)[89] was published as the third in the series. However, it was clearly planned as the second book – hence its position in this analysis. Collado mentions it already in the preface of *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae* (Grammar of the Japanese language) and promises its imminent publication.[90] In the grammar we can find multiple references to the future dictionary and the dictionary, on the other hand, often refers to the grammar.

All of Collado's works were written under time pressure.[91] It is, however, the *Dictionarium* where this is probably the most obvious and it manifests both in the individual lemmata as well as in its structure. As was the case with the grammar, Collado originally wrote the dictionary as a Spanish-Japanese one. After he was ordered by his superiors to use Latin, Collado still preserved Spanish explanations. According to his own words, the reader should actually trust those more than the Latin ones.[92] The result is curious: sometimes the meaning of the Japanese expression can be understood only with the help of both the Latin and the Spanish explanations:[93]

Commeatus, us. licencia para ir a alguna parte. itoma. yurùxi.

Commeatus, vitualla de exercito. fioro.

Commeatus, us. »licence to go to any part«. itoma. yurùxi.

Commeatus, »provisions of the army«. fioro.

Even pronouns are not spared this, and some of them can be understood only if one has knowledge of Spanish:[94]

Ego: yo: vatacuxi. vide in arte.

Ego: yo, hablando mujer: mizzucara.

Ego: I: vatacuxi. »see the grammar.«

Ego: I, »for a woman speaking«: mizzucara.

---

89   On the history of the Spanish-Japanese lexicography, see Jacinto García, Lexicografía bilingüe español-japonés.

90   Collado, *Ars grammaticae*, 3.

91   E.g., his long memorial from 1631, see Doñas Beleña, Diego Collado.

92   See footnote no. 56.

93   Collado, *Dictionarium*, 188.

94   Collado, *Dictionarium*, 40.

This working method creates a very interesting linguistic situation here. The Latin language is formally the primary one – it is used in lemmata which are sorted alphabetically. Yet, the Spanish language is the key means for proper understanding of the Latin lexical units, without which the reader cannot access the Japanese expression. The dictionary can therefore rightfully be called trilingual – all three languages play equally important and distinct roles in it.[95]

Another issue is, however, that the dictionary was a work in progress when it was printed rather than a finished and polished product. This is apparent in its two distinctive parts: the first consists of the dictionary (until p. 146), followed by *praetermissa* (»omitted words«) (pp. 147-156) and *errata* (p. 158). After that, a supplement, more extensive than the original dictionary, *Additiones ad dictionarium Iaponicum* (»Additions to the Latin dictionary«), with a separate introduction and its own new *errata* (until p. 355), follows.

The *Additiones* were prepared when the dictionary was already in print. It is not clear whether they were printed out immediately after the dictionary was published or with some pause in between.[96] Both parts, however, were meant to be bound together – they have continuous numbering of pages and the *Additiones* have only a very simplified title page without any information on the publishing house or the year.[97]

In some cases, Collado only lists the Latin lexical units with a Spanish explanation but without a Japanese equivalent. The following reason is given at the end of the *Additiones:*[98]

> *Aliqua invenientur vocabula latina, quorum correspondentia Iaponica non mihi occurrerunt; posui tamen latina, ut possint in secunda editione a me, vel a quovis alio me eruditiore addi.*

> There are some Latin words to which I could not remember the Japanese equivalent; nevertheless, I put the Latin ones there, so they could be added by me or by anybody more knowledgeable than me, in the second edition.

It is notable that the first part was prepared by Collado without any obvious systematic guidelines for the choice of words. Their selection therefore often seems quite random, e.g., the original dictionary contains *sacerdos* (»priest«), but not *sacramentum* (»sacrament«). And even words like »cheap« (*vilis*) appear in the *praetermissa* (»omitted words«).

---

95 One may argue that the *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* from 1594 is somehow similar in this sense: the lemmas are in Latin, explanations in Portuguese and Japanese. Yet, both its origin as a trilingual dictionary and its users were different than in Collado's case. It originated as a translation of Calepinus' dictionary. And while it acknowledges possible use for Europeans learning Japanese, its first and most important intended audience was Japanese youths learning Latin.

96 Atsuko Kawaguchi makes a case for the need to study various exemplars of this dictionary since there are small differences between them (as was usual in the printing process in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period), see Kawaguchi, Variants of Latin-Spanish-Japanese Dictionary.

97 Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 124, lists the dictionary and its supplement as one item. The study by Atsuko Kawaguchi shows that there are volumes containing both parts of the dictionary as well as only one of them, see Kawaguchi, Variants of Latin-Spanish-Japanese Dictionary, 69.

98 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 353.

The second part (*Additiones*) was composed much more systematically. Collado added missing words following the so-called »Calepinus« (*iuxta Calepini dictionarium*).[99] Ambrosius Calepinus (d. 1510), published a Latin dictionary that became so successful that the name of its author became eponymous.[100] While it preserved some of the features of previous medieval dictionaries (like limited nesting of lemmas, omitting some common words, monolingual Latin), it became the basis for many adaptations and reworkings. It was reprinted innumerable times until the eighteenth century with various vernacular equivalents added to Latin lemmas. Already in the sixteenth century, versions containing six or even eleven languages were published.[101] The dictionary was used, e.g., by Japanese Jesuits compiling their *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* in 1595. It was, therefore, also a natural choice for Collado.

It would, however, be mistaken to assume that Collado followed Calepinus closely and that he also tried to copy the structure of the lemmas. This can be shown, e.g., in the already mentioned and originally missing lemma for *sacramentum* (»sacrament«) that Collado added in his *Additiones*. The entry in the edition of Calepinus's dictionary from 1627 that Collado was able to consult when working on his work is quite extensive: it contains the etymology of the word, various translations into the vernacular languages, the opinions of ancient grammarians (Varro, Festus), quotations from Cicero and the poets (Juvenalis) and different meanings of the word. It does not, however, contain the Christian meaning of the word. Already the size of the entry is telling:[102]

> Sacramentum, n. s. Pecunia dicebatur a duobus contendentibus in iure deposita ea conditione, ut qui vicisset, suam auferret; victi vero aerario cederet. [Germ. War vor zeiten das gelt, so zwo rechtigende parteyen hinder den obersten Priester legten mit dem geding, daß dessen gelt zu dem Gottsdienst sollte verfallen seyn, so den Rechtshandel verlure. Polon. *Základ*.] Varro libro 4. de lingua Latina: Sacramentum a sacro, et qui petebat et qui inficiabatur, uterque quingenta aeris ad pontificem deponebat. De aliis item rebus, alio certo numero. Qui iudicio vicerat, suum sacramentum a sacro auferebat, victi ad aerarium redibant [sic!], i.e. victus ea pecunia, quam deposuerat, mulctabatur in poenam iniustae litigationis, quae aerario cedebat. Cicero libro 9. Epistol. Pugna, si me amas: nisi arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas, mea non esse. Idem de Oratore: Agerent enim tecum Pythagorei, quibuscum tibi iusto sacramento contedere non liceret. Iniustis vindiciis et sacramentis fundos alienos petere, Cicero pro Milone.

---

99 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 163. However, Hideo Hotta compared a part of Collado's dictionary with that of Calepinus and with Nebrija's dictionary, stating (my translation): »Collado is closer to Nebrija than to Calepino« (コリャード は、カレピーノよりも、ネブリハに近い), Hotta, Diccionario latino-español-japonés de Collado, 19.

100 Krömer, Lateinische Lexikographie, 1715.

101 Kramer, Ancient languages, 625.

102 Calepinus, *Dictionarium undecim linguarum*, 1285.

◖ Sacramentum item, interprete Festo, dicitur, quicquid iureiurando interposito geritur. [ὀρκωμοσία, ἱερὸς ὅρκος. German. Ein Eyd. Belg. Den Eidt. Polon. *Obwarowanie przisiegam*.] Hinc sacramentum militare dicebatur, quo milites in verba imperatoris sui iurabant: quod nisi praestitissent, iusti milites non videbantur; eoque absoluti, in hostem legitime pugnare non poterant. Legitima (*inquit Servius*) militia erat eorum, qui singuli iurabant pro Repub. se esse facturos; nec discedebant, nisi completis stipendiis: et sacramentum vocabatur. Vegetius de Re militari, libro 8: Milites iurare solent et ideo militiae sacrati dicuntur. Iurant autem, se omnia strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator, nunquam deserturos militiam pro Romana Republica.

◖ Iuvenalis, Satyr. 15: Sacramenta figurate pro ipsisi militibus posuit: Praemia nunc alia atque emolumenta notemus sacramentorum, i.e. militum iuratorum et sacramento rogatorum.

◖ Suetonius in Caesare: Sanxit, ne quis civis maior viginti annis minorve decem, qui sacramento non teneretur, plus triennio continuo Italia abesset. Teneri sacramento est obligari per sacramentum. Sacramento rogari est iureiurando adigi. Quintil. lib. 12. cap. 2: Sed haec inter ipsos, qui velut sacramento rogati, vel etiam superstitione constricti, nefas ducunt, a suscepta semel persuasione discedere.

The Jesuit *Dictionarium* (Amakusa 1595) basically follows this structure, just simplifying it, and omitting several examples. Collado's lemma on the other hand resembles a simple gloss rather than a proper dictionary entry:

> *Sacramentum, i; sacramento, sacrifico , as; sacrificar bazer accion sagrada; sãzzuqe, uru.*[103]

> Sacramentum, i; »sacrament«, sacrifico , as; »to sacrifice«, »to do a holy action«; sã zzuqe, uru.

Collado's dictionary resembles much more simple glossaries that were already common in the Middle Ages than an advanced dictionary by Calepinus[104] It is nevertheless his largest linguistic work by far. While still being small and compact, it has 355 pages. The choice of primary languages (Latin/Spanish) together with the use of the Latin alphabet for all entries, show that his main intended users were priests learning Japanese, while the Jesuit *Dictionarium* was much more intended for Japanese learning Latin. However, this means that the dictionary cannot easily be used for understanding Japanese texts. This is an important feature when considering the last of the three linguistic books by Diego Collado.

---

103 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 324.

104 For the history of Latin lexicography in the Middle Ages, see Weijers, Lexicography.

Modus confitendi et examinandi penitentem Iaponensem

The most unusual and intriguing part of Collado's trilogy is the collection of Japanese-Latin model confessions *Niffon no Cotõbani yô Confesion*, in Latin known as *Modus confitendi et examinandi poenitentem Iaponensem* (Way of Confession and Examination of a Japanese Penitent).[105] It seems to be a little bit of an afterthought. When Collado finished his grammar and was preparing his dictionary for printing, he arrived at the conclusion that these two books were not enough for sufficient acquisition of the language. A model training text was needed »to verify the rules of the said grammar« (*ad verificandas praedictae artis regulas*).[106] Traditionally, fictitious dialogues had served in this role since Antiquity.[107] The most elaborate example of this genre is probably the famous *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus of Rotterdam that surpassed just a simple teaching tool and became a vehicle for the spread of Erasmus's ideas. Equally common were dialogues oriented to business, study and everyday life.[108] One late example from the Far East can be found in the *Grammatica Latina ad usum Sinensium juvenum* of Joaquim A. Gonçalves from 1828, published in Macao.[109] Diego Collado, however, explicitly refuses this genre:

> *Placuit autem hoc, non in dialogis materiam inutilem continentibus efficere; sed ordinando quandam confitendi, et fidei mysteria protestandi formulam, ut a principio auditus ministrorum et linguae rebus, in quibus continuo debent exerceri, assuescant.*[110]

> I have found it better not to do it in the form of dialogues without any practical value but rather to compose a model confession and profession of the mysteries of faith, so that already from the beginning, the ears and tongues of missionaries gets used to things in which they have to train continuously.[111]

Instead, Diego Collado chooses to write something more useful (in his eyes). He uses the words *formula confitendi et protestandi mysteria fidei*. The word *formula* – the form – is a reference to one of the types of confessional literature, the so-called »form of confession«[112] or »confessional formulary«.[113] These are often from the penitent's point of view and intended for personal confession.[114] However, I chose to translate them here as »a model confession«, because Collado's work is not intended for penitents but for priests. *Modus confitendi* thus fulfils two peculiar roles at the same time: it is a language textbook and it provides the confessor – a future missionary – with a guideline on how to handle a Japanese Christian.

---

105 The work was recently edited and published in a modern Japanese and Portuguese translation by Hino Hiroshi, see Hino, *Modus confitendi*. Ramírez Pardo published a Spanish translation in Ramírez Pardo, El modus confitendi. There is also an unpublished master's thesis by Thomas Jo Johansen that may contain the English translation. Unfortunately, access to this work is closed and it is not possible to obtain a copy of this, see Johansen, *Collado's Niffon no cotõbani*. Small excerpts in English were published by Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan.*

106 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 3.

107 See Dickey, *Learning Latin.*

108 See McLelland, Dialogue and German language learning, and McLelland, *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages*, 40-41.

109 Joaquim A. Gonçalves is known especially for his *Arte China,* grammar of the Chinese language, see Levi, Arte China.

110 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 3.

111 Translations of the Latin text of *Modus confitendi* are my own.

112 See Cornett, *Form of Confession.*

113 Goering and Mantello, Notus in Iudea Deus.

114 Goering and Mantello, Notus in Iudea Deus, 254.

Visually, the more prominent language is Japanese.[115] The Japanese text is situated on the verso of the folio and the Latin version is on the following folio recto. This means that the Japanese text precedes the Latin translation. According to the author, the Latin text is only congruous, not elegant.[116] This, however, does not mean that the individual versions are on the same stylistic level. The Japanese language has been praised in the respective research for its closeness to the spoken word. The Latin text, on the other hand, may be described as written in a standard, unremarkable, maybe even slightly clumsy theological Latin of the time.

It is therefore understandable that it has been suggested by multiple scholars that the Japanese text of *Modus confitendi* contains actual recordings of penitents.[117] However, Collado neither claims anything like that in his prologue nor would it be congruent with the tradition of fictious texts composed for didactic purposes. Collado admits that he has not used the Japanese language for ten years. This suggests that he used his experience from hearing many confessions in Japan to create model confessions rather than copying genuine recorded confessions.

Besides, the Japanese part contains various terms in Latin (*Deus, fides*), Spanish (*confesion, sancta iglesia catholica*) and Portuguese (*gentio*).[118] Moreover, some of these terms are ambiguous and can belong to multiple languages, like *catholica* or *Adam*. Initially, the Jesuits tried to use Japanese words for describing the contents of the Christian faith. However, this approach caused many misunderstandings. This forced the Jesuits to reconsider their strategy and to turn to Portuguese and Latin terminology.[119] Collado's work corresponds to this rather complex linguistic situation but it retains only a couple of Portuguese words, using Spanish instead of Portuguese. The character of the text raises the question whether it could indeed mirror some part of the language situation in Japan: the Christian terminology used by Jesuit Japanese converts could differ slightly in their use of Portuguese terms from the language of the converts from medicant orders who would prefer Spanish terms.[120]

While the socio-cultural situation in Japan is reflected in the background in the grammar and the dictionary – especially in the choice of sample sentences – it plays an understandably much more important role in the *Modus confitendi.* Nevertheless, its basic structure does not differ from other similar works.

---

115 Quotations from the Japanese text are given according to the edition in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, which also contains a transliteration into the Japanese writing (kanji and kana), language analysis and a modern Japanese translation.

116 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 3.

117 Hino, As vozes naturais, 157; Yamamoto, Scholasticism, 255-256. Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 74-75.

118 See the list of the European words used in the Japanese text in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 669-700.

119 See Schurhammer, *Kirchliche Sprachproblem.*

120 For the complex multilingual situation of the Christian community in Japan, see Alonso Romo, Portugués, castellano y latín.

The content of the *Modus confitendi* consists of the following parts:

    Preface to the reader (p. 3)
    Examination of the faith (pp. 4-17)
    Confession of sins
        Sins according to the ten commandments (pp. 16-53)
        Mortal sins (pp. 52-57)
        Works of mercy (pp. 56-59)
    Absolution (pp. 58-59)
    Advertentiae (deliberations) (pp. 58-65)

The priest is supposed to carefully examine the penitent before the confession. The part dealing with the examination of the faith is surprisingly long – covering 14 pages (7 in Japanese and 7 in Latin). This part is also the only one which is in the proper dialogue form between the P (*pater*, father, confessor) and R (*respondens*, repondent, penitent).

The very first question is: »P. When did you make your [last] confession?«[121] What follows are three possible elaborated answers which can be shortened and paraphrased as: 1) I became a Christian this year and therefore this is my first confession.[122] 2) Even though I have been a Christian for multiple years, I could not find an occasion [to confess] because of the persecution.[123] 3) I have been a Christian for 15 years, but I converted only by imitating others. I only recently started to be interested in the faith again.[124]

---

121 *P. Quando fecisti confessionem Sacramentalem?* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5). Japanese: P. Itçu, vel. itçugoro confession vo mǒxi atta ca? (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi,* 110).

122 *R. Ego ex Dei misericordia hoc anno Christianus factus, nunquam confessionem Sacramentalem feci: unde haec, quam modo incipio, erit prima.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5). Japanese: R. Soregaxi ga cotoxi Deus no von jifi no vie iori Christian ni nari maraxi te gozaru iuie ni, mada confesion vo mǒsaide gozaru. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 111)

123 *R. Vel: etiam si a quatuor, quinque, vel sex iam annis fuerim Christianus, quia tamen sicut vestra experitur paternitas, sacerdotes ob persecutionem sunt absconditi, etiam si saepius ad confessionem faciendam, quoad potui, diligentiam adhibuerim, non potui tamen occasionem nancisci: unde usque modo nondum sum confessus.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5) Japanese: R. Vel. Varega xi go rocu nen saqi iori Christian de vori atta redomo, go zonji no gotoqu, padre sama no von fissocu ni iotte, renren confesion vo mǒxi agueô tote, chicara no voiobi saicacu itaita redomo tçuini sono chôbi ga gozaraide, ima made confession vo mǒxi ague maraxenande gozaru. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 112-113)

124 *R. Vel: etiam si a quindecim iam annis fuerim baptizatus; quia tamen baptismum sine consideratione alios imitatus suscepi: circa Doctrinam Christianam usque ad dies praeteritos nondum conceptum formaveram, neque curabam de Christianorum exercitiis sicut, verbi gratia, de confessione annuali; neque de decem legis Dei praeceptorum observantia; sed fui tantus [sic!] occupatus et intentus rebus momentaneis, et huius saeculi vanitatibus. Sed cum diebus elapsis Dei sermones audissem, ita in cordis mei visceribus excitata est erga Deum animi devotio, quod ex illo tunc decreverim addiscere omnia et singula mysteria fidei Christianae, ex quorum fide cum morum perfecta reformatione, et omni ex parte secundum, quod vires suppeterent virtutum exercitio, possem meam salutem aeternam operari, unde ex tunc omnia didici, et ad confessionem coepi me etiam disponere. Sed a quatuor iam annis non sum confessus.* (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 5) Japanese: R. vel. Vatacuxi ga jǔ gonen maie, vo mizzu vo sazzucari maraxite gozare domo, sore va musato fitonami ni tçucamatçutta tocoro de, cono fodo made xpan no von voxiie ni tçuite, imada xicaxica funbet tocuxin to mǒsu coto va gozaraide, Christian no guiǒgui, tatoieba, mainen, zzutçu xemete ichido no confesion no coto, mata tovo no go voqite vo tamotçu coto, nando ni camavaide, tada vqiio no nandemonai coto ni tazzusavatte macariite gozaru. Sari nagara, cono giǔ go dangui vo sucoxi vqetamotte cara, xingiǔ ni Deus ni taixite xinjin no cocoro vo moiovoxi, tocacu, daijinaru goxǒ vo tasucaru tame ni, mazzu Christian no coto vo ichi ichi gatten xi, mimochi vo aratame, core ni nomi xeijei vo tçucusaide va, to, vomoi atatta ni iotte, sore cara sunavachi Christian no coto vo mina narai maraxite, mata confesion no cacugo mo itaite gozaru. Sari nagara, suie no confesion va sǒionen no maie de gozatta. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 4; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 114-116)

While the first question is typical for confessions in general, the answers show various types of believers a confessor could meet in Japan. Even at the peak of the spread of Christianity in Japan, the number of priests was always very low[125] and demand for confessions very high, as claimed by the missionaries.[126] The confession, one of the defining features of the Christian Catholic religion, was regarded by the Japanese authorities as one of the means through which Christian priests manipulated and controlled the converts and which had to be prevented.[127]

The amount of knowledge on the Christian religion expected from the penitent in the *Modus confitendi* is very high:[128]

> P. [...] *Cum ergo praedicta sicut dixisti erga te acciderint, iam absque dubio scies orationes Christianas, et minutim de singulis fidei articulis notitiam habebis.*

> R. *Ita est profecto, magna ex parte hac notitia calleo.*

> P. *Quid ergo est hoc quod dicitur Deus?*

> R. *Hoc quod Deus dicitur, est quaedam maiestas omnipotens, principium omnium, quae caelum et terram et omnia, tam non viventia quam viventia creavit, et de omnibus habet providentiam et curam, cum eius Sancta substantia neque principium neque finem habeat.*

> P. *Quot ergo sunt Deus?*

> R. *Non ita se habet res, essentia enim divina, eius substantia est una tantum.*

> P. [...] When the things concerning you happened as you say, you will definitely know the Christian prayers and you will have precise knowledge about all articles of faith.

> R. Yes, indeed: I know the better part of it.

---

125 The number of priests never exceeded 137, Whelan, *Beginning*, 11.

126 Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 109-117.

127 Cf. Renouncing the Kirishitan Faith, 1645: *»We were also taught that, unless a person committing a sin confesses it to the padre and secures his pardon, he shall not be saved in the world beyond. In that way the people were led into believing in the padres. All that was for the purpose of taking the lands of others.«* (Lu, *Documentary History*, 224)

128 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 7.
    Japanese:
    P. [...] Xite? sǒ aruga, sadamete oracio to, mata fides no giô giô vo cotocomaca ni voxiri arǒ made.
    R. Nacanaca tabun Deus no vo coto voba xiri maraxite gozaru.
    P. Deus to mǒsu va nande gozaru ca?
    R. Deus to mǒxi tatematçuru coto va, banji canai tamǒ, iorozzu no minamoto, tenchi xinra manzǒ vo tçucuri, sore sore no go facarai te, fajime mo nai fatexi mo nai go sontai, voncata de gozaru.
    P. Sareba: Deus va icutçu de gozaru zo?
    R. Iia iia: Deus no sontai va tada go ittai de gozaru.
    (Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 118-121)

P. What is that which is called »God«?

R. That which is called »God« is some type of omnipotent majesty, the beginning of all things that created the heaven, the earth, and all the non-living as well as the living things, he has knowledge of everything and he takes care of everything, because his Holy substance has neither beginning nor end.

P. How many are the »God«?

R. It is not like this, the divine essence, his substance is only one.

The priest however persists, and even has some tricky questions:[129]

P. Ubicumque de hoc auditur; non ita videtur referri: ego enim tres esse profecto audivi.

R. Profecto sicut vestra dicit Paternitas, verum est quod quando de Deo fit sermo, et audiuntur tres et una essentia, sed quando tres dicuntur hoc pertinet ad divinas personas; quando vero dicitur una essentia, hoc intelligunt Christiani ad divinitatem, quae est divina natura, pertinere: unde verificatur quod est tres personae et unus in essentia Deus.

P. One can hear it everywhere, but he does not seem to be referred to like this. I have heard that they are three.

R. Indeed, it is true, as your paternity says, that when the speech is about God, one can hear both »three« and »one essence«. When »three« is being said, it pertains to the divine persons. When, however, »one essence« is being said, Christians understand it as pertaining to the divinity which is the divine nature. Therefore, it is true that there are three persons and one God in the essence.

It is questionable to what extent an average Japanese Christian was able to answer these questions as proposed here.[130] And it is still not enough, because the priest says:[131]

P. Si ergo res in Deo ita se habent, referas ergo mihi obsecro singula minutatim.

P. If God is as you say, please, explain to me everything in detail.

---

129 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 7.
   Japanese:
   P. Docu de qiqi marasuru mo, sono sata ga gozaranu. Tocacu mitçu to qiqi voiobi maraxite gozaru.

   R. Vŏ, sono vo coto de gozaru. Guioi no gotoqu, Deus no vo cotovari ni tçuite, mitçu tomo go ittai tomo qicoie marasuredomo, mitçu to mŏsu toqi va, Deus no persona no von tocoro ni atari marasuru. Mata goittai to uqetamoru va, Deus no diuindad to ippa, go sontai ni ai canai tamŏ to, Christian mina gatten tçucamatçuru.

   (Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 121-122)

130 Higashibaba notes the fact that this part is a very »text-book response« but claims that reading other confessions, »we may say that such a doubt [about the credibility of the source] is groundless,« Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 95. Nevertheless, this presupposes the genuine nature of other confessions without any firm evidence.

131 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 7.

   Japanese: P. Xicareba sono sata vo comacani catatte tamore. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 6; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 122)

ilÍk

The penitent does not fail. He explains in which aspects the Christian concept of God is known to the pagans (infinite and incomprehensible knowledge of God, his glory and mercy etc.). The peculiar feature of the Christian religion, according to him, is the concept of the divine trinity. The explanation of the relationship between three divine persons then takes up the whole page – the largest uninterrupted speech in the whole work. It demonstrates the key role the concept of the Holy Trinity played in defining the Christian religion as opposed to Buddhism and Shinto.

Once the penitent passes all the questions, the text can move to various sins. First it follows the Decalogue, then continues with mortal sins and finally with the works of mercy. Nevertheless, the distribution of sins is neither proportionate nor complete. The first and the sixth commandments receive the most attention, while the ninth and the tenth commandments are represented by just one joint example. There are also only three of the seven mortal sins listed (pride, gluttony and greed) and three sins related to the works of mercy.

The definition of the nature of sin follows both the Christian tradition as well as local specifics. The peculiar factor is the presence of persecution and what it causes:[132]

> [R.] *Praeter hoc: cum e curia regis quidam eius minister descendisset ut Christianos omnes huius territorii compelleret ad negandam fidem magnamque inferret violentiam omnibus ut subscriberent non esse Christianos et exercitia Christianorum relinquerent, et saltim in exteriori fidem se dicerent abnegare, ut ego cum uxore et filiis mortis periculum fugerem, fidem ore tenus solum negavi.*
>
> P. *Eo ipso quo fides abnegatur etiam in exteriori tantum, est necessarium, iterum palinodiam recantare. Feciste ne sic iam?*
>
> R. *Nondum feci, et hoc est quod maxime me affligit. Cum enim praedictus minister regis iam Christianitatem destruxisset, iterum ascendit in curiam: ideoque nihil potui efficere; sed sic usque modo perseveravi. Sed faciam quod vestra paternitas ordinaverit mihi: unde vestrum consilium exequendum obsecro.*
>
> P. *Ubinam sunt scripta, que fecit ille regis minister, v. g. subscriptiones quas extorsit et index eorum qui fidem abnegaverunt etc.? Si enim secum illa duxit est necessarium ad minus per literas [sic!] seu per nuntium renuntiare illi quomodo Christianus es, et vis emendare quod tunc errasti, et idem notum facere in tota tua familia et apud vicinos ad quorum notitiam pervenerat te fidem abnegasse.*

---

132 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 19.

Japanese: [R.] Mata cono giŭ, xŏgun sama no go fatto ni xitagatte, sono buguiŏ Miiaco iori cudararete, jenacu cono atari no Christian xu vo corobaxeô tote, mina ni fan mo suie, Christian no guiŏgui vo saxivoqe, xemete vuamuqi ni naritomo corobe to xiqiri ni susumerareta niiotte, varera ga nhôbŏ, codomo no inochi vo nogareôzuru tame ni, tçuini cuchi bacari de corobi maraxita.

P. Vuamuqi bacari demo corobu mono ga sore vo ii modosaide naranu ga, sono bun de gozatta ca?

R. Iia mada de gozaru. Sore coso fucŏ canaxŭ gozari marasure. Tocacu sono vo buguiŏ Christiano coto vo uchi cuzzuite cara va sonomama Cami macari noborarete gozaru sacai ni, nani mo ye itaxi maraxeide ima made cono bun ni macari iru ga, go iqen vo tanomi marasuru.

P. Sono buguiŏ no xerareta coto domo no niqi va doconi aru zo? Sunavachi sore vo motte noborareta raba, sono buguiŏ ie fumi nari tomo, tçucai vo iatte nari tomo, ii modosaide va. Sono vie vare sama ga qenzocu mo atari no mono domo mo, sore vo xirareta niiotte, mofaia xinjit no Christian ni nari navori atta to, mina tocuxin xeraruru iŏni ni mesarete iô gozarŏ zu. (Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 18; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 158-161)

worlds • No. 11 • 2020 • 117-151

[R.] Moreover, when a certain official came from the royal court to compel all Christians of this region to deny the faith, he inflicted great violence towards all so they signed that they are not Christians, that they relinquish Christian rites or – at least – they say that they deny Christianity in public. I have denied the faith only orally [i.e. outwardly] in order to save myself, my wife and my children from death.

P. Because your faith was renounced in public, it is necessary to recant your denial. Have you done it already?

R. I haven't done it yet and that inflicts great pain on me. After the said official of the king destroyed Christianity, he returned to the court, therefore I could not do anything, and so I remained until now. However, I will do what your fatherhood commands me. Therefore, I ask you for your advice that I would follow.

P. Where are these documents that the court official prepared, e.g., signatures that he extorted and the list of those who renounced the faith etc.? If he took them with him, it is necessary at least to inform him in a letter or by a messenger that you are Christian and that you want to correct your previous error. And you must make it known to all your family and your neighbours who came to know that you renounced your faith.

Such atonement would mean the death sentence for the penitent if he or she were to follow it. Nevertheless, it is in accordance with the narratives in the canonical late antique martyrologies which made famous the phrase *Christianus / Christiana sum*. (I am a Christian.)[133] The priest basically asks the penitent to follow the first Christian martyrs (*renuntiare illi quomodo Christianus es*). Interestingly, while a Christian should never deny his or her faith,[134] the priests could deny their priesthood, as the example of Luis Flores and Pedro Zuñiga from the Hirayama incident shows.

Diego Collado does not forget to mention also his enemies – the Dutch – with whom he had plenty of experience. He puts the following words into the mouth of a penitent:[135]

Ego pulverem tormentarium conficio: cum ergo ita sit: haereticis et pyratis Holandis vendidi huiusmodi pulverem; illis etiam ministravi quaerendo victu alia, sclopos, et glandes seu globos tormentarios, et tormenta et alia instrumenta bellica. Cum vero illi sint, tum haeretici, tum pyratae determinate huiusmodi praedicta vendere, et in his illis adiuvare[136] *et ministrare esse in lege Dei prohibitum credens, per quatuor annos continuos illud exercui.*

---

133 Kitzler, *Passio Perpetuae*, 4.

134 Nevertheless, Jesuits were accused of using the so-called »deliberate ambiguity« – it was a way of not confessing their identity without actually lying, see Screech, English, 21.

135 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 57.
Japanese: Vatacuxi, teppô gusuri vo tçucuru mono de gozareba, Holanda no herejes caizocu nin ni sono cusuri vo vri, sono vie fiǒrǒ teppô sono tama, ixibiia, caixen no dǒgu vo mo mina tazzune idaxi, sono tameni cai maraxite gozaru. Tocacu arera va corobi Christian to, mata caizocu no mono nareba, sadamete saiǒni mǒxita coto vo vri tçuzzucuru ga von imaxime de gozarǒ to, suisat itaxi nagara, ionen no aida ni xi tçuzzuqi maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 56; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 260-261)

136 This is one of the occasions where the classical and humanistic Latin would require »illos adiuvare«.

I make the gunpowder, and as it is, I have sold it to the Dutch heretics and pirates. For obtaining my livelihood, I also procured other stuff for them: guns and bullets or cannon balls and cannons and other instruments of war. Although they are both heretics and pirates and I believe it is forbidden in the law of God to purposefully sell them those things, to help them in these things and to serve them, I did it for four whole years.

The persecution affected many crucial elements of Christian life. Two of the most basic ones were the annual confession prescribed by the Fourth Lateran Council,[137] combined with regular attendance at mass, based on the third commandment: »remember to keep holy the Sabbath day«:[138]

> *Cum modo maxime vigeat sacerdotum persecutio, et maneant occulti, ob hocque non sit opportunitas audiendi missam diebus dominicis et festis, non imputatur mihi impossibile. Bis tamen vel ter cum potuissem audire sacrum; ex negligentia non audivi. Alia vice sciens locum ubi erat sacerdos missam celebraturus: ita me in re nullius momenti occupatus detinui in via, quod quando perveni iam missam inceperat: unde quartae eius parti in principio non interfui.*

> Because there is a great persecution of priests and they remain hidden, I have no opportunity to attend the mass on Sundays and feasts and I should not be blamed for the impossible. However, twice or thrice, even though I could attend the mass, I did not do it because of negligence. On another occasion, I knew the place where the priest was going to celebrate the mass, however, I detained myself on the way by doing things of no value so that when I arrived the mass had already started. Therefore, I missed a quarter of the mass at the beginning.

Nevertheless, there was also present a precarious question of accommodation: what participation in common rites, rituals and actions is allowed for a Christian? This issue became even more urgent in the time of the persecution when such non-participation may lead to danger. One of the penitents in *Modus confitendi* repents that he used pagan rituals when his son was seriously ill. That is an obvious case of superstition and demonstration of the lack of faith. Similar examples were nevertheless already known from the late antique and medieval *summae confessorum*, which makes it difficult to interpret it as relating to specific Japanese cultural settings. In another example, the penitent confesses that when he was staying in the home of »pagans«, he went with them a couple time to a temple, in order to prevent them identifying him as Christian.[139] The priest admonishes the penitent: when he returns to the place where it happened, he must declare his faith publicly. And when he hears others praising their gods and idols, he must praise his God.[140] In this example the same ideal

---

137 Garrison, Handbooks for confessors.

138 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 29.
Japanese: Ima Padre sama no von fissocu no sacari de gozareba, Domingo iuaibi ni go missa vo vogamu chôbi ga gozaraide, jefi ni voiobanu coto naredomo, ni sando va canai nagara tada iurucaxe de vogami maraxenande gozatta. Ma ichido va Padre no gozaru tocoro vo xitte, michi de nandemonai coto ni tazzusauatte, tçuita toqi va mŏ xi fajime saxerareta tocorode, xibuichi fodo cacaxe maraxita. (Collado, Modus confitendi, 28; Hino, Modus confitendi, 184-185)

139 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 21.

140 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 59-61.

of the apostolic church of martyrs is celebrated. More than Japanese realities, it very probably mirrors Collado's own preferences, his own longing for martyrdom, which he seems to have planned to fulfil during his striving for mission, but which ultimately did not take place.

The second largest topic in the *Modus confitendi* is sexuality. It is not only present in the chapter on the sixth commandment, as perhaps expected, but it also constitutes an important part of the chapter on the fifth commandment, as demonstrated by the first sin mentioned in this category:[141]

> *In primis quemdam innocentem qui luxuriae viam adhuc nesciebat, docui substantiam et modum habendi pollutiones voluntarias et illi ut hoc peccatum committeret persuasi.*

> First of all, I taught the matter and way of having »voluntary pollutions« to a certain person, who was innocent before and did not know the ways of lust.

One of the greatest challenges for Christianity in Japan was the concept of monogamy and indissoluble marriage.[142] While divorce is not discussed in the *Modus confitendi* at all, fidelity and continence play an important role:[143]

> *Etiam si habeam uxorem habui etiam pellicem; quae quidem etiam habet maritum. Cum ergo ex utraque parte sit impedimentum non potuimus convenire ita frequenter sicut desiderabamus, sed fecimus secundum quod se obtulit occasio, de numero vicium non recordor. Aliquando accidit convenisse ter in uno mense, aliquando semel, aliquando nunquam. Cum vero fuit maritus eius extra villam multoties consequtive convenimus secundum concurrentiam occasionum. Sed quia huiusmodi pellicem a tempore iuventutis cognovi, et ob hoc illam alias valde amem a tanto tempore: etiam si quando confiteor praecipiat mihi confessor ut omnino abstineam et illam relinquam, ex parte mea ego etiam proponam me pro viribus illam relicturum et quod iam non erit amplius; cum tamen sim homo fragilis: postea saepe saepius in peccatum reincidi. Cum vero hoc fuerit per septem uel octo annorum spatium ex hoc poterit vestra paternitas negocii*

---

141 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 33.
     Japanese: Soregaxi, iocoxima no michi uo mi xiranu uosanai mono ni tezzucara no inracu uo catari, xiiŏ uo made mo uoxiie susumete, sono acu uo uoca saxe maraxita. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 32; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 198)

142 Vu Thanh, Introducing tridentine marriage.

143 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 37.
     Japanese: Soregaxi nhôbŏ vo mochi nagara, chicazzuqi mo mochi maraxita. Sono tecaqe mo votto no aru mono de vogiaru. Sŏ gozareba futasama no samatague ga atte nozomi no mamani sore to toga ni vochi maraxeide, tada chôbi xidai ni itaxi maraxita. Cazu va ie voboie nedomo, fitotçuqi ni va, ni sando mo ari, ichido mo ari, nai coto mo gozaru. Mata nuxi no votto rusu de gozaru toqi va fi vo tçuzzuqete sai sai vocaxi marasuru. Tocacu xiauaxe ni ai iori maraxita. Sari nagara jacufai no toqi cara sono vonago vo mixitta tocorode qiga amari sore ni tçuqi maraxite, farubaru no cotonareba, confession no jibun ni padre sama iori, tocacu sore vo iamei cutto saxi voqe to vôxerarete micata cara mo zuibun chicara no voiobi, mofaia catçute aru mai to sadameta redomo, iouai mono nareba sono nochi casane gasane ni vochi maraxita. Core va mŏ xichi fachi nen no coto de gozaru niiotte go suiriŏ mesareio. Cono vchi ni chiguiri no ioi xiauaxe ga nai toqi va, sore ni xitagatte nari xidai sono gotai ni te vo caqe, cuchi vo sui, idaqi, fagi vo saguru coto tô va vomô mama ni xi marasuru. Tocacu mi ni macaxete iraruru to cocoroie saxerareio. Mata fŭfu no chiguiri no jibun nimo ano vonna ni nen vo caqete naita coto va dodo gozatta. Mata sôbet xŏtocu no michi iori de gozatta redomo; nisando va vxiro, vel, xiri cara votoxi maraxita. Sono vie, sono vonago coto voba vomoi idasu tabi gotoni, isami iorocobi, sono nagori voxisa de vonozzucara mo in ga more, tezzucara mo moraxi maraxita. Core va maie no confession no igo xichi fachijŭ do de gozarŏ made. (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 36; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 205-209)

gravitatem conicere. Quando vero non est occasio peccatum consumandi, oscula, am-
plexus, et usque ad partium verendarum tactus saepius accidere iuxta desiderium. Con-
sideretque reverendus pater quod in omnibus praedicta sit mihi subiecta. Saepius etiam-
quando rem cum uxore habui, feci ac si cum pellice rem haberem de illa recordatus. Et si
vero regulariter quando cum illa pellice convenio sit in vase naturali, bis tamen vel ter
fuit in praepostero. Insuper quando de rebus cum illa habitis in eius absentia recordor
in illis delector; illo vero desiderio et delectatione aliquando naturaliter in pollutionem
venio: aliquando etiam ad illam meipsum provoco, post ultimam confessionem accidit
septuagies vel octogies magis vel minus.

Even though I had a wife, I also had a mistress, who also has a husband. Therefore, be-
cause there was this obstacle from both sides, we could not meet as often as we would
like to but we did it as the occasion arose. I can't remember the number of times. Some-
times we happened to meet three times in a month, sometimes once, sometimes not at
all. And in fact, when the husband was out of the village, we met many times in a row,
according to given occasions. However, I knew this mistress from the time of my youth
and for this reason, I love her very much after that time. Even though when I confess,
the confessor orders me to completely abstain from her and to leave her, and I am – for
myself – determined to leave her with all effort and that it will not continue, because I
am a weak human, I often relapsed into the sin. This has lasted for seven or eight years,
so your fatherhood may conjecture the gravity of the sin. And when there is no occasion
to consume the sin, very often kisses, embraces and touches even up to the genitals took
place according to our desire. Your fatherhood should know that she is willing to do an-
ything for me. Very often, even though I had it with my wife, I did it as if I were doing it
with my mistress, thinking of her. And although usually, in fact, it happens in the natural
vessel, when I meet that mistress, two or three times it was into the rear vessel. Moreover,
when I remember the things I did with her in her absence, I feel pleasure. Sometimes, I
achieve natural pollution with that desire and pleasure. Sometimes I masturbate. After
the last confession, it happened around seventy or eighty times.

It is not surprising that female voices are very rare in the *Modus confitendi*. They appear
mainly either in connection with their sexuality, their role in the family, or in their repro-
ductive role. Women are often presented as victims of male violence. Correspondingly, as
sinners, they appear only in the fifth (thou shall not kill) and sixth commandments (thou
shall not commit adultery). However, their sins often result from a desperate situation in
which they find themselves according to their social role:[144]

Cum maritus meus sit natura bilosus me vel manibus aut alio quovis modo percutere
et cedere non cessat: ego vero ne ex illo filios habeam et procreem: postquam gravidam
esse sensi, ventrem fortiter torquens, filium aboriri feci.

Because my husband is by his nature full of bile, he never stops beating and hitting
me either by hands or by any other means. I did not want to have children by him and
to procreate, so after I sensed that I was pregnant, I twisted strongly my belly until I
caused the abortion of my child.

---

144 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 35.
  Japanese: R. Mata: vaga votto va igi no varui mono nareba mizzucara vo vttçu, tataitçu xeraruru niiotte, sono co vo
   mŏqenu tameni mimochi ni natte cara fara vo negitte, sono co vo voroxi maraxita.
  (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 34; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 204)

Collado provides two descriptions of rapes. Once from the perspective of the offender (a man) and then from the perspective of the victim (a woman):

[male's experience][145] *Quadam vice cum in loco solitario obviam habuissem feminam, violenter illam in terram deiectam discooperui, cumque manibus et pedibus eius compressis illi violentiam inferrem, exclamare coepit: quo factum est ut opus non potuerim perficere, sed extra vas fuerit consumatum.*

One day when I encountered a woman in a solitary place, I threw her down and revealed her and then when I pressed her hands and legs and was raping her, she started to scream. Because of this, I could not finish it but it was done outside the vessel.

[female's experience][146] *Praeterea tempore aestatis cum prae calore non possem noctu supra me aliquid cooperturae sufferre, et pedibus omnia levassem, essemque discooperta profunde dormiens, accessit quidam vir sensim et gradu lento, et quamvis eo quod esset media nox, esset locus obscurus, quia tamen antecedenter praeventionem fecerat, via recta ad locum ubi ego eram accedens subito supra pectus manus imponens et me palpans quin eo quod aliquid diceret voluit mihi violentiam inferre; sed cum ego conarer illum a me seiungere in aures meas obmurmurans dixit se statim me occisurum si strepitum aliquem facerem. Et quia prope erant aliqui domestici ne nos audirent non multum strepitum facere procuravi; sed alias rem tam inopinatam et repentinam ferre non valens, ex parte timendo, ex parte vero irata, coepi dentibus illum mordere et manibus levare: unde facinore imperfecto feci illum abire.*

Also, in summer I could not bear any sheet on me during the night due to the heat, and I pushed everything away from me with my feet. I was thus exposed and slept deeply. Then a man approached slowly, step by step. Even though it was midnight and the place was very dark, he went directly to where I was, because he prepared himself beforehand. Suddenly, he put his hands on my chest, he stroked me without saying a word and wanted to rape me. When I tried to push him away from me, he whispered into my ear that he would kill me immediately, if I made any noise. And because there were servants nearby, I did not make much noise so that they could not hear us. However, I could not bear further such an unexpected and sudden thing, partially from fear, partially – in fact – because of anger, I started to bite him with my teeth and push him away with my hands. So I caused him to leave without finishing his crime.

---

145 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 39.
   Japanese: Aru toqi mo, nivacani fito nai tocoro de fitori vonna ni tçuqiŏte, xiqiri ni chixŏ ni tauore fuxi, sono qiru mono vo carague, te axi vo mo tori sucumete votosŏ to xita redomo, narŏzuru tocoro ni vamecareta niiotte, ie fataxi maraxeide, tada nhôbŏ gurui itaxi, in mo sono maie no qiua fotori ni coboxi maraxita.
   (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 38; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 215)

146 Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 41.
   Japanese: Sono uie, uare ga natçu no atçusa de iogui uo cabuxe canete, qe nozoite, mino uie ni nani mo nai, nete uoru tocoroie fito ga sorosoro to chicazzuite, ionaca no jibun ni sono nedocoro ga curŏ gozaredomo, canete cara sono caqugo ga atte, niuacani miga mune ni te uo caqe saguri, nani mo iuazu ni, uieni norareta tocoro vo sari fazzusŏ tote fataraita redomo, are ua sosoiaite, zozomeita raba uchi corosŏ to mi uo uodosareta tocorode, chicŏ uoru uchi no mono iori uoboieraruru mai tameni, amari uoto vo xenanda redomo, sono iŏni furio na coto uo coraie canete, nacaba ua uosore, nacaba ua xicatte, tçuini sore uo cuchi de cami, te de saxi ague, jiiŭni fatasaxe maraxeide, inaxe maraxita. Core ua ichido de gozatta.
   (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 40; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 221-222)

The narrative concludes with a standard question of the confessor whether the penitent has real contrition about the sins with the firm proposition not to sin again and whether he/she confessed everything.[147] After the penitent confirms it, the confessor assures him (her) about the infinite and immense mercy of God. However, Collado adds *»advertentiae necessariae«* – necessary notes. He addresses 17 out of some 89 confessions that are included in the work. In these notes, he either explains how the Christian should behave (e.g., regarding the superstitions, visits of pagan temples etc.), or the sort of atonement required. In some cases, he informs the penitent that the absolution of a particular sin can be given only after restitution has been made.

With a couple of exceptions, especially regarding the examples mentioning the ongoing persecution of Christians in Japan, the nature of enumerated sins does not seem to be very specific. Andrew Steinmetz who happened to find *Modus confitendi* in a convolute with Collado's dictionary, noted it pointedly in the mid-nineteenth century:[148] *This singular document* [i.e. *Modus confitendi*] *... proves that human sins and vices of all kinds are pretty nearly the same all the world over.* Indeed, confessionary interrogatories from all over the world seemingly agree with him - be they from Goa,[149] Mexico,[150] or Japan.[151] They often deal with superstition, veneration of idols, problems of infidelity, abortions and other common sins. But more than similarity of sins »all the world over«, the similarity of textual aids for confessors produced across the centuries in the areas of European Latin Christianity and exported after 1500 into the areas of the »New World« and beyond should be addressed here. What makes the *Modus confitendi* unique among this production, beside its »living« style and the textbook character, is the dynamic between the priest and the penitent. Good material for comparison is provided by *Arte, vocabulario y confessionario en el idioma mexicano* written by Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zdeño in 1765. In the confessionary, the only person speaking is the priest in the form of short and precise questions (hence »interrogatory«). The penitent is expected to answer them only in the most basic way:[152]

Spanish	Nahuatl	English translation
Respuestas del penitente		Answers from the penitent
Si.	Quema	Yes
No.	Amo, l.	No
Quantas veces.	Quezquecpa	How many times
Muchas veces.	Miacpa.	Many times

---

147 Collado, *Modus confitendi,* 59: *Profecto, sicut dicis, peccata tua sunt multa et gravissima; sed et si ita sit, poenitendo tamen de singulis ex intimis cordis, et cum firmissimo proposito non reincidendi, omnia nullo dempto dixisti? Non est ita?*

Japanese: Vôxearu gotoqu, mottomo toga no cazu mo fucasa mo icai coto naredomo, xintei iori sore vo ichiichi côquai xi, futatabi vocasu mai to vomoi qitte, mina fitotçu mo nocosazu arauaxi atta: nǒ? (Collado, *Modus confitendi*, 58; Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 265)

148 Steinmetz, *Japan and Her People*, 441.

149 Souza, Confessionários or manuals of confession.

150 Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte, vocabulario y confessionario.*

151 Japanese *Salvator mundi*, published by the Jesuits in 1598, see Laures, *Kirishitan bunko*, 57-58. Partial Portuguese translation of relevant chapter published in Hino, *Modus confitendi*, 627-671.

152 Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte, vocabulario y confessionario*, 129.

This manner of communicating with the penitent makes sense if the priest possesses only a very limited knowledge of the native language. He is supposed to understand what sins the penitent committed, in order to make the absolution possible.[153] On the other hand, Collado's *Modus confitendi* can be read as a complex dialogue between the priest and the penitent – it focuses on the »answers« of the penitent.

To what degree might it reflect actual confessions in Early Modern Japan? Was the confessor supposed mainly to listen to the penitents and interrupt them as rarely as possible, even if it meant that he would not understand completely their speech because of his insufficient knowledge of their language? Or did Collado chose this form because it provided a good opportunity for using various vocabulary and sentence structures – thus fulfilling better its purpose as a learning material rather than as an actual guide helping to interrogate the Japanese penitents and to make it possible to administer the sacrament of penance to them. Or did Collado produce a sort of compendium demonstrating the conduct of an ideal priest and his ideal Christian lay believer under persecution, to whose soul only, and not to the wellbeing of his flesh, the priest has to dedicate himself?

The *Modus confitendi* provides an important counterbalance to confessionary interrogatories that an ordinary confessor would generally use. By featuring seemingly everyday Japanese voices, Collado elevates the importance of these converts and makes them active subjects rather than passive objects of the confession.

Conclusion

The work of Diego Collado is exceptional – not necessarily in terms of its quality or scope but by virtue of its concept and the conditions in which Collado composed it. Everything he did and wrote aimed strictly at the promotion of missionary work in Japan. The majority of his works were published in just five years, between 1629 and 1634 – when his fight against the Jesuit monopoly in Japan was at its peak, and his goals were aligned with those of the recently founded Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

He is neither the author of the first Japanese grammar, nor of the first Japanese dictionary, but he is the first one who composed and published both outside of Japan with almost no help, either from relevant textual material or from Japanese native speakers. The grammar and dictionary together with the model confession (*Modus confitendi*) form a coherent trilogy – albeit flawed and full of errors. All three linguistic books were supposed to be bound together into one volume (*»in unum ... tomum«*) and used by Christian priests during their dangerous mission.[154] For this reason, not only do they all have the same format (4o) but Diego Collado also tried not to repeat the information in the dictionary that had to be learnt by heart from the grammar (e.g., numbers, which are notoriously complicated in the Japanese language).[155]

---

153 Cf. Souza, Confessionários or manuals of confession, especially 32: »both the penitent and the confessor need this manual for confession: the penitent for being new to the new doctrine and in need of knowing where he failed; and the priest confessor who has difficulties with language and needs to understand what the penitent wants to say, even when he responds with just Yes or No to the questionnaire... It was therefore important that the questions were brief, precise and direct.«

154 Collado, *Dictionarium*, 3. Such a thing could be very feasible. The grammar itself has only 75 pages*, Modus confitendi* 66 and the original first part of the dictionary (to which Collado refers when speaking about putting it into one volume) has 157 pages.

155 *Collado, Dictionarium*, 3. However, he added many to them in the additions to the dictionary.

While they are mostly focused on as a source for the study of the Japanese language, they are also witnesses to the socio-cultural conditions of the time of their origin and at least some features of European linguistic and religious tradition. The grammar follows the famous grammatical theory established already in Antiquity, adhering closely to Antonina de Nebrija's work. The dictionary, on the other hand, at least partially follows the so-called Calepinus, and finally, the *Modus confitendi* originates from the tradition of confessional manuals and guides, having multiple parallels from the European Middle Ages and global early modernity.

The idea of creating a complex set of books is neither unique nor completely new. The famous medieval work *Catholicon* by Johannes Balbus from the thirteenth century also included both grammatical and lexicographical units.[156] The bishop of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren, Jan Amos Comenius, a contemporary of Diego Collado, created an elaborated and innovative set of educational, hierarchically organised textbooks, with a main text accompanied by corresponding subsidiary books: dictionary and grammar.[157] Diego Collado's aim, however, was not to create either a comprehensive compendium like Johannes Balbus, or a pedagogically perfectionist work like Comenius. His motivation was practical: it had to be just good enough for advancing the upcoming mission. A detailed comparison with the *Arte, vocabulario y confessionario en el idioma mexicano* by Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zdeño shows promise for future research on the topic because of the programmatic setting, which is identical with Collado's approach. It is a compact book of 184 pages, aimed at priests, containing a short grammar of the »Mexican« language (i.e. Nahuatl, previously known as Aztec) written in Spanish, a dictionary from »Romance« (i.e. Spanish) to »Mexican« (i.e. Nahuatl), and the Spanish- Nahuatl »confessionary«.[158] It basically collects in one volume what Collado tried to achieve with his three books. Yet while the grammar and the dictionary are similar to the works of Collado, the confessionary, as shown above, is structured differently.

Collado's grammar and dictionary, together with the *Modus confitendi*, represent a unique missionary and linguistic effort at the sunset of the Christian Century in Japan and as such they should remain in the focus of future interdisciplinary linguistic, philological and historical research.

---

156 Weijers, Lexicography, 143-144.

157 Comenius continued work on his method and its improvement for many decades, see Gmiterek, Comenius.

158 See also, Yáñez Rosales, Arte y descripción del náhuatl.

References

Works of Diego Collado

Collado, Diego, *Ars grammaticae Iaponicae linguae* (Rome, 1632); ed. and transl. Richard L. Spear, *Diego Collado's Grammar of the Japanese Language* (1975).

Collado, Diego, *Niffon no Cotõbani yô Confesion.... Modus confitendi et examinandi poenitentem Iaponensem, formula suamet lingua Iaponica* (Rome, 1632); ed. Hiroshi Hino, (日埜博司), コリャード懺悔録 ―キリシタン時代日本人信徒の肉声 [コリャード ざんげろく ― キリシタン じだい にっぽんじん しんと の にくせい] [Koryādo zangeroku — kirishitan jidai nipponjin shinto no nikusei] [*Tradução integral portuguesa da obra Modus confitendi et examinandi (Roma,1632) da autoria do frade dominicano Frei Diego Colhado: As vozes vivas dos cristãos japoneses sob a perseguição no primeiro quartel do século XVII*] (Tokyo, 2016); = ed. Antonio Ramírez Pardo, El modus confitendi et examinandi poenitentem iaponensem, formula suamet lingua iaponica de Fray Diego Collado, O.P. (Rome, 1632), *Giennium: Revista de estudios e investigación de la Diócesis de Jaén* 15 (2012) 207-514; = ed. Thomas Jo Johansen, *Diego Collado's Niffon no cotõbani yô confesion: A Translation and Mini Grammar*, Master thesis (University of Oslo, 2011), http://hdl.handle.net/10852/24210.

Collado, Diego, *Dictionarium sive thesauri linguae Iaponicae compendium* (Rome, 1632).

Orfanel, Jacinto, *Historia Eclesiástica de los sucesos de la Christiandad de Japón (1602-1620)... Añadida hasta el fin de 1622 por el P. Fr. Diego Collado, O.P.* (Madrid, 1633).

Primary Sources

Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam com adeclaração em Portugues, feito por alguns padres, e irmaõs da Companhia de Iesu (Nagasaki, 1603).

Aduarte, Diego, Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rossario de la Orden de predicadores (concluded), translated from Spanish by Henry B. Lathrop, in: *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 32 (Cleveland, 1905).

Calepinus, Abrosius, *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* (Amacusa, 1595).

Calepinus, Abrosius, *Dictionarium undecim linguarum* (Basel, 1627).

Cortés y Zedeño, Jerónimo Tomás de Aquino, *Arte, vocabulario y confessionario en el idioma mexicano* (Puebla, 1765).

Gonçalves, Joaquim Alfonso, *Grammatica Latina ad usum Sinensium juvenum* (Macao, 1828).

Lu, David J. (ed. and transl.), *Japan: A Documentary History. Volume I: The Dawn of History to the Late Tokugawa Period* (New York, 2015).

Rodrigues, João, *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (Nagasaki, 1604-1608).

Secondary Sources

Alonso Romo, Eduardo Javier, Portugués, castellano y latín en Japón (1543-1640), in: Fernando Sánchez Miret (ed.), *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística y Filología Románica* (2003) 3-16.

Assunção, Carlos and Masayuki Toyoshima, The Amakusa edition of Álvares' Grammar (1594): Sources and innovation, *Onomázein* 41 (2018) 57-77, DOI: 10.7764/onomazein.41.06.

Boxer, Charles R., *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, 1951).

Boxer, Charles R., The problem of the native clergy in the Portuguese and Spanish empires from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, *Studies in Church History* 6 (1970) 85-105.

Cenjor, Juan, Insinuación de lo que algunos religiosos dominicos [...], in: Justo Cuervo (ed.), *Historiadores del convento de San Esteban de Salamanca,* tom. 3 (Salamanca, 1915) 529-624.

Cid Lucas, Fernando, Extremeños en Oriente: Pedro de Burguillos, Diego Collado y Lourenço Mexia como casos paradigmáticos, *Alcántara* 78 (2013) 57-70.

Cornett, Michael E., *The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience.* Unpublished PhD thesis (University of North Carolina, 2011).

Delgado García, José, El Salmantino Fr. Diego Collado OP (1587-1641), *Ciencia Tomista* 115/2 (1988) 233-285.

Dickey, Eleanor, *Learning Latin the Ancient Way* (Cambridge, 2016).

Doñas Beleña, Antonio, Órdenes Religiosas en Japón: Diego Collado y el Memorial de 1631, *Liburna* 13 (2018) 51-92.

Elenchus librorum, sive typis sive impensis sacrae congregationis de fide propaganda impressorum, qui modo in ejusdem congregationis typographico reperiuntur (Rome, 1639).

Fernandes, Gonçalo and Carlos Assunção, First grammatical encoding of Japanese politeness (17th century), *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 13/1 (2018) 187-203.

Frellesvig, Bjarke, *A History of the Japanese Language* (Cambridge, 2010).

Funatsu-Böhler, Kayo, *Grammatik kurz und bündig: Japanisch* (Stuttgart, 2010).

Garrison, Jennifer, Handbooks for confessors, in: Paul E. Szarmach (ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in Medieval Studies* (2017). Accessed on 19th May 2020, DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780195396584-0235.

Gmiterek, Henryk, Comenius, Jan Amos, in Harro Stammerjohann (ed.), *Lexicon grammaticorum: A Bio-Bibliographical Companion to the History of Linguistics* (Tübingen, 2009) 315-316.

Goering, Joseph and F. A. C. Mantello, Notus in Iudea Deus: Robert Grosseteste's confessional formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499, *Viator* 18 (1987) 253-274.

Hamamatsu, Noriko, La obra lingüística de Fray Diego Collado: Legado de su labor misionera en Japón, in: Fernando Cid Lucas (ed.), *¿Qué es Japón? Introducción a la cultura japonesa* (Cáceres, 2009) 309-328.

Hartmann, Arnulf, The Augustinians in seventeenth century Japan (continuation), *Augustiniana* 14 (1964) 640-669.

Hesselink, Reinier H., *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560-1640* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2016).

Higashibaba, Ikuo, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice* (Leiden, 2001).

Hino, Hiroshi, As vozes naturais dos crentes japoneses seiscentistas registadas na obra de frei Diego Colhado, O.P. As confissões e as admoestações relativas ao Primeiro Mandamento de Moisés, in: *Colóquio internacional de estudos O humanismo latino e as culturas do extremo oriente, Macau 6-8 de Janeiro de 2005* (Treviso, 2006).

Hotta, Hideo (堀 田 英 夫), ネブリハの『羅西辞典』とコリャードの『羅西日辞典』[ネブリハ の 『ら せい じてん 』 と コリャード の 『ら せいにち じてん 』] [Neburiha no » Ra-sei jiten « to Koryādo no » Ra-sei-nichi jiten «] [El Diccionario latino-español de Nebrija y el Diccionario latino-español-japonés de Collado], ロマンス語研究 [ロマンスごけんきゅう] [Romansugo kenkyū] [*Studia Romanica*] 29 (1996), 10-19.

Jacinto García, Eduardo José, Historia de la lexicografía bilingüe español-japonés: Un lazo entre Oriente y Occidente, in: Toshiaki Arimoto (ed.), *Japón y el mundo hispánico: Enlaces culturales, literarios y lingüísticos. Actas del Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación Europea de Profesores de Español* (Nagoya, 2004) 79-91.

Kawaguchi, Atsuko (川 口敦 子), コリャード『羅西日辞書』諸本の異同 : ローマ、ヴァチカンにおける調査を中心に　[コリャード『らせいにし じしょ』しょ ほんのいどう : ローマ、ヴァチカン における ちょうさ お ちゅうしん に] [Koryādo »Ra-sei-nichi jisho « sho hon no idō : Rōma, Vachikan niokeru chōsa o chūshin ni] [The Variants of Latin-Spanish-Japanese Dictionary by Diego Collado: Insights from the Research at the Libraries in Rome, Vatican, etc.], 人文論叢 ：　三重大学人文学部文化学科研究紀要 [じんぶん ろんそう ： みえだいがく　じんぶんがくぶ　ぶんか　がっか　けんきゅう　きよう] [Jinbun Ronsō: Miedaigaku jinbungakubu bunka gakka kenkyū kiyō] 29 (2012) 67-74.

Kitzler, Petr, *From Passio Perpetuae to Acta Perpetuae* (Berlin, 2015).

Kramer, Johannes, 38: The ancient languages of Greek and Latin, in Rufus H. Gouws, Ulrich Heid, Wolfgang Schweickard and Herbert Ernst Wiegand (eds.), *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography, Supplementary Volume: Recent Developments with Focus on Electronic and Computational Lexicography* (Berlin, 2013) 619-635.

Krömer, Dietfried, 180: Lateinische Lexikographie, in: Franz Josef Hausmann, Oskar Reichmann, Herbert Ernst Wiegand and Ladislav Zgusta (eds.), *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1990) 1713-1722.

Lach, Donald Frederic and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume 3: A Century of Advance, Book 1: Trade, Missions, Literature* (Chicago, 1993).

Laures, Johannes, *Kirishitan bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the early Christian Missions in Japan with Special Reference to the Principal Libraries in Japan and More Particularly to the Collection at Sophia University, Tokyo* (third edition, revised and enlarged) (Tokyo, 1957).

Levi, Joseph Abraham, Padre Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781-1834) and the Arte China (1829): An innovative linguistic approach to teaching Chinese grammar, in: Otto Zwartjes, Gregory James and Emilio Ridruejo (eds.), *Missionary Linguistics III: Morphology and Syntax* (Amsterdam, 2007) 211-231.

Lewin, Bruno, 265: Japanische Lexikographie, in: Franz Josef Hausmann, Oskar Reichmann, Herbert Ernst Wiegand and Ladislav Zgusta (eds.), *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1991) 2619-2625.

López Gay, Jesús, Un documento inédito del P. G. Vázquez (1549-1604) sobre los problemas morales del Japón, *Monumenta Nipponica* 16/1 (1960) 118-160.

Matsumoto, Yoshiko, *Noun-Modifying Constructions in Japanese: A Frame Semantic Approach* (Amsterdam, 1997).

McLelland, Nicola, Dialogue and German language learning in the Renaissance, in: Dorothea Heitsch and Jean-François Vallée (eds.), *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue* (Toronto, 2004) 206-225.

McLelland, Nicola, *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages: A History of Language Education, Assessment and Policy in Britain* (London, 2017).

Miyazaki, Kentaro, Roman Catholic mission in pre-modern Japan, in: Mark R. Mullins (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden, 2003), 1-18.

Jiménez Pablo, Esther, El papel de fray Diego Collado al servicio de Propaganda Fide en las Indias orientales, *MONOGRÁFICO* 4 (2016).

Osterkamp, Sven, Notes on the manuscript precursors of Collado's Ars grammaticæ Iapon-
    icæ lingvæ in the British Library (Sloane Ms. 3459) and especially Biblioteca Apostolica
    Vaticana (Borg. lat. 771), *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 36 (2012) 199-212.

Pagés, Léon, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon, depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651* (Paris,
    1869).

Pizzorusso, Giovanni, Le pape rouge et le pape noir: Aux origines des conflits entre la con-
    grégation »de Propaganda Fide« et la Compagnie de Jésus au XVIIe siècle, in: Pierre-
    Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (eds.), *Les Antijésuites: Discours, figures et lieux
    de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne* (Rennes, 2010) 539-561, DOI: 10.4000/books.
    pur.110420.

Prendergast, Maria T. and Thomas A. Prendergast, The invention of propaganda: A critical
    commentary on and translation of Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae Arcano, in: Jonathan
    Auerbach and Russ Castronovo (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies*
    (Oxford, 2013) 19-27.

Quintana, Jerónimo, Segunda parte de la historia del insigne convento de San Esteban de
    Salamanca: Trata de los hijos illustres con que esta casa ha servido a la Iglesia en el Nuevo
    Mundo, in: Justo Cuervo (ed.), *Historiadores del convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*,
    tom. 3 (1915, Salamanca) 5-500.

Santos Hernández, Angel, Orígenes históricos de la Sagrada Congregación »De Propaganda
    Fide«, *Revista española de derecho canónico* 28/81 (1972) 509-543.

Saracho Villalobos, José Tomás, La obra lingüística de Diego Collado, *Revista de Estudios
    Extremeños* 72/3 (2016) 1561-1594.

Schurhammer, Georg, *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des
    16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tokyo, 1928).

Schütte, Joseph Franz, Die Wirksamkeit der Päpste für Japan im ersten Jahrhundert der
    japanischen Kirchengeschichte (1549-1650), *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 5 (1967) 175-
    261.

Screech, Timon, The English and the control of Christianity in the early Edo period, *Japan
    Review* 24 (2012) 3-40.

Souza, Teotónio R. de, Confessionários or manuals of confession: Missionary tools and their
    colonial uses. The case study of Goa, *Sod - Konkani Research Bulletin* 9 (2005) 21-40.

Steinmetz, Andrew, *Japan and Her People* (London, 1859).

Takizawa, Naohiro, *A Study of »Ars Grammaticae Iaponicae Linguae« (1632) by Diego Collado
    and its Sources,* Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Illinois, 1993).

Vu Thanh, Hélène, Introducing tridentine marriage: The Jesuits' strategy in Japan (sixteenth
    and seventeenth centuries), *Rechtsgeschichte: Legal History, Journal of the Max Planck
    Institute for European Legal History* 27 (2019) 142-151.

Toribio Medina, José, *Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas (1523-1810)* (Santiago de
    Chile, 1897).

Tronu Montané, Carla, The Jesuit accommodation method in 16th and 17th century Japan. In:
    José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente, Esther Jiménez Pablo (eds.), *Los jesuitas:
    Religión, política y educación (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, vol. 3 (2012) 1617-1642.

Tronu Montané, Carla, Los primeros materiales para el estudio del japonés realizados por
    un español: Diego Collado OP y la misión japonesa en el s. XVII, in: Ana Agud Aparicio,
    Alberto Cantera, Alfonso J. Falero Folgoso, Rachid El Hour Amro, Miguel Angel Manzano
    Rodríguez, Ricardo Muñoz Solla and Efrem Yildiz (eds.), *Séptimo centenario de los estu-
    dios orientales en Salamanca* (Salamanca, 2012) 755-762.

Tronu Montané, Carla, The rivalry between the Society of Jesus and the Mendicant orders in early modern Nagasaki, *Agora: Journal of International Center for Regional Studies* 12 (2015) 25-39.

Wilkinson, Alexander Samuel and Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo, *Iberian Books Volumes II & III / Libros Ibéricos Volúmenes II y III (2 vols): Books published in Spain, Portugal and the New World or elsewhere in Spanish or Portuguese between 1601 and 1650 / Libros publicados en España, Portugal y el Nuevo Mundo o impresos en otros lugares en español o portugués entre 1601 y 1650* (Leiden, 2015).

Weijers, Olga, Lexicography in the Middle Ages, *Viator* 20 (1989) 139-153.

Whelan, Christal (transl. and ed.), *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians* (Honolulu, 1996).

Yáñez Rosales, Rosa H., Arte y descripción del náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara: Las obras de fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Thomas Cortés y Zedeño (1765), in: Ricardo Medina García, Álvaro Jesús Torres Nila and Rosa H. Yáñez Rosales (eds.), *El náhuatl del obispado de Guadalajara a través de las obras de los autores fray Juan Guerra (1692) y el bachiller Gerónimo Cortés y Zedeño (1795)* (Universidad de Guadalajara, 2016) 73-119.

The Latin Talmud and the Extension of Papal Jurisdiction over Jews

Alexander Fidora*

This paper addresses the question of how the Latin translation of the Talmud, known as the Extractiones de Talmud *(1245), is related to the changing perception of the Jews and in particular to the reassessment of their legal status during the thirteenth century. It draws particular attention to Pope Gregory IX's description of the Talmud as another law – an* alia lex*, as he called it – which challenged the traditional representation of the Jews as witnesses of the Christian truth, depicting them instead as heretics. This new perception of the Jews had far-reaching consequences for their legal status, for the popes used it to subject them to direct papal jurisdiction. To conclude, the question of whether the discovery of the Jewish »Oral Law« can be considered the cause of this new representation of the Jews in the strict sense is addressed. It is argued that it may, conversely, have been the intended representation of the Jews as heretics, who could thus be subsumed under papal jurisdiction, which was instrumental in bringing to light and decrying this body of rabbinic wisdom.*

Keywords: Babylonian Talmud; Hebrew-into-Latin translations; canon law; religious law; blasphemy; heresy; Nicholas Donin; Gregory IX; Innocent IV

Introduction

A significant landmark in the long and complex history of anti-Jewish polemic is the Christian »discovery« of the Babylonian Talmud. While the Talmudic corpus developed in the same period as early Christianity, this post-biblical text, which is the basis for the development of Rabbinic Judaism, was largely unknown to the Christians. The Church fathers, for instance, referred only occasionally to what they called the *deuterosis* of the Jews, that is, their second teaching.[1]

---

* Correspondence details: Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora, ICREA – Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Mòdul de Recerca A, 08193 Bellaterra, Spain; email: alexander.fidora@icrea.cat.

1 See del Valle Rodríguez, Primeros contactos, 300-304.

While, in the Early and High Middle Ages, authors such as Agobard of Lyon,[2] Peter Alfonsi[3] and Peter the Venerable[4] addressed certain Talmudic doctrines more explicitly, full awareness of the Talmud among Christian authors did not arise until the late 1230s. In 1238/39 the Jewish convert Nicholas Donin from La Rochelle presented a Latin translation of Talmudic fragments to Pope Gregory IX. This selection of Talmudic texts, known as the *Thirty-Five Articles against the Talmud*, determined a new course in Christian-Jewish relations. In 1239, the pope wrote to kings and bishops across Europe requesting that they confiscate and examine the manuscripts of the Talmud found in their territories. As a result, a trial against the Talmud was staged in Paris in 1240. The books were set on fire at the Place de la Grève in 1241/42,[5] yet the controversy surrounding the Talmud continued over the following years, as Gregory's successor, Pope Innocent IV, ordered a revision of the Talmud process. At the core of this re-examination are the *Extractiones de Talmud*, a translation of 1,922 passages from the Babylonian Talmud, prepared during the year 1245 for Odo of Châteauroux, Legate of the Apostolic See. This translation served as the basis for his final condemnation of the Talmud in May 1248.

The documents surrounding this controversy are preserved in several manuscripts, the most complete of which – though not the original – is MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16558. This manuscript offers a comprehensive »dossier« on the Talmud affair: its first part contains the *Extractiones de Talmud*, while the second part includes Nicholas Donin's *Thirty-Five Articles against the Talmud* along with further materials, such as Latin excerpts from Rashi's glosses on the Hebrew Bible.[6] Though scholars have been dealing with this dossier for more than 130 years, most of the texts have only recently been edited.[7]

---

2   See, e.g., Agobard's *De iudaicis superstitionibus*, 10, with allusions to Berakhot, Avodah Zarah and others, in Agobard of Lyon, *Opera omnia*, ed. van Acker, 205-206.

3   Peter Alfonsi criticized the anthropomorphic representations of God in the Talmud, e.g. at Berakhot 6a: »Si nosse cupis ubi scriptum sit: in prima parte vestrae doctrinae est cuius vocabulum *Benedictiones*. Si igitur vis scire quomodo dixerunt deum habere caput et brachia [...]« (Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra iudaeos,* 1, ed. Cardelle de Hartmann *et al.*, 20). For a useful survey of Talmudic quotations in the *Dialogus*, see Kniewasser, Antijüdische Polemik, 42-43. For a critical appraisal of his familiarity with Jewish traditions: Hasselhoff, Petrus Alfonsis Judentum.

4   Cf. Peter the Venerable, *Adversus iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, where the Talmud is mentioned for the first time by its proper name: »Produco igitur portentuosam bestiam de cubili suo, et eam in theatro totius mundi, in conspectu omnium populorum ridendam propono. Profero tibi coram universis, iudaee, bestia, librum tuum, illum, inquam, librum tuum, illum Thalmuth tuum, illam egregiam doctrinam tuam.« (Peter the Venerable, *Adversus iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem* 5, ed. Friedman, 125-126). See also, Friedman, Anti-Talmudic invective.

5   The exact date of the burning is disputed. See Rose, Talmud burnt in Paris.

6   For a detailed analysis of the contents of this manuscript and its textual layers, see de la Cruz, Estadio textual.

7   Piero Capelli's critical edition of Nicholas Donin's *Thirty-Five Articles* has now replaced the nineteenth-century edition by Isidore Loeb, which was based on a single manuscript. See Capelli, *De articulis litterarum papae*, and Loeb, Controverse de 1240 (in three parts), edition in no. 2, pages 253-270 and no. 3, pages 39-54. A critical edition of the *Extractiones* has been published by Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz in the CC CM-series: *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem.* For the Latin Rashi-translations, see the edition of the fragments on Isaiah in Hasselhoff, Rashi's glosses on Isaiah (with detailed references to editions of the remaining fragments on pages 112-113).

The Talmud as alia lex and the Extractiones de Talmud

In this article, I wish to address the question of how the translation of the Talmud, which enhanced Christian knowledge of Judaism, is related to the perception of the Jews and in particular to the assessment of their legal status. Already towards the end of the twelfth century, one can observe trends in canon law which aggravate the legal position of the Jews. Among these »amendments« are the redefinition in social and legal terms of the theological notion of a perpetual serfdom of Jews vis-à-vis Christians (*servitus iudaeorum*) and an indirect form of punishment of Jews by means of forbidding Christians to have any dealings with them (*iudicium iudaeorum* or indirect excommunication). Yet, it was not until the thirteenth century that Jews were definitively subjected to direct papal jurisdiction.[8]

The reason for this development may be summarized as follows: from the times of Augustine, Jews were considered to be witnesses of Christian truth as transmitted by the Old Testament, which Jews and Christians likewise venerate as the True Word of God. The Jews did not embrace the New Law, but as long as they did not depart from the old one, they were to be tolerated and, where necessary, protected. The *locus classicus* for Augustine's »witness doctrine« is Book 18, Chapter 46 of his *De civitate Dei*:

> But the Jews who slew Him, and would not believe in Him [...] are thus by their own Scriptures a testimony to us that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ. [...] Therefore God has shown the Church in her enemies the Jews the grace of His compassion [...]; he has not slain them, that is, He has not let the knowledge that they are Jews be lost in them, although they have been conquered by the Romans, lest they should forget the law of God, and their testimony should be of no avail in this matter of which we treat.[9]

This very influential account was radically called into question when Nicholas Donin approached Pope Gregory in 1238/39 with the *Thirty-Five Articles against the Talmud*. The tremendous challenge that the Talmud posed to the Christian world is succinctly captured in Pope Gregory's immediate reaction, namely the letter that he addressed to the archbishops of France on 9th June 1239:

---

8   See, among others, Magin, *»Wie es umb der juden recht stet«*, 21-26; and Pakter, *Medieval Canon Law*, 59 and 132-137.

9   Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* 18, 46, ed. Dombart and Kalb, 644-645: »Iudaei autem, qui eum occiderunt et in eum credere noluerunt [...] per scripturas suas testimonio nobis sunt prophetias nos non finxisse de Christo [...] Et ideo non eos occidit, id est non in eis perdidit quod sunt iudaei, quamvis a Romanis fuerint devicti et oppressi, ne obliti legem Dei ad hoc, de quo agimus, testimonium nihil valerent.« See also his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, e.g. on Psalm 56: »Omnes ipsae litterae quibus Christus prophetatus est, apud iudaeos sunt, omnes ipsas litteras habent iudaei. Proferimus codices ab inimicis, ut confundamus alios inimicos. In quali ergo opprobrio sunt iudaei? Codicem portat iudaeus, unde credat Christianus. Librarii nostri facti sunt, quomodo solent servi post dominos codices ferre, ut illi portando deficiant, illi legendo proficiant« (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* 56, 9, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 699-700). – For a more detailed analysis of Augustine's very influential model, see Cohen, »Slay them not«.

If the things that are asserted about the Jews residing in the Kingdom of France and other provinces are true, there would be no adequate or fitting punishment for them. For not content, as we have heard [from Nicholas Donin], with the Old Law, which the Lord gave in writing through Moses, indeed completely neglecting the same, they maintain that the Lord also proclaimed another law, which is called Talmud, i.e. teaching; and they falsely claim that it was passed on orally to Moses.[10]

As Joel E. Rembaum has already noted, the pope's concern in his letter does not refer, in the first place, to the specific content of the Talmud, but rather to its alleged status of being another law.[11] This law not only supplemented, but was likely to supplant the Old Law: it was neither *lex vetus* nor *lex nova*, but, as the text has it, *lex alia*.

With this, Pope Gregory IX levelled a new and very serious accusation,[12] which was echoed by his more lenient successor, Pope Innocent IV. On 9th May 1244, he wrote the following to the King of France:

Indeed, in such traditions, which they call the Talmud in Hebrew [...] they teach and bring up their children and make them thoroughly estranged from the teaching of the Law and the prophets, fearing that they be converted to the faith and return humbly to their Redeemer, since the truth that is found in the same Law and the prophets clearly offers a proof of the only begotten Son of God who should come in flesh.[13]

Far more than the purported blasphemies it contained, it was the charge against the Talmud as an alternative law that superseded the old one and obliterated the Christian truth, which determined its investigation. While the depositions and reports of the Talmud trial from 1240, which would lead to its burning in 1241/42, do not expressly mention it,[14] the

---

10   Friedman *et al.*, *Trial of the Talmud*, 93-94. Original: »Si vera sunt, quae de iudaeis in regno Franciae, et aliis provinciis commorantibus asseruntur, nulla de ipsis esset poena sufficiens, sive digna; ipsi enim sicut accepimus, lege veteri, quam Dominus per Moysen in scriptis edidit, non contenti, immo penitus praetermittentes eadem, affirmant legem aliam, quae Talmut, id est Doctrina, dicitur, Dominum edidisse ac verbo Moysi traditam« (Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, 240).

11   See Rembaum, Talmud and the popes, 205-206, who also notices that the pope's point is not directly raised in Nicholas Donin's *Thirty-Five Articles against the Talmud*, though it can be inferred from them. See also Cohen, *Living Letters*, 317-330.

12   Causing some confusion, Amos Funkenstein has credited Peter the Venerable with qualifying the Talmud as a Jewish equivalent to the New Testament, and hence as a different *nova lex*: Funkenstein, Ha-temurot be-vikkuaḥ, 140. See, however, the objection by Cohen, Scholarship and intolerance, 603, n. 30. Along similar lines, see Friedman, Anti-Talmudic invective, 174. – As Matthias M. Tischler has shown, Peter Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable did indeed use the term »lex« in their polemical discussions on other religions: Peter Alfonsi speaks of a »lex Moysi«, which refers to the Hebrew Bible, a »lex Christianorum«, namely the New Law of the Gospels, and a »lex Sarracenorum«, that is the Qur'ān. Yet, he never refers to the Talmud as a law, but always as a doctrine (*doctrina* or *liber doctrinarum*). The same is true for Peter the Venerable, who is the first to mention the Talmud by name in Latin literature, likewise describing it as a doctrine. Cf. Tischler, *Lex Mahometi*. Authority, 13-19, and the relevant passages quoted above in notes 3 and 4.

13   Friedman *et al.*, *Trial of the Talmud*, 96. Original: »In huiusmodi namque traditionibus quae Talmut hebraice nuncupantur [...] filios suos docent ac nutriunt, et a legis et prophetarum doctrina reddunt ipsos penitus alienos. Verentes ne veritate, quae in eisdem lege ac prophetis est, intellecta, aperte de unigenito dei filio venturo in carnem testimonium perhibente, convertantur ad fidem, et ad redemptorem suum humiliter revertantur« (Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, 250). For the close connection between the two letters by Gregory IX and Innocent IV, see also Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 66-67.

14   The Latin and Hebrew accounts are conveniently translated in Friedman *et al.*, *Trial of the Talmud*, 122-168.

issue is very present in the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which would give way to the Talmud's second condemnation in May 1248. Already in the prologue to the *Extractiones de Talmud*, one finds a programmatic reference to the idea of a twofold Law of the Jews. Indeed, the anonymous compiler of the Talmud explains:

> In order better to understand the things translated here, one must know that the Jews say that the Lord gave two Laws to Moses on Mount Sinai, one is written and the other is on or in the mouth, as is explained below.[15]

In other words, the Jews claim to have received two divine laws through Moses, one that was written down, the Torah, and another one that was transmitted orally at first, the Talmud. This is indeed a manifest corroboration of Pope Gregory's suspicion, which receives further support from various fragments in the translation. Such is the case for Berakhot 5a, in which various layers of God's revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai are distinguished:

> Rabbi Levi says: What is [the meaning] of that which was written [in the Bible in the following way]: »And I shall give you tablets of stone, and the Law and the commandment which I have written; so that you may teach them«? (Exodus 24.12) ›Tablets of stone‹, this is the Books of Moses. ›The Law‹, this is the Mishnah. ›Commandment‹, this is ceremonies and judgments. ›Which I have written‹, these are the Books of the Prophets and the Hagiographa. ›So that you may teach them‹, this is the Talmud [...]. Through this you may know that all these were *halakha*, i.e. teachings, given to Moses on Mount Sinai.[16]

The passage clearly identifies the Mishnah – which integrates the Talmud, along with its commentary, the Gemara – with the Law from Exodus 24.12 and implies that the Talmud, as a whole, was revealed by God to Moses, along with the Hebrew Bible.

The following passage is even more explicit with regard to the twofold written and oral law of Judaism. In Shabbat 31a, a non-Jew approaches the rabbis as he wants to become a proselyte, even though he is reluctant to embrace the authority of the Talmud. Despite this, Rabbi Hillel accepts him and eventually convinces him:

---

15   *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem,* 3, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 3-4: »Ut autem quae translata sunt melius intelligi possint, sciendum quod iudaei dicunt duas leges in monte Sinai Dominum Moysi tradidisse: una est lex in scripto et alia est lex super os vel in ore, sicut patebit inferius.«

16   *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, 16, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 22: »Dicit rby Levi: Quid est quod scriptum est: ›Et dabo tibi tabulas lapideas et legem et praeceptum quod scripsi ad docendum eos‹ (Exodus 24.12)? ›Tabulas lapideas‹, id est libros Moysi. ›Legem‹, id est Misna. ›Praeceptum‹, caerimonias et iudicia. ›Quod scripsi‹, hii sunt libri prophetarum et agiograforum. ›Ad docendum eos‹, hoc est Talmud [...]. Per hoc potestis scire quod omnia ista fuerunt halaka Moysi – id est edocta –, in monte Sinai.«

The sages say: Once a certain gentile came before Shammai and asked him: How many laws do you have? He replied: Two, one in written and the other in oral form. And the gentile said: The one which is written, I believe; but not the oral one. Convert me to Judaism on the condition that you will only teach me the written one. Shammai scolded him and he ran away in shame. Then he came before Hillel and said the same; but Hillel converted him. [...] On the first day, they read together [the letters]: *alef, bet, gimmel, dalet*; on the next day, Hillel reversed them and the gentile said: Yesterday you did not tell me that. Hillel replied: Don't you rely on me? Also with regard to the oral law you should rely on me.[17]

As with these two cases, the translations in the *Extractiones de Talmud* usually reflect the Hebrew and Aramaic original very faithfully, and one finds only a few remarks that betray the polemical bias of the anonymous compiler and translator(s).[18] One such remark, which is relevant to the question of the discovery of the Talmud and the shifts and changes in the legal representation of the Jews, occurs in a glossary of recurrent Hebrew terms, which is part of the aforementioned prologue. The compiler of the *Extractiones* informs his readers that »necesse est quarundam dictionum, quae frequenter occurrunt, significationem et interpretationem agnoscere«.[19] This list contains more than twenty notions, such as »goy«, i.e. non-Jew, explained as Latin »gens«; »Hanukkah«, explained as »festum Judith«; »Shemhamphorash«, explained as God's name expressed by means of 42 letters, etc.[20] The notion that I am interested in is »Baraita«, which refers to »external« materials that do not appear in the Mishnah but were later inserted in the Talmud. The author of the prologue to the *Extractiones de Talmud e*xplains the term »Baraita« as follows:

Baraita, which means ›external‹, we call that which at a certain time was not in the Talmud, but was added to it at a later point in time, just like we call the *Decretales* ›extravagantes‹. In that sense, every doctrine in the Talmud should probably be called a Baraita, that is, ›external‹ with regard to the Old Testament.[21]

---

17 *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, 575, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 137-138: »Magistri dicunt: Accidit de quodam goy quod venit ante Samay et ait illi: Quot leges vobis? Respondit: Duae: una in scripto et alia in ore. Et ille ait: Illi quae est in scripto credo; sed non illi quae est in ore. Fac me iudaeum tali pacto quod doceas me legem in scripto. Increpavit illum et fugavit verecunde. Venit autem coram Hylel et dixit similiter. Hylel quoque fecit eum iudaeum. [...] Prima die legit *.aleph. .beth. .gymel. .daleth.*; in crastino praepostravit ei; at ille ait: Heri non dixisti mihi sic. Respondit Hylel: Nonne de hoc confidis in me? Etiam de lege in ore confide in me.«

18 Concerning the identity of the translator(s), see Fidora, Latin Talmud.

19 *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, 12, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 5.

20 Cf. *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, 12-38, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 5-8.

21 *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem,* 16, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 5: »*Barraitha*, id est ›forinseca‹, et accipitur pro illo quod aliquando non fuit in Talmud, sed postmodum insertum, sicut enim ›extravagantes‹ dicimus‹ decretales. Sic quaelibet forsitan sententia Talmud *barraitha* dicitur, id est ›forinseca‹ respectu Veteris Testamenti.« It is worth noting that Ramon Martí would give a strikingly similar explanation of Baraita in terms of »extravagans« in his *Pugio fidei* I-III, 4, 7 (c. 1280): »Hinc glossaverunt rabini nostri in extravaganti machiltha quod omnes prophetae astiterunt in Sinay quando scilicet data est lex Moysi, et ibi traditae sunt eis omnes prophetiae.« See Raimundus Martini, *Texte zur Gotteslehre,* ed. Hasselhoff, 84.

According to the first part of this passage, a Baraita is an extra-Mishnahic prescription that entered the Talmud, in the same way that the *Decretales* are called »extravagantes«. This is a very eloquent comparison because, on the one hand, it reiterates the status of the Talmud as a legal corpus, just like the decretals. On the other hand, it tells us that the author of the prologue probably belonged to, or at least was close to, the canonists of the University of Paris, who had received Pope Gregory's *Liber Extra,* i.e. the *Decretales,"* in 1234, which was compiled by Ramon de Penyafort. In the papal letter that accompanied the *Liber Extra*, Gregory IX explained that it contains constitutions and decretals which »vagabantur extra«, that is, which were »extravagantes«, since they were scattered in different sources outside of the *Decretum Gratiani*.[22]

Not less telling is the second part of the passage, which suggests that each and every Talmudic doctrine, in other words the whole of the Talmud, should be considered as a Baraita, since all of it is external to the Old Testament, that is, the Old Law. Based on evidence from both the content and the manuscripts, it seems to me that this latter remark was originally a marginal gloss in a manuscript of the *Extractiones de Talmud* which was incorporated into the main text at an early stage.[23] Otherwise, it is difficult to harmonize the two parts of the passage: the first one gives a very sober and even positive account of what a Baraita is, drawing on the latest developments in canon law and its most authoritative collection. By contrast, the second part clearly pursues more polemical intentions in positioning the Talmud as a new and external law against the Old Law.

Regardless of whether the two parts of the passage in question were authored by the same person, or rather respond to different textual layers, as I am inclined to believe, they do testify to the ever-increasing juridification of the Talmud affair. They reflect the close interplay between theological and canonistic arguments on the one hand and the perception of the Jews as renegades of the Old Law on the other. This interplay is further confirmed through the professional adherences of the members of the commission, who would pronounce the final judgement on the Talmud in May 1248, drawing on the *Extractiones de Talmud*: 4 ecclesiastical authorities, 11 »magistri theologiae«, 12 »boni viri« and no fewer than 14 »magistri decretorum«.[24] Interestingly enough, it is not the masters of theology who represent the largest group within this commission, but rather the »boni viri«, among whom the anonymous compiler and translator(s) of the *Extractiones de Talmud* may feature, as well as the masters of law: in other words, the two groups by which and for which the dossier was prepared.

---

22 See the letter from September 5, 1234 in Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* 1, 154: »[...] Sane diversas constitutiones et decretales epistolas praedecessorum nostrorum in diversa dispersas volumina, quarum aliquae propter nimiam similitudinem, et quaedam propter contrarietatem, nonnullae etiam propter sui prolixitatem confusionem inducere videbantur, aliquae vero vagabantur extra volumina supradicta, quae tamquam incerte frequenter in iudiciis vacillabant, ad communem et maxime studentium utilitatem per dilectum filium fratrem Raimundum, capellanum et poenitentiarum nostrum, in unum volumen resecatis superfluis providimus redigendas, adicientes constitutiones nostras et decretales epistolas, per quas nonnulla, quae in prioribus erant dubia, declarantur [...].«

23 The passage is not included in a second version of the prologue, which the anonymous compiler of the *Extractiones de Talmud* prepared for his thematic rearrangement of the translated texts. This version is preserved only in MS Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, ms. Min. 71, fol. 60r. Edited in *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 11-17.

24 For the document and the list of signatories, see Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* 1, 209-211. The theologians and jurists in this list have been identified in Gorochov, *Naissance de l'Université*, 535 and 544-545. For the concept of »boni viri«, see Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle*, 100-101.

The Jews as Heretics and Universal Papal Jurisdiction

Somewhat paradoxically, the developments that I have outlined show how the Christian discovery of an exclusively Jewish law, that is, the Talmud, would eventually legitimize the Jews' subjection under Christian law and papal jurisdiction.

An overt confirmation of the link between the discovery and translation of the Talmud and papal jurisdiction over Jews is provided in Pope Innocent IV's Commentary on Gregory's *Liber Extra*. Here one reads (X 3.34.8) that the pope:

> can judge the Jews if they act against the law in moral issues and are not punished by their leaders; and also if they are found guilty of heresy with regard to their own law. And this was the reason why Pope Gregory and Pope Innocent were moved to order the burning of the Talmud in which there are many heresies and to punish those who followed or taught these heresies.[25]

Innocent not only argued that the Talmud makes the Jews depart from their law, which is understood as the Old Testament, but – based on this claim – he established a direct relationship between the Talmud and heresy: Jews who follow or teach the doctrines of the Talmud are considered to be heretics, and it is as such that they must eventually be judged by the Church.

From here, it would only be a small step to the radical anti-Jewish attitude of Berthold of Regensburg (d. c. 1272) in the second half of the thirteenth century. Berthold systematically represented the Jews as heretics:

> They have become heretics [...] making a book which is called Talmud. This is altogether heretic, and it contains heresies so condemnable that it is evil that they exist.[26]

In his sermons against heretics, Berthold of Regensburg not only referred to the teachings of the Talmud, but he did so by quoting the *Extractiones de Talmud*. His Sermons XXVIII and XXVIIII, which aim to prove the superiority of Christianity vis-à-vis pagans, Jews and (other) heretics, are one of the first instances of a wider reception of the *Extractiones de Talmud*.[27] For the present context, it is rather significant that this reception took place within anti-heretical writing. In order to substantiate his accusations against the Jewish religion, the German Franciscan quotes, among other texts, a passage from Bava Kamma 60b, which deals with *malach ha-mavet*, the angel of death:

---

25 Quoted from Kedar, Canon law, 80, who shows that the printed editions are not reliable for this passage. The Latin text from the manuscripts reads as follows: »Item iudaeos potest iudicare papa si contra legem faciant in moralibus, si eorum praelati eos non puniant et eodem modo si haereses contra suam legem inveniant, et hac ratione motus papa Gregorius et Innocentius mandaverunt comburi libros talmuth in quibus multae continebantur haereses et mandavit puniri illos qui praedictas haereses sequerentur vel docerent.«

26 Berthold of Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe* 1, 401: »Sie sint ze ketzern worden [...] unde habent ein buoch gemachet, daz heizet dalmut. Daz ist allez sament ketzerîe, unde dâ stêt sô verfluochtiu ketzerîe an, daz daz übel ist daz sie lebent.«

27 The only earlier references to the *Extractiones de Talmud* are found in Albert the Great, see Fidora, Albert the Great. It is likely that Albert introduced Berthold to the Latin Talmud, see Fidora, *Albertus Magnus*.

Dic de angelo Malachamaut. – Credunt iudaei, quod, si fuerit mortalitas in villa, quod non est ambulandum per medium viarum, quia angelus mortis illic vadit. Si autem non est mortalitas, non est ambulandum per latera viarum, quia angelus mortis per illa vadit, quia, quando non habet licentiam occidendi, vadit latitando.[28]

In the *Extractiones de Talmud*, the angel of death is already introduced in the prologue, where it is defined in the following way: »*Malaac mavez*, id est ›angelus mortis‹, dicitur angelus qui omnes morientes interficit, et Duma vocatur in Talmud alicubi.«[29] Subsequently, the angel of death appears several times throughout the translation, including the above passage from Bava Kamma 60b:

Si sit mortalitas in villa, non ibit homo in medium viarum propter hoc quod angelus mortis vadit per medium viarum; ex quo cum habet licentiam – nocendi –, vadit plane. Si sit pax in villa, non vadat per latera viarum, quia angelus mortis per ea vadit; ex quo enim non habet licentiam – nocendi –, vadit latitando.[30]

The verbal coincidences between both texts are overwhelming. Small differences such as *occidendi* (to kill) for *nocendi* (to do harm) are misreadings or scribal errors. It should also be noted that *nocendi* is an explanatory addition by the translators of the *Extractiones de Talmud*, which is not found in the Talmud itself. Hence, its appearance in Berthold's text, even if misread as *occidendi*, makes a very strong case for the dependence of his sermon on the *Extractiones*.

While this is not the place to dwell further on the philological details of Berthold's use of the Talmud, which he probably knew through Albert the Great, it is more than obvious that his aggressive campaign against the Jews as heretics was tightly linked to his reading and understanding of the *Extractiones de Talmud*. All in all, the Jews paid a high price for the questionable privilege of being accommodated under papal jurisdiction: thus, at the end of the thirteenth century the Talmudic Jew (*Talmudjude*)[31] was considered to be a heretic who needed to be eradicated, as Berthold put it.[32]

---

28 Berthold of Regensburg, *Sermo XXVIIII*, ed. Czerwon, 224. In Schönbach's edition this sermon takes the number XXVIII (Schönbach, *Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt*, 41). English translation: »Speak of the angel *malach ha-mavet*. – The Jews believe that if there is a plague in the city, one should not walk in the middle of the road, because the angel of death walks there. If there is no plague in the city, one should not walk on the sides of the road, since then the angel of death walks there, for, when he does not have permission to kill, he walks on the side.«

29 *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem*, 18, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 14.

30 *Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem,* 649, ed. Cecini and de la Cruz, 157. For an English translation, cf. the translation of the parallel passage from the *Extractiones* in n. 28 above.

31 See also Patschovsky, »Talmudjude«.

32 The legitimization of papal jurisdiction over Jews by means of their representation as heretics would also play a central role in the fourteenth century. See Heimann, Nicolaus Eymerich OP.

Concluding Remarks

In terms of »representation« and »knowledge«, the texts which I have analysed here seem to suggest the following narrative: it is the newly acquired *knowledge* of a Jewish textual body that was until then unknown to Christians, which led to a substantial change in the Christian *representation* of the Jews, namely from being depicted as witnesses to the Christian truth, to being represented and judged as heretics. However, one may ask whether such a unilinear narrative does justice to the facts. Already at the end of the twelfth century, when the Christian attitude towards Jews was becoming increasingly aggressive, one finds, here and there, scattered references to the Jews as heretics.[33] Although in these instances the use of the word »heretical« is vague and not always technical, it is more than a mere *façon de parler*: it shows that the representation of the Jews as heretics was somehow in the air. In this light, rather than being the reason for representing the Jews as heretics, the Christian discovery of the Talmud may have been received as a welcome occasion to finally extend ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Jews, along with other heretics.

If this interpretation is correct, the discourse for legitimizing the subjection of Jews under universal papal jurisdiction eventually succeeded in reversing the sequence of causes and effects. For, as I suggest, it was probably not so much the discovery of rabbinic wisdom that changed the representation of the Jews, but it may instead have been their intended representation as heretics that was instrumental in bringing to light and decrying a new body of Jewish knowledge: the Talmud. Or should one rather say, as the protagonists of the procedure against the Talmud would probably have put it, that the events of the 1240s were a »providential« confluence of both motives?

Acknowledgements:

---

33   See, for instance, Honorius, *Summa »De iure canonico tractaturus«*, C. 2 q. 7 c. 25 *Pagani v. accusare:* »De haereticis indistincte est verum, Iudaei autem et pagani videntur admittendi ubi suam iniuriam prosequuntur, nam civiliter conveniunt et conveniuntur [...]. Sed nonne ipsi etiam sunt haeretici? Respondeo sic, sed non sunt speciali immo generali sententia excommunicati sicut fideles qui fiunt haeretici.« Quoted in Pakter, *Medieval Canon Law,* 179, n. 119. See also Manselli, Polémique contre les juifs; and Müller, Pariser Verfahren, 188.

References

Abbreviations
CC CM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CC SL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

Manuscripts
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16558.
Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, ms. Min. 71.

Editions and Studies
Agobard of Lyon, *Opera omnia*, ed. Lieven van Acker, CC CM 52 (Turnhout, 1981).

Augustine, *De civitate Dei, libri XI-XXII,* ed. Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, CC SL 48
      (Turnhout, 1955).

Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont, CC SL 39
      (Turnhout, 1956).

Berthold of Regensburg, *Sermo XXVIIII*, ed. Ariane Czerwon, *Predigt gegen Ketzer: Studien zu
      den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Regensburg* (Tübingen, 2011) 219-226.

Berthold of Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner deutschen Predigten*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer and
      Josef Strobl, 2 vols (Vienna, 1862-1886).

Bianchi, Luca, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Paris,
      1999).

Capelli, Piero, *De articulis litterarum papae: A critical edition*, in: Alexander Fidora and Görge
      K. Hasselhoff (eds.), *The Talmud in Dispute During the High Middle Ages* (Bellaterra, 2019)
      29-57.

Cohen, Jeremy, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982).

Cohen, Jeremy, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley,
      1999).

Cohen, Jeremy, Scholarship and intolerance in the medieval academy: The study and eval-
      uation of Judaism in European Christendom, *The American Historical Review* 91/3 (1986)
      592-613.

Cohen, Jeremy, »Slay them not«: Augustine and the Jews in modern scholarship, *Medieval
      Encounters* 4/1 (1998) 78-92.

Czerwon, Ariane, *Predigt gegen Ketzer: Studien zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds von Re-
      gensburg* (Tübingen, 2011).

de la Cruz, Óscar, El estadio textual de las *Extractiones de Talmud* en el BnF ms. lat 16558,
      in: Ulisse Cecini and Eulàlia Vernet (eds.), *Studies on the Latin Talmud* (Bellaterra, 2017)
      23-44.

del Valle Rodríguez, Carlos, Los primeros contactos de la Iglesia con el Talmud: El significado
      de la deuterosis, in: Mauro Perani (ed.), *»The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious«
      (Qoh 10,12): Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Berlin,
      2005) 299-308.

Denifle, Heinrich and Émile Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols (Paris,
      1889-1899).

Extractiones de Talmud per ordinem sequentialem, ed. Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz, CC
      CM 291 (Turnhout, 2018).

Fidora, Alexander, Albert the Great and the Talmud, in: Alexander Fidora and Nicola Polloni (eds.), *Appropriation, Interpretation and Criticism: Philosophical Exchanges between the Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Intellectual Traditions* (Barcelona, 2017) 122-136.

Fidora, Alexander, *Albertus Magnus und der Talmud* (Münster i. W., 2020).

Fidora, Alexander, The Latin Talmud and its translators: Nicholas Donin vs. Thibaud de Sézanne?, *Henoch* 37/1 (2015) 17-28.

Friedman, John, Jean Connell Hoff and Robert Chazan (eds.), *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240* (Toronto, 2012).

Friedman, Yvonne, Anti-Talmudic invective from Peter the Venerable to Nicholas Donin (1144-1244), in: Gilbert Dahan and Élie Nicolas (eds.), *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244* (Paris, 1999) 171-189.

Funkenstein, Amos, Ha-temurot be-vikkuaḥ ha-dat she-beyn yehudim le-notzrim ba-meʾah ha-12 [Changes in the patterns of Christian anti-Jewish polemic in the twelfth century], *Zion: Quarterly for Research in Jewish History* 33/3-4 (1968) 124-144.

Gorochov, Nathalie, *Naissance de l'Université: Les écoles de Paris d'Innocent III à Thomas d'Aquin (v. 1200-v. 1245)* (Paris, 2012).

Grayzel, Solomon, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century. Vol. I: A Study of Their Relations During the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period* (second edition) (New York, 1966).

Hasselhoff, Görge K., Petrus Alfonsis Judentum vor dem Hintergrund seiner Zeit, in: Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Philipp Roelli (eds.), *Petrus Alfonsi and His »Dialogus«: Background, Context, Reception.* Micrologus Library 66 (Florence, 2014) 61-76.

Hasselhoff, Görge K., Rashi's glosses on Isaiah in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558, in: Ulisse Cecini and Eulàlia Vernet (eds.), *Studies on the Latin Talmud* (Bellaterra, 2017) 111-128.

Heimann, Claudia, Nicolaus Eymerich OP: Der Inquisitor und die Juden im Aragon des 14. Jahrhunderts, in: Elias H. Füllenbach and Gianfranco Miletto (eds.), *Dominikaner und Juden/Dominicans and Jews: Personen, Konflikte und Perspektiven vom 13. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert/Personalities, Conflicts, and Perspectives from the 13th to the 20th Century* (Berlin, 2015) 135-154.

Kedar, Benjamin Z., Canon law and the burning of the Talmud, *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law,* new series 79 (1979) 79-82.

Kniewasser, Manfred, Die antijüdische Polemik des Petrus Alfonsi (getauft 1106) und des Abtes Petrus Venerabilis von Cluny († 1156), *Kairos* 22 (1980) 34-76.

Loeb, Isidore, La controverse de 1240 sur le Talmud, *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880) 247-261; 2 (1881) 248-270; 3 (1881) 39-57.

Magin, Christine, *»Wie es umb der juden recht stet«: Der Status der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen Rechtsbüchern* (Göttingen, 1999).

Manselli, Raoul, La polémique contre les juifs dans la polémique antihérétique, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 12 (1977) 251-267.

Müller, Daniela, Die Pariser Verfahren gegen den Talmud von 1240 und 1248 im Kontext von Papsttum und französischem Königtum, in: Marcel Poorthuis, Joshua Schwartz and Joseph Turner (eds.), *Interaction between Judaism and Christianity in History, Religion, Art and Literature* (Leiden, 2009) 181-199.

Pakter, Walter, *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews* (Ebelsbach, 1988).

Patschovsky, Alexander, Der »Talmudjude«: Vom mittelalterlichen Ursprung eines neuzeitlichen Themas, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung,* Beiheft 13 (1992) 14-27.

Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra iudaeos*, ed. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, Darko Senekovic and Thomas Ziegler, German transl. Peter Stotz (Florence, 2018).

Peter the Venerable, *Adversus iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, ed. Yvonne Friedman, CC CM 58 (Turnhout, 1985).

Raimundus Martini, *Texte zur Gotteslehre: Pugio fidei I-III*, 1-6, ed. and German transl. Görge K. Hasselhoff (Freiburg i. Br., 2014).

Rembaum, Joel Edward, The Talmud and the popes: Reflections on the Talmud trials of the 1240s, *Viator* 13 (1982) 203-223.

Rose, Paul Lawrence, When was the Talmud burnt in Paris? A critical examination of the Christian and Jewish sources and a new dating. June 1241, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 62 (2011) 324-339.

Schönbach, Anton E., *Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt. Drittes Stück: Das Wirken Bertholds von Regensburg gegen die Ketzer.* Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 147 (Vienna, 1904).

Tischler, Matthias M., *Lex Mahometi*: The authority of a pattern of religious polemics, *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 2/1 (2015) 3-62.

»For they did not change their language« (MekhY Pischa 5): On the Early Medieval Literary Rehebraicisation of Jewish Culture

Constanza Cordoni*

Following the early commentary on the book of Exodus in the Mekhilta deRabbi Yishma-el (third century CE), a series of later rabbinic texts with other exegetical agendas praise the children of Israel for remaining loyal to their language identity during the time of the Egyptian bondage. This tradition is found both in Hebrew and in Hebrew-Aramaic rabbinic corpora of the classical period before it is taken up in early medieval works, for the most part written in Hebrew, which attest to a return to Hebrew in part of the Jewish literary production in the early Middle Ages. This paper is about tracing this evolving tradition through changing contexts.

Keywords: Language ideology; Jewish identity; rabbinic literature

Introduction: »Hebrew for Speech« and Jewish Multilingualism

Jewish communities of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, whether in the ancestral home-land in the land of Israel or in the Eastern, North African or European Diaspora spoke and/or wrote in a number of languages which, in all likelihood, were at least to a certain extent distinct from the languages of their non-Jewish environment. With the terminology of socio-linguistic research, these can be designated as Jewish languages.[1] One of these languages was Rabbinic or Mishnaic Hebrew, which, before becoming a Jewish literary language in the third century CE, had been, like Greek and Aramaic, a language spoken by Jews for centu-ries.[2] From then onwards, whether in Roman-Byzantine Palestine or in Sasanian Persia, the

---

1 »Jewish language varieties«, »Jewish linguistic repertoires« and »Jewish religiolects« are further terms to describe these linguistic phenomena. See Hary and Bunin Benor, *Languages in Jewish Communities*, 1. Hebrew is referred to as the »one« original language before the episode of the tower of Babel (*safa achad*, Gen 11:1), as »Jewish« (*yehudit*, 2 King 18:28; Isa 36:11, in contrast to *aramit*; Neh 13:24, in contrast to *ashdodit*), as the »language of Canaan« (*sefat kenaan*, Isa 19:18), in Scripture and as the holy language (*leshon ha-qodesh*) and Hebrew (*ïvrit*) in rabbinic litera-ture. See Mock, *Hébreu*, 43-44. Biblical Hebrew is – chronologically at least – the first of these Jewish languages. That is, as long as we do not distinguish between Hebrew and Jewish languages. See Bar-Asher, Jewish languages, 130. On the Jewish languages of medieval Europe, see Bunis and Robinson, Languages and translations. I wish to thank Günter Stemberger, Rodrigo Laham Cohen and the anonymous reviewers for their critical comments and helpful suggestions on an earlier draft of this text.

2 On Hebrew as experiencing a revival with the rabbinic movement in the third century, see de Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language. For an overview on the relationship between the Hebrew language and the other Jewish languages across history, see Bar-Asher, Jewish languages.

Sitz im Leben of Hebrew was not in Jewish life in the broad sense of the term, given that its use was reduced to liturgy and literature. And even in these two areas, Aramaic dialects are present: the Targumim, composed both in Palestine and in Babylonia between the second and the eighth centuries CE, transferred part of the text of the Hebrew Bible into a language people could understand in a synagogal context. Although »targum« is generally rendered as »translation«, the ancient targumim are more appropriately described as an admixture of translation and commentary. Apart from these texts related to the synagogue, it is also in the sources that go back to the house of study that we find evidence of Hebrew interacting with Aramaic. The major corpora of rabbinic literature of the so-called amoraic period – texts which are generally grouped as belonging to the two major categories of rabbinic literature of the classical period, Talmud and Midrash – attest to what may be described as a written interplay of Biblical Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic (dialects).[3] These texts translated, insofar as they were concerned with making relevant for the present earlier, canonical texts, expressing in a more accessible wording and with more appealing ideas norms and stories transmitted in the Mishnah, the first document of rabbinic Judaism whose redaction, according to the traditional theory, took place by the early third century, and in the Hebrew Bible.[4] With different purposes, both the targumim and the rabbinic corpora are forms of exegesis that acknowledge Jewish multingualism as a phenomenon of Late Antiquity.

This phenomenon is most openly addressed in the following lines of the Palestinian Talmud (also referred to as the *Yerushalmi*, end of fourth-fifth century), which also describes a functional division of languages, some of them Jewish languages, in Late Antiquity:

> Rabbi Jonathan of Beit Guvrin said: There are four pleasing languages of which the world makes use and these are they: [the] foreign [language] (i.e. Greek, *laʿaz*, לעז) for song; Roman (i.e. Latin, *romi*, רומי) for battle; Syrian (i.e. Aramaic, *sursi*, סורסי) for lamentation, [and] Hebrew for speech (*ʿivri le-dibbur*, עברי לדיבור). And some say, also Assyrian for writing (*ashuri likhtav*, אשורי לכתב). Assyrian has script but no speech (i.e. is no spoken language, *lashon*, לשון). Hebrew has speech but no script [of its own]. They [the Israelites] chose for themselves the Assyrian script and the Hebrew language (*lashon ʿivri*, לשון עברי). (yMeg 1:11 [71b] par. ySot 7:4 [21c])[5]

3　I use the term »interplay« following Fraade, Language mix. Fraade, against using the sociolinguistic term »diglossia« (see Bar-Asher Siegal, Diglossia in rabbinic Hebrew), due to the fact that it »derives from modern contexts in which language functions and domains can be directly observed«, distinguishes three categories of Hebrew-Aramaic or Greek-Aramaic internal bilingualism in rabbinic literature or in inscriptions: »interpenetration«, »internal translation,« and »code-switching«.

4　On the problem of dating rabbinic corpora, see Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans,* 39-42. In what follows, the dates given for each of the rabbinic corpora are redactional dates. On the periodisation of rabbinic literature and its genre system, see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 17; Stemberger, *Einführung*, 71-106; Alexander, Using rabbinic literature.

5　An alternative four-language divide is found in a tannaitic document which interprets Deut 33:2 as meaning that the revelation at Sinai was spoken in Hebrew, Latin, Arabic and Aramaic (half of these languages being, by the time of redaction of this document, Jewish languages). See SifDev 343 and Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation,* 32-36.

Remarkable about this text with its four-language divide[6] is not only that it refers to the major vernacular of the non-Jewish majority culture, including the Roman administration, in the period and broader region in which the *Yerushalmi* was redacted, Greek, as »the *foreign* language« and assigns to it and other languages a specific communicative function. Placing Hebrew as the last language in the list and claiming that this is the language used in the Jewish world to speak, the voice that quotes Rabbi Jonathan reclaims for Hebrew the most important of these functions, but still concedes that Jews use at least Greek and Aramaic for singing and lamenting.[7] Günter Stemberger observes on the choice of »Hebrew for speech«: »wirklich zum Sprechen (*dibbur*) im Vollsinn des Wortes eignet sich nur das Hebräische, in dem Gott am Sinai sein Zehnwort (*ʾaseret ha-divrot*) zu Israel gesprochen hat.«[8] Furthermore, both the Hebrew language and the Assyrian script used to write it down are said to be of especial value with regard to Jewish linguistic identity because these were, the text claims, chosen by Israel.[9] The rabbis are depicted in this text as aware of the fact that there are multiple scripts from which the Jews of their own time could also choose. It may be the case that the original choice is presented as exemplary.[10] The distinction between Hebrew language and Assyrian script is not maintained in another version of this passage transmitted in the later rabbinic commentary on the Psalms known as *Midrash Tehillim* (seventh-eighth century):[11]

---

6   The parallel transmitted in the exegetical commentary on the book of Esther presents the same argument but a different order: »Rabbi Nathan of Beit Guvrin said: There are four pleasing languages of which the world makes use: [the] foreign [language] (i.e. Greek, *laʿaz*, לעז) for song; Syrian (i.e. Aramaic, *sursi*, סורסי) for lamentation, Hebrew (*ʿivri*, עברי) for speech, Roman (i.e. Latin, *romi*, רומי), and some say, also Assyrian for writing. Hebrew has speech but no script, Assyrian has script but no speech [is no spoken language]. They [the Israelites] chose for themselves the Assyrian script and the Hebrew language.« (EstR 4:12)

7   Even if it is directed at Jews, the text is not about the Jewish world but the entire world: Roman, i.e. Latin, not being a Jewish language. As Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation*, 272, rephrases the passage: »Latin as the language of the military superpower, Rome, Greek as the language of culture, Aramaic as the vernacular of the indigenous people and Hebrew as the medium of the [rabbinic] scholars.«

8   Stemberger, Hebräisch als ideale Sprache, 91.

9   See bSan 21b-22a on the Israelites choosing their language after their return from the Babylonian Exile. According to Fraade, Language mix, 9, this compromise is probably a »retrojection from a later time when Hebrew and Aramaic vied with one another (as with Greek) for cultural priority.« The need to mention the Assyrian as Jewish script is given by the exegetical context: the mishnah which this passage interprets, mMeg 1:11, claims that Torah scrolls may, for the purpose of study, be written in any language (and script, e.g. in Greek) but that phylacteries and mezuzot may only be written in square (Assyrian) script.

10   In the wider context of the quoted passage, they distinguish between Palaeo-Hebrew (*raʿats*, רעץ) and Assyrian script, but apparently also between these and Greek script. On the phenomenon of multiple competing alphabets as well as on the related script-switching, see Wagner, Script-switching between Hebrew and Arabic, 357-360. Multiscriptality is a common phenomenon in the context of Jewish inscriptions both in Europe and the Levant. See de Lange, Hebrew language, 122-132.

11   Traditionally, the compilation *Midrash Tehillim* is considered as having been edited between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. On the first part, i.e. MidTeh 1-118, Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 358, points out: »Es ist sicher mit einer längeren Entwicklungszeit zu rechnen, was genauere Aussagen unmöglich macht.« According to the Maʾagarim of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, this part was composed »before 1050«. See Atzmon, Midrashic traditions, 118-119, who concludes, after a careful analysis of MidTeh 22, that the overall composition »was edited in Palestine in the same period in which the Tanhumaic midrashim were being created, and in fact should be ascribed to an intermediate period between the classic amoraic midrashim and late midrashim such as Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer«, i.e. he dates it to the seventh or eighth century.

Rabbi Jonathan said: There are four languages: the Roman language (*lashon romi*, לשון רומי) for battle, the Greek language (*lashon yevani*, לשון יוני) for song; the Persian[12] language (*lashon parsi*, לשון פרסי) for lamentation, the Assyrian language (*lashon ashurit*, לשון אשורית) for prayer, in other words, *you hold them safe under your shelter from contentious tongues* (*meriv leshonot*, מריב לשונות). (Ps 31:21) (MidTeh 31:7)

In this version of Rabbi Jonathan's tradition, the »Hebrew language« and »Assyrian script« of the earlier version appear combined in the expression »Assyrian language«. The function of this language is not »speech« in general, but speech directed at God, prayer, of which psalms are the characteristic scriptural form. The fourth language is the language of the psalm that is interpreted and both, the prayer and its language, are a shelter for him who prays, as the prooftext suggests.

While Rabbi Jonathan's tradition in all of its versions apparently acknowledges Jewish multilingualism with relative ease,[13] other rabbinic voices may be understood as indirectly expressing a certain discontent or preoccupation with the Jewish multilinguistic situation the quoted rabbinic traditions, among others, addressed and to which other types of evidence attest.[14] In the following pages I will be concerned with this preoccupation by tracing the development of a statement according to which the people of Israel not changing their language, Hebrew or the holy language, in Egypt, was read as a token of loyalty to their identity and as a choice that had an impact on their history of salvation. A corollary of this tradition would then be that multilingualism among Jews, because it is a change with respect to their one original language, means a problematic change from a single to a multiple identity.

---

12 Persian instead of Syrian is also the language mentioned as suitable for lamentation in two out of the five witnesses used by Joseph Tabori and Arnon Atzmon for their synoptic edition of the midrash *Esther Rabbah*. Persian is here more in accord than Syrian with the setting of the narrative context of the book of Esther and more specifically with the interpretation of Est 1:22 (»he [King Ahasuerus] sent letters to all the royal provinces, to every province in its own script and to every people in its own language«). See https://schechter.ac.il/midrash/esther_rabbah/.

13 And this is but one of many traditions which address Jewish multilingualism in the rabbinic corpora. On the interplay of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in Late Antiquity and »the very *variety* of linguistic expression as a subject of great significance in its own right«, see Fraade, Language mix, 6. On the theory and practice of multilingualism in early rabbinic literature, see Fraade, Language mix; Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation*, ch. 3.

14 The evidence for ancient Jewish society as »dynamically multilingual«, as Fraade, Language mix, 3 describes it, is of a literary, documentary, and inscriptional nature.

»They Did Not Change Their Language«: The Early Rabbinic Evidence

According to a passage transmitted in the early commentary on Deuteronomium *Sifre* (third century CE), he who fails to teach Torah to his children is punished with a short life. Furthermore, the teaching itself is to take place in the language of Scripture:

> *Teach them to your children, talking about them* (Deut 11:19): to your sons and not to your daughters – words of Rabbi Jose ben ʿAkiba. Hence the sages said: When a child begins to speak, his father should speak to him in the holy language (*bileshon ha-qodesh*, בלשון הקודש) and teach him Torah; and if he does not do so, it is as if he had buried him, for it is written, *Teach them to your children, talking about them* (ibid). If you *teach them to your children, talking about them* (ibid.), *your days and the days of your children may be multiplied* (Deut 11:21) – and if not, your days will be shortened, for so are the words of Torah expounded: the positive implies the negative, and the negative implies the positive. (SifDev 46)

Jews are to teach their sons, though not their daughters, to speak the »holy language« as soon as they begin to speak. In this world knowledge of Hebrew is understood as a precondition for the study of Torah.[15] It is through *speaking* that the tuition takes place and the passage of this commentary, written entirely in Hebrew, suggests that the talk about Torah should likewise take place in Hebrew. For a father who fails to speak to his son in Hebrew is comparable to a filicide.[16]

Less intimidating is the tone of a passage in another early rabbinic commentary with its somehow similar linguistic wishful thinking. In the *Mekhilta deRabbi Yishmael* (third century CE) on the book of Exodus we read:

> Rabbi Eleazar Ha-Qappar says: Did Israel not have four commandments (*arbaʿ mitsvot*, ארבע מצות) of which the entire world is not worth? – They were not suspected of improper conduct and they were not suspected of slander (lit. »bad language,« *lashon ha-raʿ*, לשון הרע), they did not change their name (*lo shinu et shemam*, ולא שנו את שמם), and they did not change their language (*ve-lo shinu et leshonam*, ולא שנו את לשונם)? (MekhY Pischa 5)

---

15 As Stemberger, Hebräisch als ideale Sprache, points out, being able to speak Hebrew is also said to enable participation in the world to come. See yShab 1,3 (3c). See Bar-Asher, Jewish languages, 127, on boys alone learning to read Hebrew. On women being knowledgeable about Hebrew, see Ilan, Women quoting scripture.

16 Elsewhere in the same commentary we find loyalty to the language linked to loyalty to the ancestral homeland. Both are preconditions for being worthy of the world to come: »Rabbi Meir used to say: All who dwell in the Land of Israel, the Land of Israel atones for them, for it is written, *the people who live there will be forgiven their iniquity* (Isa 33:24). ... And so Rabbi Meir used to say: He who lives in the Land of Israel, recites the Shema in the morning and in the evening, and speaks in the holy language, see, he is a son of the world to come.« (SifDev 333) On this tradition, see de Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language, 348-349. In yet another exegetical context of the same commentary, SifDev 303, it is claimed that the prayer said by the Israelite once he has set aside a tenth of his produce for the poor (Deut 26:14-15), should be said in »any language«, i.e. no matter in which language. Fraade, Language mix, 5-6, points out that the admonitions to cultivate Hebrew in these passages may either »attest to its practice or to countervailing pressures that militated against its practice.«

The quoted passage, transmitted in the context of an interpretation of Exod 12:6, is for the most part a rhetorical question which is followed by expositions on each of four commandments implied in the question. A rabbi assumed to have been active in the land of Israel in the second half of the second century[17] argues that before the Exodus Israel had four weighty commandments.[18] These are collectively described with a characteristic hyperbole – they surpass the entire world in worth. Refraining from intermarriage (marriage with non-Jews), from speaking ill of fellow Jews, keeping their ethnonym and language – the observance of these four commandments listed by the second-century rabbi as valid for Israel's time in Egypt contributes in later times, the redactors of the *Mekhilta* suggest in including this tradition in their commentary, to the preservation of Jewish identity in the Diaspora.[19]

The last of these commandments is of special interest for us: they did not change their language, whereby *lashon* is the last expression in an enumeration that makes conspicuous use of Hebrew alliteration. Later on in this commentary it is claimed that the evidence that they spoke Hebrew when they were in Egypt is found in Exod 2:14:

> Whence do we know that they did not replace their language (*she-lo chalefu leshonam*, שלא חלפו לשונם)? It is said, *Who made you a ruler and judge over us?* (Exod 2:14) Hence [we know] that they would speak Hebrew (*ʿivrit*, עברית). For it is said, *it is my own mouth that speaks to you* (Gen 45:12). And it [Scripture] says, *Then they said, 'The God of the Hebrews* (*ʿivryim*, עברים) [*has revealed himself to us'*] etc. (Exod 5:3); *Then one who had escaped [came and told Abram the Hebrew (ha-ʿivri,* העברי)] etc. (Gen 14:13) (MekhY Pischa 5)[20]

According to Exod 2:13, Moses asks a man described with the ethnonym »Hebrew«, »Why do you strike your fellow Hebrew?« and the latter answers with the first of the verses adduced in the quoted passage. The midrash derives from this that the language in which Moses and the »Hebrew« spoke was the language Hebrew, implying that this was distinct from the language of Egyptians such as the one Moses killed but with whom he exchanged no words.[21] Two of the other verses associate the language with the name of the people, while Gen 45:12 appears to link the Israelites' language to the idiom in which God speaks to them, even though in Scripture it is Joseph who speaks these words.

---

17 He is associated with the fourth tannaitic generation (160-200 CE). See Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 96.

18 Against a statement by Rabbi Mattia ben Cheresh (late first - early second century CE, according to which, before they received the Torah, the Israelites had only two commandments which they could observe and on this account be worthy of redemption: the commandments of the Pesach and the circumcision.

19 See Stemberger, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Jishmaʿel,* 460.

20 Translation follows MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, 151 (Maʾagarim).

21 The midrash cannot know for certain whether the Hebrew language these two men spoke was the Hebrew in which Exod 2 is transmitted, nor can we ascertain whether the midrash may not mean with »Hebrew« one of the Jewish Aramaic dialects which were also perceived as the language of the Hebrews in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period and in the New Testament (on the latter see Beattie and Davies, What does Hebrew mean.) On the ultra-orthodox notion that Yiddish was the language of the Hebrews, see Silber, Emergence of ultra-orthodoxy.

The praise of Israel's loyalty to its linguistic identity in biblical times – a sweeping praise for Jewish attachment to the Hebrew language in other times – is delivered in the context of a rabbinic document that was redacted entirely in Rabbinic Hebrew at a time when this Hebrew was waning as a spoken language.[22] What is more, the same statement in Rabbinic Hebrew reappears in a number of later contexts which adapt the early tradition to their own exegetical agendas and changed cultural and linguistic contexts.

»They Did Not Change Their Language«: The Evidence of Amoraic Corpora

Characteristic for the later, amoraic corpora of rabbinic literature (literature which was redacted between the fifth and the seventh centuries but which presents material associated with rabbis who lived from the third century, in Palestine until the second half of the fourth century and in Babylonia until the end of the fifth) is the use of biblical and earlier rabbinic Hebrew materials intermingled with either Galilean or Babylonian Aramaic.[23] Our statement praising the people of Israel for having refrained from changing their language in Egypt is transmitted in three roughly contemporary midrashic corpora assumed to have emerged in Byzantine Palestine in a time when Christianity had already established itself as the official religion of the Roman Empire, Aramaic and Greek were the main vernaculars of the region, liturgical poetry in Hebrew flourished,[24] Aramaic Targumim paraphrased the Torah readings in the synagogue, and some Jews debated on the language in which Scripture should be read in the synagogue or the Shema recited.[25]

---

22   While scholars agree that during the tannaitic period, i.e. the time in which the sages quoted in the *Mekhilta* were active, Rabbinic or Mishnaic Hebrew was spoken, this does not appear to have been the case in the later (so called amoraic) period, when the *Mekhilta* was eventually redacted. On the question of whether Rabbinic Hebrew represented a living language, see Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 161-163. See also Fassberg, What Semitic language. It should be noted that I am not concerned here with the question of which language was »the« dominant Jewish vernacular when, that is to say, it is not my target to extrapolate from rabbinic texts on the broader Jewish society in whose midst these texts emerged.

23   See Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans*, 41-42, especially for the distinction between the time of the sages and the redactional dates of the corpora in which they feature. For an overview on the so called amoraic corpora of this period see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 306-328.

24   Although Yose ben Yose is usually dated to the fourth century and de Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language, 356, posits that a beginning of Hebrew hymnography may be envisaged in the third century, scholars of Hebrew liturgical poetry generally date the emergence of this Jewish literary genre to the sixth century. For an overview, see Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography*; van Bekkum, Hebrew liturgical poetry; on the language of the liturgical poets, see Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 209-214.

25   Justinian's Novella 146 »On the Hebrews« suggests this. According to rabbinic tradition, while the reading is exclusively in Hebrew, the purpose of the targumim which were recited rather than read was to rephrase the Torah reading in Aramaic. Scholars disagree on whether the emperor reacts to real strife among Jewish parties somewhere in the Roman Empire or this is only a purported rescript to a fiction: After describing two parties among the Jews, those who consider it only proper that Scripture be read in Hebrew and those who accept Greek, the novella allows »those Jews who so wish« to read Scripture either in Greek or in any other language. Apart from fostering the use of Greek, the novel forbids the use of Jewish *deuterosis*. See Rutgers, Justinian's Novella 146; de Lange, Hebraists and Hellenists, and the literature cited therein.

Probably the earliest of the amoraic midrash compilations that makes use of our statement is the homiletical midrash *Wayiqra Rabbah* (fifth-sixth century) on the book of Leviticus.[26] To begin with, the new scriptural occasion of the commentary determines a changed hermeneutic accent: in order to expound on the base or lemma verse Lev 24:10, the midrash historicises a verse from the Song of Songs and quotes several rabbinic authorities who claim that the »garden locked« of Song 4:12 is a metaphor for Israel's chaste behaviour in Egypt.[27] According to these sages, it is because of the Israelites' sexual morality during the time of the Egyptian enslavement that they were redeemed with the Exodus. However, another sage is then quoted as relativising this claim:

> Rabbi Huna said in the name of Bar Qappara: Israel were redeemed from Egypt on account of four things (*arbaʿ devarim*, ארבעה דברים): Because they did not change their name and [because] they did not change their language, because they did not utter slander, and because none of them was of improper conduct. (WayR 32:5)

The fourth-century sage Huna claims[28] that it is not for one but for four reasons that the people of Israel were rewarded with leaving Egypt, the last to be mentioned being their chastity – hereby the reference to an intermarriage in Lev 24:10 is understood as the exception that proves the rule. Whereas keeping their language is mentioned last in the list of the *Mekhilt a*and therefore accorded a prominent place in the list, it is only the second item in this amoraic midrash, which is evidently more concerned with the challenge posed to Jewish identity by the Israelites' failure to cope with standards of sexual morality than with their not sticking by a monolinguistic commitment to the Hebrew language.[29] Unlike the context in that early midrash compilation,[30] the claim in Hebrew that the people of Israel did not change their language in Egypt is now found in a bilingual rabbinic document that not only switches between Aramaic and Hebrew, but may even be regarded as an Aramaic text.[31] Furthermore, the new hermeneutic context of *Wayiqra Rabbah* is more explicit than the earlier parallel in the *Mekhilta* as to Greek as a language that competed with the original one, the language of the time before the Exodus.[32] The passage quoted below in particular addresses an ethnolinguistic discontent pertaining to the use of Greek names. The expansion of the first of the four praiseworthy deeds previously mentioned reads:

---

26 On *Wayiqra Rabbah* see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 319-323; Samely, Literary structures; Neusner, Leviticus in Leviticus Rabbah.

27 As part of its historicising interpretation of the Song of Songs which links it to the Exodus, the early commentary on the book of Exodus made use of verses such as Lev 24:10 and Song 4:12, which, in these later commentaries, provide the hermeneutic occasion for the exegetical exposition. On the development of the historicising reading of the Song of Songs, see Stemberger, Midrashim zum Hohenlied.

28 The Eleazar ha-Qappar, in whose name the statement is quoted in the *Mekhilta*, is probably Bar Qappara's father. See Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 96.

29 The same is true of the close parallel transmitted in the commentary on the Song of Songs. See ShirR 4:12:1.

30 With which *Wayiqra Rabbah* shares the scriptural evidence in Gen 14:13; Exod 5:3; Gen 45;12 that the Israelites went on using their own language in Egypt.

31 As Bar-Asher, Jewish languages, 130, argues, it is not the number of words in one or the other language which determines which a text's language actually is. Similarly, Fraade, Language mix, 24-25. In the case of *Wayiqra Rabbah*, as in the rest of the commentaries of this period, Hebrew (both Biblical and Rabbinic) features prominently, but the document itself is not a Hebrew one.

32 On rabbinic attitudes toward Greek, see Sperber, Rabbinic knowledge of Greek.

»Because they did not change their name« – [those] who went down (Aram. *nachatin*, נחתין) [as] Reuben and Simeon, [as] Reuben and Simeon they came up (Aram. *salaqin*, סלקין). They would not call Reuben Rupus (Rufus) nor Judah Luliani (Julianus?) nor Joseph Lestis, nor Benjamin Alexandri. (WayR 32:5)

While it was probably not an urgent matter to react to Hellenising Jews among the intended audience of the *Mekhilta*,[33] the redactors of the later *Wayiqra Rabbah* do make a point of reminding other (rabbinic/nonrabbinic?) Jews that Hebrew names are more suitable for them.[34] Apart from the impact of time on the ideology of this tradition, the difference for the two approaches could also be related to the different standard genre categorisation, and then rather to the Sitz in literature than the Sitz im Leben, of the *Mekhilta* and the *Wayiqra Rabbah* as »exegetical midrash« and »homiletical midrash« respectively. However, it is important to bear in mind that neither does the early *Mekhilta* have an exclusively exegetical agenda but also a political-homiletical one, nor does *Wayiqra Rabbah* transmit authentic homilies in which real rabbinic or non-rabbinic audiences were admonished.

The statement is found again in the later commentary on the Song of Songs *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* (sixth century) in a passage whose thrust is still a praise of Israel's chaste behaviour while in Egypt. However, because for this passage *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* follows not only the one in *Wayiqra Rabbah* discussed above but especially a chapter in *Pesiqta de Rav Kahana* (fifth century), a midrash compilation arranged according to the liturgical year,[35] new accents may be identified. The chapter in *Pesiqta de Rav Kahana* which *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* uses for its exegesis of Song 4:12 has its liturgical occasion in the Torah reading for the seventh day of Passover, namely Exod 13:17-18.[36] Among the new arguments in whose context our statement is now found are some related to the link between ethnic identity during the time of the Egyptian enslavement, lineage and language.

Thus, to explain the expressions »a garden locked« and »my sister, my bride« in Song 4:12, *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* tells a king parable,[37] according to which a king with two unmarried daughters leaves them for a long time when he goes to a distant province overseas; during his absence they both decide to marry and do so properly,[38] but their actions cause people to gossip about them. Upon his return the king confronts his daughters, and after hearing from them that they have married and from his sons-in-law that they admit to having married

---

33   The earlier *Mekhilta* text did not include any Greek names to prove that the Israelites went on using the original, biblical names they had used before going down to Egypt. It operates by adducing scriptural verses that make reference to the names of the tribes (Num 1:18) and the patriarchs (Gen 48:16).

34   On the use among Jews of Greek and Latin names in late ancient Palestine, see Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*. There is evidence of some rabbis, at least, using names such as Alexandri, Luliani, Philipi, and even Romanos. See below for a Rabbi Marinus. Many more Greek, including even theophoric, names are attested to in contemporary Palestinian synagogue inscriptions. I thank Prof. Günter Stemberger for this remark.

35   While the *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* is, like *Mekhilta deRabbi Yishmael* and *Wayiqra Rabbah,* organised following the structure of a biblical book, the *Pesiqta* is ostensibly organised according to a different principle. Its 28 chapters are thematic discourses that follow the synagogal readings for holy days, special Sabbaths or festivals throughout the liturgical calendar. On *PesK* see Neusner, Pesiqta deRab Kahana; Atzmon, Original order.

36   See PesK 11:6.

37   On the rabbinic genre of the king parable, see Appelbaum, *Rabbis' King-Parables.*

38   Evidence of which is their having taken from their husbands »signature and seal«.

them, he decides he should punish the latter for having wronged his two daughters. The application of this parable to the theological message the commentary seeks to convey amounts to dismissing the idea that the Israelites, especially their women, could have been unchaste in Egypt so that their offspring be considered of mixed lineage, that is to say, in part Egyptian.[39] So how does the commentary solve this conundrum?

> Rabbi Pinchas said: At that time God summoned the angel who was appointed with conception and said, Go forth and form them with all the features of their fathers. And whom did their fathers themselves resemble? The founders of the families, this is what is written: for Reuben, *the families of the Reubenite(s)* (Num 26:7).

> Rabbi Hoshaiah said: [From] Reuben, the Reubenite (*ha-reubeni*, הראובני); [from] Simeon, the Simeonite (*ha-shimeoni*, השמעוני). Said Rabbi Marinus beRabbi Hoshaia: But this is not different from such expressions as Baronite, Sabronite, Sikuyite (*barony, sabrony, sikuy*,[40] ברוני סברוני סיכוי). Rabbi Huna in the name of Rabbi Idi [explained]: There is a *he* (ה) at the beginning of each name of a family and a *yod* (י) at the end: [God (*Yah*, יה)][41] testifies of them that they were sons of their fathers. (ShirR 4:12:1)

The midrash resorts to a rabbinic fantasy in the name of a sage of the fourth century: on the one hand, an angel is said to have ensured that physiognomy allowed for no uncertainty concerning the fatherhood of the Israelites. On the other, the very use of family names such as the Reubenite and the Simeonite is seen as evidence of the Israelite fatherhood of Israelites. Moreover, in his reaction against Rabbi Marinus (Latin name)[42], Rabbi Huna – the same sage who later on is accredited with the statement on the Israelites' language loyalty – explains that these names differ from those of non-Jews such as Baronite[43] and the like in that they have a theophoric element. The orthography of scriptural patronimics thus testifies to the purity of the male line of Israelite lineage. The Israelites have names of their own which they did not change and in their names there is a godly testimony that they had always been chaste.

---

39   PesK 11:6 reads: »Similarly, the nations of the world would taunt the Israelites saying to them that they are children of the Egyptians, who ruled the lives of the Israelites, all the more so their wives.« ShirR 4:12:1 reads: »Similarly, the nations of the world used to taunt (מונין) Israel saying, *The Egyptians became ruthless in imposing tasks on the Israelites* (Exod 1:13). If they [could force] their work, they must have subdued their bodies and wives. At that time the Holy blessed be He, said, *A garden shut up is my sister, my bride* (Song 4:12).«

40   MS Vat 76 reads *sikuy*, סיכוי, MS Oxford 102 *soko*, סוכו, MS Munich 50 *sinuy*, סינוי. Only the Vilna edition reads *sibuny*, סבוני.

41   According to Tamar Kadari's synopsis of *ShirR*, only two out of five textual witnesses with this statement read *Yah*, יה. The rest of the witnesses leave the syntactic subject implied. See https://schechter.ac.il/midrash/shir-hashirim-raba/.

42   See Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names,* 285-287.

43   This list of three seemingly non-Jewish names is a unique occurrence in rabbinic literature.

It is also in the medieval *Midrash Tehillim* that our four-merit statement is transmitted – in slightly modified wording,[44] with new scriptural material, and again, as in the *Mekhilta*, in the name of Eleazar bar Qappara. The exegetical occasion for praising the people of Israel for having adhered to their language is, in this case, the interpretation of psalm verses[45] which precisely describe the Exodus as liberation from a foreign linguistic environment:

> »They did not change their language«: for they used to speak (*hayu mesapperin*, היו מספרין) the holy language, for it is said, *the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Judah became His sanctuary* (Ps 114:1-2): for His holy language (*lileshon ha-qodesh shelo*, ללשון הקודש שלו).[46] (MidTeh 114:4)

The language that the ancestors of the Jews spoke while in Egypt was undoubtedly the holy language, the midrash assumes. Moreover, there is a linguistic aspect to the redemption of the Exodus: leaving Egypt is read here as an affirmation by Israel of its commitment to the holy language and its correlated entry into a *space*-time of holy language. Considering that *Midrash Tehillim* as an overall composition was probably redacted in Palestine under early Muslim rule, it may be seen as a praise of Hebrew in a changed diasporic context.

A statement first attributed to a tannaitic sage, according to which not changing their language was one of four things the people of Israel did for which they deserved to be saved from Egypt and which, as Willem Smelik observes, is the very reason why »the Israelites retained their identity … despite the Egyptian environment in which they lived«[47], is transmitted as part of the exegesis of Lev 24:10; Exod 13:17-18; Song 4:12; and Ps 114:4 in several amoraic corpora. Originally cited in the *Mekhilta* in the name of Rabbi Eleazar Ha-Qappar, the statement is quoted in the amoraic midrash compilations *Wayiqra Rabbah, Pesiqta de Rav Kahana, Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, and *Midrash Tehillim* in a different order (language loyalty does not appear to be the main issue), in the name of two sages that now build a small chain of transmission, each time with a slightly different hermeneutic exigencies.

Hebrew for Writing: Redemption in Written Hebrew

When we turn to other works of the early medieval period, we find a quite interesting passage, according to which the Israelites did adopt a language other than their original one and identified with this other language to such an extent that even God used this language to communicate with them. According to a midrash of Exod 20:2, the holy language was, for a moment at least, an idiom other than Hebrew, i.e. a language which the midrash takes to be non-Hebrew:[48]

---

44 While *MekhY, WayR, PesK*, and *ShirR* praise Israel for not having uttered slander, *MidTeh* describes them as not having revealed their secret (ולא גילו את מסתורין שלהם).

45 On foreignness as related to language in the Hebrew Bible, see Deut 28:49; Isa 33:19; Jer 5:15.

46 The words that follow after the psalm quotation are transmitted in MS Cambridge, UB Or. 786, the basis for Buber's edition quoted in the appendix, but not in several other textual witnesses. It looks as if the copyist of this one manuscript would have inserted an explanatory gloss. I thank Günter Stemberger for calling my attention to this.

47 Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation*, 43.

48 On languages other than Hebrew as the holy tongue, see Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation*, ch. 2.

Rabbi Judah said: This term (*lashon zeh*, לשון זה), I (*ʾanokhy*, אנכי) (Exod 20:2), is but an expression of love (*leshon ahavah*, לשון אהבה), an expression of affection (*leshon chivah*, לשון חיבה). It is like a king who sent his son away to a province overseas and he learnt the language of the children of [this] overseas [province] (*leshon bnei ha-yam*, לשון בני הים) and when he came [back] from the province overseas, his father began to speak with him in his [the son's] language (*bileshono*, בלשונו). Similarly, because Israel were in the land of Egypt, they learned the language of the Egyptians (*leshon ha-mitsriyim*, לשון המצריים) and when they came before the Holy One, the Holy One began to speak to them in their language [that they had acquired in Egypt]: I (*ʾanokhy*, אנכי) (Exod 20:2) [is] there *ʾanokh.* (PesR 21:31)[49]

The quoted passage is part of a homily transmitted in the midrash compilation *Pesiqta Rabbati* (twelfth/thirteenth century).[50] According to this interpretation – which calls attention to the proximity of Hebrew *ʾanokhy* to Coptic *ʾanokh* – it is because the Israelites *did* change their language, that God, compared to a loving father, allegedly started his speech in Exod 20 with this »barbarism«.[51]

However, the statement on the Israelites' loyalty to their language did not die out with the amoraic sources, but was still found appealing in post-amoraic literature. It remained a Western rabbinic tradition and did not make its way into the Babylonian Talmud. Characteristic for the post-amoraic midrashim assumed to have been redacted in the period following upon the Arab conquest and during the time when the associated Arabicisation of Jewish culture was taking place in the Near East is that they almost completely abandon the use of Aramaic and return to the monolinguistic Hebrew form of expression of earlier, tannaitic compilations.[52] Some scholars have even posited that these works show a return to forms of biblical Hebrew. In two such works our statement returns and now it is no longer a four-item list. In *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*, a pseudepigraphic text assumed to have been composed in the eighth century in Palestine, but which cannot be dated or localised with any precision, we read at the close of a chapter on the Egyptian enslavement:

---

49   The translation is based on Ulmer, *Bilingual Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati.*

50   On the stages in the development of the text of *Pesiqta Rabbati* and the date of redaction, see Ulmer, *Bilingual Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati*, 28-29.

51   Interestingly, according to a midrash on Exod 20:1 transmitted in *Pesiqta de Rav Kahana*, which was probably known to the redactor of *Pesiqta Rabbati*, the king to whom God is compared speaks not his son's language but that of his son's captors. God is said to have spoken the Egyptian language (*lashon mitsry*, לשון מצרי) in the interpreted verse. See PesRK 12.

52   In what became the realm of Islam, where Hebrew was relegated to the reading of Scripture in the synagogue and prayer, and Arabic became the Jewish language of life and a major language of literature, the Egyptian-born Saadya Gaon, expressed his concern about the degeneration of the Hebrew language in his *Egron*. He explains his motives for writing this work of Hebrew linguistics in the Judeo-Arabic second edition of the work! See Brody, *Saʿadya Gaon*, 79-84.

Because of three things Israel went forth from Egypt:[53] Because they did not change their language (*hechelifu leshonam*, החליפו לשונם) and [because] there was no slander among them, and [because of their faith] in the unity of the Name. And Israel went forth from Egypt full of all good things according to the blessings, as He remembered the word which was said to Abraham, *but I will bring judgement on the nation that they serve, and afterwards they shall come out with great possessions*. (Gen 15:14) (PRE 48)

It is again as a reward for having adhered to their language that the Israelites were saved from Egypt. Such a linguistic loyalty is, in this case, associated with the people's respect for each other and with their faith in the one God, on whose »word« (*dibbur/davar*), as is stated earlier in the same chapter, the world stands[54] – but not with the people's sexual morality.

　All the more terse is the statement in another late midrashic work, *Seder Eliyahu*, similarly obscure when it comes to determining its date and place of composition, though, according to present scholarly consensus, it might have been composed in the first half of the ninth century.[55] In the context of a homiletical-ethical discourse,[56] another Song of Songs verse is adduced, this time to describe the Israelites' exemplary conduct while they were in Egypt:

Another interpretation: *at the crown with which [his mother (ʾimo, אמו)] crowned (ba-ʿatarah she-ʾiterah, בעטרה שעיטרה)* (Song 3:11): When Israel were in the desert they did not change their name and their language (*lo shinu shemam u-leshonam*, לא שינו שמם ולשונם) and the ministering angels would murmur behind them and say, Definitely there are among them, among those ones [some whose deeds are] like the deed[s] of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Therefore it is said: They did not change their name and their language. (SER 17)

In the quoted passage, a midrash on Song 3:11, the anonymous authorial voice of *Seder Eliyahu* explains the apparently redundant wording of the verse – which uses two word forms of the same root adjacently – by means of a minimal version of our statement. Reduced to two items, it is now used to argue that the generation of the desert distinguished themselves by a double maternal crown: not changing their name and language are praiseworthy decisions of the Israelites, even if such a conduct may have been predicated only on a few who were then compared with the patriarchs. The author of *Seder Eliyahu* counts himself among the few of his own generation who, in composing this very work in Hebrew, contributed to the continuity of a Jewish linguistic identity to which some among the Israelites in Egypt also contributed.

53　*Bamidbar Rabbah I*, a European medieval midrash (thirteenth century, Provence), has a list of three items in an identification of the three types of burnt offering mentioned in Num 7:45 as the »three good characteristics« (*middot tovot*, מידות טובות) by virtue of which they were delivered: »they did not change their name, they did not change their language, and they guarded themselves against improper conduct.« (BamR 13:20)

54　It must be noted that PRE 48 addresses the problem posed by the son issued from the union of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian: the Egyptians rape Shelomith after killing her husband Bedijah of the tribe of Dan. In accord with his bitter conception, the behaviour of Shelomith's son is described as bitter. PRE's attitude towards chastity appears to be even more stringent than that conveyed in the earlier midrashic compilations.

55　For a survey on the research on the date and place of composition of *Seder Eliyahu*, see Cordoni, *Seder Eliyahu*.

56　This expands on a mishnah from tractate Avot (3:9), a tractate which features quite prominently in *Seder Eliyahu* and which is considered in its extant form as late. See Stemberger, Mischna Avot.

These two works of later rabbinic literature appear to be more intent than their earlier counterparts on their celebration of the Jews' linguistic constancy: first of all, in that they reduce the list to three and two items respectively, whereby adherence to language is placed in a more prominent position than in the amoraic documents. Second, unlike all the earlier midrashic compilations, they do not expand on each of these items with additional arguments, so that neither are scriptural verses adduced to prove the statement, nor is it specified that the language the Israelites continued to be loyal to is Hebrew nor, and probably more important still, do these texts point out that the Israelites went on speaking the language as, for example, in the *Mekhilta* (see above). This is probably not incidental, for it is a written return to Hebrew as mode of midrashic expression that these texts are concerned with.

Rehebraicisation: External and Internal Evidence

In two articles from the year 1996 Nicholas de Lange addressed the question of a late ancient and early medieval Jewish commitment to the Hebrew language. In one piece he focused on what he described as a revival of Hebrew in the Land of Israel in the third century as evidenced by the language of the tannaitic corpora, the Hebrew inscriptions in Bet Sheʿarim and statements by Origenes pertaining to Aquila's translation, among other sources.[57] In the second piece he provided a survey of the evidence of knowledge and use of Hebrew among Jews in Europe before the eleventh century, when Hebrew had established itself as the European Jewish language of literacy, literature, and worship, comparable to Latin for Christians in the West.[58] He discussed there three types of evidence: scattered allusions to the languages used by Jews in Christian literary sources (fifth-ninth century),[59] a legal text (mid-sixth century) – in both cases external evidence – and multilingual or Hebrew inscriptions (ninth century)[60] – tokens of internal evidence. He concludes that it is from the ninth century – centuries after Justinian's Novella 146 »On the Hebrews« documents an inner-Jewish dispute about the language to be used for the reading of Scripture in the synagogue[61] – that »the first evidence

---

57   De Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language.

58   De Lange, Hebrew language, 113: »from the eleventh century on we have reliable evidence from many different parts of Europe that Hebrew was used as a language – perhaps even the only language – of 'high' culture among Jews. [...] By this time it would seem that Hebrew was the only language that Jews normally learned to read and write, and it would be reasonable to assume that it was the usual language of synagogue worship and Bible reading in most if not all European Jewish communities. Its use was thus in many ways analogous to that of Latin by western Christians.«

59   In this connection de Lange, Hebrew language, 118-121, discussed references to knowledge of Hebrew during the renaissance of the ninth century and concluded »that there is some confirmation from the Carolingian empire of the phenomenon directly attested in South Italy at this time, namely a use of Hebrew by Jews for scholarly purposes«, as an example of which he mentioned the chronicle *Josippon*, the medical writings of Shabbetai Donnolo and the liturgical poets Silano and Shephatya. On *Josippon*, see Dönitz, Historiography among Byzantine Jews; on Italian piyyut, see Hollender in Reif and Hollender, Liturgy and Piyut, 664-669, who also mentions the paytan Amittai.

60   Hebrew features especially prominently in inscriptions from southern Italy.

61   De Lange, Hebraists and Hellenists, 221-222, describes the two parties the novella implies as traditionalists and innovators, whereby the latter would be the Hebraicising faction. However, he points out that »some have seen the Hebrew faction as the custodians of tradition, resisting an attempt by Hellenizers to replace the Hebrew language by Greek.« (221) In his view the document attests to a »general trend of replacement of Greek by Hebrew« in the realm of Byzantium and to the fact that the emperor sided with the traditionalist, Hellenised Jews, suppressing the movement at an early stage, given the centuries-long silence on the matter.

for a real familiarity with the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature« can be ascertained, even if this evidence is limited both in scope and location.[62] De Lange closes his survey cautiously endorsing the view that a »pro-Hebrew pressure in Europe« may have emanated from the rabbinic authorities of the Land of Israel rather than from those of Babylonia.[63] Explicit evidence of a link between southern Italy and the Land is found in the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Achima´ats*.[64]

Less explicit about such a connection are the works of a genre which scholars consider a Palestinian phenomenon that wandered towards Byzantine southern Italy and thence to Europe and which constitutes earlier *internal Jewish evidence* as to the fact that Hebrew regained the status of dominant literary language among Jews between the seventh and the ninth centuries: major examples of the genre of late midrash are, besides *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer, Seder Eliyahu* – with which we closed our survey in the previous section –, the late stratum of the Tanchuma-Yelamdenu literature, *Aggadat Bereshit* and several other texts of smaller scope.[65] Characteristic for this post-classical rabbinic (or rabbinically oriented) genre is that it produced works in Hebrew[66] at the crossroads between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, between collective and individual literature, and between Muslim Palestine and Christian Byzantium. The floruit of liturgical Hebrew poetry in the sixth century[67] and a renaissance of Hebrew apocalyptic literature in the seventh through ninth centuries[68] may also be mentioned as evidence of a choice of Hebrew as the (almost) exclusive mode of expression in *certain areas of the Jewish literary genre-system*.[69]

This article has been concerned with the examination of a tradition on the Israelites not changing their language in Egypt transmitted in texts that stem from collective corpora whose Jewish authors are associated with the rabbinic movement that became institutionalised by the third century CE in the Roman province of Palestine.[70] Building upon de Lange's

---

62   De Lange, Hebrew language, 134-135. See also Simonsohn, Hebrew revival.

63   De Lange, Hebrew language, 136-137. See also de Lange, Hebraists and Hellenists, 217.

64   See Bonfil, *History and Folklore*.

65   For an overview, see Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch*, 345-348, 358-388.

66   The bulk of Tanchuma-Yelamdenu literature is also transmitted in Hebrew. See Weiss, *Pious Irreverence*, 12, for a brief description of the evolution of the corpus. Already the second layer or stratum avoids »Galilean Aramaic wherever possible, replacing it with Hebrew.« As to *Midrash Tehillim*, while it does contain a layer of classical midrash with the Aramaic component this is bound to imply, a later layer is post-classically monolingual Hebrew. I wish to express my thanks to Ronit Nikolsky and Arnon Atzmon with whom I consulted on these two post-classical corpora.

67   See van Bekkum, Hebrew liturgical poetry. The earliest liturgical poets (*paytanim*) were thus active in the period in which the redaction of the so called amoraic midrashim with their characteristic Hebrew-Aramaic bilingualism is assumed to have taken place. While there are Aramaic piyyutim and Aramaic elements in Hebrew piyyutim (see Elizur, Incorporation), the dominant language of Jewish liturgical poetry is Hebrew.

68   See Reeves, *Trajectories*, who refers to this literature as »post-rabbinic«.

69   Aramaic went on being used in prayer, in geonic responsa, and in post-talmudic halakhic genres. On Aramaic after the talmudic era, Breuer, Aramaic in Late Antiquity, 488, comments: »by virtue of its central position in talmudic literature, every scholar of this literature was familiar with Aramaic, and so the language continued to be known even after people no longer spoke it. In the medieval era it was a passive language known only from the ancient texts, yet to a limited extent it was also an active tongue, for the writers of Hebrew often integrated Aramaic into their writings.«

70   On the process of institutionalisation of the rabbinic movement see Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans*, ch. 1.

reflections on the early rabbinic »campaign for Hebrew«[71] and read as the expression of a preoccupation with a Jewish multilingualism to which several other rabbinic texts attest, this tradition may be described as *internal metalinguistic evidence*[72] of an idealisation of Hebrew as monolingual mode of expression and as a precedent of the European »pro-Hebrew pressure« of the ninth and tenth centuries.

The earliest document that, in using this tradition, insists on Hebrew as the language with which Jews once identified and with which, so the tacit claim, they should at least in writing go on identifying, is the halakhic midrash *Mekhilta deRabbi Yishmael*. In this first hermeneutic context, the tradition that praises Israel for having committed to their language in Egypt is transmitted as part of an exegetical statement that reads the demonyms *ʿivryim* and *ha-ʿivry* as references to the language of the people (MekhY Pischa 5). We could ascertain that the statement praising Israel's linguistic loyalty continued to be found »useful« in other exegetical contexts in corpora redacted during the Christian-Byzantine rule in Palestine. In this period the statement is somehow in conflict with other statements which acknowledge Jewish multilingualism as unproblematic, as for example, yMeg 1:11 (71b) par. MidTeh 31:7. Furthermore, the statement now praises loyalty to one original language in textual environments that are themselves bilingual.

WaR 32:5 and its parallels in other amoraic corpora maintain the constituents of the tannaitic statement but reorganise and reword them so that the new order can suit different exegetical-homiletical agendas. Here Israel's sexual morality and a certain anti-Hellenism appear to be weightier than linguistic attachment. We distinguished two actualisations of the tannaitic statement: Keeping their language was one of four things that saved the Israelites and made it possible for them to leave Egypt, one of four things that meant redemption for Israel (WaR 32:5, ShirR 4:12:1). We pointed out that while these texts suggest that the Exodus rewarded the maintenance of the Hebrew language in a foreign context, the commentary in MidTeh 114:4 is conspicuous for its ambiguity, in that it suggests both that the Israelites were saved *because* they spoke Hebrew, but also that they were saved *so that* they could speak Hebrew and be free from the people of foreign language.

In the final section we adduced a text in which Israel's purported loyalty to the original language is openly questioned (PesR 21:31), as well as two passages which echo the statement in late midrashic all-Hebrew contexts (PRE 48; SER 17). The significance of the tradition once it is transmitted in texts redacted entirely in Hebrew such as these should not be underestimated, for it now praises a conduct that characterises the authors of these works themselves, insofar as they define themselves by the very activity of writing in the original language of Israel. These texts and the broader Rehebraicisation – in the sense of a return to Hebrew in certain areas of the Jewish literary genre system[73] – of which other works of late midrash, historiographical works, apocalypses, and piyyutim composed in Hebrew and the Hebrew inscriptions from southern Italy are evidence, may be seen as part of a response to a preoccupation that our tradition first addressed in the third century.[74]

---

71 De Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language, 357.

72 We may add, given the scope of the surveyed texts, fragments of exegetical writings, that we have to do with micro-internal evidence.

73 This phenomenon runs parallel to the Arabicisation of the entire realm of Islam after the conquests of the seventh century. For both Rabbanite and Karaite Jews Arabic became a major literary language. See Maman, Karaite Hebrew.

74 See de Lange, Revival of the Hebrew language.

The corpus perused in these pages tells us how, in the course of several centuries, some anonymous Jewish intellectuals of the stream of Judaism that became the orthodoxy, rabbinic Judaism, thought about the place of Hebrew as the Jewish language par excellence no matter where Jews live or what other languages are spoken or written there: as the language for a major communicative function (speech/discourse, study, prayer) and as the language to stay loyal to in order to stay Jewish, given that it was because of this language that the original redemption was possible in the first place – while this redemption is mentioned in connection with the Exodus it resonates throughout Israel's history of salvation and is the prototype for the eschatological redemption.

Appendix: Hebrew Texts

yMeg 1:11 (71b) (Vilna)

א״ר יונתן דבית גוברין ד׳ לשונות נאים שישתמש בהן העולם ואלו הן לעז לזמר רומי לקרב סורסי
לאיליא עברי לדיבור ויש אומרים אף אשורי לכתב אשורי יש לו כתב ואין לו לשון עברי יש לו לשון ואין לו
כתב
בחרו להם כתב אשורי ולשון עבר י

MidTeh 31:7 (Buber)

אמר ר׳ יונתן ארבע לשונות הן, לשון רומי לקרב, לשון יוני לזמר, לשון פרסי לאלייה, לשון אשורית לתפלה, הוי
תצפנם בסכה מריב לשונות.

SifDev 46 (Finkelstein)

ולמדתם אותם את בניכם, בניכם ולא בנותיכם דברי רבי יוסי בן עקיבה אמרו מיכן כשהתינוק מתחיל לדבר
אביו מדבר עמו בלשון הקודש ומלמדו תורה ואם אין מדבר עמו בלשון קודש ואינו מלמדו תורה ראוי לו כאילו
קוברו שנאמר ולמדתם אותם את בניכם לדבר בם, אם למדתם אותם את בניכם למען ירבו ימיכם וימי בניכם,
ואם לאו למען יקצרו ימיכם שכך דברי תורה נדרשים מכלל הן לאו ומכלל לאו הן

MekhY Pischa 5 (MS Oxford[75])

ר׳ אלע׳ הקפר או׳. וכי לא היה בידם {שלש}: <של ישראל10> ארבע מצות שאין כל העולם כדי בהם
שלא נחשדו על העריות. ושלא נחשדו על לשון רע. ולא שינו את שמם. ולא שינו את לשונם.
...
ומנין שלא חלפו לשונם. שנ׳ ״מי שמך לאיש שר ושפט״ וג׳ מיכן שהיו מדברים עברית. שנ׳ ״כי פי המדבר אלי־
כם״. ואו׳ ״ויאמרו אלהי העברים״ וג׳. ״ויבא הפליט״ וגו׳

WayR 32:5 (Margulies)

ר׳ חונה בש׳ בר קפרא בשביל ארבעה דברים ניגאלו ישר׳ ממצרים, על ידי שלא שינו את שמן ולא שינו את
לשונם ועל ידי שלא אמרו לשון הרע ועל ידי שלא היה בהן פרוץ ערוה

ShirR 4:12:1 (Vilna)

אמר רבי פנחס באותה שעה קרא הקב״ה למלאך הממונה על ההריון ואמר צא וצור אותן בכל קטורים של
אבותן, עיקר אבותיהן למי היו דומין לגדולי המשפחות. הה״ד לראובן משפחת הראובני
אמר ר׳ הושעיה ראובן הראובני שמעון השמעוני, אמר ר׳ מרינוס ברבי הושעיא הא כמה דתימר ברוני סברוני
סיכוי, רבי הונא בשם ר׳ אידי ה״א בראש התיבה ויו״ד בסופה, י״ה[76] מעיד עליהם שהם הם בני אבותיהם

MidTeh 114:4 (Buber)

ולא שינו את לשונם, שהיו מספרים לשון הקודש, שנאמר בית יעקב מעם לועז היתה יהודה לקדשו, ללשון
הקודש שלו.

PesR 21:31 (Ulmer)

רבי יהודה אמר אין זה לשון אלא לשון אהבה לשון חיבה, למלך ששילח את בנו למדינת הים ולמד לשון
בני הים וכשבא ממדינת הים התחיל אביו מסיח עמו בלשונו, כך לפי שהיו ישראל בארץ מצרים ולמדו לשון
המצריים כיון שבאו לפני הקדוש הקדוש התחיל מסיח עמהם בלשונם אנכי שם אנוך

PRE 48 (Börner-Klein)

ובזכות שלושה דברים יצאו ישראל ממצרים על שלא החליפו לשונם ולא היה ביניהם לשון הרע ובייחוד השם
ויצאו ישראל ממצרים מלאים כל טוב ממין ברכות בזוכרו את הדבר שנאמר את אברהם וגם את הגוי אשר יעבודו
דן אנכי ואחרי כן יצאו ברכוש גדול

BamR 13:20 (Vilna)

ד״א למה נאמר ג׳ מיני׳ עולה כנגד ג׳ מדות טובות שהיו בידן של ישראל במצרים ובזכותן נגאלו שלא שינו
את שמם ולא שינו את לשונם ושגדרו עצמם מן הערוה,

SER 17 (Friedmann)

ד״א בעטרה שעיטרה. כשהיו ישראל במדבר לא שינו שמם ולשונם. והיו מלאכי השרת מרננים אחריהם ואומ־
רין. בודאי יש בהן באילו כמעשה אברהם יצחק ויעקב לפיכך לא שונה שמם ולשונם

Abbreviations

BamR = Bamidbar Rabbah
EstR = Esther Rabbah
MekhY = Mekhilta deRabbi Yishmael
MidTeh = Midrash Tehillim
PesRK = Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana
PesR = Pesiqta Rabbati
PRE = Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer
SER = Seder Eliyahu Rabbah
ShirR = Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah

---

76   The Vilna edition has the reading with the syntactic subject *Yah*, יה.

SivDev = Sifre Devarim
TanB = Tanchuma Buber
WayR = Wayiqra Rabbah
yMeg = Yerushalmi tractate Megillah
ySot = Yerushalmi tractate Sotah

References

Alexander, Philip, Using rabbinic literature as a source for the history of Late-Roman Palestine: Problems and issues, in: Martin Goodman and Philip Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine* (Oxford, 2010) 7-24.

Appelbaum, Alan, *The Rabbis' King-Parables: Midrash from the Third-Century Roman Empire* (Piscataway, NJ, 2010).

Atzmon, Arnon, Midrashic traditions, literary editing, and polemics in Midrash Tehillim 22: Between Judaism and Christianity, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 51 (2020) 97-124.

Atzmon, Arnon, The original order of Pesikta de-Rav Kahana, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 70 (2019) 1-23.

Bar-Asher, Moshe, Jewish languages and the Hebrew language, *Journal of Jewish Languages* 4 (2016) 125-140.

Bar-Asher Siegal, Elitzur A., Diglossia in rabbinic Hebrew, in: Geoffrey Khan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 1 (Leiden, 2013) 725-729.

Beattie, D. R. G. and Philip R. Davies, What does Hebrew mean? *Journal of Semitic Studies* 56 (2011) 71-83.

Van Bekkum, Wout Jac., The Hebrew liturgical poetry of Byzantine Palestine: Recent research and perspectives, *Prooftexts* 28 (2008) 232-246.

Bonfil, Robert, *History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Aḥimaʿaz ben Paltiel* (Leiden, 2009).

Breuer, Yochanan, Aramaic in Late Antiquity, in: Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism 4: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (Cambridge, 2006) 457-491.

Brody, Robert, *Sa'adya Gaon*. The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Oxford, 2013).

Bunis, David M. and James T. Robinson, Languages and translations, in: Robert Chazan (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism 6: The Middle Ages: The Christian World* (Cambridge, 2018) 485-534.

Cordoni, Constanza, *Seder Eliyahu: A Narratological Reading.* Studia Judaica 100 (Berlin, 2018).

Dönitz, Saskia, Historiography among Byzantine Jews: The case of Sefer Yosippon, in: Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Stroumsa and Rina Talgam (eds.), J*ews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures* (Leiden, 2012) 951-968.

Elizur, Shulamit, The incorporation of Aramaic elements in ancient Palestinian piyyutim (Hebr.), *Lešonenu* 70 (2008) 331-328.

Fassberg, Steven E., What Semitic language did Jesus and other contemporary Jews speak? *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 72 (2012) 263-280.

Fraade, Steven D., Language mix and multilingualism in ancient Palestine: Literary and inscriptional evidence, *Jewish Studies* 48 (2012) 1-40.

Hary, Benjamin and Sarah Bunin Benor (eds.), *Languages in Jewish Communities Past and Present.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language 112 (Berlin, 2018).

Ilan, Tal, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity 2: Palestine 200-650* (Tübingen, 2012).

Ilan, Tal, Women quoting scripture in rabbinic literature, in: Tal Ilan, Ronit Nikolsky and Lorena Miralles-Maciá (eds.), *Rabbinic Literature.* Bible and Women 4/1 (Atlanta, forthcoming).

Kadari, Tamar, *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah: Synoptic Edition of the Midrash Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah.* The Midrash Project, online, accessed on 25th May 2020: https://schechter.ac.il/midrash/shir-hashirim-raba/.

De Lange, Nicholas, Hebraists and Hellenists in the sixth-century synagogue: A new reading of Justinian's Novel 146, in: Constanza Cordoni and Gerhard Langer (eds.), *Let the Wise Listen: Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday* (Berlin, 2016) 217-226.

De Lange, Nicholas, The Hebrew language in the European diaspora, in: Benjamin Isaac and Aharon Oppenheimer (eds.), *Studies on the Jewish Diaspora in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Tel Aviv, 1996) 111-137.

De Lange, Nicholas, The revival of the Hebrew language in the third century, *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 3 (1996) 342-358.

Lapin, Hayim, *Rabbis as Romans: The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine, 100-400 CE* (Oxford, 2012).

Maman, Aharon, Karaite Hebrew, in: Meira Polliack (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to its History and Literary Sources.* Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: The Near and Middle East 73 (Leiden, 2003) 485-503.

Mock, Keren, *Hébreu: Du sacré au maternel* (Paris, 2016).

Neusner, Jacob, Leviticus in Leviticus Rabbah, in: Jacob Neusner and Alan Avery-Peck, *Encyclopedia of Midrash: Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism* 1 (Leiden, 2005) 411-429.

Neusner, Jacob, Pesiqta deRab Kahana: synagogue lections for special occasions, in: Jacob Neusner and Alan Avery-Peck (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Midrash: Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism* 2 (Leiden, 2005) 646-662.

Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer, ed. Dagmar Börner-Klein, *Pirke de-Rabbi Elieser: Nach der Edition Venedig 1544 unter Berücksichtigung der Edition Warschau 1852*. Studia Judaica 26 (Berlin, 2004).

Reeves, John C., *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader* (Leiden, 2006).

Reif, Stefan and Elisabeth Hollender, Liturgy and Piyut, in: Robert Chazan (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism 6: The Middle Ages: The Christian World* (Cambridge, 2018) 648-677.

Rutgers, Leonard V., Justinian's Novella 146 between Jews and Christians, in: Richard L. Kalmin and Schwartz, Seth (eds.), *Jewish Culture and Society under the Roman Empire* (Leuven, 2003), 385-407. Reprinted in *Making Myths: Jews in Early Christian Identity Formation* (Leuven, 2009) 49-77.

Sáenz-Badillos, Ángel, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge, 1993).

Samely, Alex, Literary structures and historical reconstruction: The example of an amoraic Midrash, in: Martin Goodman and Philip Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late Roman Palestine* (Oxford, 2011) 185-216.

Seder Eliahu Rabba and Seder Eliahu Zuta, ed. Meir Friedmann, *Seder Eliahu Rabba and Seder Eliahu Zuta (Tanna D'be Eliahu)* (Vienna, 1902).

Silber, Michael K., The emergence of ultra-orthodoxy: The invention of a tradition, in: Jack Wertheimer (ed.), *The Uses of Tradition: Jewish Continuity in the Modern Era* (New York, 1992) 22-84.

Simonsohn, Shlomo, The Hebrew revival among early medieval European Jews, in: Saul Lieberman and Arthur Hyman (eds.), *Salo Wittmayer Baron: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* 2 (New York, 1974) 831-885.

Smelik, Willem F., *Rabbis, Language and Translation in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2013).

Sperber, Daniel, Rabbinic knowledge of Greek, in: Shmuel Safrai, Zeef Safrai, Joshua Schwartz and Peter J. Tomson (eds.), *The Literature of the Sages 2: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature.* Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2/3/2 (Assen, 2006) 627-640.

Stemberger, Günter, *Einführung in die Judaistik* (Munich, 2002).

Stemberger, Günter, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich, 2011).

Stemberger, Günter, Hebräisch als ideale Sprache: Konsequenzen für die Hermeneutik, in: *Judaica Minora 1: Biblische Traditionen im rabbinischen Judentum* (Tübingen, 2010) 88-102.

Stemberger, Günter, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Jishmaʾel: Ein früher Midrasch zum Buch Exodus* (Berlin, 2010).

Stemberger, Günter, Midrashim zum Hohenlied und Geschichte Israels, in: *Judaica Minora 1: Biblische Traditionen im rabbinischen Judentum* (Tübingen, 2010) 248-255.

Stemberger, Günter, Mischna Avot, in: *Judaica Minora 2: Geschichte und Literatur des rabbinischen Judentums* (Tübingen, 2010) 317-330.

Tabori, Joseph and Arnon Atzmon, *Esther Rabbah: Synoptic Edition*. The Midrash Project, online, accessed on 25th May 2020: https://schechter.ac.il/midrash/esther_rabbah/.

Ulmer, Rivka, *A Bilingual Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati I: Chapters 1-22*. Studia Judaica 86 (Berlin, 2017).

Wagner, Esther-Miriam, Script-switching between Hebrew and Arabic scripts in documents from the Cairo Genizah, *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 7 (2019) 351-380.

Weinberger, Leon, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History* (London, 1998).

Weiss, Dov, *Pious Irreverence: Confronting God in Rabbinic Judaism*. Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia, 2017).

The Tibetan Translation of the Indian Buddhist Epistemological Corpus

Pascale Hugon*

As Buddhism was transmitted to Tibet, a huge number of texts were translated from Sanskrit, Chinese and other Asian languages into Tibetan. Epistemological treatises composed by Indian Buddhist scholars – works focusing on the nature of »valid cognition« and exploring peripheral issues of philosophy of mind, logic, and language – were, from the very beginning, part of the translated corpus, and had a profound impact on Tibetan intellectual history. This paper looks into the progression of the translation of such works in the two phases of the diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet – the early phase in the seventh to the ninth centuries and the later phase starting in the late tenth century – on the basis of lists of translated works in various catalogues compiled in these two phases and the contents of the section »epistemology« of canonical collections (Tenjur). The paper inquires into the prerogatives that directed the choice of works that were translated, the broader or narrower diffusion of existing translations, and also highlights preferences regarding which works were studied in particular contexts. I consider in particular the contribution of the famous »Great translator«, Ngok Loden Shérap (*rngog blo ldan shes rab*, 1059-1109), who was also a pioneer exegete, and discuss some of the practicalities and methodology in the translation process, touching on the question of terminology and translation style. The paper also reflects on the status of translated works as authentic sources by proxy, and correlatively, on the impact of mistaken translations and the strategies developed to avoid them.

Keywords: translation; Tibetan; Buddhism; epistemology; literature; canon

Introduction

The translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan was concomitant, from the very beginning, with the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet. Tönmi Sambhota (*thon mi saṃbho ṭa*) the minister of the emperor who was responsible for the adoption of Buddhism in Tibet, Songtsen Gampo (*srong btsan sgam po*, who reigned from c. 618 CE until 649 CE), is not only credited with the invention of the Tibetan script, but also with the translation of more than twenty works.[1] Translation efforts continued to be carried out under imperial sponsorship during the first half of the eighth century and intensified during the reign of the emperor Trisong Detsen (*khri srong lde btsan,* r. 755-797). Among three early catalogues of this period, the

---

* Correspondence details: Dr. Pascale Hugon, Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Hollandstraße 11-13, 1020 Vienna, Austria; email: pascale.hugon@oeaw.ac.at.

1 See Skilling, From bKa' bstan bcos, 87-89. The dates indicated in this paper for the reign of the emperors follow Kollmar-Paulenz, *Kleine Geschichte Tibets.*

Lenkar catalogue, dating to the beginning of the ninth century, shortly after the reign of Trisong Detsen, already lists 736 Buddhist works kept in the palace of Lenkar (*lhan kar/ ldan dkar*), translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit as well as from Chinese and other Asian languages.[2] After the collapse of the Tibetan Empire in the middle of the ninth century and the ensuing era of political fragmentation, the spread of Buddhism was resumed on a broader scale from the middle of the tenth century. In this period, known in Tibetan religious history as the »Later Diffusion of the Doctrine«, groups of Tibetan students were sent to Indian regions to learn Sanskrit and acquire Buddhist teachings, and Indian masters were invited to Tibet. These cross-cultural exchanges resulted in the translation (and retranslation) of huge numbers of texts, and set in motion an autochthonous tradition of interpretation that shaped the development of Tibetan Buddhism. The translated Buddhist works were later regrouped and organized into the twofold collection often referred to in the West as the »Buddhist canon«, consisting of the Kanjur (*bka' 'gyur*) – lit. »translation of the Buddha's words« – and the Tenjur (*bstan 'gyur*) – lit. »translation of teachings«, namely of treatises composed by (mainly) Indian scholars who commented or expanded on the Buddha's words.[3] While the *Lenkar catalogue* counted 736 works, the number of translated works in the Dergé recension of the Buddhist canon compiled in the eighteenth century is over 5000.[4]

This paper focuses on the translation of a specific range of texts within the Indian Buddhist corpus, logico-epistemological treatises, with the aim of facilitating comparison with translation pertaining to other fields of Buddhist learning and with other cultures of translation. The textual tradition under consideration in this paper is termed *pramāṇa* in Sanskrit (translated as *tshad ma* in Tibetan), after the technical term for »valid cognition«, one of the key notions discussed in this literature. Epistemological treatises focus on the issue of the number of the sources of knowledge, their definition and objects, and also deal with philosophy of mind, logic, argumentation, language, etc. There was no »epistemological school« properly speaking, but individual Buddhist scholars who shared an interest in these issues and wrote treatises on these topics, or commented on other thinkers' treatises. In their survey of the literature of the Indian Buddhist epistemological tradition, Steinkellner and Much identify 45 authors of epistemological treatises whose dates range from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, and 152 titles of epistemological works composed in Sanskrit.[5] However,

---

2   See Lalou, Textes bouddhiques, and Herrmann-Pfandt, *Lhan Kar Ma*. On the other two catalogues, the *Pangtang-ma ('Phang thang ma)* and the *Chimpuma (mChims phu ma)*, see Herrmann-Pfandt, *Lhan Kar Ma*, xvi-xxvii.

3   For an introduction to the complex history of the constitution of the Kanjur and Tenjur collections see Skilling, From bKa' bstan bcos, as well as (for the Kanjur) Harrison, Brief history and Eimer, Note on the history.

4   The Dergé canon is one of the many Kanjur and Tenjur collections that are extant today, and is often referred to as print copies are easily accessible and it has been fully digitally inputted by the Asian Classics Input Project (www.asianclassics.org). The website Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies at the University of Vienna (www. istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur) holds digitized pages of more than 50 Kanjur collections, and a selected bibliography on Kanjur-related research.

5   See Steinkellner and Much, *Texte der erkenntnistheoretischen Schule.* Many of the works in this list are actually lost, or only accessible via their Tibetan translation or, for some, their Chinese version. Some additional names and titles that were not included in the main list are mentioned in the introduction and in the appendices.

not all of these works were translated into Tibetan. In what follows, I consider first the progression of the translation of epistemological works and the prerogatives in the prioritization of texts to be translated. I then discuss practicalities of the translation process, presenting examples from a »Great Translator« who made a major contribution to the translation of epistemological works in the eleventh century. Further, I investigate some aspects of the destiny of the translated logico-epistemological corpus.

The Indian Buddhist Epistemological Corpus in Tibetan Translation
Ancient and Modern Surveys

The development of Tibetan epistemology was for the most part dependent on the availability of translated works, even if some Tibetan scholars also consulted Sanskrit versions and oral transmission of the contents of untranslated works played some role. The existence of some ancient catalogues and surveys allows us to trace the progression of the translation of the Indian Buddhist epistemological corpus into Tibetan, and thereby to assess the textual background available to Tibetan logicians (at least potentially) at specific points in time. Such catalogues compensate for the lack of information in the colophons of the works preserved in the canonical collections, which commonly do not attach a date to the names of the translator(s) (when they are mentioned), and do not systematically refer to the existence of previous translations that were subsequently revised. These catalogues also provide evidence for translated works that became unavailable at a later date.

In this section, I will consider five sources: the early ninth-century *Lenkar catalogue* mentioned in the introduction, a thirteenth-century survey by Chomden Reldri (*bcom ldan ral gri*, 1227-1305), a catalogue compiled by his disciple Üpa Losel Tsöpé Senggé (*dbus pa blo gsal rtsod pa'i seng ge*, c. 1270-1355), a subsequent catalogue by Butön Rinchendrup (*bu ston rin chen grub*, 1290-1364), and the section »epistemology« in the Dergé Tenjur.[6]

In spite of their technical and not obviously religious nature, logico-epistemological treatises were considered an important part of the Indian corpus to be translated from early on in the course of the diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet, and had a significant impact on Tibet's intellectual history.[7] The imperial-era *Lenkar catalogue* lists for Buddhist texts in the category »logic« (for which it uses the Sanskrit term *tarka*) 30 works that had already been translated at the end of the eighth century. Four more entries are listed in the category »translations in progress«.[8] One may surmise that the Buddhist master Śāntarakṣita and his disciple Kamalaśīla (c. 740-795), both experts in the field of logic, who had been successively invited to Tibet by the emperor Trisong Detsen, may have played a part in this early interest. Śāntarakṣita's main epistemological work (the *Tattvasaṃgraha*) and Kamalaśīla's commentary

---

6   In what follows, the reference numbers provided by the editors of the respective sources are prefixed by »L« for the *Lenkar catalogue*, by »C« for Chomden's list, by »B« for Butön's catalogue, and by »D« for the Dergé Tenjur. A summarizing table is provided in the Appendix.

7   For an overview, see Steinkellner, Buddhist tradition of epistemology. On some main figures of the early epistemological tradition, see van der Kuijp, *Contributions*.

8   Lalou, Textes bouddhiques, section 28, L695-722 (see Appendix, I, III, IV) and section 30, L733-736 for the »translations in progress« (*bstan bcos sgyur 'phro*) (see Appendix, II). For the identification of these texts, see Frauwallner, Zu den buddhistischen Texten, and Herrmann-Pfandt, *Lhan Kar Ma*, 388-401 and 408-411. The latter also provides corresponding numbers in another early catalogue, the *Pangtangma*, in the Dergé Tibetan canonical collection, the Chinese Buddhist canon, and in Butön's catalogue (on which see below).

are listed among the works whose translation is »in progress« in the *Lenkar catalogue* (L736). Apart from the entries in the *Lenkar catalogue*, only a few other epistemological works are known to have been translated during the imperial period.[9]

Indications about the considerable growth of the translated corpus at the time of the Later Diffusion of the Doctrine can be gathered from the proto-canon catalogue compiled in 1270 by Chomden Reldri, the *Sunbeam-ornament of the Spread of the Teaching (bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od)*, which was recently edited on the basis of two unpublished manuscripts.[10] According to a post-colophonic note, the catalogue lists more than 2079 titles of Indian Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan (against 736 in the *Lenkar catalogue*). Epistemological works are listed in two places. First, in the category »logic« (Tib. *rtog ge*, Skt. **tarka*) of his catalogue – a subcategory of the »external domains of knowledge« – Chomden Reldri lists 36 titles that were translated at the time of the Earlier Diffusion.[11] The texts listed here mostly correspond to the entries of the *Lenkar catalogue*, including also the entries from the *Lenkar* list of »translations in progress«.[12] Three entries present in the *Lenkar catalogue* are missing in Chomden's list (L700, L716 and L717). On the other hand, three entries that were not listed in the *Lenkar catalogue* appear in Chomden's list.[13]

Additional epistemological treatises, translated or retranslated after the time of emperor Trisong Detsen, are listed in subsequent sections of Chomden's catalogue, where they are grouped according to the identity of the translator. The main contributions are six translations by Ma Gewé Lodrö (*rma dge ba'i blo gros*), a student of Rinchen Zangpo (*rin chen bzang po*, 958-1055),[14] and 14 translations by the »Great translator«, Ngok Loden Shérap (*rngog blo ldan shes rab*, 1059-1109), about whom more will be said in the next section.[15] Other scholars each translated one or two epistemological treatises among their other contributions.[16]

---

9   See Appendix, V. For four of them, which are preserved in the Dergé Tenjur (D4209, D4233, D4242, D4253, this can be assessed in view of the identity of the translator. The other two are works listed by Chomden Reldri together with pre-imperial translations (see below).

10   Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*. This publication also provides cross-references to the *Lenkar catalogue*, Butön's catalogue (on which see below), and the Dergé canonical collection.

11   Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 189-191, C19.1-C19.36.

12   See Appendix, II. In addition to including these titles in the category »logic«, Chomdem reports their being listed as »in progress« after enumerating partial and unrevised translations (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 193).

13   See Appendix, V.

14   C23.17, C23.18, C23.19 (retranslation), C23.22, C23.25, C23.26 (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 209-210, section 23).

15   Fourteen titles are listed in the group »logic and epistemology« (*tshad ma*) of Ngok's translations (C27.66-27.79). Two additional entries, C27.89-27.90, appear in the next group, »revisions« (*'gyur chos*) (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 240-241).

16   Lha Lama Zhiwaö (*lha bla ma zhi ba 'od*): C23.50; Drom Sengkar Shakya Ö (*'brom seng dkar shakya 'od*): C25.99, C25.104; Zhangzhunggi Mangor Jangchub Shérap (*zhang zhung gi mang 'or byang chub shes rab*): C25.133, C25.134; Manang Drakjor Shérap (*ma snang grags 'byor shes rab*): C25.128; Laching Tönbar (*la chings ston 'bar*): C26.130; Majo Zhangmö Mangpo Gényen Senggyel (*ma jo zhang mo'i mang po dge gnyen seng rgyal*): C26.167; Zangkar Pakpa Shérap (*zangs skar 'phags pa shes rab*): C27.5; Nyen Darmadrak (*gnyan dar ma grags*): C27.18, C27.21; Zugawa Dorjé (*zu dga' ba rdo rje*): C27.94.

The number of translated epistemological treatises in Chomden's list totals 59, almost twice as many as in the *Lenkar catalogue*. The translation of all the works whose translation was »in progress« in the imperial period was completed by Chomden's time, and Chomden's list includes 23 works that were translated for the first time in the post-imperial period.[17] Some imperial-era translations, however, were no longer available to Chomden; as mentioned, his list does not include three texts that were listed in the *Lenkar catalogue*. Some recent post-imperial translations also did not find their way into Chomden's list. Notably absent is a work by Jitāri (c. 940-980), the *Bālāvatāratarka*, which had already been translated in the first half of the twelfth century and was (at least partially) known among twelfth- and thirteenth-century Tibetan scholars. This could hint at a slow process in the circulation of »minor« translated works.[18]

There is some doubt as to the exact nature of Chomden Reldri's list. According to Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, it is probably not strictly speaking the catalogue of an existing collection in the monastery where he was residing, i.e., Narthang (*snar thang*), although a large portion of the works listed were possibly part of his monastery's library. It is, rather, a type of survey of Indian treatises translated into Tibetan, known to him from various lists and catalogues, as well as manuscript collections.[19] Such a list, however, must be distinguished from the enumeration Chomden provides in his survey of Indian epistemological literature (Buddhist and non-Buddhist), a short work that recently surfaced as part of a vast collection of texts preserved at Drepung (*'bras spungs*) monastery.[20] The purpose of the latter is to review the works of epistemology that were composed in India and in Kashmir, regardless of their current availability in Sanskrit or Tibetan. It is organized based on authors. A distinction is made between the commentaries they composed and their own treatises, which are often not listed exhaustively. This panoramic survey mentions a number of works that were never translated into Tibetan, works that might already have been lost in Chomden's time or the existence of which is questionable (for instance, subcommentaries on Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* by Yamāri and Jayanta), and works Chomden probably did not himself have access to, as he does not list them in his catalogue (e.g., works by Jitāri and Jinendrabuddhi).

---

17 See Appendix, VI.

18 Jitāri's work is mentioned in the catalogue of Chomden's disciple Üpa Losel, on whom see below (van der Kuijp, Tibetan cultural history IV, 391). The name of Jitāri appears in Chomden's panorama of Indian epistemological literature mentioned below (f. 3b2).

19 Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 53-54, 57 and 60. Chomden Reldri had consulted the *Lenkar catalogue* as well as the *Pangtangma*, and catalogues from the time of the Later Diffusion compiled by Rinchen Zangpo, Naktso Lotsawa Tsültrim Gyelwa (*nag tsho lo tsā ba tshul khrims rgyal ba*, 1011-1064) and Ngok.

20 The manuscript from Drepung (*Drepung catalogue* No 017772, signature: phyi, ra, 199) was published in the *Collected Works of the Kadampas*, vol. 69, 775-780. Colophon title: *gtan tshigs rig pa tshad ma'i bstan bcos kyi byung tshul* »How epistemological works of logic (lit. ›science of evidence‹) arose«; incipit title: *phyi nang gi rtog ge tshad ma'i bstan bcos ji ltar byung ba'i tshul* »How epistemological works of Buddhist and non-Buddhist logic arose.«

Further evidence of the state of the translated corpus that shortly post-dates Chomden's list is a catalogue of the Narthang Tenjur compiled by Chomden Reldri's disciple Üpa Losel, who acknowledges his reliance on his teacher's catalogue.[21] There are some fluctuations from Chomden's list, for instance, three works by Śubhagupta and a work by Dharmottara, the translation of which dates to the imperial period, are not listed by Üpa.[22] Üpa's list shows another layer of development in the translation of the epistemological corpus with the inclusion of six further works not listed by Chomden, such as the above-mentioned work by Jitāri, Dignāga's main work, the *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*, and works by Mutik Bumpa (*bram ze mu tig bum pa*, Skt. *Muktākalaśa) and by the thirteenth-century scholar Ratnavajra (Tib. Rinchen Dorjé [*rin chen rdo rje*]).[23]

The Narthang Tenjur was the point of departure of a collection of manuscripts that formed the Zhalu (*zhwa lu*) Tenjur. The latter was catalogued in 1335 by Butön Rinchendrup, who appended the list to his *History of the Buddhist Doctrine*.[24] Butön's catalogue, post-dating Chomden's list by 65 years, shows further progression in the translation of Buddhist works (now reaching 2898 items in total). The list of epistemological works in Butön's catalogue numbers 71 entries (B996-B1067) representing 70 works,[25] the last 10 of which are works »to be searched for« (*btsal bar bya*) which never found their way into Tenjur collections.[26] Butön knows of several works translated at the time of the Earlier Diffusion which Chomden did not include in his list,[27] but, conversely, does not mention some works referred to by Chomden among the imperial-era translations (C19.35 and C19.36) and among translations from the time of the Later Diffusion (C27.76, C25.134, C26.130). As for the »novelties«, Butön's list contains five works translated at the time of the Later Diffusion that were not mentioned by Chomden and Üpa.[28] This notably includes Jinendrabuddhi's commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* that had been translated at the beginning of the fourteenth century by Pang Lotsawa Lodrö Tenpa (*dpang lo tsā ba blo gros brtan pa*, 1276-1342) (B1057). On the other hand, he does not list the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣākaragupta (between 1050 and 1292), also translated by Pang Lotsawa.

Only three works that were not listed by Butön – the *Tarkabhāṣā* and two others – were later added to the corpus and are included in the Dergé Tenjur.[29]

---

21   See van der Kuijp, Tibetan cultural history IV, 388-393, and 390-392 for the edition of the section on epistemological works in a 59-folio manuscript preserved at the Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (fols. 45a-47a). Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 10 refers to an 81-folio manuscript of this work with the catalogue no. 002376(1) in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, in which the section on logico-epistemological works is on fols. 55b3-58a1. Üpa's catalogue lists 2350 titles (*ibid.*, 75), 51 of which for epistemological works.

22   See Appendix, III and IV.

23   See Appendix, VII.

24   Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 9-10 and the outline in Appendix 2. For a full list of the works see Nishioka, Index to the catalogue section of Bu-ston's »History of Buddhism«.

25   B1016 and B1017 – commentaries on two chapters of the same work – are considered as distinct entries.

26   Nishioka, Index to the catalogue section 2/5, 67-69. See Appendix, I.

27   See Appendix, I and V.

28   See Appendix, VIII.

29   See Appendix, IX.

While Steinkellner and Much's survey of Indian epistemological works numbered 152 titles by 45 authors, the eighteenth-century Dergé recension of the Tenjur lists 64 texts by 29 authors in the section »epistemology« (*tshad ma*).[30] Some additional texts may have been translated, but were not disseminated beyond the close circle of their translator, and were not included in Tenjur collections.[31]

Translation Priorities

What are the prerogatives that led to the translation of this portion of the corpus, and not of other works? The *Lenkar catalogue* gives us some sense of the priorities and hindrances in the initial phase of translation: the list suggests an attempt to include the works of a major thinker, Dharmakīrti (c. 600-660),[32] supplemented by selected commentaries, notably by Vinītadeva. Five works by another author, Śubhagupta (c. 720-780), are not directly part of this scheme. It was suggested that they may have been brought to Tibet together with the works of thinkers that the tradition holds to have been Śubhagupta's students in Kashmir, namely, Dharmottara and Arcaṭa, who had authored commentaries and subcommentaries on Dharmakīrti's works.[33] The opus magnum on logic and epistemology of Dharmakīrti's predecessor Dignāga (c. 480-540) (of which one of Dharmakīrti's main works is a commentary), the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, is absent from this list and was not translated until the end of the eleventh century. Instead, listed in the *Lenkar catalogue* are a work with auto-commentary by Dignāga on Buddhist idealism (L705 and L706, with a commentary by Vinītadeva, L707). In Tibet, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are often referred to as a pair when mentioning the »founding fathers« of the Indian logico-epistemological tradition. But in view of the *Lenkar catalogue*, the place of leading figure was obviously ascribed to Dharmakīrti. Still, by the ninth century only four of Dharmakīrti's works out of the seven known to us had been translated. The priority here appears to have been given to size: the shortest works were translated, probably because they required less time than the longer and more complex works, an idea confirmed by the fact that Dharmakīrti's major work, the *Pramāṇavārttika*, and a commentary on this text are listed among the works whose translation is »in progress« in the *Lenkar catalogue* (L733 and L734).

---

30 This section includes 66 items (D4203 to D4268), but in two cases text chapters have been considered as individual entries (D4227/D4229 and D4224/D4225). Another canonical blockprint edition, the Peking Tenjur features the same 64 works in the section »epistemology«, which counts 68 items (5700-5766, with 5717 divided into 5717a and 5717b). Two works appear in different translations in the respective collections (D4203; P5700). The Peking Tenjur has an additional translation for two texts – D4208/P5707 (the only text in this collection translated from a Chinese version);P5706 (translated from the Sanskrit) and D4204/P5701;P5702 (different translators) – and includes two similar versions for the same work (D4239/P5725/P5738). The text chapters corresponding to D4224/D4225 have also been included as distinct entries, i.e., P5726/5722. A work entitled *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* ascribed to Trisong Detsen, included in the section »epistemology« by Chomden (C19.29) and Üpa, but not by Butön, found its way in the Dergé canon in the section »diverse« (*sna tshogs*) (D4352).

31 For instance, Chomden notes that Sakya Pandita (*sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan*, 1182-1251) translated Manorathanandin's *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti,* a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, in addition to revising the translation of the latter (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 58-59).

32 See Tillemans, Dharmakīrti.

33 Frauwallner, Zu den buddhistischen Texten, 102.

The translations made at the beginning of the Later Diffusion fill in the gaps in the »priority list« of the imperial period by completing the translation of the core texts – Dharmakīrti's seven works – and enhancing the list of related commentaries. Some already translated works were also subjected to revisions.

Looking at the contribution of the »Great translator« Ngok Loden Shérap (about whom more will also be said in the section »Translators and Translations«), who was responsible for the translation (in some cases, the revision) of 15 epistemological works, 14 of which are preserved in the Tenjur,[34] we see the priority being given to three works by Dharmakīrti which, in Tibetan classifications, are considered to be his main works (the *Pramāṇavārttika*, *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, and *Nyāyabindu*); for each of these, one commentary is also translated, and in one case a subcommentary. This principle is carried over to Ngok's exegetical contributions: the three works of Dharmakīrti he comments are discussed together with a commentary that Ngok also translated.[35] Beside the works of Dharmakīrti and their commentaries, Ngok translated independent treatises by the scholars whose commentary on Dharmakīrti's works Ngok also translated, namely Dharmottara and Śaṅkaranandana – two authors historically linked with Kashmir.[36]

Epistemology seems to have been a topic of predilection for Ngok, and to some extent a priority in his translation agenda. The works of logic and epistemology he translated represent about a third of his translation achievements. According to some accounts, Ngok was sent to Kashmir precisely in order to translate epistemological works at the request of the king of Guge.[37] Ngok's success in fulfilling this agenda was a matter of his finding the right teacher(s). An anecdote in Ngok's biography anent his arrival in Kashmir relates that he was told that all the learned pandits had gone to Tibet and only the ordinary ones were left.[38] This anecdote may be taken with a grain of salt, as Ngok's Kashmiri masters – in particular Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja – appear to have been more than »ordinary pandits«. However, this gives an additional perspective to the prerogatives of translation: which Indian texts could be learned and translated now largely depended on which texts could actually be obtained in physical form or via oral teaching, and therefore on which teachers were available and what their area and scope of expertise was. Time and money stand out as additional factors, as travel was expensive, just as teachings could be.

---

34   See Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator*, 61-69 and Hugon, Tracing the early developments, 199. Chomden's list has 16 entries for Ngok's translations (see n. 15), as it distinguishes the verses and the commentary for one work (C27.77, C27.78). Kramer adds, as an uncertain case, the translation of Ravigupta's *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* (D4224+D4225), which is ascribed to Ngok by Butön, but which Chomden seems to ascribe to Ma Gewé Lodrö (C23.26).

35   Cf. Hugon, Tracing the early developments, 199-200.

36   Dharmottara came to Kashmir in the second half or last quarter of the eighth century (Krasser, Relationship), while Śaṅkaranandana was himself Kashmiri (Eltschinger, Oeuvres de Śaṅkaranandana, 83-84).

37   Van der Kuijp, *Contributions*, 32 n. 89, and see below »Methodology«.

38   Kano, *Buddha-Nature,* 199.

Preservation and Prolongation

The Buddhist logico-epistemological tradition survived in the Indian subcontinent at least up to the middle of the fifteenth century in spite of the demise of Buddhism.[39] Indian, Kashmiri, and Nepalese Buddhist teachers still made their way into Tibet in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Tibetans kept travelling south to become translators and obtain teaching, but none of them appear to have had a significant impact in the logico-epistemological domain.[40] The latest record in Steinkellner and Much's survey is from the thirteenth century: the marginal annotations by Vibhūticandra to a manuscript of a commentary by Manorathanandin to a work by Dharmakīrti. Vibhūticandra[41] was among the Indian pandits who travelled to Tibet in the thirteenth century and were active in teaching and translating, sometimes also in writing. While none of these Indian pandits is credited with any formal compositions in the domain of epistemology, their interpretations are sometimes quoted in works by their Tibetan students.[42] These pandits contributed to the diffusion of India's intellectual heritage in the form of teachings, but also in a material form, as they brought with them palm-leaf manuscripts of numerous works.[43] Tibetans were actors in the preservation of the Indian tradition through the safeguarding of these material traces and via the translation of Indian works. In addition, they prolonged this tradition by their exegeses, but also transformed and integrated it within the autochthonous tradition that developed from the spread of Buddhist teachings in Tibet, a tradition that is still alive today.

Translators and Translations
Teams

Ngok's travel to Kashmir to receive instruction from Buddhist masters followed a religious council organized in 1076 by the king of Guge, Tsédé (*rtse lde*, reigned 1057-1088), in Tholing (*tho ling*) in Western Tibet at the time of the revival of Buddhist culture in Tibet. This council, which brought together religious scholars from all parts of Tibet, had been summoned for revising old translations and translating new texts. But the results of the meeting were unsatisfactory and it was decided that a group of monk-scholars were to be sent to study with pandits in Indian regions. Ngok left with five others, with funding from Wangdé (*dbang lde*, who was to succeed to Tsédé on the throne), whom he later solicited again for a prolongation of his stay in Kashmir, and once more after returning to Western Tibet to continue his translation work.[44] Ngok was one of the very few scholars to earn the title »Great translator« (borne before him by Rinchen Zangpo). The biography of Ngok by his disciple

---

39   Van der Kuijp, Tibetan cultural history VI, 935.

40   Van der Kuijp (Tibetan cultural history VI, 935) notes, as a possible exception, Pang Lotsawa. He also mentions that the Indian Buddhist monk Lokottara is reported to have travelled to Central Tibet in the mid-1460s, carrying with him a portable library of Sanskrit manuscripts containing, among other things, Buddhist works of epistemology.

41   On whom, see Stearns, Life and Tibetan legacy.

42   For instance, in his epistemological work, the *Treasure of Reasoning*, Sakya Pandita refers to the account of Śaṅkaranandana's intention by one of his main teachers, the Indian pandit Śākyaśrībhadra (referred to as »my abbot«, Tib. *kho bo'i mkhan po*) (van der Kuijp, *Contributions*, 5-6).

43   See Steinkellner, Tale of leaves.

44   Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator*, 37-42.

Drolungpa Lodrö Jungné (*gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas*, 1040s-1120s) as well as the colophons of the translated works in the Kanjur provide us with a pool of names of pandits of various nationalities Ngok worked with: Kashmiri, Indian, and Nepalese. The wording of these colophons hints at the works having been translated by teams constituted by, at least, a Tibetan scholar and a pandit proficient in Sanskrit (and, one can surmise, expert in the text/ topic considered).[45] This model appears to have been in place already in the imperial period, as the colophons of works translated in this period often indicate two names for the translators, an Indic name and a Tibetan one. In the works Nogk translated, the expression »etc.« (Tib. *la sogs pa*) is frequently appended to the pandit's name, indicating that the two were not alone. But the exact number of other members on the team and their role in the translation process are unknown. Were they providing expertise? Comparing various manuscripts of the Sanskrit text? Writing down the translation? Proofreading? Helping the pandit and his Tibetan interlocutor to communicate? How such bilingual teams worked is indeed in question. The chief Tibetan member would have been fluent in the target language, Tibetan, and proficient to some degree in the source language of the texts to be translated, Sanskrit (it was after all to learn Sanskrit that young Tibetans were sent abroad), and likely possessed knowledge of an Indic language for communication, unless Sanskrit was used as the *lingua franca*.[46] The chief pandit would have been proficient in the source language (as a written language), but their proficiency in Tibetan was unlikely in the case of pandits who resided in Indian regions. The situation would have been different for translating teams constituted by a Tibetan scholar and a pandit having travelled to Tibet. Some of the latter indeed became capable in Tibetan to the point of translating their own works themselves – examples of such cases include Vibhūticandra, Jayānanda, and Smṛtijñānakīrti.[47] When working with a home-based pandit, it would have been up to the Tibetan side of the translators' team to generate the Tibetan translation. The pandit's effective participation in the translation process itself could thus have been limited. He remained instrumental due to his ownership of a manuscript of the text and/or his having memorized the text, his expertise in the topic in general, and his capacity to explain the text in particular. The translation process may have been preceded by some kind of introductory teaching in the topic, or such teaching could have been precisely given on the basis of the text being simultaneously translated.

The efficiency of these teams is impressive. During his stay in Kashmir, which lasted close to 18 years,[48] Ngok translated 15 works for the domain of logic and epistemology alone. Many of these works are still awaiting a translation in a modern language. In the course of his whole career, Ngok translated (in some cases revised) at least 54 works altogether – three of which are preserved in the Kanjur and 51 in the Tenjur.[49] According to the account of the size

---

45 An exception could be the two *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* of Dharmottara, for which Ngok is the only translator mentioned in the colophon, but Kramer (*Great Tibetan Translator*, 46) suspects that Ngok was nevertheless assisted.

46 Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator,* 46.

47 Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator,* 46 n. 8.

48 Ngok left Tibet in 1076 and returned in 1092, but his stay abroad included studies in Magadha (northeast of India), a pilgrimage to Bodhgayā, and a stay in Nepal (Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator,* 41-42).

49 The list may extend to 58 with the uncertain cases. See Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator*, 53-67. Chomden's catalogue lists 69 titles he translated (C27.22-27.79) and revised (27.80-27.90).

of the corpus Ngok translated that is provided in *śloka* units by his biographer Drolungpa, the 15 works on logic and epistemology represent nearly half of the total (i.e., 72,000 *śloka* out of 137,000).[50] Yet Ngok did not surpass Rinchen Zangpo, to whom Chomden ascribes 213 translations.[51] In addition to these 54 translations, Ngok also authored 52 works, 16 of which are epistemological treatises.[52] In the years following his return to Tibet (1092, until his passing in 1109), during which he continued his work of translation, he was also active as a teacher in Central Tibet, and was in charge of the abbatial seat of Sangpu (*gsang phu*) monastery, which became a major centre for scholastic studies.

In view of this full agenda, the translation of texts may have been an activity more comparable to the work of an interpreter carrying out a simultaneous translation of an oral teaching than to the minute work of translation commonly undertaken by modern academics. Supporting this idea of fast, but nonetheless careful work, are documents that indirectly attest to Ngok's activities as a reviser. They are two ancient incomplete manuscripts of a Tibetan translation of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (a commentary by Dharmottara on the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti) that have been found in Tabo monastery.[53] Lasic identifies the Tabo fragments as remainders of an earlier translation of the text by Dharmāloka with the help of Jñānagarbha in c. 800. Having compared this version with the canonical translation (which has numerous problematic readings), Lasic explains the manner in which the revised translation must have been produced by Ngok as follows:

> I can say with great certainty that Blo ldan śes rab {=Ngok} wrote his revisions of Dharmāloka's translation directly into a manuscript of that very translation. The scribe who was in charge of preparing a clean copy from the resulting text, however, was evidently not able to interpret Blo ldan śes rab's notes in every case. He often did not understand which parts of the sentences in the old translation were to be replaced by Blo ldan śes rab's changes. As a result, the scribe inserted the reworded phrases, but did not leave out those parts of the older translation which were meant to be deleted. Accordingly, the newly prepared copy of such sentences contained the original sentence combined with Blo ldan śes rab's corrections.[54]

The scribe also apparently did not understand that Nogk intended to replace some technical terms used by Dharmāloka throughout the text, and only replaced them at their first occurrence.[55] This rare but illuminating case-study shows the expert translator using short-cuts (the implicit equivalent of the »replace all« command), not being overly precise in marking the revisions to be carried out (or trusting too much the scribe's intellectual abilities), and, especially, not taking the time to check the finished product.

---

50   The rest are 48,000 for the Perfection of Wisdom, 8,400 for miscellaneous treatises, and 8,000 for tantras, bringing the total to 136,400 (Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator*, 103-106).

51   Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *Early Tibetan Survey*, 197-208. Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica II*, 40-49) identifies 158 works translated by Rinchen Zangpo in the Kanjur and Tenjur.

52   Kano, *Buddha-Nature*, 204-207.

53   Lasic, Fragments of Pramāṇa texts.

54   Lasic, Placing the Tabo *tshad ma* materials, 484-485. See also Lasic, Fragments of *Pramāṇa* texts, 74.

55   Lasic, Fragments of *Pramāṇa* texts, 76.

If the resulting Tibetan version of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* preserved in the Tenjur is problematic, overall, the quality achieved by Ngok and his team was high enough for these translations to become the original by proxy for generations of Tibetan scholars. Modern scholars as well were able to study, on the basis of the Tibetan, those texts whose Sanskrit original did not survive, or was not available until recent years.

Methodology

While the mode of operation of translating teams remains in question, one aspect of the methodology of translation can be uncovered when studying closely Ngok's translation of a text and of its commentary, namely, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and Dharmottara's commentary on this work, the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*, which were translated by the same team.[56]

The translation of the commentary presupposed an established translation of the base text. This is because the commentary typically refers to lemmas of the base text. These lemmas are integrated in sentences of the commentary rephrasing the base text with the addition of synonyms, glosses, explanations, etc. It is necessary, for the commentary to make sense as a commentary, that these Sanskrit words are rendered by the same Tibetan expression in the translation of the base text and in the translation of the commentary. A particular case of reference to the base text in the commentary are references to the first words of a paragraph to indicate where the passage being commented starts. Here also, in the Tibetan translation of the commentary, the first words mentioned must be the first words in the Tibetan translation of this paragraph in the base text (these might not translate the first words of the paragraph in Sanskrit when the structure of the sentence changes in the translation process).[57]

Conversely, the translation of the base text is frequently informed by the commentary. A typical case is when the base text contains an unfamiliar term. The translation of the synonym provided in the commentary is then used to translate the term in the base text.[58] In other cases, the Tibetan translation of the base text reflects an interpretative stance or a specification from the commentary.[59]

The two factors mentioned above – need of an established translation of the base text to translate the commentary, and the commentary informing the translation of the base text – indicates that the translation of the base text was made conjointly with the study of the commentary. The words of the commentary that informed the translation of the base text were translated at this point, and a complete translation of the commentary either occurred conjointly to this process, or subsequently, based on the established translation of the base text. What informed the translation of the commentary? Did Ngok and his team have access to a subcommentary of the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*, which could account for the unexpected translation for some terms and expressions? No such subcommentary is currently extant.

---

56   See Hugon, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

57   Hugon, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, 71.

58   Adopting this method could lead to complicated situations when the commentary repeated the lemma from the base text and added a synonym. See Hugon, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, 91.

59   For instance, the answer to an opponent's objection reading simply »No« (in Sanskrit: *na*) appears as »It is not the same« in Tibetan (*mi mtshungs te*), under the influence of the commentary (Sanskrit: *na samānaṃ*). See Hugon, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, 93-94.

Chomden referred to two of them in his panoramic survey of Indian epistemology (see above), but did not list them in his catalogue. Ngok himself does not refer to such a subcommentary in his exegesis of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. One can thus rather derive the hypothesis that the translation of difficult expressions in the commentary relied on the explanations of the pandit, i.e., the equivalent of an oral subcommentary.

The link between »translation« and »exegesis« deserves to be explored further. Not all translators were also commentators or authors of independent treatises. But this is a distinctive feature of Ngok's contribution, that he is credited with exegetical works on most of the Indian epistemological treatises he translated. In these exegeses, Ngok does not merely explain the words and meaning of the base texts. He also structures their contents. One way he does so is by imposing a structural hierarchy upon the base texts, with sections and subsections, whereas the base texts are mostly linear (at most divided into chapters). This structural hierarchy is reflected in works presenting only a »synoptic outline« of the base text (a kind of hyper-developed table of contents, with interlinear references to lemmas in the base text playing the role of page numbers), and in »concise guides« – works that combine the synoptic outline with an explanation of each part of the base text referred to. They follow the base text paragraph by paragraph (sometimes smaller units), referring to the base text by quoting the first words in the Tibetan translation, and giving a summarized explanation of the paragraph in question.[60]

A second way of structuring the contents of the base text is by using as tools, chiefly, (i) definition (identifying the definiens for key notions and their instances), (ii) division (distinguishing between various types and identifying their respective definiens and their instances), and (iii) discussion (examination of other views and of potential or actual objections against one's own view). The typologies established through (ii) sometimes reflect divisions in the base texts, but a number of typologies are an exegetical tool for organizing cases and examples discussed in the base text individually.[61] Whether such organizational devices, as well as interpretative comments, represent Ngok's inventiveness, or are grounded in the teachings he received in Kashmir is an open question.

Ngok's »concise guides« definitely stand out as a by-product of the translation process. Whether composed simultaneously or subsequently to the translation of the base text, they guaranteed that comprehension of the meaning was transmitted alongside the text itself, thus ensuring that the translated treatises could be read and understood by Tibetans.

---

60 See also the discussion of these genres in Kano, *Buddha-Nature*, 234-238.

61 A famous example is the »typology of invalid cognitions« found in Ngok's works, which builds on cases exemplifying cognitions that fail to be valid in two epistemological works of Dharmottara (see Hugon, Tracing the early developments).

Terminology and Translation Style

Tibetan translations are characterized by the use of the so-called »religious language« (*chos skad*), a somewhat artificial adaptation of Tibetan, which is not obviously comprehensible to Tibetan speakers without specific training. This artificial language permeated autochthonous compositions in such a way that it is not always easy to decide whether a text is a Tibetan translation or a work originally written in Tibetan.[62] Integrated in this language is the specific terminology used in Indian Buddhist texts. The absence of philosophical literature in Tibet prior to the diffusion of Buddhism required the creation of numerous new terms in Tibetan. Epistemological texts contain their share of technical terms.[63]

A bilingual glossary was created for translation work at the time of the Earlier Diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet: the *Mahāvyutpatti*, containing close to 10,000 entries, and the *Madhyavyutpatti*, a work explaining selected entries of the former and introducing the principles of translating Indian Buddhist texts. Both were compiled on the orders of the emperor Trisong Detsen and completed under the reign of Tride Songtsen (*khri lde srong bstan*, reigned c. 799-815), and their application was promulgated by imperial decree.[64] Previous translations were revised according to the new official standards of grammar and terminology and new translations were made in the following years, under the reign of Trisuk Detsen (*khri gtsug lde btsan*, reigned c. 815-836).

The *Mahāvyutpatti* glossary is not alphabetical but organized around specific topics. The section devoted to terms related to logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa-tarka-nirgatārthāḥ* starting with item No. 4404 in Sasaki's edition) has 119 entries. One of them (No. 4432) strikes one as the relic of »calque expressions«: the prescribed translation for the Sanskrit *hetvābhāsa* (a term that refers to incorrect logical reasons in inferential reasoning, commonly translated as »pseudo-logical reason« in English), is *rgyu ltar snang ba*. Here, »rgyu« mirrors the Sanskrit »hetu«, whose first meaning is »cause.« The logical reason is indeed a »cause« or »motive« for inferring a property to be proven. This prescribed translation, *rgyu ltar snang ba*, is, however, not found anywhere in the Tenjur. The Sanskrit *hetvābhāsa* is seen, instead, to be translated as *gtan tshigs ltar snang* and, more generally, the Sanskrit *hetu* used in the sense of »logical reason« is translated as *gtan tshigs* – a translation actually also attested in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, for instance, in the case of *hetuvidyā* (»the science of logic«, item No. 1556), for which the Tibetan *gtan tshigs kyi rig pa* is prescribed.[65]

Like »calque translation« of individual words, mechanical principles of translation for sentences tend to yield as a result a text that is completely unreadable in Tibetan, at best suggesting the Sanskrit original. Ngok, in contrast, was translating with the aim of producing a resulting text that was readable and made sense (admittedly for an audience of specialists) in the target language, Tibetan. This is notably observable in the translation of long and

---

62 For examples, see Ruegg, Indian and the Indic.

63 On the translation of Indian Buddhist technical terminology, see Ruegg, Traduction de la terminologie.

64 Herrmann-Pfandt, *Lhan Kar Ma*, xi.

65 The term *gtan tshigs* itself existed in Tibetan beforehand, but is attested in contexts not related to logical argumentation – rather in the legal context – in several old Tibetan documents (cf. https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives. cgi?p=Pt_0999, Pt_ 1084, Or_15000_0467).

complex sentences, where he does not hesitate to switch the parts around, to repeat some expressions, and to make explicit relations between words and between sentences in a way the Sanskrit original does not, here also involving his interpretation of the base text. This style of translation is both a blessing and a curse because the translator makes a decision on behalf of the reader – a decision that the reader would have to make themself if reading the Sanskrit version. Translators, in Ngok's time, did not write footnotes spelling out various possible interpretations of the Sanskrit version of the base text in the margins of their translation. They might, however, address such issues in commentaries they composed.

Tibetan translators translated *everything* in the base text into Tibetan. There are rare exceptions where sentences of base texts appear to have been left out. For instance, in his translation of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*, Ngok's Tibetan translation lacks an equivalent for sentences that are, in Sanskrit, etymological and grammatical explanations. This is not to say that such sentences *cannot* be translated. Simply, the result in Tibetan makes no sense unless one knows something about compounds in Sanskrit.

The emperor's edict prohibited the use of Sanskrit loan terms in translations. In their own compositions, early Tibetan scholars appear to have been less strict and frequently used Sanskrit loan words rather than the prescribed Tibetan equivalent or a calque. For instance, early Tibetan works of epistemology use *hetu* for »logical reason« instead of the usual Tibetan translation *gtan tshigs* (or *rgyu*), and write *buta* for Buddha. This was maybe a reflex of the language used by teachers who were using Sanskrit as a *lingua franca*, as scholars of Buddhist studies nowadays still often do. Some of the Sanskrit loan words are transcribed in Tibetan in a way that suggests a Kashmiri pronunciation (e.g., *bodhe* for *bodhi*, *ede* for *ādi*).

Revisions

Some texts were translated several times independently by different scholars, some were translated once, then later retranslated or revised (with varying numbers of changes), because the existing translation was judged inadequate, or because a new manuscript source was consulted that provided better readings. Which texts were retranslated may be indicative of a specific interest for important works and authors.[66] One such case is the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti, which underwent three successive revisions.[67]

Many – more or less subtle – changes could have taken place until a translated text was included in a canonical collection. For instance, my comparison of the lemmas of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* cited by Ngok (who translated the work) in his own commentary on this treatise with lemmas cited in other Tibetan *Pramāṇaviniścaya*-commentaries and with the canonical translation shows that revisions were carried out over time, although on a small

---

66 The Dergé Tenjur includes 17 epistemological works translated during the imperial period, the translation of which was not revised at the time of the Later Diffusion. The 7 works that were revised are by the founding fathers Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, and by Dharmottara. See Appendix, III and IV.

67 See Franco, Tibetan translations of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator*, 61-62. Listed as »translation in progress« in the *Lenkar catalogue*, this work was translated in the middle of the eleventh century, then slightly corrected and newly translated by Ngok and Bhavyarāja in Kashmir under the order of King Wangdé. This translation was revised in the thirteenth century by Sakya Pandita and Śākyaśrībhadra. This is, to my knowledge, the only work translated by Ngok containing in its colophon mention of having been revised extensively.

scale. Changes could be made to the translation by the translator himself or through the agency of other scholars involved in the transmission of the translated text. Some changes were voluntary, genuine revisions (meant to improve the original translation), others are due to forgetfulness or scribal errors.[68] What each text in the Tenjur represents is actually an edited version based on manuscript sources that are (with few exceptions) not available to us. Some of these sources were probably already revised versions of the »original translation« (whether this was acknowledged explicitly or not in their colophon). As time went by and more versions were in circulation, the text having been copied and recopied multiple times, while being revised in the process, giving rise to a multitude of more or less diverging witnesses, it becomes difficult to say which version of the translation (if only one) Tibetan commentators were aware of and relied on. In fact, we can only establish which version of the translation they chose.

The Destiny of the Translated Corpus
Available Translations, Known Translations, Studied Translations

The importance of translation for the development of a particular domain of Buddhist learning can be read into the periodization of Tibetan epistemology proposed by van der Kuijp.[69] In the case of the three major works of Dharmakīrti, the shorter of them, the *Nyāyabindu*, which had already been translated at the time of the Earlier Diffusion, is attested in numerous copies all the way to Dunhuang (which, one may assume, testifies to its popularity). But it seems that as soon as the *Pramāṇviniścaya* (the treatise of middle size) was translated by Ngok in the eleventh century, it took over and interest in the *Nyāyabindu* drastically declined. The eleventh to thirteenth centuries (the »pre-classical period« in van der Kuijp's periodization) are characterized by almost exclusive reliance on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. As bibliographical lists, records of teaching and the extant material attest to, authors typically composed pairs of treatises: a commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and an epistemological summary. Such epistemological summaries typically claim to explain »Dharmakīrti's seven works« but actually mainly rely on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. There are no Tibetan commentaries on the *Nyāyabindu* until Gyeltsap Darmarinchen's (*rgyal tshab dar ma rin chen*, 1364-1432) »revival« of this text in the fourteenth century, even if the *Nyāyabindu* and Indian commentaries on the text were available in Tibetan, and a »concise guide« had been composed by Ngok on the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, Dharmottara's commentary on the *Nyāyabindu*. I suggested that Ngok's writing a concise guide was less a vestige of the interest in the *Nyāyabindu* than a sign of Ngok's interest in Dharmottara's thinking.[70]

In turn, Sakya Pandita's revision of the translation of the *Pramāṇavārttika* in the thirteenth century and the switch of basis of reliance he advocates from the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* to the *Pramāṇavārttika* marks the beginning of the classical period of Tibetan epistemology. Nonetheless, the *Pramāṇavārttika* was available in translation significantly earlier (see n. 67), but, apart from Ngok's (no longer extant) concise guide on the *Pramāṇavārttika* and

---

68   Hugon, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

69   Van der Kuijp, Introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa.

70   Hugon, Tracing the early developments, 204-205.

its commentary by Prajñākaragupta, the *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra* (the translation of which Ngok was also involved in[71]), the *Pramāṇavārttika* had not been the object of a commentary in Tibet until the thirteenth century. I leave to another occasion the discussion of the awareness of this work by Ngok's successors. In a general way, one must distinguish the question of whether a text was extant in translation from the question of whether scholars studied this text (and not merely knew it to exist) and cared to make it the object of a commentary. Tibetan scholars before the thirteenth century certainly demonstrate an awareness of an Indian epistemological lineage and associated works, but usually only include the main figures.[72] Chomden Reldri, the compiler of the proto-canon catalogue and the panoramic survey mentioned above in »Ancient and modern surveys«, who was actively involved in collecting and organizing translations, shows a broader awareness both of the Indian epistemological landscape and of existing translations. He himself authored commentaries on several of Dharmakīrti's works and on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. The investigation of individual Tibetan epistemological treatises shows that following the rise of interest in the *Pramāṇavārttika* in the thirteenth century, commentaries and subcommentaries on this work also start being studied more thoroughly and are more frequently referred to by Tibetan scholars. Still, the number of Indian epistemological works that had a significant impact remains a fraction of the corpus that was available in translation. This is observable both in the restricted range of works that were the objects of commentaries in Tibet, and in the references to Indian epistemological works found in autochthonous literature.

Tibetan Translations as Authentic Sources by Proxy
For followers of the Great Vehicle (*mahāyāna*), that the religious corpus should and could be translated appears to have been an unchallenged idea. The activity of translation (even in vernacular languages) could even be considered to have been authorized by the Buddha himself in view of the famous statement according to which the doctrine should be taught in the language of the addressee.[73] Sakya Pandita considered that the doctrine could be transmitted without any »loss in translation«, provided Tibetan translators and interpreters had sufficient expertise, in particular expertise in the Sanskrit language.[74] Some Tibetan scholars did have an in-depth knowledge of Sanskrit: for instance, those who had spent time in Indian regions, or studied extensively with Indian pandits or expert Tibetan translators in Tibet. We thus do find evidence of early philological work in commentaries discussing some choice of translation or a particular Sanskrit reading. This is not to be confused with the mention of Sanskrit terms for the sake of explaining their etymology (terms that any scholar in the field would have known in Sanskrit), a Tibetan author giving a Sanskrit title to his work or using a Sanskrit retro-translation of his name. Such practices demonstrate an attitude of respect towards Sanskrit but not necessarily proficiency. Experts in Sanskrit would have been few in number. As a fact, Sanskrit studies were never implemented in the monastic curriculum.

---

71   See Kramer, *Great Tibetan Translator,* 63-66 and n. 71.

72   They typically follow, as a model, the lineage proposed in Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā.*

73   See Ruegg, Some reflections, 379-380.

74   Gold, *Dharma's Gatekeepers*, 35-39.

Unlike Christian monks in Medieval Europe, for whom Latin was the linguistic medium, Tibetan Buddhist monks would not have known Sanskrit. For the majority of the Buddhist community, the lack of material sources (paucity of manuscripts of Sanskrit texts) and/or lack of expertise (no knowledge of Sanskrit and/or of Indic scripts) would have prevented first-hand access to the Indian corpus in the original. Translated works, on the other hand, could be deciphered and their language understood (subject to some training). Translated works thus became source texts by proxy. Studying the Indian sources remained prominent in the monastic curriculum in spite of the growth of autochthonous literature and teaching manuals, but the study of these sources was based on translation. Commentaries and commentarial works such as »topical outlines« and »concise guides« also follow the translated version of the base text.

Tibetan translations also played the role of »original source« by proxy when the Tenjur was translated into Mongolian in the eighteenth century. A more modern example can be found in the project »84,000 – Translating the Words of the Buddha«[75], in which Buddhist works are translated into English from the Tibetan version preserved in the Kanjur and Tenjur.

The Impact of Mistaken Translations

Translators were an instrumental interface between the Indian world and the Tibetan world. At the time of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, a period of Buddhist revival referred to in modern scholarship as the »Buddhist Renaissance period«, the association of India with the source of authentic teaching par excellence developed, further enhancing the religious and social prestige of translators.[76] The programme of scholarship set out by Sakya Pandita in the thirteenth century, which was to ensure transmission of the doctrine without loss in translation, set the bar very high, requesting of Tibetan scholars that they became the equal of Indian scholars through a mastery of Indian scholarship as well as Sanskrit. This only, affirmed Sakya Pandita, would guard the Tibetan tradition from mistaken translations and wrong interpretations owing to lack of grammatical expertise, or not enough knowledge of the Indian context.[77] Readers who relied on translations prepared by others were dependent on the translator's input, i.e., of the interpretative choices that guided the translation. Should there be a mistake in the translation, it would impact the reader's comprehension of the text accordingly, sometimes with an enduring impact. In his critique of »unlearned scholars« Sakya Pandita deals with numerous difficulties in translation, not specific to any particular domain of learning. One of them is translation mistakes resulting from a wrong decoding of the source text, such as mistaking homonyms, or splitting words incorrectly.[78] Such mistakes could only be detected by expert readers with a good command of Sanskrit (those who could reconstruct what the original Sanskrit read) and an understanding of the most common translation mistakes. A typical case involving the translator's choice – and which could result in a mistake – results from the application of *sandhi*, a feature of the Sanskrit language according to which the final sound of a word is

---

75   Cf. https://84000.co.

76   Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance.*

77   Gold, *Dharma's Gatekeepers,* chap. 2.

78   Gold, *Dharma's Gatekeepers,* 31. For instance, as Sanskrit is written without a space between the words, one could understand a word finishing in »*ena*« not to represent the instrumental form, but the locative form ending in -*e* followed by a negation (*na*).

transformed according to the initial letter of the following word. In the case of a word ending in *-ā*, the presence or absence of an initial *a-* in the next word is concealed by the *sandhi* phenomenon. The presence/absence of an initial *a-*, however, makes a crucial difference as this *a-* performs the role of negation (just like the English prefixes »un-« and »in-«).[79]

If unskilled translators could thus present a threat and experts were called upon to safeguard the doctrine, even based on a correct translation, exegetes had enough leeway to develop any interpretation they chose, even one in apparent contradiction with the words of the base text. A good translation is thus not all that it takes.

Conclusion

The Indian epistemological corpus available in the Tibetan language did not grow regularly over the course of the transmission of Buddhism. The leap from the 30 items at the beginning of the ninth century to the 59 titles listed in Chomden's 1270 catalogue was the result of an intensive effort, mostly condensed in the eleventh century. Subsequent contributions were limited in number and by the fourteenth century the translated corpus had reached its greatest extent, reflected in the 64 works preserved in the Tenjur. The story of the Indian epistemological corpus in Tibet does not end here. Palm leaf manuscripts did not survive well in India – much less so Buddhist manuscripts, for which there was no ongoing tradition that would have preserved them or made new copies on the subcontinent. But manuscripts that had been brought to Tibet by Indian scholars or by Tibetan students returning home benefited from the dry and cold climate of the Highlands. Scholars working on the Indian epistemological tradition have benefited in recent years from the surfacing of numerous works whose Sanskrit original had been considered lost, and even of works that had previously not been known at all, thus enhancing further Steinkellner and Much's 1995 survey. A highlight has been the surfacing of the Sanskrit version of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*, and of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*,[80] as well as hitherto unknown works by Jitāri.[81] That the surfacing of works previously available in Tibetan translation has not, so far, led to a complete reconsideration of the understanding of Buddhist epistemology obtained on the basis of Tibetan translations speaks in favour of the high quality of the latter. Nonetheless, having access to the original formulation, with its ambiguities and problems that the Tibetan translators struggled with before us, frees us from the interpretation they imposed through their translation. Besides, the Sanskrit material provides further opportunity to investigate translation techniques and, indirectly to reflect on our own translation practices.

---

79   Due to *sandhi* and the absence of separation between words in writing, both xxxā+x and xxxā+ax end up being written: xxxāx. This case is illustrated in a passage of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* that reads *ghaṭasyāt-manātadbhāvārthāntarabhāvavirodhāt*. The words in this expression can be split in two different ways:

a) *ghaṭasyātmanā+atadbhāvārthāntarabhāvavirodhāt*

b) *ghaṭasyātmanā+tadbhāvārthāntarabhāvavirodhāt*

Dharmottara's commentary on this passage shows that he adopted interpretation (b). The canonical translation of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, however, reflected interpretation (a) by the use in Tibetan of a negative particle.

80   See Steinkellner, Tale of leaves and Franco, New era. These newly available Sanskrit texts are being edited and published in the framework of an agreement between the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the China Tibetology Research Center (https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ research-areas/sanskrit-texts-from-tibet).

81   See Chu and Franco, Rare manuscripts.

Appendix: Summarizing Table[82]

Abbreviations
L = *Lenkar catalogue*
C = Chomden's catalogue
U = Üpa's catalogue
B = Butön's catalogue
D = Dergé Tenjur collection, *Tshad ma* section
◊ indicates that the work is mentioned, but no catalogue number is available
* indicates a Sanskrit name or title reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan
[] indicate works whose translation is listed as being »in progress«
<> indicate works referred to as »to be searched for«

(I) Works listed in L, lost by the 14th.

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
	*Karmaphalasambandhaparīkṣā	695	19.20		<1058>	
	*Karmaphalasambandhaparīkṣāṭīkā	696	19.21		<1059>	
	*Tathāgataparīkṣāsiddhi	718	19.24		<1064>	
	*Madhyamakaparīkṣā	721	19.27		<1067>	
	*Sāmānyābhedapratiṣedha	719	19.31		<1065>	
	*Sāmānyabhedapratiṣedha	720	19.32		<1066>	
	*Nairātmyasiddhi	712	19.34		<1062>	
Kamalaśīla	*Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣa	700			<1060>	
	*Paralokasiddhiṭīkā	716			<1063>	
	*Sarvajñasiddhi	717			<1061>	

(II) Works listed in L whose translation is in progress in the imperial period

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dharmakīrti	Pramāṇavārttikakārikā	[733A]	[◊], 19.1, 27.67	◊	1003	4210
Dharmakīrti	Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti	[733B]	23.17	◊	1010	4216
Dharmakīrti	Vādanyāya	[735]	[◊], 19.7, 23.22, 27.21	◊	1009	4218
Śaṅkaranandana	Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā	[734]	[◊], 19.2?, 27.75	◊	1018	4223
Śāntarakṣita	Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā	[736A]	[◊], 19.18, 23.50	◊	1055	4266
Kamalaśīla	Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā	[736B]	[◊], 19.19, 25.104	◊	1056	4267

82 For more details pertaining to the identification of translators (resp. revisors), date of translation, Tibetan titles of the
    works, catalogue numbers in the *Pangtangma* catalogue and the Peking Tenjur, and remarks on potential alternative
    identification of the catalogue entries, see the table available for download at www.oeaw.ac.at/ikga/forschung/
    tibetologie/materialien. In the table below, I have exchanged the place of the references B1023 and B1060 under
    the hypothesis that Butön might have confused L700 (not extant) with L701 (extant). I have paired the reference
    B1061 with L717 (not extant) and B1036 with L711 (extant) under the hypothesis of a confusion, by Butön, about
    the respective length indicated in his catalogue, which suggests the opposite. I tentatively associated C19.2 with
    Śaṅkaranandana's *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*, considering the phrasing of the entry (*shakya blo gros ti ka'i stod,* referring to
    Śākyabuddhi's commentary) to be a mistake. B997 appears in parentheses, as Butön specifically lists the translation
    by Dépé Shérap (*dad pa'i shes rab*), which is preserved in the Peking Tenjur (P5702) but not in the Dergé Tenjur.

(III) Works listed in L, not revised during the Later Diffusion

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dharmakīrti	Hetubindu	702	19.8	◊	1006	4213
Dharmakīrti	Santānāntarasiddhi	708	19.10	◊	1008	4219
Dharmakīrti	Sambandhaparīkṣāvṛtti	704B	19.13	◊	1026	4215
Vinītadeva	Nyāyabinduṭīkā	699	19.5	◊	1022	4230
Vinītadeva	Hetubinduṭīkā	703	19.9	◊	1024	4234
Vinītadeva	Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā	709	19.11	◊	1028	4238
Vinītadeva	Sambandhaparīkṣāṭīkā	704C	19.14	◊	1027	4236
Vinītadeva	Ālambanaparīkṣāṭīkā	707	19.17	◊	1031	4241
Kamalaśīla	Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta	701	19.6	◊	1023	4232
Śubhagupta	Sarvajñasiddhikārikā	711	19.23	◊	1036	4243
Śubhagupta	Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā	713	19.22	◊	1035	4244
Śubhagupta	Śrutiparīkṣākārikā	722?	19.28		1050	4245
Śubhagupta	Anyāpohavicārakārikā	710	19.33		1051	4246
Śubhagupta	Īśvarabhaṅgakārikā	714?	19.30		1052	4247

(IV) Works listed in L revised at the time of the Later Diffusion

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dignāga	Ālambanaparīkṣā	705	19.15	◊	998	4205
Dignāga	Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti	706	19.16	◊	999	4206
Dharmakīrti	Nyāyabindu	697	19.3, 27.89	◊	1005	4212
Dharmakīrti	Sambandhaparīkṣāprakaraṇa	704A	19.12	◊	1007	4214
Dharmottara	Nyāyabinduṭīkā	698	19.4, 27.90	◊	1021	4231
Dharmottara	Paralokasiddhi	715	19.25		1042	4251

(V) Works translated during the imperial period not listed in L

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
	Tib.: sgra la dgag pa bsdus pa (rtsa)		19.35			
	Tib.: sgra la dgag pa bsdus pa ('grel)		19.36			
Dharmottara	Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi		19.26, 25.128, 27.74	◊	1037	4253
Candragomin	Nyāyasiddhyāloka			◊	1045	4242
Dignāga	Hetucakraḍamaru				1002	4209
Jinamitra	Nyāyabindupiṇḍārtha				1049	4233

(VI) Works translated during the Later Diffusion listed in C

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dignāga	Pramāṇasamuccaya		26.167	◊	996	4203
Dharmakīrti	Pramāṇaviniścaya		27.66	◊	1004	4211
Śākyabuddhi	Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā		23.19	◊	1012	4220
Ravigupta	Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti		23.26	◊ ◊	1016 +1017	4224 +4225
Devendrabuddhi	Pramāṇavārttikapañjikā		23.18	◊	1011	4217
Prajñākaragupta	Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra		27.68	◊	1013	4221
Jayanta/Jina	Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā		25.133	◊	1014	4222
Yamāri	Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāraṭīkā supariśuddhā		27.69	◊	1015	4226
Arcaṭa	Hetubinduvivaraṇa		23.25	◊	1025	4235
Jñānaśrībhadra	Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā		23.54	◊	1020	4228
Ratnākaraśānti	Antarvyāptisamarthana		25.99	◊	1043	4260
Jñānaśrīmitra	Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi		27.18	◊	1044	4258
Śāntarakṣita	Vādanyāyavṛttivipañcitārtha		27.5	◊	1030	4239
Dharmottara	Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā		27.70	◊	1019	4227 +4229
Dharmottara	Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā		27.71	◊	1032	4248
Dharmottara	Laghuprāmāṇyaparīkṣā		27.72	◊	1033	4249
Dharmottara	Apohaprakaraṇa		27.73	◊	1038	4250
Śaṅkaranandana	Anyāpohasiddhikārikā		27.77, 27.78	◊	1040	4256
Śaṅkaranandana	Pratibandhasiddhikārikā		27.79	◊	1041	4257
Śaṅkaranandada	Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra		27.94	◊	1034	4237
Śaṅkaranandana	Madhyaprāmāṇyaparīkṣā		27.76			
	Tib.: stong phrag bcwa brgyad ba		25.134[83]			
	Tib.: ye shes dpal gyi tshad ma bsdus pa		26.130			

---

83   The length indicated by the descriptive title (18,000 *śloka*) corresponds to that of Prajñākaragupta's *Pramāṇavārt-tikālaṅkāra*, or to Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*.

(VII) Later Diffusion translations listed in U but not in C

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dignāga	Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti			◊	(997)	4204
Vinītadeva	Vādanyāyaṭīkā			◊	1029	4240
*Muktākalaśa	Kṣaṇabaṅghasiddhivivaraṇa			◊	1039	4254
Jitāri	Bālāvatāratarka			◊	1046	4263
*Ratnavajra	Yuktiprayoga			◊	1053	4265
Ratnākaraśānti	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi				1054	4259

(VIII) Later Diffusion translations listed in B but not in C or U

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Śaṅkarasvāmin	*Nyāyapraveśa				1000	4208
Dignāga	Trikālaparīkṣā				1001	4207
Jitāri	Dharmadharmiviniścaya				1047	4262
Jitāri	Hetutattvopadeśa				1048	4261
Jinendrabuddhi	Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā				1057	4268

(IX) Works in D not listed in L, C, U or B

Author	Title	L	C	U	B	D
Dānaśīla	Pustakapaṭhopāya					4252
Prajñākaragupta	Sahopalambhaniyamasiddhi					4255
Mokṣākaragupta	Tarkabhāṣā					4264

References

Chu, Junjie and Eli Franco, Rare manuscripts of works by Jitāri, *China Tibetology* 18 (2012) 17-32.

Collected Works of the Kadampas bKa' gdams gsung 'bum 'phyogs sgrig thengs dang po/gnyis pa/gsum pa/bzhi pa, ed. dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Vols 1-120 (Chengdu, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2015).

Eimer, Helmut, A note on the history of the Tibetan Kanjur, *Central Asiatic Journal* 32/1-2 (1988) 64-72.

Eltschinger, Vincent, Les œuvres de Śaṅkaranandana: Nouvelles ressources manuscrites, chronologie relative et identité confessionnelle, *Annali – Università degli Studi di Napoli »L'Orientale«* 66/1-4 (2006) 83-122.

Franco, Eli, A new era in the study of Buddhist philosophy, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 34/3 (2006) 221-227.

Franco, Eli, The Tibetan translations of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the development of translation methods from Sanskrit to Tibetan, in: Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (eds.), *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995,* Vol 1 (Vienna, 1997) 277-288.

Frauwallner, Erich, Zu den buddhistischen Texten in der Zeit Khri-sroṅ-lde tsan's, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 1 (1957) 95-103.

Gold, Jonathan C., *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (New York, 2008).

Harrison, Paul, A brief history of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur, in: Ignacio Cabezón and Roger Jackson (eds.), *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (New York, 1996) 72-94.

Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid, *Die Lhan Kar Ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte* (Vienna, 2008).

Hugon, Pascale, On the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*: A look into the translator's workshop of rNog Blo ldan śes rab, in: Horst Lasic and Xuezhu Li (eds.), *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China II: Proceedings of a Panel at the 2012 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, August 1 to 5* (Beijing, 2016) 49-113.

Hugon, Pascale, Tracing the early developments of Tibetan epistemological categories in rNgog Blo ldan shes rab's (1059-1109) concise guide to the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā, Journal of Tibetology* 9 (2014) 194-234.

Kano, Kazuo, *Buddha-Nature and Emptiness: rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab and a Transmission of the Ratnagotravibhāga from India to Tibet* (Vienna, 2016).

Kollmar-Paulenz, Karénina, *Kleine Geschichte Tibets* (Munich, 2006).

Kramer, Ralf, *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109)* (Munich, 2007).

Krasser, Helmut, On the relationship between Dharmottara, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, in: Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi (eds.), *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar of the IATS, Narita 1989* (Narita, 1992) 151-158.

Van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J., An introduction to Gtsang-nag-pa's *Tshad-ma rnam-par nges-pa' i ṭi-ka legs-bshad bsdus-pa*, an Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya,* Otani University Collection No.13971, in: *gTsang nag pa brTson' grus seng ge, Tshad ma rnam par nges pa' i ṭi ka legs bshad bsdus pa* (Kyoto, 1989) 1-39.

Van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J., *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Episte-mology* (Wiesbaden, 1983).

Van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J., Fourteenth century Tibetan cultural history IV: The *Tshad ma'i byung tshul 'chad nyan gyi rgyan*: A Tibetan history of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda,* in: Nalini Balbir and Joachim Bautze (eds.), *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn* (Reinbek, 1994) 375-402.

Van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J., Fourteenth century Tibetan cultural history VI: The transmission of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda* according to early Tibetan *Gsan yig*-s, *Asiatische Studien* 49/4 (1995) 919-941.

Lalou, Marcelle, Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan, *Journal Asiatique* 241/3 (1953) 315-353.

Lasic, Horst, Fragments of *Pramāṇa* texts preserved in Tabo monastery, in: Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Kurt Tropper and Christian Jahoda (eds.), *Text, Image and Song in Transdisciplinary Dialogue* (Leiden, 2006) 63-77.

Lasic, Horst, Placing the Tabo *tshad ma* materials in the general development of *tshad ma* studies in Tibet. Part one: The study of the *Nyāyabindu*, in: Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael Torsten Much and Helmut Tauscher (eds.), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* 1 (Vienna, 2007) 483-495.

Mahāvyutpatti, ed. Ryūzaburó Sasaki, *Bonzō Kanwa: Chibetto yaku-taikō, honyaku migi daishū (Mahāwyuttopattei)* (Kyoto, 1965).

Nishioka, Soshū, Index to the catalogue section of Bu-ston's »History of Buddhism«, *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange; The University of Tokyo* 1/4 (1980) 61-92; 2/5 (1981) 43-94; 3/6 (1983) 47-200.

Ruegg, David Seyfort, The Indian and the Indic in Tibetan cultural history, and Tsoṅ kha pa's achievement as a scholar and thinker: An essay on the concepts of Buddhism in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32 (2004) 321-343.

Ruegg, David Seyfort, Some reflections on translating Buddhist philosophical texts from Sanskrit and Tibetan, *Asiatische Studien* 46 (1992) 367-391.

Ruegg, David Seyfort, La traduction de la terminologie technique de la pensée indienne et bouddhique depuis Sylvain Lévi, in: Lyne Bansat-Boudon and Roland Lardinois (eds.), *Sylvain Lévi (1863-1935): Etudes indiennes, histoire sociale* (Turnhout, 2007) 145-171.

Schaeffer, Kurtis and Leonard van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri* (Cambridge, 2009).

Skilling, Peter, From bKa' bstan bcos to bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur, in: Helmut Eimer (ed.), *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995* (Vienna, 1997) 87-111.

Stearns, Cyrus, The life and Tibetan legacy of the Indian *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19/1 (1996) 127-171.

Steinkellner, Ernst, The Buddhist tradition of epistemology and logic (*tshad ma*) and its significance for Tibetan civilisation, in: Andre Gingrich and Guntram Hazod (eds.), *Der Rand und die Mitte: Beiträge zur Sozialanthropologie und Kulturgeschichte Tibets und des Himalaya* (Vienna, 2006) 193-210.

Steinkellner, Ernst, A tale of leaves: On Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, their past and their future, in: *Gonda Lecture 2003* (Amsterdam, 2004).

Steinkellner, Ernst and Michael Torsten Much, *Texte der erkenntnistheoretischen Schule des Buddhismus: Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur* 2 (Göttingen, 1995).

Tillemans, Tom, Dharmakīrti, in: Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring edition, 2017). Accessed on 19th May 2020: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/dharmakiirti/.

Tucci, Giuseppe, *Indo-Tibetica II: Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po e la rinascità de Buddhismo intorno al mille* (Rome, 1933).

Translation as Commentary in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese Didactic and Religious Literature from Java and Bali

Andrea Acri and Thomas M. Hunter*

This article discusses the dynamics of translation and exegesis documented in the body of Sanskrit-Old Javanese Śaiva and Buddhist technical literature of the tutur/tattva genre, composed in Java and Bali in the period from c. the ninth to the sixteenth century. The texts belonging to this genre, mainly preserved on palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali, are concerned with the reconfiguration of Indic metaphysics, philosophy, and soteriology along localized lines. Here we focus on the texts that are built in the form of Sanskrit verses provided with Old Javanese prose exegesis – each unit forming a »translation dyad«. The Old Javanese prose parts document cases of linguistic and cultural »localization« that could be regarded as broadly corresponding to the Western categories of translation, paraphrase, and commentary, but which often do not fit neatly into any one category.

Having introduced the »*vyākhyā*-style« form of commentary through examples drawn from the early inscriptional and didactic literature in Old Javanese, we present key instances of »cultural translations« as attested in texts composed at different times and in different geographical and religio-cultural milieus, and describe their formal features. Our aim is to document how local agents (re-)interpreted, fractured, and restated the messages conveyed by the Sanskrit verses in the light of their contingent contexts, agendas, and prevalent exegetical practices. Our hypothesis is that local milieus of textual production underwent a progressive »drift« from the Indic-derived scholastic traditions that inspired – and entered into a conversation with – the earliest sources, composed in Central Java in the early medieval period, and progressively shifted towards a more embedded mode of production in East Java and Bali from the eleventh to the sixteenth century and beyond.

* **Correspondence details:** Andrea Acri, Section des Sciences religieuses, École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE, PSL University), Les Patios Saint-Jacques, 4-14 rue Ferrus, 75014 Paris, France; email: andrea.acri@ephe.psl.eu. Thomas M. Hunter, Department of Asian Studies, The University of British Columbia, 607-1871 West Mall, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 0C2; email: thomas.hunter@ubc.ca.

Introduction

A significant body of literature in Old Javanese, composed mainly in the period from c. the ninth to the fifteenth century, has come down to us from Java, Bali, and the nearby island of Lombok through palm-leaf manuscripts. This body of literature may be regarded as a relic of the region's Indic past, testifying to the process of appropriation and hybridization by local milieus of linguistic, cultural, and religious material derived from the Sanskritic world that mainly unfolded during the »post-Gupta« South Asian medieval period – a process that largely coincides with the global Middle Ages, of which Indonesia was an integral part.[1] During that period, the pedagogical institutions of urban centres and religious complexes of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago were part of the translocal culture first described by Pollock[2] under the terms »Sanskrit cosmopolis« and »Sanskrit ecumene«. Indic forms of writing and textual organization had arrived in the archipelago along with the Buddhist monks, Śaiva masters, and other religious wanderers who depended on textual means to preserve the continuity of religious doctrine.

In what follows we review the history of didactic and prose composition in the Old Javanese language as reflecting a tradition of translation that adheres to the norms of standard Indian Sanskritic models of the commentary, but uses Old Javanese rather than Sanskrit as the language of exegesis. The resulting form of text-building in Old Javanese has had a long life in the archipelago, extending from its original domain in theological and didactic works into prose works like the *parva* literature translating several books of the *Mahābhārata* and later prose works like the *Tantri Kāmandaka* – a collection of animal tales embedded in a Scheherazade-like framing tale – as well as the numerically significant genre of Śaiva (and, to a much lesser extent, Buddhist) technical texts called *tutur* or *tattva* concerned with the reconfiguration of Sanskrit-derived metaphysics, philosophy, and soteriology along localized lines.[3] In this article we will focus on this body of Sanskrit-Old Javanese didactic literature, many important specimens of which are arranged in the form of a Sanskrit verse or a series of verses (whether quoted in their entirety or separated into their discrete units/*pāda*) provided with an Old Javanese prose translation and/or exegesis – each unit forming a so-called »translation dyad«.

---

1   One of the unifying factors of the Middle Ages across Maritime Asia was the multi-centric spread and circulation of (Sanskritic) Buddhism as well as Śaivism; on the former, see Acri, *Esoteric Buddhism*.

2   Pollock, Sanskrit cosmopolis.

3   In fact, this tradition would appear to have continued beyond the premodern »Hindu-Buddhist« period, for contemporary evidence for the continuing effects of a »*śāstra* model« of composition may be found in the »Yellow Books« explicating passages of the Qur'an or Hadith into Indonesian or Javanese and in the practice of the *sekaha mabasan* clubs of modern Bali. These clubs are characterized by »extemporaneous glossing« using hermeneutical strategies that do not (primarily) involve analytical means, drawn from a systematic knowledge of morphology and grammar, or try to establish historical derivations and etymologies; they are mainly based on contemporary/ popular lexical know-how, »folk etymology«, and associative thinking effected through homology, metaphor, and assonance. These techniques are akin to the Sanskrit *nirvacana*, which unpack meanings from words rather than reduce them to their bare essentials.

Earlier work by Hunter[4] traced some of the defining features of this literature in a study of the question of »translation« into Old Malay and Old Javanese. He suggested that for premodern insular Southeast Asia processes of translation are best understood in terms of a »culture of diglossia« that has its roots in the parallelism of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the inscriptions and dramatic forms of South Asia, and that features of textual diglossia – which are most prominent in the Old Javanese didactic tradition – must certainly be linked to pedagogical institutions. In these institutions the transmission of theological and philosophical ideas, and the formulation of literary practices, depended on an ongoing practice of translation that we find embodied in a number of characteristic modes of textual organization. The Old Javanese prose parts reflect dynamics of linguistic and cultural »localization« that could be regarded as broadly corresponding to the Western categories of translation, paraphrase, and commentary, but which often do not fit neatly into any one category, for they include multiple intents and agendas at once. Indeed, we could regard the kind of intellectual operation carried out by ancient Javanese and Balinese authors as a »translation as commentary« involving multiple processes simultaneously: first, the translation from an Indo-European language into a Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) idiom, and second, the exegesis (or reconfiguration) of Indic material and its refitting into a familiar/known cultural context, within the »horizon of expectations« of both the producers and consumers of literature.

In this article we present key instances of such »cultural translations« as attested in texts composed at different times and in different geographical and religio-cultural milieus, and try to sketch a preliminary taxonomy of their formal features. Our aim is to document how local agents (re-)interpreted, fractured, and re-stated the message conveyed by the Sanskrit verses in the light of their contingent socio-cultural contexts, agendas, horizons of expectations, and prevalent exegetical practices. Our underlying hypothesis is that local milieus of textual production underwent a progressive »drift« from the Indic-derived scholastic traditions that inspired – and entered into a conversation with – the earliest sources, composed in Central Java in the Early Medieval period, and progressively shifted towards a more embedded mode of production in East Java and Bali from the eleventh to the fifteenth century and beyond.[5] While these two poles in the discourse can be situated within the theoretical and chronological parameters of the socio-linguistic phenomena of the »Sanskrit Cosmopolis« and »Vernacular Millennium« formulated by Pollock,[6] some fine-tuning is needed to do full justice to the dynamics of cultural-religious and linguistic transfer at play, in particular by engaging with the textual genre of *tutur/tattva*, which was completely passed over in silence by Pollock, and which has received remarkably little scholarly attention thus far.[7]

---

4   Hunter, *Impact of Indian Forms.*

5   In the later *tutur*s, and even more so in the *parva*s, one often has the impression that the Sanskrit text is a mere »pretext« to authorize statements that are local in character, i.e. can be situated within a local context of understanding and practice.

6   Pollock, *Language of the Gods.*

7   On this class of texts, see Acri, Sanskrit-Old Javanese *tutur* literature, and *Dharma Pātañjala.*

Old Malay and Old Javanese in a Comparative Perspective:
From »Connecting« to »Zone-shaping« Forms of Literature

During the medieval period, the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was an active player among the transcultural societies of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis. One of the first visible products of the interaction of South Asian and indigenous linguistic and cultural practices is the languages of inscriptions that were developed through combining Sanskrit figures, tropes, metres and vocabulary with an underlying base in a language of the WMP group. Three of these – Old Malay, Old Javanese, and Old Balinese – left a significant inscriptional record and one – Old Javanese – developed very early into a literary language active for over a millennium that even today has its practitioners among Balinese students of the language they call *Kawi,* the language of poets.

The inscriptional record and premodern literature in Old Javanese show us that we must always take into account the language order of the premodern archipelago in our assessments of textual and inscriptional evidence. This means observing the formal differences in structure and diction between texts of the theological, didactic and prose traditions on the one hand, and the poetic traditions of the *kakavin* and *kiduṅ* literatures on the other.[8]

In the prose traditions we will find an approach to text-building that harks back to Sanskrit models of the commentary, but adapted to the needs of translation within a pedagogy that in its first phase of development depended on bilingual preceptors capable of translation from Sanskrit into a local idiom in the process of development as a literary idiom, a Prakrit to the Sanskrit sources. At this stage Old Javanese served as the idiom of what Braginsky[9] has called a »connecting literature,« a literature couched in a local idiom that provides a link to an authoritative source located elsewhere. Both Old Malay and Old Javanese were ideally suited to formulation as higher-order Prakrit languages, since both make use of similar morphology and morpho-syntactic processes that allow for the easy incorporation of »foreign« lexical elements into their WMP-based structures of meaning. As Braginsky has proposed for an »invisible« early literature in Malay, it may be that we should look to the religious institutions of the Sumatran/Śrīvijayan branch of the Śailendra dynasty as the crucible for a »connecting literature« centred on the canon of Sanskrit or Sanskrit-inspired Buddhist works. In this view what we see as a characteristic form of structuring texts in the Old Javanese theological literature was first developed in the Buddhist religious institutions of Sumatra and the Thai-Malay peninsula as a literature that connected the emerging literary awareness of the archipelago with distant centres of cultural production.

---

8   See further in Hunter, Translation, for the claim of a basic distinction in Old Javanese letters between »poetic« and »commentarial« forms of translation. The term »poetic« might be better understood as »transcreational«.

9   Braginsky, *System*.

By contrast, in the belletristic (*kakavin*) tradition in Old Javanese there appears to be no clear trace of the influence of Sanskrit models of the commentary. We find rather a consciously fashioned literary language, an Old Javanese Prakrit if you will, that was developed to suit the needs of what Braginsky[10] has termed a »zone-shaping literature«, a fully self-conscious literature produced as an integral part of a major cultural formation. The earliest phase of the development of Old Javanese as a language of literature is represented by the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and by the *kakavin* verses of the Śivagr̥ha inscription of 856 CE, which Aichele[11] has shown was very likely produced »in the same workshop« as the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*.[12]

In what follows we will be examining several case studies from the early theological and philosophical literature of Java that share a text-building strategy based on Indian models of the commentary. These strategies are used both to structure the text, and to link the text at hand to authoritative originals in the Indian tradition. They are thus kept in view throughout the process of composition. The creative enterprise of *kakavin* composition, on the other hand, follows Sanskrit standards of creativity that put a high value on innovative language, figures and tropes. The traces to Sanskrit originals are thus largely effaced, even when an Old Javanese work takes one of them as a model.

Morphological Incorporation in the Inscriptional Languages

The three languages of insular Southeast Asia known for their early inscriptions – Old Balinese, Old Malay and Old Javanese – all share similar morphosyntactic features that allow for the easy incorporation of new, non-native terms into a WMP base. This is still the case in modern Indonesian, where a quick check on the translation of »socialize« yields *men-sosialisasi-kan*, a perfect illustration of the process of morphological incorporation that makes a stronger bond between loan words and the local base than is ordinarily the case, something closer to the interweaving of Sanskrit and local elements developed in the »jewel and coral« (*maṇipravalam*埴) languages of Kerala and Tamilnadu.

As the case studies in this chapter will show, processes of morphological incorporation and juxtaposition of imported and local lexemes prominent in the inscriptional languages are also basic to the mode of composition found in the early theological literature in Old Javanese. It will thus be useful to review two examples of the intermingling of Sanskrit and local elements as found in an Old Javanese inscription dated 860 CE.[13] This will serve as a prelude to the first level of analysis of the case studies from the Old Javanese doctrinal and soteriological literature.

Ya ta susukən *dharmasīma* ləpas denira pāduka mpuṅku iṅ *Bodhimimba* sīma kaliliranani vkanira Dyaḥ Imbaṅi Dyaḥ *Anārgha sambandha* sira pāduka mpuṅku iṅ *Boddhimimba mahāpuruṣa kṣatriyakula boddhalakṣaṇa prasiddha Vairocanātmaka guru* paṅajyannira pāduka *Śri Mahārāja* sira [...] sira pāduka mpuṅku i *Bodhimimba* sarisaryy akāyakāya makarahinaṅvṅi a*yoga* a*mūjāsamādhi* a*japāmrārthana*kən ri ka-*jayaśatrv*an *Śri Mahārāja*.

---

10 Braginsky, *System*.

11 Aichele, Vergessene Metaphoren.

12 See also Acri, On birds.

13 Copper plates of Kañcana, dated 782 Śaka (860 CE). From the plates of 1295 Śaka (1367 CE) republishing two earlier charters. See Sarkar, *Corpus* 1, 133 for an alternative date of the original as 794 Śaka (872 CE).

These (rice-lands) then should be marked out as a free *dharma-freehold* by the reverend gentleman of Bodhimimba. The freehold is to be inherited by his children Dyaḥ Imbaṅi and Dyaḥ *Anārgha* the *occasion* being that the reverend gentleman of Bodhimimba is a *great soul, born of a noble lineage, having the characteristics of a follower of Buddha, successful* [in attaining] *self-identification with Vairocana*, and the *teacher* of holy knowledge to *his majesty the king*. He, the reverend gentleman of Bodhimimba each day makes every effort, day and night, to perform *yoga*, to make *offering-prayers*, to engage in *spiritual concentration*, *to recite mantras* [and] to *pray earnestly* for the *victory* of *his majesty the king over his enemies.*

This text has clearly been drafted by a learned hand, moreover one who is Buddhist and very likely a follower of an esoteric school based on the mandala of the transcendental Buddha Vairocana. In this excerpt, as is the case throughout the later history of Old Javanese, cases of incorporation into the Old Javanese morphosyntactic base are not uncommon. The most prominent examples are the verbal derivation *amrārthanakən*, »to pray for«, based on Sanskrit *prārthana*, »prayer, supplication« with the addition of Old Javanese verbal affixes *aN-* and *-akən* and the following nominal derivation ka-*jaya-śatrv*-an, »the state of victory over enemies« based on Sanskrit *jaya-śatru*, victorious over enemies.

Here we see a common pattern of accommodation across two linguistic systems, one contributing new lexical material and meanings drawn from a higher-status, cosmopolitan language, the other an indigenous linguistic base that provides a matrix for the development of what are essentially new, literized languages with a special role to play in the religious and political life of their speech communities.

Vyākhyā: *Methodology and Aims*

In this section we begin to examine representative texts from the didactic and narrative traditions of Old Javanese from the point of view of their possible relationship with »forms of the commentary« as known from Indian sources. This is not to suggest that Old Javanese sources are simply translations or mirror images of South Asian textual sources, or to imply that Old Javanese materials might stand in a secondary relationship to Sanskrit sources. It is rather to suggest that there may be formal correspondences between the structuring of didactic and narrative materials in the Old Javanese and Sanskrit traditions, and, if this is the case, similar correspondences may be found in the sphere of pedagogy and the organization of curricula in the religious institutions central to cultures with a long exposure to Indian religious ideas and practices.

Noting some initial similarities between works of the Old Javanese didactic tradition and commentaries like those of Jayamaṅgala and Mallinātha, we propose that the term *vyākhyā*, »exposition, commentary«, might be adopted as a device for measuring the degree to which Old Javanese textual sources recapitulate the form taken by Indian commentaries in the transmission of knowledge and organization of a pedagogy. Here, *vyākhyā* is used as a term to mean an expository reading of a parent text that takes the form of a phrase-by-phrase glossing of the text, with the addition, where needed, of grammatical materials based on Pāṇinian analysis.

An Old Javanese Commentary on the Jānakīharaṇa *of Kumāradāsa*

When initiating a study of the role of Indian forms of the commentary in the Old Javanese tradition we are faced immediately with many difficulties. The first is that precious few documents have been preserved that bear traces of a tradition of teaching Sanskrit in the context of a *guru-śiṣya* transmission and with the use of a commentary. Fortunately, at least one fragmentary text has surfaced that has provided material evidence for just this mode of transmission. This is a fragment of what appears to be a student's »class notes« on a rendition of Kumāradāsa's classic *Jānakīharaṇa*.[14] This fragment shows Old Javanese being used to provide a phrase-by-phrase gloss of the original, with at least one point where a lexeme from a commentary on the *Jānakīharaṇa* has been included in the text, thus suggesting that the Sanskrit original was taught along with expository materials in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese. In the Old Javanese gloss on *Jānakīharaṇa* I.2c we can observe the process of »classroom study« that is recorded in the textual artefact:[15]

> *akhaṇḍamāno manujeśvarāṇāṁ mānyo manojñaiḥ guṇajaiḥ guṇajñaḥakhaṇḍa* ṅa. tan apiyak *māno* ṅa. kāhāṅkāranira *manujeśvarāṇā*ṁ *ṅ*a. saṅ ratu *mānyo* ṅa. pinūjanira *manojñaiḥ ṅa*. konaṅunaṅ *guṇajaiḥ ṅa*. kaśaktyan, *guṇajñaḥ ṅa*. vruh iṅ *guṇa*. sambah-顗 hulun maṅgalani majarakna mahāmaramālā prākṛta // 1.1

> *akhaṇḍa* means »not taking sides, not split«, *māno* means »his sense of self«, *manujeśvarāṇāṁ* means »the lord king«, *mānyo* means »his being praised«, *manojñaiḥ* means »to be longed for«, *guṇajaiḥ* means »the state of being powerful«, *guṇajñaḥ* means »he understands good qualities.«

Fragmentary though it may be, the text recording lessons in the *Jānakīharaṇa* with Old Javanese glosses gives us positive evidence for a pedagogy based on transmission of root texts along with a commentary and the phrase-by-phrase glossing of the original typical of the Indian *vyākhyā*.

---

14 See Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit studies, 1-9.

15 Lokesh Chandra (Sanskrit studies, 1) notes a verse from the *Jānakīharaṇa* that is found in the »eclectic [Old Javanese] collection« *Svarasaṁhitā*. This led to his search of *Kṛtabhāṣā lontar*s, which resulted in finding that manuscript Leiden Cod. Or.塏 5089 in that collection contains what can best be described as classroom notes for the study of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, a *kāvya* of the sixth-century poet Kumāradāsa.

Case Study I: The Old Javanese Lexicographical Work Amaramālā

We begin the review of case studies in this article with the Old Javanese lexicographical work *Amaramālā*.[16] There are several reasons for choosing this as the first work to be examined. First, if Krom[17] is correct in assigning this work to the mid-eighth century CE based on its dedication to the Śailendra monarch named Jitendra, then it is among the first works that give evidence of literary activity in Old Javanese. Indeed, since the Sukabumi inscription of Śaka 726 (804 CE) has to date been considered the oldest evidence for the existence of Old Javanese, it could predate even that inscription.[18]

In making an assessment of the nature of the *Amaramālā* we should clearly not discount its opening verses, which are quite explicit in referring to Jitendra as »the bull of the Śailendra dynasty« (*śailendrānvayapuṅgava*). While the question of whether or not the Śailendras were of Malay origin is still controversial, there are many reasons to suppose that at the very least the Buddhist »preceptors of the Śailendra kings« (*śailendrarājagurubhiḥ*) noted in the Kalasan inscription can be understood in terms of a close relationship between Buddhist institutions of Sumatra and Central Java during the period c. 700-850 CE.[19]

The Old Javanese *Amaramālā* is characterized in its opening passages as a »Prakritization« of a Sanskrit work, which we can surmise must have been a lexicographical work like the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha. Such works were intended to serve as tools in the composition of *kāvya*, and by the time of Amarasiṃha (c. 600 CE) had become an indispensable part of a writer's toolkit.[20] The opening line of the *Amaramālā* thus stands at the beginning of a long tradition of referring to works in Old Javanese literary form with the term *prākṛta*, in this referring to works composed in a literary language fashioned on the order of Sanskrit:

> *sambahniṅ hulun maṅgalani majarakna mahāmaramālā prākṛta // 1.1 //*

> »My offering with a bow of homage is an auspicious benediction for making an exposition of the great *Amaramālā* in Prakrit form.«[21]

---

16 The *Amaramālā* is part of the larger and composite text entitled *Candrakiraṇa*, edited as *Chandakaraṇa* by Lokesh Chandra (Chanda-Karaṇa). Here we have followed the text reconstructed by Lokesh Chandra in his edition, without systematically reporting deviations (whether in the main text or in the apparatus) from the original West Javanese *gebang* manuscript L631, except when we have proposed new emendations on the basis of the actual readings of the manuscript.

17 Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 145-146.

18 See Zoetmulder (*Kalangwan*, 3) on the Sukabumi inscription.

19 See Sarkar (*Corpus*, 36-40) for a text and translation of the Kalasan inscription. See Jordaan and Colless, *Mahārājas*, for a recent review of the long controversy surrounding the origins and nature of the Śailendra dynasty. Nihom's noting (*Studies*, 114) the verifiable presence of the mandala systems of the *Jagadvinaya*, *Trailokyavijaya* and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* in Old Javanese textual sources supports a close relationship of Śrīvijaya and the Śailendras of Java. As he points out, the presence of these mandala systems suggests that »the initial importation of *yogatantra* systems into the Archipelago most likely took place no later than the end of the seventh century [...] This would seem to put us in Śrī Vijaya.« Since the Sumatran branch of the Śailendra line of kings is believed to have »retreated« from Java by c. 856 CE, this would give us a *terminus pro quem* for at least the core sections of the *Amaramālā*.

20 Lokesh Chandra (Chanda-Karaṇa, 144) surmises that the Old Javanese *Amaramālā* is based on a section of a now-lost Indian work by that name, supporting his claim by citing references to a text by that name in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakośa* and Hemacandra's commentary on another lexicographical work, the *Abhidānacintāmaṇi*. See Raj Pant, *Jaṭarūpa's Commentary*, for an authoritative work on the *Amarakośa* that focuses on Jaṭarūpa's commentary, the *Amarakośatilaka*, likely composed in the second half of the tenth century CE.

21 »My offering with a bow of homage«: it was a common trope in Old Javanese to refer metonymously to what one offers up to a superior as one's *sǝmbah*, or »bow of respect«.

We turn now to the form taken by the opening passage of the *Amaramālā*. This section of the text is crucial to this study in that it may represent the earliest stage of a »translational« form of composition and pedagogy for which we have written records, and because it bears the unmistakable imprint of a commentarial form of rhetorical organization. The development of Old Javanese into a literary language during the eighth and ninth centuries CE follows upon similar processes that are observable for Old Malay in five inscriptions of seventh-century Sumatra issued by Śrī Jayanāśa/Jayanāga. In the *Amaramālā* we begin to see evidence for a »commentarial« form of composition that appears to be the textual record of pedagogical practices that were initiated in the Buddhist institutions of the western Malay-Indonesian archipelago and made their way to Java by way of a close relationship of the »Javanese branch« of the Śailendra dynasty with a Buddhist polity of the western archipelago known to history as Śrīvijaya. From this perspective the precise political form that may have been taken by this relationship may not be as important as the question of the emergence of a commentarial form of text-building that from the time of the *Amaramālā* onward was developed in parallel fashion in both Hindu and Buddhist streams of Javano-Balinese religious and philosophical literature.

The evidence of the *Amaramālā* is critical to this study because it introduces two modes of text-building that have had a lasting impact on the prose traditions of Java and Bali. The first of these is a »dyadic technique.« In this form of composition the text is built up in paired Sanskrit verses and their Old Javanese exegeses, with the logic of the didactic narrative following the order of verses in the Sanskrit original, but with a great deal of flexibility in terms of the content of the exegeses. The initial dedicatory stanza of the *Amaramālā* is a good example of this type of composition:

Sanskrit *śloka*:

> *śivaṁ sarvagataṁ śāntaṁ / sarvajñaṁ sarvadaṁ gurum*[22] /
> *praṇamyāmaramāleyaṁ / nāmaliṅgaṁ nigadyate* //

> »Having bowed down to Śiva – the all-pervading, peaceful, omniscient, all-bestowing teacher – I will recite the *Amaramālā*, [and expound] nouns and [their] genders.«

Old Javanese glosses:

> bhaṭāreśvara sira sambahiṅ hulun / lvirnira:[23]

> »My bow of homage is to the god Īśvara. His form is:«

> *sarvagataṁ* vyāpaka riṅ bha / *śāntaṁ* jitendriya ta sira / riṅ *sarvajña*[24] amratyakṣākən ta sirātītānāgatavartamāna mvaṅ sūkṣma [h]atisūkṣma / *sarvadaṁ*[25] aveh anugraha ri bhakti ri sira / sira *guru*niṅ sarvadevatā /

---

22 Em.; *sarvvatigurum* ms.; *sarvādhigurum* ed.

23 While this phrase occurs without overt reference to a Sanskrit lexeme in the original, there is no doubt that it responds to *śivaṁ* in the Sanskrit *śloka*.

24 Em.; *sarvajñana* ms.; *sarvajñāna* ed.

25 Em.; *sarvādi* ed.; *sarvāddhi* / ms. Our proposed reconstruction is supported by the fact that most of the forms ending in *-aṁ* in the verse have been restored from *-i* (these endings, as well as *-əṁ*, are often confused in the Sanskrit portions found in Javanese manuscripts), as well as the Old Javanese gloss.

»*sarvagataṁ* [means] pervading space; *śāntaṁ* [means] he has mastered the senses; in regard to *sarvajña*, he sees clearly the past, future and present and the subtlety of the most subtle; *sarvadaṁ* [means] that he gives favour to all those who are devoted to him; he is the *guru* of all the gods.«

uvus pva ṅhulun sumambah ri sira / ajaraknaniṅ hulun tikiṅ mahāmaramālā[26] *pinto-naknaṅ abhidhāna mvaṅ liṅga //*

»Having completed my homage to Him, I will expound this *Mahāmaramālā*, [and] demonstrate the nouns and their genders.«

In the Old Javanese glosses there is a shifting back and forth here between Sanskrit lexemes or phrases and their glosses that follows the classical *vyākhyā* form to the letter, except that the explanatory phrases are given in Old Javanese, which is often enriched with Sanskrit lexemes. And it is clear that the composer of the *Amaramālā* has made an effort to account for the full content of the original, for example explaining the Sanskrit passive form *nigadyate* with the Old Javanese *ajaraknaniṅ huluṅ*, and *nāmaliṅgaṁ*, »nouns and their genders,« with Old Javanese *pintonakənaṅ abhidhāna mvaṅ liṅga*, »apellations (i.e., nouns) and their genders will be demonstrated«, thereby supplying another Old Javanese passive verbal form for the sake of clarity.[27]

In a longer section following the introductory verse we find a panegyric to the royal patron of the work that is composed in the fashion of a commentary in *vyākhyā* form, with a series of Sanskrit phrases introduced that are followed by Old Javanese glosses. These passages need not expand on a particular verse in the work but can introduce new material directly.

hana sira ratu pinakacūḍāmaṇi deniṅ sāmantajagatpālaka[28] */*

»There is a king taken as the crest-jewel of all the guardians of the world.«

suragaṇair iṣṭaḥ prajārakṣaṇe[29] *inarəmbha deniṅ vatək devatā / rumakṣa pra-jāmaṇḍala /*

»*suragaṇair iṣṭaḥ prajārakṣaṇe*: prepared by the company of gods to protect the realm and its subjects,«

---

26 Em.; *mamaramālā* ms.; *amaramālā* ed.

27 It should be mentioned here that another title under which Amarasiṁha's *Amarakośa* – a Sanskrit lexicon probably related to the *Amaramālā* – was known is *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, »The teaching about the gender of nouns«.

28 Lokesh Chandra emends *samantajagatphalaka* into *sāmantajagatpālakaḥ*, but we find the insertion of the *visarga* of the Sanskrit nominative unnecessary here as the compound has been embedded directly into the Old Javanese (prefixed by *deniṅ*, which would render the Sanskrit instrumental case) and does not represent, strictly speaking, a direct quotation. Cf. the analogous case in fn. 31 below (and contrast the other Sanskrit forms in the passage, such as *vidyāvadātottamaḥ*, *sādhujanapriyaḥ*, *kulasyāntakaḥ*, etc., which do have *visargas* in the original and are enclosed between punctuation marks).

29 The ms. actually reads *prajārakṣaṇeḥ*, therefore *prajārakṣaṇe* in the edition represents an emendation by Lokesh Chandra.

apayan *yogadhyānasamādhikarmakuśala*[30] sira / vidagdha ri kagavayaniṅ *yoga dhyāna samādhi* /

»For *yogadhyānasamādhikarmakuśala:* he is wise in the performance of *yoga*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*.«

vidyāvadātottamaḥ / sira ta viśeṣaniṅ mahāpuruṣa śāstrajña / niṣṭhāniran samaṅkana kottamanira / ndan tah upaśama ta sira /

»*vidyāvadātottamaḥ*: He is exceptional among the great men who are knowers of the Śāstras. His lowest ebb is at once his highest, and yet he is self-controlled.«

sādhujanapriyaḥ / anurāga ta sira / ri sakveh saṅ sādhujana /

»*sādhujanapriyaḥ*: He is beloved by all good men.«

śatrūṇāṁ kulasyāntakaḥ / maṅkana sakvehnikaṅ śatru bāhyābhyantara / sampun in-ariṣṭakənira /

»*śatrūṇāṁ kulasyāntakaḥ*: Likewise, all of his enemies, whether internal or external, have been completely annihilated by him.«[31]

śailendrānvayapuṅgavaḥ / sira ta pinakatuṅganiṅ śailendravaṁśa /

»*śailendrānvayapuṅgavaḥ*: He is regarded as the bull of the Śailendra dynasty.«

jayati [h]amnəṅ ta sira /

»*jayati:* He is victorious.«

śrīmahārāja samaṅkanātiśayanira / sira ta śrī mahārāja jitendra saṁjñanira // 1

»His being an illustrious Mahārāja is the reason for his present renown. He is the great King Jitendra by name.«

In the *Amaramālā* we find a good illustration of the appropriation of the *vyākhyā* form of Indian commentaries for the needs of translation in a pedagogy and connecting literature that linked Śailendra Buddhist institutions to the wider Asian Buddhist world through the trading, diplomatic, and religious networks of the western Malay-Indonesian archipelago. As we will see in examples from the early theological literature, the textual use of the *vyākhyā* technique appears to reflect a pedagogical practice that was further refined in the textual tradition following the *Amaramālā*.

---

30 Lokesh Chandra emends °*kuśala* into °*kuśalaḥ*.

31 There has been an interesting shift in meaning here: Sanskrit *śatrūṇāṁ kulasyāntakaḥ* means »he who is the destroyer of the families of his enemies.« But the Old Javanese gloss turns its attention to beliefs well known in the Javano-Balinese tradition that conquering one's »internal enemies« is the key to success in the struggle for political survival.

Case Study II: The **Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya**

If we look now at an early work from the Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, the *Mantra System of the Great Mahāyāna Path* (*Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, henceforth SHKM), we find the same use of the *vyākhyā* form of glossing that is prominent in the *Amaramālā*. And we find the same use of a dyadic technique based on the juxtaposition of Sanskrit verses with blocks of Old Javanese glosses. The difference is that the dyadic form of composition was only occasionally used in the *Amaramālā*, but has become standard practice in the SHKM.

There has been some debate about the dating of this work. Goris[32] proposed that it be dated to the tenth century, for Version »C« of the text, as per Kats' identification, contains a colophon mentioning the name Mpu Siṇḍok of the Īśāna dynasty (r. 929-947 CE). However, this is apparently a Śaivized text that might have been composed later than the other two purely Buddhist texts in the same manuscript. In 1974 de Jong summarized the findings of the Japanese scholars Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, who had shown that the Sanskrit portions of the SHKM can be traced to the Chinese version of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* and to Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*.[33] More recent scholarly work has also identified such Sanskrit sources as the commentarial literature on the *Guhyasamāja*,[34] as well as other esoteric manuals such as the *Sarvavajrodaya*.[35] These considerations suggest that the doctrinal basis of the SHKM was well known in Java by at least the ninth century, and that the composition of the text could easily have taken place in that period or not long afterward.

In an example of this form of dyadic composition, SHKM verse 31, we are witness to an exposition of a practical perspective on the practice of austerities that suggests a long history of initiatory practices in both Hindu and Buddhist circles in the archipelago:

---

32   Goris, *Bijdragen*, 151.

33   Two versions of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* were brought to China by Wu-hsing and Śubhakara and translated into Chinese between 724-725 C.E. by Śubhakara and Yijing (de Jong, Notes, 633-635). Archaeologist John Miksic (*Borobudur*, 23) in turn notes that the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* »was probably found in most monastic libraries in Java and Sumatra during the ninth century«.

34   Kandahjaya, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, 70, 72.

35   Ishii, Correlation, Table 2.

svam ātmānaṁ parityajya tapobhir na ca pīḍayet[36] /
yathāsukhaṁ sukhaṁ dhāryaṁ[37] *sambuddho*[38] *'yam anāgataḥ* // 31

ka: / pativar ikāvakta[39] / svakāyanirapekṣatah kita hayva tṛṣṇa riṅ avak / *tapobhir na
ca pīḍayet*[40] / hayva pinirsakitan[41] riṅ tapa / hayva vineh gumavayakən kavənaṅnya /
yathāsukhaṁ sukhaṁ dhāryaṁ / yathāsukhātah[42] lvirantat gavayaknaṅ bodhimārga /
sambuddho 'yam anāgataḥ / hayva gyā hyaṅ buddha kita dlāha /

*Having given up one's own Self, one should not oppress [oneself] with acts of penance.
One should follow pleasure, comfortably, for he is a future Awakened one.*

»The meaning is: you should abandon your body to its fate; you are *svakāyanirapekṣa*,
you should have no attachment to the body; *tapobhir na ca pīḍayet*: don't torture
it with austerities; don't allow them to take power over you; *yathāsukhaṁ sukhaṁ
dhāryaṁ*: as you carry forward the way to enlightenment the path you take should be
one of ease; *sambuddho'yam anāgataḥ*: don't rush; you [will become] the Lord Buddha
in the future.«[43]

An analysis of the Old Javanese passage shows that, in common with the initial stanzas of the
Amaramālā, the *vyākhyā* form of commentary has had a shaping effect on how »translation«
was conceived of in the production of the SHKM. The Old Javanese commentary does not di-
rectly render the Sanskrit into Old Javanese following the *vyākhyā* form, but instead repeats
each of the four Sanskrit *pādas* and glosses them into Old Javanese.

First, the Old Javanese phrases that translate *pāda* (a) of SHKM verse 37 begin with an
imperative form (*pativar ikāvakta*, »abandon your body to its fate«). This suggests that the
text was used as an active guide for imparting the particular steps of an initiation, a fact
that is not always brought out explicitly in the Sanskrit verses of the SHKM.[44] The trans-
lation then moves on to a paired Sanskrit-Old Javanese phrase that expands on this theme
by introducing a Sanskrit synonym and its gloss. Here the Sanskrit synonym introduced by
the composer of the Old Javanese commentary (*svakāyanirapekṣa*, »one who takes no no-
tice of one's own body«) suggests an easy familiarity with the essentials of the technique of

---

36 Em.; *ṇnaḥ tha pīḍayet* ms., *nātipīḍayet* em. Kats, Wulff. The text has been reconstructed on the basis of the nu-
    merous Sanskrit parallels (viz. Dīpaṅkarabhadra, *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*, ed. Klein-Schwind, 384b; *Hevajra-
    sekaprakriyā,* ed. Finot, 27; *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, ed. Negī, 6.64b, *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*, ed. Tanemura, 6-6-6-2,
    verse 22, etc.).

37 Em. Kats (silent); *dhāryya* ms.

38 *sambuddho 'yam* ms., Speyer, *sambuddheyam* Kats.

39 Thus the ms.; *prativārikāvakta* em. Kats, *paṭavarikāvakta* em. Wulff.

40 Cf. above, fn. 37.

41 *Pini[r]sakitan* Kats, *pinirisakitan* em. Wulff.

42 *yathāsukhātah* em., *yathāsukatāh* Kats.

43 This excerpt from the SHKM has previously been published as an example of a passage on the practice of yoga in
    a short study of the Old Javanese *Bhīṣmaparva* by Hunter, Bhagavad-Gītā sections, 192-193.

44 Based on his study of Sakai's work, de Jong (Notes, 621-622) proposed that the textual antecedents of the SHKM
    related to »four kinds of consecration (*abhiṣeka*) associated with the *anuttarayoga* texts«, thus underlining the
    initiatory aspect of works like the SHKM and *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*.

creating well-formed Sanskrit nominal compounds (*samāsa*).[45] Second, the introduction of certain explanatory phrases in the SHKM suggests the development of an indigenous school of thought that has been brought to bear in glossing Sanskrit originals.

In the second *pāda*, it may not be accidental that an Old Javanese verb phrase (*pinirsak-itan* »be made to be in pain«) has been chosen in that its morphosyntactic form to some degree mirrors the complexity of the Sanskrit optative *pīḍayet*.

In *vyākhyā* form, the third *pāda* of the Sanskrit *śloka* is repeated, along with an Old Javanese gloss that to our mind is more clearly worded than the somewhat elusive phrasing of the Sanskrit. The syntax of the Old Javanese is quite alien to Indo-European forms of construction: *lvir-a-nta*, »your form should be« is an irrealis form based on a nominal root, with the addition of a second person pronominal clitic (-*nta*), while *t'gavayakna* is an irrealis form, here with optative force.[46]

Once we consider the details of Old Javanese syntax, the phrasing of the gloss reads with a precision that suggests principles of brevity and clarity well known from the South Asian *śāstrīya* tradition, and may indicate an inclination among Javanese composers to seek a similar form of precision in their own idiom. It is clear that in formal terms there is a great deal of similarity with the »*vyākhyā* style« of the *Amaramālā*: for instance, we can see a similar tendency to combine the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *vyākhyā* style with direct translation of parts of the *śloka*, either in mixed Sanskrit-Old Javanese or in Old Javanese. Note that the SHKM pattern follows that of the *Amaramālā*, but is, if anything, more conservative in that it retains the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *vyākhyā* format for all of the four *pādas* (b-d), where the *Amaramālā* switches to direct translation in (c-d). In conclusion, it can be said that the SHKM takes up the commentarial style of Prakritization proposed in the *Amaramālā*, and carries it forward in the service of the didactic needs of the Buddhist institutions of ancient Java, apparently in terms of practices of initiation.

Case Study III: The Vṛhaspatitattva

Like many other works from the Old Javanese didactic tradition, the Śaiva speculative and soteriological text *Vṛhaspatitattva* provides us with no firm internal evidence that could be used to establish its date of composition. In cases like these we have to rely on the more circumstantial evidence of the contents of the text, their possible relationship with other texts in the corpus, and with antecedent textual materials from South Asia – namely, the body of early Śaiva Siddhāntatantras, alongside Sāṅkhya and Pāśupata sources. A number of scholars have previously sketched some of the doctrinal characteristics of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, and argued that this text, along with a handful of other texts of the *tattva* genre, may be regarded as precursors of the (mature) Sanskrit Śaiva Saiddhāntika scriptures, which started to develop in India from the sixth century onwards.[47] Acri[48] has advanced a solution to the problem of the identification of the term *Alepaka* found among three terms referring to sectarian orientations in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 2.3-4 and 3.37, viz. *Śaiva*, *Pāśupata*, *Alepaka*. This reference

---

45   A recent contribution by Radicchi (More on the *Kārakasaṁgraha*) has demonstrated the emphasis found in the Javano-Balinese tradition on the correct formation of *samāsa*. Important passages on this subject can be found in Old Javanese works like the *Kārakasaṁkṣepa* and the *Kārakasaṁgraha*.

46   See Oglobin, *Irrealis*, 3 for a brief review of the use of the second person proclitic form *t'* in the formation of one type of imperative construction. See also Hunter, Yati, 11.

47   Zieseniss, *Studien*, 4.

48   Acri, Vaimala sect.

had previously been assumed to parallel later references to the three major religious sects of East Java, the well-known *Śaiva-Sogata-Ṛṣi*. While the *Vṛhaspatitattva* term *Pāśupata* can be linked to the term *Ṛṣi*, efforts to link the *Alepaka* with some form of Buddhism have fallen far short of being satisfactory. Drawing on Sanskrit sources, Acri has noted that the term *Alepaka* is synonymous with Vaimala, an early Atimārga sect within Śaivism, which may have broken off from the Pāśupatas at an early date.

The reference to the *Alepaka* sect represents a crucial point in the history of religion in premodern Java. The triad *Śaiva-Pāśupata-Alepaka* suggests that the *Vṛhaspatitattva* may have been composed at a time when Buddhist institutions of East Java had yet to gain enough importance to be accepted as a major sectarian division within the larger grouping of religious institutions. We know that Buddhist institutions were supported by the Kaḍiri kings beginning with Airlaṅga and gained greater prominence during the Singhasari dynasty (1222-1293 CE). Their presence as a major element in the configuration of religious domains was formalized, and listed with precise detail, in fourteenth century works of the Majapahit dynasty like the *Deśavarṇana*. But the evidence of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* suggests that at the time of its composition the author(s) recognized two currents representing the Atimārga forms of Śaivism, as opposed to a third – and possibly predominant current – representing a Javanese mainstream form of Mantramārga Śaivism akin to the Indian Śaivasiddhānta.

When we look closely at the *Vṛhaspatitattva* we find that the dyadic presentation of Sanskrit verses and Old Javanese glosses is very much in evidence. However, among the glosses we find both simpler exegeses that follow the phrase-by-phrase presentation of the *vyākhyā* model, and more complex cases that often represent fully developed doctrinal presentations:

bhagavan deva devānām anādiparameśvara /
samākhyāhi tattvaṁ sarvaṁ ramayan⁴⁹ sacarācaram // 2

sājñā bhaṭāra / kasihana rānak bhaṭāra / varahən ika saṅ hyaṅ aji kabeh / mataṅnyan akveh prabhedanira de bhaṭāra / an pavarah ri saṅ vatək devatā kabeh / hana Śaiva ṅaranya / hana Pāśupata ṅaranya / hana Alepaka ṅaranya / ika ta kabeh / kapva dudū / pavarah bhaṭāra sovaṅsovaṅ / lavan ikaṅ śāstra vih akveh ata prakāranya / ndya ta kaliṅanika / mataṅnyan vineh makveha / ikanaṅ mārga kalavan aji de bhaṭāra / maṅkana liṅ bhagavān Vṛhaspati //

Oh Lord, God of Gods, Supreme Lord without beginning, may you relate to me (the truth about) all the elements of existence, both moving and unmoving.

»O Lord, please be kind to your son, teach me the reverend sacred lore in its entirety, [and] the reason why there are many different forms of it, as it is taught to the assembly of the gods. There is what is called Śaiva, there is what is called Pāśupata, there is what is called Alepaka. All of them, they are equally different teachings of the Lord, one by one. And also, there are many classes of scriptures. What is the meaning of this, [and] the reason why so many religious paths and scriptures have been allowed by the Lord?«

---

49 Sudarshana Devi (*Wṛhaspati-tattwa* »Text with notes« section, 11) has noted the difficulties of the reading of the fourth hemistich from the various mss. and that her emendation to *ramayan* may not be entirely apposite.

The analysis of the Old Javanese passage reveals a text-building strategy that does not depend on a *vyākhyā* form of composition, but rather represents the »pure dyadic« form. The passage forms a loosely structured unit with the opening *śloka*, but in terms of meaning does not necessarily relate to it on a one-to-one basis.

In the opening clause (*sājñā bhaṭāra / kasihana rānak bhaṭāra*), the phrasing corresponds roughly to the string of vocatives filling the first two hemistiches of the Sanskrit verse (*bhagavan deva devānām anādiparameśvara*), but does not represent so much a translation or gloss on the Sanskrit as a paralleling of the Sanskrit vocatives with phrasing that is well-known from the entire tradition of prose works in Old Javanese, and is, indeed, retained in the special Old Javanese-derived language of the Balinese shadow theatre (*wayang*).

The clause *varahən ika saṅ hyaṅ aji kabeh* glosses the Sanskrit *samākhyāhi tattvaṁ sarvam*, but replaces the *tattva* »principles of reality« of the Sanskrit passage with the Old Javanese phrase *saṅ hyaṅ aji kabeh*, »the reverend sacred lore in its entirety.« This could be due to the fact that *tattva* in Old Javanese could signify a »sacred text on metaphysics«.

In the lines that follow thereupon, there is still some link with the Sanskrit *śloka* in that the phrase *akveh prabhedanira*, »there are many different forms of them«, can be said to be related to the element of contrastive plurality in the phrase *sacarācaram,* »those that are ambulatory, and those that are not« (i.e., animate and inanimate entities); the Old Javanese cannot be considered a direct gloss on the Sanskrit, but rather continues the line of development that was initiated in verse 2. In the clause starting with *hana śaiva* [...], there is no longer any direct connection between the *śloka* and the Old Javanese. Instead the composer has introduced a discussion of three sectarian divisions within Śaivism that appear to be an entirely Śaivite form of the »three denominations« (*tripakṣa*) known from East Javanese textual sources from as early as the composition of the *kakavin Bhāratayuddha* (c. 1135-1157 CE). The discussion is continued, with a final appeal to the deity that recalls the imperative phrase of the Sanskrit (*samākhyāhi tattvaṁ sarvam*). The closing statement, *maṅkana liṅ bhagavān Vr̥haspati*, has no parallel in the Sanskrit. The *śloka* and its »dyadic« counterpart in the Old Javanese are thus set into the framework of a *tantra-* or *purāṇa*-like narrative that reproduces a doctrinal discussion in the form of a conversation between a sage and the deity.

Verse 15 of the *Vr̥haspatitattva* gives us a good example of the continuing use of the *vyākhyā* form of glossing in this early work of Javanese Śaivism:

> *laghu prakāśakaṁ sattvaṁ cañcalaṁ tu rajaḥ sthitam /*
> *tamo guru varaṇakam ity etac cittalakṣaṇam* // 15 //
> ikaṅ citta mahaṅan māva / yeka *sattva* ṅaranya / ikaṅ madərəs molah / yeka *rajah* ṅaranya / ikaṅ abvat pətəṅ / yeka tamah ṅaranya //

> Sattva *is light and brilliant, while* rajas *is dynamic.* Tamas *is heavy and concealing. Such are the characteristics of the intellect.*
> »The intellect that is light and brightly shining, that is called *sattva.* That which moves in a rushing flow, that is called *rajah.* That which is heavy and dark, that is called *tamah*«.

The *Vr̥haspatitattva* thus documents two exegetical strategies, both in a Sanskrit-Old Javanese dyadic form: one that considerably expands on the themes of the Sanskrit verses (such as verse 35), and one that follows more closely the *vyākhyā* style encountered in the *Amaramālā* and SHKM.

Case Study IV: The Jñānasiddhānta

The *Jñānasiddhānta* is a *tutur* organized in the form of Sanskrit-Old Javanese translation dyads, consisting in a core – also preserved independently as *Tutur Kamokṣan* – complemented by Old Javanese prose opening chapters. This text, of a composite and heterogeneous nature, reveals a later period of compilation and an East Javanese Majapahit milieu and/or its continuation in Bali from the late fifteenth century.[50] In this context, older material coming from (possibly Central and/or East) Java was assembled and redacted so as to meet the demands of the local audiences.

Jñānasiddhānta chapter 19, bearing the caption *Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna* »The Holy Gnosis of Difference«, is made up of seven Sanskrit *ślokas* followed by an Old Javanese paraphrase and/or exegesis. This short chapter is a telling example of the reconfiguration of Indic elements into a local context of doctrine and yogic praxis. Its doctrinal background is thoroughly Śaiva, yet a few passages (either Sanskrit *ślokas* or their Old Javanese exegesis) contain echoes of Sāṅkhya-Yoga views that may be traced to the Sanskrit *Yogasūtras* and its annexed commentary *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* (*Pātañjalayogaśāstra*). The presence of certain technical terms indeed points at a different philosophical and yogic tradition than the Śaiva yoga of the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) commonly encountered in the *tutur/tattva* corpus, and reflects an attempt to reconcile Śaiva theistic yoga with Pātañjala yoga.

A dyadic style featuring a word-by-word commentary – much like those in the Sanskrit tradition – that elaborates on the text in an original way is epitomized in dyad 5. Having been introduced at the end of the Old Javanese exegesis to Sanskrit verse 4 as providing a definition of the gnosis labelled Saṅ Hyaṅ Bhedajñāna, this dyad describes the Lord Śiva, the individual soul, and the state of liberation:

sakalaḥ kevalaḥ śuddhaḥ tryavasthaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ /
malinatvacittamokṣaḥ kalpyate nirmalaḥ śivaḥ || 5 ||

Tiga *avasthā* ya saṅ puruṣa riṅ kaləpasan: hanān *sakala*, hanān *kevala*, hanān *śuddha*. Katuturakəna sirān maṅkana: *sakala* ṅaranya makāvak triguṇa sira. *Kevala* ṅaranya atiṅgal pamukti sira. *Malinatva* ṅaranya papāśanira[51] mvaṅ triguṇa. Manovijñānāvaknira. *Śuddha* ṅaranya patiniṅ manovijñāna. Sakeṅ sira māri mamikalpa, śūnyākāra, kaivalya, tan hana gələhgələhnirān pamukti. Sira sinaṅguh *nirmalaśiva*.

The soul is taught to have three conditions: the one visible in material form, the isolated, and the pure; the freedom of the mind from the condition of impurity is conceived to be the Spotless Śiva.

---

50 Hooykaas, Śaiva Siddhānta, has discussed in detail the textual relationship between the *Tutur Ādhyātmika* (edited by Soebadio as *Jñānasiddhānta*), the *Tutur Kamokṣan*, and the *Gaṇapatitattva*. This chapter is found, with only slight variations, in *Tutur Kamokṣan* and *Gaṇapatitattva* (40-45). Some of its *ślokas* have parallels in chapter 5 of the *Bhuvanakośa*.

51 The reading *papasah*, from the base *sah* »depart, be separated, come loose« (*papasah* = to be separated, split, be broken; see OJED, 1592), makes no sense in this context, and requires emendation. What the text implies here is clearly that the stained soul is ensnared by the three *guṇas*. Soebadio (*Jñānasiddhānta*, 211) translated the clause *papasahnira mvaṅ triguṇa* as »its connection with the three constituents«, yet she did not justify her translation. Thus, the reading *papasah* may be a corruption of either *papāśa* or *mapāśa*, from the Sanskrit *pāśa* (»fetter«), which would fit well into the Śaiva doctrinal context, but have the disadvantage of not being attested in Old Javanese texts (on the other hand, we would expect the attested forms *kapāśa* and *kapāśan* to be followed by *deniṅ* rather than *mvaṅ*: see OJED, 1309).

Three are the conditions of the soul in the state of liberation: there is the one in which he is visible in material form; there is the one in which he is isolated; there is the one in which he is pure. That [souls] being in such [conditions] will [now] be taught: *Visible in material form* means that it assumes the form of the three constituents. *Isolated* means that it has left behind the [condition of] enjoyer. *The condition of impurity* means that it is fettered by the three constituents. Its body is mental knowledge (*manovijñāna*). *Pure* means the end of mental knowledge. Because of that it ceases to produce dualizing thought, [its] appearance is void, [it is] isolated; it has no stain when it is in the state of liberation. It is called the *Spotless Śiva*.

As Acri has pointed out elsewhere,[52] *śloka* 5 has a parallel in the Sanskrit *Kiraṇatantra* (Vidyāpāda 1.23ab),[53] an early scripture of the Śaiva Siddhānta:

kevalaḥ sakalaḥ śuddhas tryavasthaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |
malinatvāc citer mokṣaḥ prāpyate nirmalāc chivāt ||

The soul is taught to have three conditions; [that of] the one without [at least one of the bonds] (*kevala*), the one with [all three bonds] (*sakala*), and the pure soul (*śuddha*).[54] The liberation of the mind from stain is obtained because of [the will of] the spotless Śiva.

The version of the *śloka* preserved in the *Jñānasiddhānta*, as well as the parallels found in other *tutur*s, all read *kalpyate* »is conceived« instead of *prāpyate* »is obtained«.[55] Furthermore, all the ablative endings found in the *Kiraṇa* version are missing in the versions documented in the Archipelago texts, the third quarter being formed by a single compound and the last one substituting the ablative endings (*nirmalāc chivāt*) with nominatives. The meaning conveyed in the two versions of the *śloka* is at variance insofar as the Javano-Balinese one equates the mind freed from stain to the Spotless Śiva, whereas the South Asian one implies that liberation of the mind from stain is obtained because of the Spotless Śiva – thus alluding to the idea of divine grace that played a role in the process of liberation according to the early Śaivasiddhānta, and which was of even greater importance to the theologians of the of non-dualist Tamil Śaivasiddhānta.[56]

The Sanskrit verse appears to hint at a fundamental doctrinal tenet of the Śaiva Siddhānta, according to which the three conditions of the soul (viz. *sakala, kevala, śuddha*) depend on the kind of stain it is affected by, e.g. *māyā, karma*, and *āṇava*. With regard to this matter there are different views within the Siddhānta, as different scriptures and commentaries

---

52   Acri, Sanskrit-Old Javanese *tutur* literature, 119-120.

53   Intriguingly, the second hemistich is not found in all the ancient Nepalese manuscripts nor in Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary (see Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary*, 221, n. 188), but it appears in the later South Indian redactions, such as the Devakoṭṭai edition, and in the version commented upon by Tryambakaśambhu (who places it after 1.23d, see Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary*, 29). Since some of these redactions may have been compiled even after the twelfth century, we may assume that this verse was borrowed in that form either from a South Indian recension of the *Kiraṇa* or from another version posterior, or in any event unknown to, Rāmakaṇṭha.

54   The translation of this hemistich is by Goodall, *Hindu Scriptures*, 345.

55   But some (apparently corrupt) Indian mss. read procyate »is declared« (see Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary,* 29).

56   For a discussion of the doctrinal contents of this *śloka* in the *Kiraṇa*, see Brunner, Analyse du *Kiraṇāgama*, 313.

present distinct systematizations.[57] However, the Old Javanese commentary does not refer to any of these systematizations, and does not mention the different kinds of stain or the categories of beings known as *pralayakevala*, *vijñānakevala*, etc., either.[58] On the other hand, the *sakala* state is defined as the embodiment of the soul in the three constituents (*guṇa*). The condition of impurity means that the soul is not separated from the three *guṇas*. This viewpoint may reflect an either archaic or »local« doctrinal status quo, in which the Saiddhāntika ideas around stain (*mala*) had not yet been codified, and a Sāṅkhya-Yoga doctrinal matrix was predominant.

The Old Javanese form *pamukti*, deriving from the Sanskrit base *bhukti* (see OJED, p. 269), refers to the condition of enjoyer – in the sense of »experiencer« – of the fruits of actions. According to the Śaivasiddhānta, liberation consists in the freedom of the soul from the condition, caused by stain, of *bhoktṛtva* – i.e. of being the experiencer of *karma* and its fruits. The concepts of *bhoktṛtva* and *kevalatva* also feature prominently in the seminal scriptures of Pātañjala Yoga. The afflictions, being present in the mind (*manas*), are ascribed to the soul (*puruṣa*), because it is the enjoyer (*bhoktṛ*) of their fruits. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 2.27 and 4.34 define the *puruṣa* as being in the *kevala* state when it transcends the three *guṇas* through the *buddhi*. The condition in which the mind is freed is called *cittavimukti*. According to Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy, *śuddha* is the state of the *puruṣa* when it does not assume the form of mind (*citta*), although it knows the mind. This view seems to be echoed in the Old Javanese commentary to *śloka* 5, which explains the word *śuddha* as a psychological condition involving the end of dualizing thought intended as mental knowledge (*manovijñāna*). This results in the isolation of the mind. The appearance of *manovijñāna* in this context is quite intriguing, for it is typically found as a technical term in Buddhist sources, meaning »mind-consciousness«.[59] Our text thus appears to present a mixture of Śaiva, Sāṅkhya-Yoga, and Buddhist doctrinal elements, which also feature in the following dyad 6.[60]

The dyads discussed above, and, indeed, the whole chapter 5 of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, present examples of the *vyakhyā* style. At the same time, they suggest that the commentator was aware of different streams of Indic religions and philosophies and their scriptural canons, and document his attempt to reconfigure those originally »Indian« elements into a local theology and praxis. The resulting doctrinal and soteriological system may be regarded as a synthesis of theologemes and yogic practices belonging to what were perceived in South Asian Sanskrit sources as distinct orientations, i.e. Śaivism and Sāṅkhya/Yoga.

---

57   See the discussion in Brunner, Analyse du *Suprabhedāgama*, 53: »quand il [i.e. the *ātman*] pénètre dans le ventre de la *māyā* et en même temps rencontre (mais comment?) *karman*, on le qualifie de *sakala* […]; *śuddha*, il devient ce qu'il a toujours été en essence, pur et semblable a Śiva: c'est l'état de pureté totale, *śuddha avasthā*.« See also the scheme in Davis, *Ritual*, 26.

58   Goodall, *Hindu Scriptures*, 345 fn. 15.

59   *Manovijñāna* is not listed in OJED, which, on the other hand, lists *manovijñā* (1105) and hesitantly glosses it as »knowing the mind, versed in spiritual things?«

60   See Acri, Re-configuration.

Case Study V: The Bhuvanakośa

The *Bhuvanakośa* (*The Storehouse of Worlds*) is a Śaiva text of the *tutur* genre. This tex-
tual source of uncertain dating, probably compiled in different stages, has come down to
us through Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. Comprising about five hundred Sanskrit *ślokas*
accompanied by translations, paraphrases, and/or commentaries in Old Javanese, the *Bhuva-
nakośa* is the longest scripture of the *tutur* class. A common opinion among Balinese and early
Western scholars is that the *Bhuvanakośa* is an early text – probably one of the earliest of the
tutur genre. While its formal organization in Sanskrit-Old Javanese translation dyads instead
of Old Javanese prose (whether interspersed with Sanskrit *ślokas* or not) would suggest that
this is the case, one can never be sure: witness, for instance, the bulky *tutur Śivāgama*, which
is organized in just the same way, and yet was composed by Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen in the
first half of the twentieth century. What is important to stress here is that the *Bhuvanakośa* is
a heterogeneous and conglomerative source, formed by at least two textual units that might
have been at some point in time (parts of) distinct texts, namely the *Brahmarahasya(śāstra)*
(chapters 1-5), and the *Jñānasaṅkṣepa/Siddhāntaśāstra/Jñānasiddhānta* (chapters 6 to 11).
The latter chapters are characterized by a remarkable intertextuality with the *Jñānasiddhānta*
discussed in the previous section, which has also been preserved uniquely in Balinese manu-
scripts, and which shares several Sanskrit verses and similar – yet not identical – paraphrases.

Although the *Bhuvanakośa* documents a form of Śaivism that seems to be related to that
of texts of the *tattva* genre transmitted in Java and or Bali, such as the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the
Vṛhaspatitattva, and the *Tattvajñāna*, the text focuses more on yoga and mantric mysticism
than metaphysics, and would seem to betray a derivation (or influence) from a different South
Asian prototypical tradition.[61] The Śaiva doctrine shares with the *Bhuvanakośa* several archa-
ic elements, but some sections of the text present Vedāntic analogies that are found in the
Upaniṣads, as well as in Vedānta-influenced non-dualistic South Indian Saiddhāntika texts.
Just in the case of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, this suggests that the text may be the product of a rela-
tively late Javano-Balinese milieu that appropriated and restated earlier Sanskrit(ic) material,
or even composed the Sanskrit verses locally.[62] Below we quote and analyse two passages that
illustrate the different forms of *vyākhyā* textual organization employed by this text.

---

61   In this respect, one also notes a non-dualistic flavour of many of its theologemes and the use of a Vedāntic termi-
      nology, which is a trait of relatively late (post tenth-century) Śaiva texts composed or transmitted in South India.
      The text may have preserved ancient doctrines that seem to me to be derived by the Sanskrit Upaniṣadic corpus,
      in particular the *Śvetāśvatara* – the earliest theistic/Śaiva Upaniṣad (whose most recent textual strand might go
      back to the second or third century CE). But the »philosophical« section of the text, from Chapter 2 to Chapter 4,
      shares several doctrinal elements in common with the systematic writings of the *tattva* genre.

62   Indeed, it is entirely possible that the majority of the *ślokas* of the text were actually composed in Java or Bali, for
      they are characterized by remarkably non-standard features, metrical oddities, and (very rarely) even contamina-
      tions from Old Javanese. Furthermore, virtually none of them has been traced back to Indian texts so far.

Chapter 7.23:

> *sakāro bhagavān viṣṇuḥ / makāro bhagavān śivaḥ /*
> *bhakāro bhagavān brahmā / ekatattvaṁ*[63] *trayībhavet*[64] // 7.23

> nāhan mataṅyan viśeṣa saṅ hyaṅ śivabhasma / saṅ hyaṅ trisamaya hana riṅ bhasma /
> bhaṭāra viṣṇu sira sakāra / bhaṭāra śiva sira makāra / bhaṭāra brahmā sira bhakāra / nā
> ta lvirnirān tiga dadi eka //

> *The Lord Viṣṇu is the* SA, *Lord Śiva is the* MA, *Lord Brahmā is the* BHA. *One reality
> becomes threefold.*

> Such is the reason why the holy ashes of Śiva are special. The reverend Trisamaya[65]
> is in the ashes. The Lord Viṣṇu, he is the SA. The Lord Śiva, he is the MA. The Lord
> Brahmā, he is the BHA. Thus is their nature as the three become one.

In this translation dyad, the Old Javanese glosses all the elements of the Sanskrit verse,
and at the same time re-contextualizes them into a Balinese framework of speculation re-
volving around the concept of *trisamaya* (»the Union of the Three [Gods]«), whereby the
three syllables of the word *bhasma* are connected with the deities of the Trisamaya/Trimūrti,
and a ritual praxis called *śivabhasma* (»The Ashes of Śiva«), which is the main topic of the
chapter. The Sanskrit *cvi*-verbal compound *trayī-bhavet* is analysed by the commentator as
two separate words, *trayī* being the subject (as if it were *trayaḥ*, »triad«) and *ekatattvaṁ*
the object, resulting in an inverted sequence (i.e. three becoming one rather than one reality
becoming threefold, as in the Sanskrit).[66]

---

63   Em.; *ekatattva* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

64   Em.; *trayibhavet* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

65   OJED, 2040: »(›the meeting of three‹?) name of the trinity Brahmā, Wiṣṇu, Śiwa«.

66   Alternatively, *trayi* could be a corruption of *trayaṁ* (however, cf. the similar construction *eko eva trayībhavet* in
     Bhuvanakośa 3.74d).

Chapter 8.25:

devadaityamanuṣyāṇām / *mudrārccaṇavidhikramāt* / kunaṅ ikaṅ *mudrā* / mvaṅ *arc-caṇa* / saha *vidhikrama* / deva / daitya /[67] manuṣya / ya ta phalanya / *homabhasman tathā mohaṁ* / kunaṅ ikaṅ vvaṅ mahoma / mabhasma / yan tar vruh riṅ śaivasiddhān-tajñāna[68] / niyata moha / ṅa / *hūṁdhrūtkāram idaṁ mantraṁ* / ikaṅ mantra hūṁdhrūt-kāra / *sakale na tu niṣkalam* / riṅ sakala ikā / kunaṅ ikaṅ niṣkala / tan maṅkana / *etat sarvvaṁ mahādevi*[69] / ikā ta kabeh bhaṭārī / *yo jñātvā svarggadaṁ mohāt* / yan saṅ sādhaka karaktaniṅ mudrārccaṇa / mvaṅ mantravidhikrama / ya ta tuməmuṅ svarggaphala sira / makahiṅaniṅ svargga sira / saka ri puṅguṅnira riṅ niṣkalajñāna ikā / *mama māyāvimohitaḥ*[70] / ikā taṅ vvaṅ maṅkana / kna deniṅ bañcanaṅku ikā / *mudrārccaṇavidhiṅ kuryāt* / kunaṅ kagavayanikaṅ mudrārccaṇa / mvaṅ vidhikrama[71] / *argaḍaḥ*[72] *mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ*[73] / yekā vaṅklaṅ saṅ mahyun iṅ kamokṣan //

By [*following*] *the right order of the prescribed regimen, worship, and gestures* [*one will be reincarnated*] *among gods, demons, and human beings*. The fruit of gestures and worship, together with the right order of the prescribed regimen (*vidhikrama*), is [re-incarnation as] gods, demons, and human beings. *Similarly, the fire-ritual and ashes* [*lead*] *to delusion*. The man who performs the fire-ritual and uses ashes, if he does not know the doctrine of the Śaivasiddhānta, is called a »deluded one« indeed. *This mantra hūṁdhrūtkāram*. The mantra *hūṁdhrūtkāram*. [Is] *in the realm of form, but not the formless*. It is within the realm of form. However, the formless is not so.
All this, o Great Goddess. All this, o Goddess. *Which bestows heaven, he who knows it because of delusion*. If the practitioner is engrossed in gestures and worship, as well as mantras and the right order of the prescribed regimen, he obtains the fruit of heaven. He has heaven as his limit because of his ignorance about the formless gnosis. *He is beguiled by my magical power.* This kind of man, he is struck by my beguilement. *To perform gestures, worship, and the prescribed regimen* – The performance of gestures, worship, and the right order of the prescribed regimen – *is an impediment for one desiring deliverance*.[74] That would be an impediment for he who desires deliverance.[75]

This passage documents a case of *vyākhyā* style inserting the Sanskrit directly within the Old Javanese exegesis. The text advances a critique, from a gnostic (Mantramārga) point of view, to the outer-oriented forms of worship associated with Atimārga Śaivism. *Hūṁdhrūt-kāram* may represent either a local development or a »corruption« of the sound *huḍḍuṅ*/*huḍḍuk* (*huḍḍukkāra*) proffered by the Pāśupatas in the course of their ascetic practice. Also remarkable is the usage of the Sanskrit *argala* (=*argaḍa*) in the sense of »impediment«. One

---

67 Em.; *vidhikrama* / *daitya* / Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

68 Em.; *śivasiddhāntajñāna* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

69 Leiden Cod. Or. 5022; *mahādevī* IDGC.

70 Em.; *māyavimohitaḥ* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

71 Em.; *vidhikarmmā* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

72 Em.; *arghaḍa* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

73 Em.; *mokṣakaṁkṣiṇaḥ* Leiden Cod. Or. 5022, IDGC.

74 MW glosses *argala* (= *argaḍa*) as »a wooden bolt or pin for fastening a door or the cover of a vessel; a bar, check, impediment«; compare *sārgala* »obstructed, impeded, prevented«.

75 We accept OJED's (p. 2197) unattested/reconstructed root *vaṅkəl** as the basis of *amaṅkəl* (1) »to get stuck (in the throat, etc.);« (2) »unwilling, recalcitrant, savage (elephant).« Thus, the substantive (+ irrealis) *vaṅkəla* seems compatible with the meaning of the Sanskrit *argaḍa*.

could be tempted to take *argaḍa* not as a separate word but as a compound that would end with *mokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ* (understood as an irregular -*a* stem in the nominative instead of an -*in* stem in the genitive), therefore *argaḍamokṣakāṅkṣiṇaḥ* might have been intended as meaning »one who desires to be free from an impediment«. But *mokṣakāṅkṣin* is a cliché in tantric literature, meaning »one desiring release«, and the internal doctrinal and logical coherence of the passage requires the interpretation of *argaḍa* as an »impediment« (i.e., gestures, etc.) holding back the practitioner desiring release. This suggests that the Sanskrit is either a de-contextualized quotation from a South Asian text, or the product of a Javano-Balinese milieu.

Conclusion

In examples from the *Amaramālā*, SHKM, *Vṛhaspatitattva, Jñānasiddhānta*, and *Bhuva-nakośa* we have observed the use of a *vyākhyā* model in translation and a »dyadic« mode of composition based on the juxtaposition of Sanskrit verses and their Old Javanese glosses. We have further seen that in the dyadic pattern there is a development from an earlier phase when the glosses align closely with the original to one that allows for an increasingly more flexible approach to the contents of the glosses. In the *Vṛhaspatitattva* this tendency is so pronounced that the Sanskrit verses in many cases do no more than launch an extended doctrinal passage.

Further studies of the dyadic form have shown that it was used as a text-building stra-tegy in the Old Javanese *parva* literature, but was not limited to it: later texts in the *tutur* traditions once popular in Sunda, Java, and Bali (and still popular in Bali) show us that the structuring of larger stretches of discourse in terms of »translation dyads« continued to play a major role in text-building, while the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *vyākhyā* format for glossing at the phrase and clause levels lost none of its usefulness in the field of doctrinal exposition. Metaphysical texts from the *tutur* tradition like the *Gaṇapatitattva,* (parts of) which bear cle-ar signs of late composition, as well as works devoted to ethics and the art of polity (*Nītisāra, Ślokāntara, Vratiśāsana*, etc.) are among the many texts organized along these familiar lines.

One contribution that this study may have to make is the elaboration of a taxonomy, and perhaps even the opening up of the possibility of a rough chronology for the development of the prose traditions in Old Javanese based on several stages in the use of text-building elements, which we believe ultimately owe their origin to the bilingual pedagogy of religious institutions of Central Java, c. 732-928 CE. While a methodology that pays close attention to formal features of text-building may never be able to provide us with a means for making a completely accurate analysis of the textual chronology of the Javano-Balinese tradition, it may provide us with a metric that can be used alongside other methods of textual analysis to give us a clearer picture of the development of Old Javanese letters. Given that caveat, we will propose here four modes or stages (not necessarily occurring in strictly chronological order) in the development of Old Javanese text-building strategies that appear to align with textual sources from the didactic and prose traditions focused on in this study:

- A first mode – probably the earliest – where the *vyākhyā* model of translation and a dyadic form of text-building prevails. This stage, represented by the *Amaramālā*, bespeaks a pedagogy that recapitulates the basic style of glossing known from Indian forms of the commentary, but combined with the element of translation that facilitated a »connecting literature«.

- A second mode, illustrated by the SHKM, where *vyākhyā* translations and a dyadic form of text-building are dominant, but Old Javanese passages elaborating on the *śloka* include expansions that bring in materials from local perspectives, at the same time demonstrating the ability of the composers to fashion well-formed Sanskrit compounds.

- A third mode where dyadic composition and the *vyākhyā* format of translation are still prominent, but Old Javanese glosses on Sanskrit verses often develop lengthy doctrinal expositions that move far beyond an exegesis on the meaning of the *śloka*. While simpler translation dyads are found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva,* many run to extraordinary length.

- A fourth mode, not examined in this chapter, where the *śloka-vyākhyā* format and »translation dyads« have been adopted for the needs of prose works like the *parva* literature and *Tantri Kāmandaka.*

From this study we can conclude that the apparent lack in the archipelago of commentarial tradition parallel to that of South Asia reveals to us not the absence of a tradition of commentary, but exactly the opposite: the norms of the South Asian commentary were so deeply embedded in the pedagogy of religious institutions that they left indelible traces on all that was to follow.

We would like to conclude this essay with some theoretical reflections on the nature of the texts discussed here in the cadre of Western ideas of translation, paraphrase, and commentary, as well as the methodology of philological research. Recent philological work on Sanskrit and vernacular languages of South and Southeast Asia has shown an increasing interest in the reception of texts. Indic texts were historically malleable and were reinterpreted by their audiences in different geographical contexts and epochs, all the more so in Java and Bali, where the textual tradition was considerably open to creative reuse rather than faithful reproduction of a canonical prototype. In the case of the Old Javanese textual tradition and its continuation in Bali, one may say that local authors and copyists were not moved by the intent to faithfully translate the Sanskrit sources and interpret them in a manner that is coherent with those elaborated within the prototypical religio-philosophical traditions they stem from; rather, Sanskrit materials – often fragmentary, and perhaps composed centuries before – in the Indian subcontinent were de-contextualized and interpreted in the light of local beliefs and practices. That is to say, an Indic textual tradition transmitted to Southeast Asia was transformed and adapted into contextually appropriate and meaningful styles and genres.

Thus, Old Javanese texts can be regarded as reflecting a conversation between »Indic« and »vernacular« elements. Old Javanese literature was far from being a derivative, translation-oriented endeavour, but from its very inception showed the traits of originality and synthesis, implying a conscious selection of essential elements that resonated within the local culture and the creation of a new whole that met the demands of the local audiences. These »wholes« inevitably varied across time, local contexts characterized by different histories of reception, socio-cultural factors, and religious contingencies, as well as individual agents, although one notes a remarkable resilience of the pedagogical and formal features

characterizing the genres discussed in this article. Texts composed (or recompiled) in Bali after the fifteenth century carried meanings that were quite different from those they had in their original milieu, possibly in pre-tenth-century Central Java, and Sanskrit materials were understood, appropriated, and restated in Old Javanese in ways that would often be at odds with both a Western philological and a South Asian »traditional«/śāstric understanding. Inevitably, this local »restating« of Sanskritic religious texts and traditions involves a certain amount of »falsification« to create new meanings in context. While this is a totally legitimate process, philology should not shy away from identifying and explaining any textual errors, contaminations or variants alongside the local interpretations and restatements, which will, all together, contribute to our better understanding of Balinese linguistic, orthographic, lexical, grammatical, narrative, and conceptual understandings (and misunderstandings) and practices in their historical dimension.[76]

---

76   While making a case in favour of a philology that is more concerned with reception and variance than establishing »original« texts, Pollock (Philology, 406) still advocates for »a scale of judgment in reading tradition«, according to which »not all interpretations are worthy of philological attention to the same degree. People in a tradition inherit bad textual variants, or make simple grammatical mistakes, and these misunderstandings, unless they are productive of interpretation, carry a dimension of historical consciousness lower on the philological scale of value than others. In other words, not all errors […] are equal: some falsehoods (or what appear to be falsehoods) carry deeper truths than others, especially in their historical effectivity«.

References

Abbreviations

MW = Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Monier-Williams, 1899)

OJED = Old Javanese-English Dictionary (Zoetmulder and Robson, 1982)

SHKM = *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*

WMP = Western Malayo-Polynesian

Manuscript sources

Amaramālā (within the *Candrakiraṇa*), palm-leaf ms. (*gebang*) L631, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia.

Bhuvanakośa, (1) palm-leaf ms. (*lontar*) Cod. Or. 5022, Leiden University Library; (2) palm-leaf ms. (*lontar*) IDGC, private collection of Ida Dewa Gede Catra, Amlapura, Karangasem, Bali.

Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya, palm-leaf ms. (*lontar*) Cod. Or. 5068, Leiden University Library.

Aichele, Walter, Vergessene Metaphoren als Kriterien der Datierung des altjavanishen Rāmāyaṇa, *Oriens Extremus: Zeitschrift für Sprach, Kunst und Kultur der Länder des Fernen Ostens* 16 (1969) 127-166.

Acri, Andrea, *Dharma Pātañjala: A Śaiva Scripture from Ancient Java Studied in the Light of Related Old Javanese and Sanskrit Texts* (second edition) (New Delhi, 2017).

Acri, Andrea (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons* (Singapore, 2016).

Acri, Andrea, On birds, ascetics, and kings in Central Java: *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, 24.96-126 and 25, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 166 (2010) 475-506.

Acri, Andrea, Re-configuration of divinity in Old Javanese Śaiva texts from the Indonesian Archipelago (with special reference to *Jñānasiddhānta,* chapter 19), in: s.n., *Travaux de Symposium International: Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. Troisième édition, Tome III* (Bucharest, 2011) 546-565.

Acri, Andrea, The Sanskrit-Old Javanese *tutur* literature from Bali: The textual basis of Śaivism in ancient Indonesia, *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 1 (2006) 107-137.

Acri, Andrea, The Vaimala sect of the Pāśupatas: New data from Old Javanese sources, *Tantric Studies* 1 (2008) 193-208.

Braginsky, Vladimir, *The System of Classical Malay Literature* (Leiden, 1993).

Brunner, Hélène, Analyse du *Kiraṇāgama, Journal Asiatique* 253 (1965) 309-328.

Brunner, Hélène, Analyse du *Suprabhedāgama, Journal Asiatique* 255 (1967) 31-60.

Davis, Richard H., *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshiping Śiva in Medieval India*, (Princeton, 1991).

Goodall, Dominic, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra, Vol. 1: Chapters 1-6* (Pondicherry, 1998).

Goodall, Dominic (ed.) *Hindu Scriptures* (Los Angeles, 1996).

Goris, Rulof, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie* (Leiden, 1926).

Dīpaṅkarabhadra, *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*, ed. Sabine Klein-Schwind, rev. H. Isaacson (based on ms. Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Cod. ms. sanscr. 257), (2008).

Hevajrasekaprakriyā, ed. Louis Finot, Manuscripts sanskrits de *sādhana*'s retrouvés en Chine, *Journal Asiatique* 225 (1934) 1-85.

Hooykaas, Christiaan, Śaiva Siddhānta in Java and Bali: Some remarks on its recent study, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 118 (1962) 309-327.

Hunter, Thomas M., Bahasa Sanskerta di Nusantara: terjemahan, pemribumian, dan iden-titas antardaerah, in: Henri Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia* (Jakarta, 2009) 23-47.

Hunter, Thomas M., The *Bhagavad-Gītā* sections of the Old Javanese *Bhīṣmaparwa*, text-building and the formation of the state in pre-modern Indonesia, in: Shyam Saran (ed.), *Cultural and Civilisational Links between India and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Dimensions* (Singapore, 2018) 193-207.

Hunter, Thomas M., *The Impact of Indian Forms of the Commentary on Text-building Strat-egies in Old Javanese*. Unpublished seminar paper (Pondicherry, 2005).

Hunter, Thomas M., Translation in a world of diglossia, in: Jan van der Putten and Ronit Ricci (eds.), *Translation in Asia: Theories, Practices, Histories* (Manchester, 2011) 9-26.

Hunter, Thomas M., Yati, a structural principle in Old Javanese versification, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52 (2009) 1-52.

Ishii, Kazuko, The correlation of verses of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* with Vajrabodhi's *Jāpasūtra, Area and Culture Studies* 44 (1992) 225-236.

Jordaan, Roy E. and Brian E. Colless, *The Mahārājas of the Isles, the Śailendra and the prob-lem of Śrīwijaya* (Leiden, 2009).

de Jong, Jan Willem, Notes on the sources and the text of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanan Mantranaya, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 136 (1974) 619-636.

Kandahjaya, Hudaya, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, Borobudur and the origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia, in: Andrea Acri (ed.), *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia* (Singapore, 2014) 67-112.

Kats, J., *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan: Oud-Javaansche tekst met inleiding, vertaling en aan-teekeningen* (The Hague, 1910).

Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā, ed. Ryugen Tanemura, E-text based on a preliminary edition of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, Chapter 6. Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Oxford).

Krom, Nicolaas J., *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (The Hague, 1926).

Lokesh Chandra, *Chanda-Karaṇa:* The art of writing poetry, in: Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India, Vol. 6: Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, Art and Archaeology, Language and Literature* (New Delhi, 1997).

Lokesh Chandra, Sanskrit studies in classical Indonesia, in: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Cultural Horizons of India, Volume 4: Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, Art and Archaeology, Lan-guage and Literature* (New Delhi, 1995) 1-9.

Miksic, John, *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas* (London, 1990).

Monier-Williams, Monier, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899).

Nihom, Max, *Studies in Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: The Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana and the Yogatantra* (Vienna, 1994).

Oglobin, Alexander K., *Irrealis in Old Javanese*. Unpublished seminar paper (Depok, 2005).

Pollock, Sheldon, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Pow-er in Premodern India* (Berkeley, 2006).

Pollock, Sheldon, Philology in three dimensions, *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 5/4 (2014) 398-413.

Pollock, Sheldon, The Sanskrit cosmopolis, 300-1300 CE: Transculturation, vernacularization, and the question of ideology, in: Jan E. M. Houben (ed.), *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language* (Leiden, 1996) 197-248.

Radicchi, Anna, More on the *Kārakasaṃgraha*, a Sanskrit grammatical text from Bali, in: Jan E. M. Houben (ed.), *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language* (Leiden, 1996) 289-306.

Raj Pant, Mahesh, *Jaṭarūpa's Commentary on the Amarakośa, Parts 1 and 2* (New Delhi, 2000).

Sarkar, Himamsu Bhushan, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum), up to 928 A.D.* (Calcutta, 1971).

Sarvabuddhasamāyoga: Śrīsarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvaranāmatantram (1-8), ed. Ṭhākurasena Negī, *Dhīḥ: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project* 58 (2018) 141-201.

Sudarshana Devi, *Wṛhaspati-tattwa, an Old Javanese Philosophical Text* (New Delhi, 1957).

Soebadio, Haryati, *Jñānasiddhānta: Secret Lore of the Balinese Śaiva Priest* (The Hague, 1971).

Speyer, Jacob S., Ein altjavanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 67 (1913) 347-362.

Wulff, Kurt S., *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya: Ansprache bei der Weihe buddhistischer Mönche aus dem altjavanischen übersetzt und sprachlich erläutert* (Copenhagen, 1935).

Zieseniss, Alexander, *Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus: Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva* (New Delhi, 1958).

Zoetmulder, Petrus J., *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature* (The Hague, 1974).

Zoetmulder, Petrus J. and Stuart O. Robson, *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (The Hague, 1982).

An Interim Report on the Editorial and Analytical Work of the AnonymClassic Project

Beatrice Gruendler,[1] Jan J. van Ginkel, Rima Redwan, Khouloud Khalfallah, Isabel Toral, Johannes Stephan, Matthew L. Keegan, Theodore S. Beers,[2] Mahmoud Kozae, Marwa M. Ahmed*

In this collective article, members of the AnonymClassic project discuss various aspects of their work on the textual tradition *Kalīla and Dimna*.[3] Beatrice Gruendler provides a general introduction to the questions being considered. This is followed by a number of short essays in specific areas, organized into three categories: codicology, literary history and theory, and the digital infrastructure of the project. Jan J. van Ginkel summarizes the challenges involved in editing the Syriac versions of *Kalīla and Dimna*; Rima Redwan explains the AnonymClassic team's approach vis-à-vis the transcription and textual segmentation of Arabic manuscripts; Khouloud Khalfallah follows this with an overview of the types of data that are recorded for each codex that is integrated into the project; Beatrice Gruendler, in a second contribution, shares some preliminary results from the analysis of interrelationships among manuscripts; and Rima Redwan, also in a second contribution, discusses the sets of illustrations, or »image cycles«, that are found in many copies of *Kalīla wa-Dimna.* Moving into the realm of literary history and theory, Isabel Toral poses a range of questions relating to the status of *Kalīla and Dimna*, as (arguably) anonymous in authorship and as a fundamentally *translated* book; Johannes Stephan explores the references to *Kalīla wa-Dimna* found in various medieval Arabic scholarly works; and Matthew L. Keegan confronts the problem of the genre(s) to

---

which *Kalīla wa-Dimna* might be assigned and the exceptional »promiscuity« of the text. The last section of the article, on digital infrastructure, contains two contributions: Theodore S. Beers describes a web application that the team has created to facilitate the consultation of published versions of *Kalīla and Dimna,* and, finally, Mahmoud Kozae and Marwa M. Ahmed offer a more comprehensive discussion of the digital tools and methods – specialized and in some cases developed »in-house« – on which the AnonymClassic project relies.

Contents

Introduction – Beatrice Gruendler

Part I – Codicology
The Syriac Manuscript Situation – Jan J. van Ginkel
Arabic Manuscript Transcription and Textual Segmentation – Rima Redwan
Manuscript Description and Classification – Khouloud Khalfallah
Image Cycles in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* Manuscripts – Rima Redwan
Manuscript Continua and Cross-Copying – Beatrice Gruendler

Part II – Literary History and Theory
Anonymity and Translation in *Kalīla and Dimna* – Isabel Toral
Constructing a Textual Tradition: Readers of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* – Johannes Stephan
Kalīla wa-Dimna: Genre and Literary Context – Matthew L. Keegan

Part III – Digital Infrastructure
An Online Reader App for Published Versions of *Kalīla and Dimna* – Theodore S. Beers
Toward Usable and FAIR Software for Arabic Textual Scholarship –
    Mahmoud Kozae and Marwa M. Ahmed

Introduction – Beatrice Gruendler

Kalīla and Dimna ranks among both the most fascinating and the most elusive works in Arabic literature.[4] Its enormous spread, being rewritten, versified, and translated in over forty languages (not only major ones but also outliers like Icelandic, Hungarian, and Madurese) in an area stretching from Spain to Malaysia, between the eighth and nineteenth centuries, makes it truly a work of global literature.

Important stations in this textual journey were its Sanskrit sources (the *Panchatantra,* the *Mahābhārata*, and others, c. 300 CE); the first (lost) redaction to Middle Persian (i.e., Pahlavi, c. 550 CE); the translation into Syriac (probably around the end of the sixth century) and Arabic (c. 750 CE); and the propagation from Arabic to other languages, beginning with Greek, Persian, Hebrew, Latin, and Old Castilian (eleventh to thirteenth centuries).

These translations were often creative recompositions, notably in Persian (which saw multiple famous versions) and in Ottoman Turkish, carried out by well-known translators. The Persian *Anvār-i suhaylī* (late fifteenth century) and the Ottoman *Humāyūn-nāme* (sixteenth century) are recognized as classics in their own right.

The Arabic version, or rather versions, became the sources of all later translations, but complete manuscripts exist only since the thirteenth century. Within a few generations after it was translated into Arabic, the work curiously falls apart in transmission,[5] which makes it necessary to rely for a half millennium of the textual history (eighth to thirteenth centuries) on indirect transmission and early translations.

Beyond the cosmopolitan dissemination of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, it is in many ways unique within the Arabic tradition. First, it is the earliest extant work of overt prose fiction in high literature, unlike other early fiction in Arabic (much of it lost) that was perceived as popular literature. Second, it has (at least) two layers of meaning: while outwardly presented as a »mirror for princes«, it is told in the form of fables, which require analogical decoding. Third, it also displays a sophisticated framing system, with up to five levels of narration down to very small units (*amthāl*, or analogical images, and *ḥikam*, or wisdom sayings). As such, it functioned as a modular system, whose elements could easily be substituted in iterative processes of cultural translation. In the course of its history in Arabic literature, this work became a popular »house book« on ethics and practical philosophy (and, in modernity, a children's book and schoolbook).[6] This versatility made the text eminently adaptable, and it provided a source for quotations and entertaining tales that were culled from it and recast in smaller collections from the tenth century CE onward, surviving today in oral retelling.

---

4   Throughout this article, the work is referred to as *Kalīla and Dimna* in broader contexts, and *Kalīla wa-Dimna* when the focus is on Arabic versions. Our romanization of Arabic terms generally follows the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*; and most dates are given in both the Islamic (AH) and the Julian/Gregorian (CE) calendars.

5   For a brief outline of the history of this text in the early period, see part II, the section by Johannes Stephan.

6   In other literatures (e.g., in Persian), its status could be quite different and change over the course of time.

Finally, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is one of the first Arabic books, full stop. And it contains self-reflective passages about what it means to read a book – namely critically, searching for the deeper meaning, and then applying the acquired knowledge in real life. The text demonstrably invited interference by those who dealt with it. Being a book of wisdom and a guide to ethics and practical intelligence, it spoke to élites and commoners, adults and children. Through its (often graphic) substories it is also eminently entertaining. (One of our associate projects is to create, based on our research, a teaching tool for the Arabic language.) These many facets have been part of the book since its inception, making it irreducible to one »message«. Nor can it be assigned to one genre; rather, it shares traits with several.[7]

Goals and Methods

Much research on the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna* came to a grinding halt in the early decades of the last century – even as versions of the work in some other languages were being published and studied.[8] A critical edition was never completed. The present project focuses on the Arabic versions, as among the least researched, most problematic, and also most urgent, since these served as the basis for all later versions.

The foremost obstacle is the text's *mouvance*, which takes place in writing and precludes a traditional stemmatic reconstruction. The so-called copyists (named or anonymous) rewrote the text in gradual or drastic ways and are *de facto* redactors – though they did not acknowledge their interference – as they acted not unlike those who versified or translated the work. In the course of the book's textual history, they overwrote the Arabic translator-redactor Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. c. 139/757), so that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is a classic, but its authorship has effectively become anonymous.[9]

The project's goal is to document the text's motions, and not to attempt any sort of (ahistorical) reconstruction of a putative original – made impossible by a half-millennium interval between the composition (eighth century) and the earliest extant manuscripts (thirteenth century), and by their great variety from that point onward. This task is accomplished through a comprehensive gathering of data from all Arabic manuscripts, a more selective digitization and analysis thereof,[10] the comparative display of manuscripts in a digital infrastructure,[11] and studies of the text's salient aspects.[12] The manuscripts convey not only the movement of the text itself, its changes, cuts and additions,[13] and the text's interaction with illustrations,[14] but their paratexts also reveal much about the work's targeted readership and reception, including the spotty information culled from literary sources about the »dark«

---

7 On this point, see part II, the section by Matthew L. Keegan.

8 The project has gathered a substantial and growing number of these published versions. See part III, the section by Theodore S. Beers.

9 For a further discussion of these aspects (anonymity, authorship, and literary status), see part II, the section by Isabel Toral.

10 Our processes of manuscript transcription and analysis are described in part I, the sections by Rima Redwan and Khouloud Khalfallah, respectively.

11 On the software being adapted and developed for the project, see part III, the section by Mahmoud Kozae and Marwa M. Ahmed.

12 Some of the literary questions that we investigate are discussed in part II, the sections by Isabel Toral, Johannes Stephan, and Matthew L. Keegan, respectively.

13 See, for example, the review of the issues of *continua* and *cross-copying* in part I, the section by Beatrice Gruendler.

14 On image cycles in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts, see part I, the second section by Rima Redwan.

phase before the appearance of complete manuscripts.[15] The information gained from the manuscripts allows further observation of (a) the oscillation of the language between Classical Arabic and Middle Arabic (a hybrid language with its own features); (b) the agency of the so-called copyists, unacknowledged but visible in their interference in the text, as well as in paratexts, including tables of contents, not to mention the illustrations in a large proportion of the manuscripts; and (c) the combination (juxtaposed or merged) with other works in multiple-text manuscripts, helping to place *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in relation to diverse literary genres.

To cover the various linguistic, literary, and cultural facets, AnonymClassic has assembled a team of scholars on Arabic codicology, literary studies, the languages of the book's early versions (Syriac, Arabic, Persian), and computer science. Aspects not covered by the team (e.g., Sanskrit sources, Judeo-Arabic fragments, Latin, Old Castilian and Hebrew versions) are addressed by the project's partners.[16]

The concrete goal of AnonymClassic is to publish a comparative edition of selected manuscripts as the basis for a full, digitized edition of those manuscripts that best chart the motions of the text, to be accompanied by studies of aspects of its history, Middle Arabic, cultural translation and fictionality. This will be placed at the disposal of future research on *Kalīla and Dimna* in all its global diversity.

Part I – Codicology

The Syriac Manuscript Situation – Jan J. van Ginkel

In the sixth century CE, most likely at the Sasanian court, a Middle Persian collection of fables was created out of several Sanskrit collections. This Middle Persian *Kalīla and Dimna* was quickly translated into Syriac, most likely at the end of the sixth century, as there are no traces of the Arabic tradition in this text. The translator is named in a fourteenth-century source, the *Catalogue of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Books* of ʿAbdishoʿ bar Brikha, as Budh the Periodeutes.[17]

This first Syriac translation survived in only one manuscript, copied by a certain deacon Hormizd near ʿAmādiya in northern Iraq in 1524. After its rediscovery in Mardin in the library of the Chaldean Patriarchate in 1870, in the following years four copies were made for Western scholars. In 1895, the Chaldean patriarch brought the manuscript to Paris and gave it to the Societé Asiatique and René Graffin. After Graffin had taken it home with him, François Nau was able to write a brief description of the codex in 1911.[18] Since then its whereabouts have been unknown.[19] According to Nau, the manuscript consisted of 134 folios, but there were originally more. *Kalīla and Dimna* fills the first 116 folios, but at least four additional folios have been lost from this section.[20] It was written in an East Syriac script and had a

---

15   On the importance of studying the early »indirect transmission«, see part II, the section by Johannes Stephan.

16   For more on these partnerships, see the project website: https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/kalila-wa-dimna/.

17   See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3/2, 219-220. Assemani argues that Budh was active around 570.

18   Nau, Manuscrit de Mgr Graffin.

19   It is possible that it ended up in the archive of the collection *Patrologia Orientalis.*

20   The last part (fols. 117-132) contained an apocryphal text, the Apocalypse of Paul (*Visio Pauli*).

wooden cover. Red ink was used to indicate the names of »speakers«. Nau thought the copy-
ist was probably a student, due to a number of irregularities and the generally unstable hand.
There were many omissions and corrections in the text and in the margins. The margins also
contained religious comments and scribal exercises.

Unlike the original, the four copies made for the use of scholars have been preserved. In
1870, Johannes Elia made the first copy in Mardin for Gustav Bickell, who used it as the basis
for the first edition of the text.[21] Although this copy, Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und
Universitätsbibliothek, MS Syr. 1, retains the text of some of the lost folios, the copyist seems
not to have been fully able to understand the text. For example, he transcribed the East Syr-
iac text in West Syriac script, but, at times, used West Syriac characters that looked similar
to the East Syriac characters, rather than the real equivalent.[22] He also inserted some of the
liturgical marginalia into the main text.

On the order of Eduard Sachau, three more copies were made in or near Mosul, after the
Patriarch had moved the original manuscript there.[23] In 1881-1882, Jeremias Shamir made
the second copy, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Syr. 104 (Sachau 139). In the colophon, the
copyist indicates that the original had no diacritics or vowels, and that he therefore added
them himself. This implies that all vocalization in the various manuscripts has been added by
the later copyists and is, therefore, not necessarily authentic.

The third copy, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Syr. 105 (Sachau 150), again by Jeremias,
dates from 1882 and has hardly any diacritics or vocalization, likely better reflecting the orig-
inal. In 1883 (probably), a priest named Joseph made a fourth copy, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,
MS Syr. 106 (Sachau 149). Even though textually this copy provides us with the best version,
it also has the most omissions. The copyist likewise added his own diacritics and may well
have corrected or »improved« his *Vorlage* once or twice.

In addition to this Syriac version based on the Middle Persian text, there is also a second
Syriac version of *Kalīla and Dimna* based on an early Arabic text.[24] An unknown transla-
tor produced this highly Christianized rendering in the tenth or eleventh century. It shares
many elements of the early Arabic tradition with other translated versions like the Greek,
the Hebrew, and the Old Castilian. This work, which has survived in a unique manuscript,
now at Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1505, consists of 209 folios, with *Kalīla and Dimna* be-
ing on the first 184 folios. The original manuscript dates from the thirteenth century, but
large parts, most notably fols. 1-160, were restored in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A
second touch-up of several passages took place in around 1613. The text has many copying
errors, which may have been caused, in part, by the extensive restoration. The origin of the
manuscript is unknown, but it was most likely produced in northern Iraq. This codex is, in
principle, no longer accessible, as the paper and vellum are brittle and, in addition, because
it has been rebound too tightly.

---

21 Bickell, *Kalilag und Damnag.*

22 For example, East Syriac *aleph* (ܐ) was read as West Syriac *taw* (ܬ).

23 See Schulthess, *Kalila und Dimna.*

24 Wright, *Book of Kalilah and Dimnah.*

Making an edition based on these manuscripts presents many challenges, as both of the Syriac textual traditions have been severely mangled in transmission. Both Nau's description of the manuscript of the older version and the elaborate restoration of the manuscript of the newer version are clear indicators that the text is less well established than one might imagine based on published editions. It is therefore obvious that comparison with other versions of *Kalīla and Dimna*, in all of the various linguistic traditions, is essential for editing the Syriac versions.

Arabic Manuscript Transcription and Textual Segmentation – Rima Redwan

The Arabic manuscripts of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* pose complex questions of their own. In each manuscript, the number and order of chapters tends to vary. In most cases, the manuscripts are subdivided into seventeen or eighteen chapters, including the prefaces. For the process of our analysis, we have thus far focused our transcription work on six chapters or passages thereof. This initial selection, which covers the different phases of the book's textual history mentioned in the introduction above, consists of the following passages: »The Owls and the Crows« (Oc), originating from the *Panchatantra*; »The Mouse and the Cat« (Mc), originating from the *Mahābhārata*; »The King and His Dreams« (Kd), of unknown, perhaps Sanskrit origin; »Burzoy's Long Voyage« (Lv), originating from the Sasanian redaction; and the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (Im) and the added tale »The Ascetic and the Guest« (Ag), both from the Arabic translation-redaction.[25]

Speaking in very general terms, in the process of manuscript transcription, two paradigms may be followed: diplomatic and normalized transcription. The diplomatic mode is used for retaining the orthography as-is (to the extent possible), while normalized transcription is meant to facilitate the presentation and comparison of the content. In practice, this is more of a spectrum than a binary. Editors strive to render their source materials faithfully, while introducing the degree of normalization required to achieve the other goals of their work. The balance that is struck will depend on a range of factors, and some compromise is usually unavoidable.

The approach implemented in our project falls well within the realm of normalized transcription. We are working with a large number of manuscripts, whose variations in textual content are already substantial, even before considering the finer points of orthography and scribal practice. It needs to be feasible for us to make meaningful comparisons (both manually and with digital tools) across this corpus of sources. And there are special challenges in the Arabic script, which is, to begin with, an *abjad* or »consonantary«. The letters represent consonants and long vowels, while short vowels are left for the reader to understand from context – or, in some cases, indicated by means of diacritical marks. This means that reading requires a layer of interpretation that is not applicable in, for instance, the Latin alphabet. (There are other relevant features of the Arabic script, but this is perhaps the most obvious difference to emphasize to non-specialists.) We ensure that our transcription of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts follows a fairly uniform writing standard. The orthography is adjusted to Classical Arabic. It is important to note, however, that this normalization concerns neither morphology nor syntax. Cases of non-classical syntax, in which individual words still follow Classical Arabic, are kept in the transcription. Also retained are specific Middle Arabic morphological forms, such as non-classical verbal stems.

---

25 We use the chapter abbreviations of François de Blois: *Burzōy's Voyage*, 62.

Our next step is the segmentation of the text, enabling literary analysis and comparison. Each chapter is segmented into semantic units, each of these being marked by a unique title. These units are based on the textual structure, reflecting separate, self-contained parts of monologue, dialogue, or third-person narrative, as well as wisdom sayings (*ḥikam*) and analogical images (*amthāl*). Based on these segmented units, synoptic digital editions are created. The primary tool that we use is the LERA platform,[26] which supports editions of any number of digitized manuscripts of a given passage. The segmentation thus provides the possibility of gaining a comprehensive overview of the structure of each version of the text, as well as enabling a comparison with any other textual variant. With regard to the juxtaposition of variants among the manuscripts, this edition is our key procedure.

Manuscript Description and Classification – Khouloud Khalfallah

Considering the abundance of textual witnesses that we have gathered in the AnonymClassic project, we are confronted with the challenge of extracting and examining all aspects of the roughly 140 *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts that we have identified, of which we have already obtained copies of around 95. To be able to meet this challenge, we have divided our process into three main workstreams.

First is a codicological study of all specimens. The aim of this study is to collect and ascertain the material data of the manuscripts. This includes general information about each codex, such as the relevant catalog information, the place of origin, the date of completion of the copy, the presence or absence of a colophon, etc. This survey also covers more detailed material aspects of each manuscript, for example, the dimensions of the paper, the number of lines per page, the existence of a frame, text division elements, and catchwords. Another important component in our description work is the script. Therefore, useful information about the script is added to this category, including the script type and execution, the colors of ink used by the copyist, the number of hands found in the copy, as well as the presence of diacritics and vowel marks, and other general aspects of the orthography. The linguistic features observed in a manuscript allow us to place its register between Classical and Middle Arabic. (The latter term is still insufficiently defined; we therefore make note of the specific features.) To finish work on this first stage, we also examine any illustrations, noting, among other characteristics, their frequency, placement, and style. In cases where illustrations are left blank or are substituted by legends, we take care to capture their format.

After collecting this information, we move to the second phase, which is to assess the version or form in which *Kalīla wa-Dimna* appears in each manuscript. This part includes some basic information about the manuscript, such as the name of the copyist, the frequency and placement of any notes, and the patron associated with the copy (where applicable). An important aspect of this phase is to compare the chapter sequence found in the table of contents (if present) against the sequence that occurs throughout the text itself. All *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts are then classified according to their actual chapter sequences. Finally, the *incipit* and *explicit* of a copy are noted to record its unique features.

---

26   On the LERA platform, see part III, the section by Mahmoud Kozae and Marwa M. Ahmed.

In the third part of this analysis, we focus on the content of the text, in order to be able to establish links among different copies. Through the segmentation system that we have designed, and thanks to the LERA platform that we are using, the process of comparing manuscript versions of select passages has become easier, clearer, and more precise. According to our interim observations and results, we evaluate the text in each chapter or passage based on its length (i.e., the number of semantic units contained) and structure (i.e., the sequence of semantic units). Within the same copy, we record all of the different phenomena of rewriting: cuts, additions, and changes. One interesting case of rewriting took place in London, British Library, MS Or. 3900 (hereafter L3900), a twelfth/eighteenth-century manuscript. In the first unit of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's preface, the copyist assumes authorship himself and drops the name of the Arabic translator-redactor and the title of the book.[27]
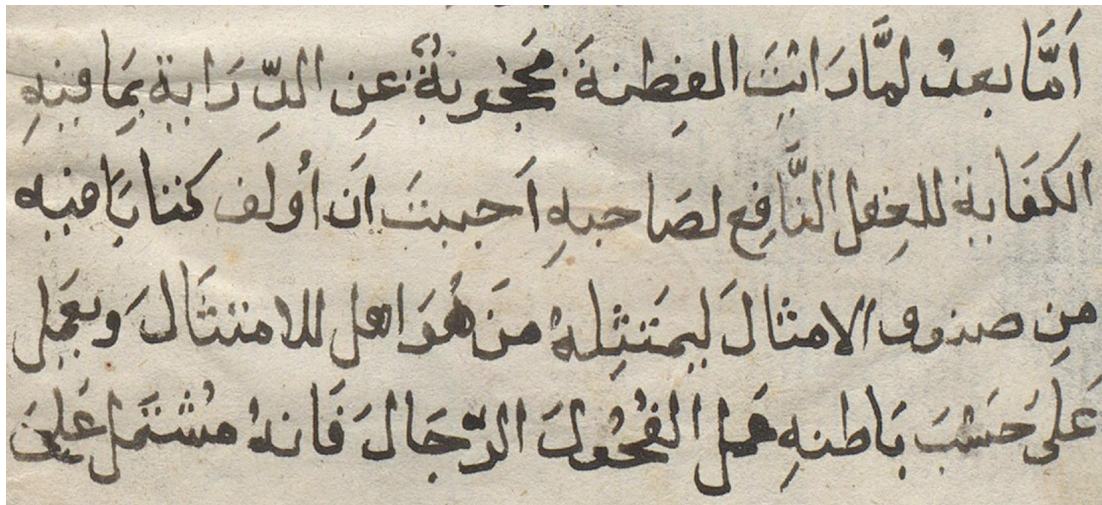

Fig. 1: London, British Library, MS Or. 3900 (1166/1752-1753), fol. 1v. »To proceed: When I saw intelligence becoming veiled from knowledge, which enables the mind to help him who possesses one, I wanted to compose a book with kinds of parables ...«

---

27 On this manuscript, see also part I, the section by Beatrice Gruendler and part II, the section by Isabel Toral, respectively.

Image Cycles in Kalīla wa-Dimna *Manuscripts – Rima Redwan*

Illustrations are an essential element in the textual transmission of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; they provide an important source of information for, among other things, a manuscript's dating (if it is otherwise undated), its place of production, and its relation to other codices.

From the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (Im), it is clear that manuscripts of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* were intended to be illustrated:

> It was intended to show images (*khayālāt*) of the animals in varieties of paints and colors (*aṣbāgh, alwān*) to delight the hearts of princes and increase their pleasure, and also the degree of care that they would bestow on the work.[28]

Here, the question of the intended audience arises: What kind of reader did the author of the text aim to address?[29] If this »author« was not Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ himself, one can assume that this passage represents the view of a copyist of the thirteenth century or earlier, since the earliest version of this textual unit is found in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465 (hereafter P3465), dated to the first part of that century. The copyist may thus have given an *ex post* explanation for the illustrations that were actually present in the manuscripts on which he was working.

An important aspect of the use of illustrations is their relation to the appeal of stories; namely, their number seems to correlate with the number of substories within a given chapter. A look at »The Lion and the Ox« (Lo), for example, shows that this is the chapter with the highest number of illustrations and also with the most substories (fifteen).

About one-third of the total 140 *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts for which we have gathered data are illustrated, or display gaps in the text that were intended to be filled with illustrations. A significant feature is the inclusion of captions, which in some cases occur even without the described illustrations (with or without spaces left blank). For the most part, a caption or legend provides the reader not merely with the name of the illustrated character(s), but also with a short description of the matching narrative scene or part of the plot. Beyond offering information and linking image to text, such detailed captions serve a visual function and must be seen as an integral part of the picture.

Regardless of the illustrations' style, the depicted motifs intervene at specific points in the narrative and deserve detailed examination for the ways in which they structure the plot and highlight specific scenes of the frame narrative, main tales, and substories. Thus, the places where illustrations are inserted represent a key aspect of each version. The resulting sequence of images in a given codex – termed the »image cycle« – becomes a factor in classifying the interrelation of manuscripts. A good example of manuscripts bearing similarities in image and text are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 400 (hereafter Pococke 400); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3467 (hereafter P3467); and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 616 (hereafter München 616). These three manuscripts originate from fourteenth-century Egypt or Syria. Not only in their motifs, but also in terms of the style and color palette, the similarities are striking. The three manuscripts' text is nearly identical, and they belong to the same image cycle.

---

28   On this passage as a semantic unit, see part I, the section by Beatrice Gruendler.

29   On the readership of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, see part II, the section by Johannes Stephan.

46

٤٦

صفة الوعلان ينتطحان وقد سالت دماهما

والنعلك يلغ فى الدم بينهما وقد نطحاه فقلاه ؛

الّتى اضافت فيها الناسك   فسمعته الجارية من الحمر صرفا حتى غلب

ونامت الجارية معه   فجاءله يقصبة فهاشما وكانت اعدته

Fig. 2(a): Oxford, Bodleian, MS Pococke 400 (755/1354), fol. 46r.

Fig. 2(b): Paris, BnF, MS arabe 3467 (c. 750/1350), fol. 15v.[30]

30 Images reproduced in this article from manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France are considered to be in the public domain.

Fig. 2(c): München, BStB, MS 616 (first half of the eighth/fourteenth century), fol. 48v.

A different kind of relationship among illustrations in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts can be demonstrated with a dramatic scene in the chapter »The King and His Dreams« (Kd), in which the vizier returns to the king pretending to have executed the queen on his order. Here the same motif is illustrated, but carried out in completely different styles regarding the number of characters shown, their bodily proportions, dress, and posture, and the representation of the surroundings – from nothing (Rabat, Bibliothèque royale, MS 3655; hereafter Rabat 3655) via a thin line frame (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, MS EY 344; hereafter Istanbul EY 344) and a prop (the king's veil in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 578; hereafter CCCP 578) to a fully realized architecture (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 5881; hereafter P5881).

Aside from the dating of the manuscripts, each one contains a different version of the text. But these four are the only manuscripts found so far that include this motif of the vizier with the blood-smeared sword. In this context the question presents itself: Who decided in a given version which of the scenes should be illustrated?

Fig. 3(a): Rabat, Br, MS 3655 (c. 1265-1280 CE), fol. 100v.

٢٦٥

ان بغيت ولست امنا لامنة الملك على عجلتي بغنلتها فلست نعامل
حتى استطيع راى الملك فان ندم وحزن على ما صنع رددته اليه
وان نمر ابها را يده على قتلها العذت لا به فيها وانى ان انفذ
من التثل عملت ثلاثة اعمال مها ان اجى هلت من العتل
ومنها ان اخبرها على لناس ومنها ان اردبه؟ ان حبل على الملك
فى مثل هذا فيعلم انه لا ينبغى له ان يعجل فا طلفت بلاد
وسلت الى منزله فوكل ؟ رجلين من امنا الملك على نسايه
وامراها كعنطها وصيا ننها واكرامها حتى يطلع راى الملك
مبنها ثم حصت بلاد سقم بالدوم ودخل علمه حزن نا كبسا

صورة بلاد قذ دخل على الملك وسيفه مخضب بالدم

Fig. 3(b): Istanbul, AM, MS EY 344 (eleventh/seventeenth century), fol. 132v.

Fig. 3(c): Cambridge, CCC, Parker Lib., MS 578 (eighth/fourteenth century), fol. 108r.[31]

---

31   This image is covered by a Creative Commons NonCommercial license.

صورة الملك جالسًا في مجلسه وبلاد قد دخل عليه وستبقيه يقطر مام

قال له ان الملك لم يلبث الا قليلًا حتى بكى غضبه وتذكر ايلاد واشتاق ما قدم
عليها ما كان عنده واشتد حتى نذر عليها و غلبه الحيا ان نال بلاد عنها رجالًا لما سمع فرس
ادیم فی عقله و فضله و علم و حیران یکون اسقا علیها و ما قلبها فعال له بلاد انها
الملك انتهم ولا نحب و انذ لا مسقد لک فی ذلک لا نذ لا رد عنک شیا بلاد نذر ذلک نضر الروح
و الجسد رع اسآء الصدور و ثمانر الغبرق باصبر و لا استتر علی جامات و ان شبنت
قصصت علیک حدیث حر مغید شبم امرل و ما انت فیه قال له الملک اذکر الملک لا انتی
له بلاد زعوا ان زوجا من جهام کان له مرض وکرن فهلا انم حیاما ذکر الذکر لا انتی
منه شیا و انا انا ابلغی من دومنام نضیب و می حصل النسا و البرد و نصنع نذه عند
جاحسنا الیه قال و اوعند الامن علی ذلک و کان ذلک الحب و ایام الحصاد فطا یشی
یعض وقل قراه الذکر کان قد نقض عن مقداره الذی کان علیه فلا منها الذکر علی نقصه
خلفت لها الانثی اهلام یاعرف منه شیا فلم نضرها و حمل ینقر راسها حتی قلها کله
فلما قرب الزمان و بدی الحب عاد الی ما کان علیه اول ما کان قدم الذکر علی قلبها و علم

Fig. 3(d): Paris, BnF, MS arabe 5881 (1092/1681), fol. 75r.

In sum, illustrations impart many kinds of information, providing evidence for dating and provenance, confirming relations among manuscripts, and offering important clues for literary analysis, as they highlight particular moments in the narrative.[32]

Manuscript Continua and Cross-Copying – Beatrice Gruendler

The Arabic manuscripts of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* have so far been found to relate to each other in two major ways, namely, as *continua* or by *cross-copying*. Not all manuscripts fit these models; for example, there are a handful of early copies (eighth/fourteenth to ninth/fifteenth centuries) that stand apart.[33] Also disregarded here are verbatim copies of known manuscripts, whose proportion is minor. What follows is an interim result, based on several dozen of the roughly 95 manuscripts that we have collected. Our conclusions will doubtless continue to evolve as the project moves forward.

Continua

For our purposes, a continuum is understood as a group of manuscripts that resemble each other in macrostructure and microstructure yet deviate in many places.[34] In terms of the macrostructure, this means that the manuscripts of a continuum share most of their semantic units as well as their sequence. This being said, the sequence of units is fairly stable overall, and a restructuring, as happens in three of the six passages chosen for close analysis, defines a continuum. In terms of microstructure, i.e., the formulation within the individual units, differences are minor but numerous, and they vary in degree. Passages of near-verbatim identity across most manuscripts of a continuum alternate with new elements, ranging from single words or phrases to longer sentences. Two distinct continua have so far been defined; they are referred to after the libraries that hold particularly representative manuscripts.

The London continuum (hereafter L-c) is named after two manuscripts at the British Library – MS Or. 8751 (dated 799/1369) and MS Or. 4044 (dated to the ninth/fifteenth century; hereafter L4044) – and it also includes Istanbul, Ayasofya, MS 4095 (dated 618/1221). This continuum is likely the earlier of the two that we have identified, as it shares some structural features (the presence and sequence of units) with eighth/fourteenth-century copies that fall outside of it. In total, the manuscripts belonging to this group are fewer and mostly older than those of the other continuum. One unusual case is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3466 (dated 854/1450; hereafter P3466), as it belongs to the London continuum in later chapters (»The King and His Dreams«; »The Mouse and the Cat«; »The Ascetic and the Guest«), while matching the Paris continuum in earlier chapters (e.g., Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's preface).[35]

---

32 For a study of such illustrations from an art-historical perspective, see Vernay-Nouri and Brac de la Perrière, *Journeys of Kalila and Dimna.*

33 These include Rabat 3655; Riyadh, King Faisal Center, MS 2536 (dated 747/1346; hereafter Riyadh 2536); and Istanbul EY 344.

34 The term »continuum« has been employed in a descriptive manner by Charlotte Touati for the relationship of Christian Arabic apocrypha. This is discussed in Schulthess, *Manuscrits arabes,* 7. Our usage is more tailored to the case of *Kalīla wa-Dimna.*

35 Again, we follow the chapter shorthand of de Blois. The abbreviations of the chapters mentioned in this paragraph are as follows, in order: Kd; Mc; Ag; Im.

The Paris continuum (hereafter P-c) is named after noteworthy representatives that are held at the Bibliothèque nationale, namely, MSS arabes 3465, 3473 (dated to the eleventh/seventeenth century; hereafter P3473), and 3466 (albeit only in earlier chapters). It furthermore includes subcontinua with closer mutual proximity, namely, Riyadh, King Faisal Center, MS 2407 (dated 1103/1692) and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Wetzstein II 672 (dated 1246/1830), both similar to P3473; and Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie, MS 2281 (dated 1070/1660) and Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, MS 0022(2) (dated 1263/1847), both similar to P3466. The Paris continuum proliferates at a later time, flourishing up to the nineteenth century, and it is better represented numerically.

For comparison, the two continua are shown based on the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, where the structural differences are most distinct (see *Figs. 4(a)* and *4(b)* below). In L-c the position of the substory of the merchant and his partner occurs in the middle (units 90-97) and has no further tales following it, with the betraying partner remaining ashamed and silent regarding his erroneous theft. Units 96-97 belong solely to this continuum, as they are needed to end the substory here. This version of the preface gives emphasis throughout to the processes of critical reading, reflection, and the need to verify received information, as well as advising mental fortitude and moral stamina. (Other units specific to this continuum are 8, 10, 18, 22-23, 45-46, 56, 65, and 68; omitted here are those units that appear in only one manuscript.) The conclusion of the chapter focuses on understanding the book, mentioning the preface's addition by the Arabic translator-redactor Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and the importance of heeding his instructions. He speaks here in the first person (units 86-88). The double meaning of the fables is not explained, in keeping with the absence of further tales after the merchant and his partner.

P-c, by contrast, foregrounds and enhances the storytelling. The substory of the merchant and his partner is here placed at the end and followed by additional substories. In this version, the betraying partner admits his guilt, and this is followed by a dialogue between the two merchants, including an analogous subtale about a thief who confuses a jar of grain with a jar of gold (units 102-103). The merchants' dialogue and the conclusion of this internal frame (units 95, 98-101, and 106) are likewise specific to P-c. Further subtales of this continuum concern three brothers, the older two of whom squander their shares of the father's inheritance, while the youngest saves them with his own (units 108-113); and a fisher and a pearl (115-116). This version explains the reading of fables as a process of decoding, using the logical technical terms of premises (*muqaddimāt*) and conclusions (*natāʾij*). The double-layeredness is taken up in the conclusion (unit 124), which characterizes the book as serving four goals for four different audiences: children, rulers, copyists and illustrators,[36] and philosophers. The features of this version make it more entertaining, all the while justifying this entertainment as an outward manifestation hiding a deeper meaning.

---

36   See the quote about illustrations in part I, the second section by Rima Redwan.

Synopsis of semantic units in the chapter Im

			Paris 3465	Paris 3473	Paris 3466	Paris 5881	Ayasofya 4095	London 8751	London 4044
		Chapter sequence	A	B	D	C	C var.	C var.	A var.
		Date	13th c.	17th c.	854/1450	1092/1681	618/1221	799/1369	15th c.
Unit no.	Unit type	Unit XML ID	P3465	P3473	P3466	P5881	A4095	L8751	L4044
1	n	ImBaydabasComposition							
2	g	ImUniqueBookOfWisdom		1					
3	n	ImIndiansCodeAnimalSpeech	1	2	1		1	1	1
4	n	ImBookReunitesAspects	2	3	2		2	2	2
5	m	ImFarmerObtainsWeeds		4					
6	n	ImBooksUsesAreWisdomPlay	3	5	3		3	3	3
7	m	ImBequeathedTreasure	4	6			4	4	4
8	n	ImKnowledgeManyBranches					5	5	5
9	n	ImReaderIgnoringCodeNoBenefit	5	7	4				6
10	n	ImReaderToReflect				1	6	6	7
11	n	ImFastReaderNoBenefit	6	8	5	2	7	7	8
12	n	ImIndiscriminateReaderNoBenefit	7	9	6	3	8	8	9
13	m	ImBuriedTreasureLost	8	10	7	4	9	9	10
14	ml	ImDiscovererHiresHelp	9	11		5	10	10	11
15	m	ImDiscovererLosesTreasure	10	12		6	11	11	12
16	ḥ	ImReadingNotInDepthNoBenefit	11	13		7	12	12	13
17	m	ImNutCrackedForBenefit	12	14		8	13	13	14
18	n	ImGleanSecretKnowledge				9	14	14	15
19	m	ImMemorizedSheetNoKnowledge	13	15	8	10	15	15	16
20	n	ImUnderstandingReaderMustAct	14	16	9	11	16	16	17
21	ḥ	ImReasonSelfDenialNeverTooMuch		17	10	12	17		18
22	ḥ	ImLifeNeedsCultureKnowledge				13	18		19
23	m	ImNoScorningCultureDeath					19	17	
24	m	ImCultureIsLikeSpark		18	11	14	20	18	20
25	ḥ	ImCultureRaisesKnowledgeForUseA		19	12	15	21	19	21
26	m	ImManThrowsBallHigh					22		22
27	ḥ	ImBuildingRestsOnBasis							
28	n	ImCultureRaisesKnowledgeForUseB					23		
29	m	ImManNoticingBurglarFallsAsleep	15	20	13	16	24	20	23
30	ḥ	ImUnusedKnowledgeIsIncomplete	16	21	14	17	25	21	24
31	m	ImKnowledgeActionIsTreeFruit	17	22	15	18	26	22	25
32	ḥ	ImNoActionNoScholar	18	23		19	27	23	26
33	n	ImManLearnsOfLostTraveller				20	28	24	27
34	m	ImInformedManTakesRiskyRoad	19	24	16	21	29	25	28
35	n	ImManErrsDespiteInfo	20	25		22	30	26	29
36	m	ImInformedPatientTakesBadFood	21	26		23	31	27	30
37	ḥ	ImWhoDistinguishesHasNoExcuse	22	27		24	32	28	31
38	m	ImSeeingManInDitchNoExcuse	23	28	17	25	33	29	32
39	ḥ	ImScholarMustTeachHimself	24	29	18	26	34	30	33
40	m	ImSourceBenefitsOnlyOthers	25		19	27	35	31	34
41	m	ImSilkWormBenefitsOnlyOthers	26	30	20				
42	ḥ	ImLearnerMustTameSoul	27	31	21			32	35
43	ḥ	ImThingsNeededForWorldlyLife	28	32	22	28	36	33	36
44	ḥ	ImNoBlamingFaultsOneHasToo	29	33	23				
45	ḥ	ImActionPursuedForBenefit				29	37	34	37
46	m	ImSomeReadersErrInThis					38	35	38
47	m	ImPassiveReaderLikeBlind							
48	m	ImBlindBlamingBlind	30	34	24		39	36	39
49	n	ImNoBenefitByOthersHarm				30	40	37	40
50	n	ImPursuitMustHaveLimit	31	35		38	48	45	48
51	ḥ	ImWhoStrivesAimlesslyFails				39			
52	ḥ	ImJourneyWithoutLimitKills	32	36		40	49	46	49
53	n	ImNoSeekingTheUnreachable	33	37		41	50	47	50
54	n	ImNoPreferringHereToHereafter	34	38		42	51	48	51
55	ḥ	ImDetachmentEasesDeath	35	39		43	52	49	52
56	ḥ	ImNoDespairDespiteHardship					53	50	53
57	ḥ	ImTwoThingsSuitAll	36	40	25	44	54	51	54
58	ḥ	ImTwoThingsDoNotSuitAll	37	41	26				
59	m	ImFireBurnsAll	38	42	27	45	55	52	55
60	m	ImFireWaterDoNotJoin	39	43	28				
61	n	ImGodsGiftUnexpected	40	44		46	56	53	56
62	m	ImPauperWinsBurglarsGarb	41	45		47	57	54	57
63	ml	ImThiefTakesJar	42	46		48	58	55	58
64	m	ImPauperCatchesThief	43	47		49	59	56	59
65	m	ImIntelligentMustNotDespair				50	60	57	60
66	n	ImStrivingNotExpectingLuck	44	48		51	61	58	61

Synopsis of semantic units in the chapter Im

Unit no.	Unit type	Unit XML ID	Paris 3465	Paris 3473	Paris 3466	Paris 5881	Ayasofya 4095	London 8751	London 4044
		Chapter sequence	A	B	D	C	C var.	C var.	A var.
		Date	13th c.	17th c.	854/1450	1092/1681	618/1221	799/1369	15th c.
			P3465	P3473	P3466	P5881	A4095	L8751	L4044
67	n	ImFortunateFewNoModel	45	49		52	62	59	62
68	n	ImStrivingMassesAreModel				53	63	60	63
69	n	ImStrivingForBenefitNotHarm	46	50		54	64	61	64
70	m	ImDoveRepeatsLossOfChick	47	51		55	65	62	65
71	m	ImJudgeOfLegalTricks							
72	n	ImGuardingGodsMeasure	48		29	56	66	63	66
73	ḥ	ImStrivingForHereHereafter	49	52	30	59	67	64	68
74	ḥ	ImStrivingForHere	50	53	31	58		65	69
75	ḥ	ImStrivingForHereafter				57			67
76	ḥ	ImThreeThingsForWorldlyMan	51	54	32	60	68	66	70
77	ḥ	ImThingsMarkingTheUseless	52	55	33	61	69	67	71
78	n	ImManyAreCredulous	53	56	34	62	70	68	72
79	n	ImBelievingInformation				63	71	69	73
80	n	ImCheckingOnesDesire	54	57	35	64	72	70	74
81	n	ImCheckingInfoForTruth	55	58	36	65	73	71	75
82	m	ImContinuingOnWrongPath	56	59	37	66	74	72	76
83	m	ImLosingItchyEye	57	60	38	67	75	73	77
84	n	ImHeedingDecreeResolve	58	61	39	68	76	74	78
85	n	ImDoUntoOtherAsToOneself	59	62	40	69	77	75	79
86	n	ImReaderMustHeedPreface				70	78	76	80
87	n	ImUnderstandingBookBenefits				71	79	77	81
88	n	ImThrowingStoneInDark					80		
89	n	ImTransAddsChapterToExplain				72	81	78	82
90	m	ImMerchantStealsFromPartner	60	63	41	31	41	38	41
91	ml	ImMerchantDevisesPlot	61	64	42	32	42	39	42
92	m	ImMerchantExecutesPlot	62	65	43	33	43	40	43
93	ml	ImPartnerFindsGarb	63	66	44	34	44	41	44
94	m	ImMerchantStealsOwnBale	64	67	45	35	45	42	45
95	m	ImMerchantSeesErrorAtHome	65	68	46				
96	m	ImMerchantSeesErrorInShop				36	46	43	46
97	m	ImMerchantSilentAboutBetrayal				37	47	44	47
98	ml	ImPartnerFearsAccusationMono	66		47				
99	d	ImPartnerFearsAccusationDialog	67	69	48				
100	d	ImMerchantAdmitsTreachery	68	70	49				
101	d	ImPartnerRequestsExplaining	69	71	50				
102	d	ImPartnersParableMerchantThief	70	72	51				
103	m	ImThiefTakesGrainForGold	71	73	52				
104	m	ImThiefEyesJar							
105	m	ImThiefTakesGrain							
106	d	ImMerchantForfeitsTrust	72	74	53				
107	n	ImReadingForParables	73	75	54				
108	m	ImTwoBrothersSquander	74	76					
109	ml	ImYoungestReflectsOnWealth	75	77					
110	ḥ	ImMisspendingRichIsPoor	76	78					
111	ḥ	ImRightSpendingEarnsPraise	77	79					
112	ḥ	ImFalseSpendingBringsRegret	78	80					
113	ml	ImYoungestSpendsOnSiblings	79	81					
114	n	ImReaderMustTakeTime	80	82	55				
115	m	ImFisherFindsEmptyShell	81	83	56				
116	m	ImFisherMissesPearl	82	84	57				
117	n	ImSuperficialReadersMissMeaning	83	85					
118	n	ImPleasureSeekingReaders	84	86					
119	m	ImGardenerNeglectsHarvest	85	87					
120	d	ImReaderNeedsStaminaFocus		88	58				
121	m	ImPhilDiscipleTwoOwners		89					
122	m	ImFriendsReachAgreementByCounseling							
123	d	ImPrefaceToExplainHighAudience			59				
124	n	ImBookHasFourGoals	86	90	60				
125	tm	ImEndOfPrefaceBegContents	87		61				
126	tm	ImEndOfPrefBegLvOrBu						82	
127	ḥ	ImCultureLightsUpHeart							

Figs. 4(a-b): Tabulation of semantic units in the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, toward the end of which the Paris (left) and London (right) continua show clear divergence.

Cross-Copying

One phenomenon that could be detected particularly with the aid of the synoptic editions of the LERA platform is that some copyist-redactors composed their versions out of several others in a process of cross-copying.[37] This term has been preferred here over »contamination«, which has long been employed in classical and medieval studies but is increasingly seen as outdated, and which presupposes a reconstructable original text (or »Urtext«). It is uncertain how these manuscripts came about, but given the great variety of versions already in the eighth/fourteenth century, it is plausible that copyists consulting various available *Vorlagen* for reproduction chose to combine their different facets into one comprehensive version. This recalls compilation techniques known from scholarly works, for instance in lexicography; but there all elements of different sources are assembled and recombined, whereas here the parts that are incorporated are carefully selected, while others are cut. Excluded here are cases in which versions appear to have been combined by error, such as Riyadh 2536, in which a missing page in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's preface is restored from a *Vorlage* of a different continuum, resulting in many duplications. The practice of cross-copying appears as early as the fourteenth century, in Pococke 400 and CCCP 578, but here it will be shown in P5881.

In the long version of the voyage of Burzoy to India (Lv), the Persian king gives a description of the kind of person to be chosen for the dangerous mission of retrieving the book of wisdom (unit 16, »LvKingSearchesScholar«; see the tabulation of manuscripts, *Fig. 5*, at the end of this section). Elements from different manuscripts are found combined in P5881 in this unit. The beginning is shared with Pococke 400: the scholar sought must belong to one of two categories – a scribe or a physician (*immā kātiban taḥrīran aw ṭabīban faylasūfan*). The middle part of the unit is shared with representatives of the Paris continuum (P3465, P3466, P3473) in various combinations: the individual must be educated and intelligent (*rajul adīb ʿāqil*) and an avid scholar (*ḥarīṣ ʿalā ṭalab al-ʿilm / ṭalab al-ʿulūm*), and must pursue his education diligently (*mujtahid fī ... al-adab*) and read philosophical books (*kutub al-falsafa*). The end is again parallel to Pococke 400, describing the advisors' setting out in search of the candidate.

In between, however, P5881 adds further facets, namely that this person must also practice speculative theology and exegesis (*mutatābiʿan fī l-naẓar wa-l-tafsīr*), both being Islamic disciplines. And the copyist-redactor adds at the end that the advisors continued their search until they found a man fitting this ambitious description (*ṭalabū man hādhihī ṣifatuhū ḥattā wajadūhu*). Some of these formulations have since been identified in CCCP 578, which implies that the cross-copying of P5881 was inspired by the same action of an earlier copyist-redactor. Here, and in many other units, the (anonymous) copyist-redactor of P5881 maximizes the narrative by adding aspects from various manuscripts, and potentially his own voice. Beyond incorporating elements from a number of units from different *Vorlagen*, the intervention in P5881 shows a recurrent focus on rational thinking and Islamic religion (however anachronistic this may be, in a tale about the Sasanian era).

There are various ways of cross-copying. P5881 represents a mosaic of many small parts. In the chapter of »The Long Voyage of Burzoy« (Lv), three or four changes per unit between different *Vorlagen* can be observed. Other manuscripts that show large-scale cross-copying of the mosaic style are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3471 (dated 1053/1643; hereafter P3471) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arab. 253 (dated 1227/1812).

---

37   The term was coined by Jean Dagenais, with reference to Old Castilian: *Ethics of Reading*, 132.

Conversely, in CCCP 578 the cross-copying is done in larger blocks within units; and in Pococke 400, it is combined with targeted cuts of analogical images (*amthāl*) and wisdom sayings (*ḥikam*). A further variety appears in München 616, in a substory of the chapter of »The Owls and the Crows« (Oc), in which passages within units and entire units are added in the margins, with symbols in the text indicating the places of insertion. The model for the supplied passages derives from the same continuum (close to P3466; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 618, dated 1046/1636; or L4044), and the additions enrich the narrative, a substory of marital deception, with graphic detail. In a further case, Istanbul, Ayasofya, MS 4213 (dated 880/1476), the cross-copying is openly declared: in the frame dialogue between the king and the philosopher in the chapter of »The Mouse and the Cat« (Mc), a unit from one *Vorlage* is followed, after the formula for adding variants (*wa-qīla*, »and it has been said«), by a very different version from another.[38] Finally, cross-copying can be used to claim authorship, as in L3900, in which the copyist-redactor merges his *incipit* (similar to Riyadh 2536) seamlessly into the preface of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (in a version close to Pococke 400), whose first person in the final unit then appears to be the copyist-redactor himself.[39] In the cases reviewed here, the cross-copying is substantial and clearly traceable, but this phenomenon may affect many more manuscripts, to varying degrees.

Some cross-copied versions became very popular: all of Pococke 400, P5881 and P3471 received verbatim copies, which indicates that readers appreciated the versions enhanced in this manner.

P3456	P3466	P3473	P3475	M487	Pococke 400	P5881
فأمر الملك وزيره برزجمهر أن يبحث له عن رجلٍ أديبٍ عاقلٍ من أهل مملكته بصير بلسان الفارسيّة ماهر بكلام الهند ويكون بليغًا باللسانين جميعًا حريصًا على طلب العلم مجتهدًا في استعمال الأدب مبادرًا في طلب العلم والبحث عن كتب الفلسفة	فأمر الملك أن يبحث له عن رجلٍ أديبٍ عاقلٍ	أمر أن ينتخب له رجلًا من الحكماء من أهل مملكته بصيرًا بلسان الفارسية ما هرًا بالكلام الهنديّة بليغًا حريصًا على العلوم والحمة مجتهدًا في استكمال الأدب صابرًا على مضض الطلب للفلسفة	فلمّا أن أتم رأيه على البعثة اختار من مملكته وانتخب من غلمانه		فلمّا أن تمّ عزمه ورأيه على أن يبعث من يُرجى خيره ويرضاه سأل أهل مملكته أن يبحثوا في جميع مملكته رجلًا قد حوى هذه الخصال وأمر أن يكون من هذين الصنفين إمّا كاتبًا تحريرًا عارفًا او طبيبًا فيلسوفًا عارفًا بلسان فارس والهند فخرج أهل مشورته وذوو الرأي من خاصّته فيحثوا عن الرجال	فلمّا تمّ عزمه ورأيه على البعثة سأل أهل مملكته أن يبحثوا أو يطلبوا له رجلًا من جميع أهل مملكته قد جمعت فيه هذه الخصال وليكن من أحد هذه الصفتين إمّا كاتبًا نحريرًا وإمّا طبيبًا ماهرًا فيلسوفًا عالمًا عاليًا وليكن أدينا عاقلًا لبينًا عارفًا بلسان الفارسيّة والهنديّة كاتبًا بهما جميعًا حريصًا على العلم مجتهدًا في استكمال الأدب متابعًا على النظر والتفسير لكتب الفلسفة فيؤتى به قال فخرج أهل مشورته وذوي رأيه مسرعين فيحثوا عن الرجل وطلبوا من هذه صفته حتّى وجدوه

Fig. 5: An example of cross-copying in P5881 (rightmost column), with highlighting to show pieces that are shared with other manuscripts.

Part II – Literary History and Theory

Anonymity and Translation in Kalīla and Dimna – ***Isabel Toral***

The project AnonymClassic's acronym (i.e., »Anonym« and »Classic«) stands for two conceptual fields that are highly relevant for our research, namely »authorship and anonymity« and »literary status and genre«. Our goal is to contribute to a deeper understanding of these issues in premodern Arabic literature by investigating the history of this extremely popular text over time, and by reconstructing the dazzling variety of versions in Arabic and other languages and cultures. Based on these results, we aim to engage in a wider discussion with other premodern European and non-European philologies, and to explore the extent to which these concepts and discussions from modernist philologies are transferable to our material, and/or how they should be modified. The following are a few of the questions that we address:

1. *Authorship and anonymity*: To what degree can we speak of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as an »anonymous« text? Do we find names of »authors« attached to the text, and if so, in what form/function? Or do we rather detect »anonymous« interventions by copyists and redactors? What happens to these names and authorial positions/functions over time and when transferred to other contexts? Can we observe relevant changes?

2. *Status and literary genre*: What is the status of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in Arabic literature? When does it start to be a »classic«, and what does that mean? Can we detect certain structural or thematic features of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* that explain its striking popularity and translatability? Does the text lose or keep its status as a foreign/translated text (or as a classic) over time, and when transferred to other contexts? What can we say about the diverse functions or »Sitz im Leben« of this text (e.g., as a »mirror for princes«, as a popular and entertaining collection of tales, as esoteric animal fables, as a cultivated fictional text, etc.)?

Regarding the first set of issues, with anonymity and authorship in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* – i.e., what we can know about the author(s), and in what sense *Kalīla wa-Dimna* can be considered an anonymous text – the following are some provisional reflections.

To start with, the authors of the Indian »original« book are mentioned as anonymous (nameless) »composers« in most versions of the preface, there described as »Indian sages«. The original book is thus presented as going back to an ancient, distant, and exotic (Indian) past, which makes the book a valuable »luxury item« imported from the East. In contrast to authorization techniques in Islamic canonical literature, names seem not to be relevant to enhance the value of this work. The reality, as far as it can be determined, is that *Kalīla and Dimna* goes back to a combination of Indian tales drawn from the *Panchatantra*, the *Mahābhārata*, and other sources, whose authors are not known by name.

The copyist-redactors of the Arabic manuscript versions, on the other hand, are creative composers and rewriters of the text, and should be regarded as true authors. However, though they are frequently known by name (conventionally recorded in the colophons of manuscripts), they are never mentioned as authors; their individual agency can be detected only by reconstructing their massive interventions (as »silent personae«) in the text. This means that their agency remains almost invisible and is not attached to their names. The situation rather resembles the work of the anonymous craftsman who has really designed a

house but stays in the background, while the architect is foregrounded. It is an important part of the project's research to uncover the copyists' »silent« activity and investigate their role in the textual history.[40]

Besides, we find several names attached to the text, who appear as intermediaries and »translators« between the Indian original and the Arabic text as we have it. For instance, there is Burzoy, the physician who allegedly translated the text from Sanskrit to Middle Persian, and whose voyage to India and intellectual biography are extensively recorded in two chapters of *Kalīla and Dimna* (Sv/Lv and Bu). Second, there is Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, a well-known personality of early Arabic literature, famous as an Iranian convert to Islam and author of various translations from Middle Persian. He appears prominently as the translator of *Kalīla and Dimna* from Middle Persian into Arabic, and as the author of one of the prefaces to the text (Im). Both names (Burzoy and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ) are retained in most manuscripts and are identifiable personae, probably because they are also the protagonists of distinct chapters. Another important figure is the Persian minister Buzurgmihr – also a notable character in Arabic literature as advisor to the wise Sasanian king Khusraw Anūshīrwān – who becomes the author of the Persian frame narrative (he tells the story of Burzoy's life, i.e., Bu).

The complex reception history in Arabic culture – *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was extensively quoted, paraphrased, versified, imitated, and alluded to – shows that the text was frequently connected with the name of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. But the work is also often referred to in ways that de-emphasize authorship, e.g., as »the Indian book« (*Kitāb al-Hind*).[41]

The manuscripts also evidence other authorial attributions. In L3900, as has been mentioned in earlier sections by Khouloud Khalfallah and Beatrice Gruendler, the copyist has suppressed Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ altogether, and, inspired by another manuscript, he assumes authorship himself. He drops his source's author and title (ʿUmar b. Dāwūd b. al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Fārisī, *Siyar al-mulūk,* preserved in Istanbul, Sultan Ahmed III Library, MS 3015, dated 727/1327 – itself a redaction-retroversion from Persian) and puts himself in their place. He seems to rely in this on the earlier, similar case of Riyadh 2536, in which the (anonymous) copyist has likewise incorporated material from ʿUmar al-Fārisī, but still mentions him by name. In other instances (e.g., P3466 and later manuscripts), it is Baydabāʾ – the philosopher from the Indian frame story – who is said to have composed the book as a collection of animal tales. Thereafter, the vizier Buzurgmihr would have added a preface on the book's benefits (Im, elsewhere ascribed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ), and another on the voyage of Burzoy (Lv).

Regarding the second set of issues, with the status of *Kalīla and Dimna* as a translated text, one may say that one of the constant features that we find in almost all versions of the work (in Arabic and beyond) is that it is presented as a *translation* from a foreign culture, namely India, and not as an original product of the respective culture. One noteworthy exception is the case of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Yamanī (d. c. 400/1009-1010), the author of an early metatextual commentary on the book, who considers it an original creation by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.[42] There are other translated texts in premodern Arabic literature that tend rather to *conceal or downplay* their foreign origins. One example is the *Kitāb al-Tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk,* which

---

40 This issue is also discussed in part I, the section by Beatrice Gruendler.

41 See part II, the section by Johannes Stephan.

42 For more on al-Yamanī's response, see part II, the sections by Johannes Stephan and Matthew L. Keegan, respectively.

was attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-869), but is in fact based on a creative compilation of translated texts from Middle Persian that were put together by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Taghlibī/al-Thaʿlabī (d. 250/864).[43] Also worth noting are the Arabic versions of the Barlaam and Josaphat legend, i.e., *Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf.* This work was translated, again most likely from Middle Persian, and it ultimately derives from Indian stories about the life of the Buddha. Despite the clearly exotic surrounding of *Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf*, however, the text lacks a preface to explain whether and how it came to be translated.[44]

In the case of *Kalīla and Dimna*, it was apparently important to maintain the translated status; and this circumstance might also explain why the translators Burzoy and Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ seem to be the real protagonists and »authors«. The significance of the trope of translation for the cultural value of *Kalīla and Dimna* raises several other important questions that we intend to address in the context of translation studies (particularly those theories that focus on the sociocultural aspects of translations and study their function and connectedness within a given cultural system).[45] Was *Kalīla and Dimna* used as a vehicle to introduce cultural innovations (e.g., the »mirror for princes« genre, fables, prose literature, even fiction itself)? Was it translated for representational objectives (i.e., the appropriation and incorporation of useful foreign wisdom)? Did the trope of translation facilitate the evasion of censorship via the transfer of authorial responsibility? If so, what might be the subversive aspects of *Kalīla and Dimna*?

Constructing a Textual Tradition: Readers of **Kalīla wa-Dimna** – *Johannes Stephan*

Kalīla and Dimna's Arabic translation from the mid-second/mid-eighth century and its wide dissemination generated a multitude of citations and cross-references within premodern scholarship in Arabic, which are of interest for a number of reasons.

First, these references carry some significance for the edition project, considering that the oldest manuscript copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* available dates to the early thirteenth century.[46] Hence references prior to that date may provide us with hints of what earlier versions might have looked like. Early references range from a few quotes in the *Book of Animals* by the polymath al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-869) to the global historian al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897), who provides a first table of contents, up to the bookseller-bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), who contextualizes *Kalīla wa-Dimna* among books of Indian wisdom.[47] Before the thirteenth century, one notices not only that the cross-references to similar passages diverged from author to author, but also that the book itself was referred to by different titles: some spoke of *»an«* or *»the* Indian book«; others quoted from »Indian wisdom« or simply from the »parables

---

43   Schoeler, Verfasser und Titel. See also Marlow, Advice and advice literature.

44   See Toral-Niehoff, Legende »Barlaam und Josaphat«; and Forster, Barlaam and Josaphat.

45   See, for example, Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies.*

46   See de Blois, *Burzōy's Voyage*, 3.

47   Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, 6:330, 7:92-100; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, 1:97-99; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist,* ed. al-Sayyid, 2:325-326. See also al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī*, ed. and trans. Gordon *et al.,* 2:351-352. For more on Ibn al-Nadīm's report, see part II, the section by Matthew L. Keegan.

of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*«, often without referencing Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as the book's initial Arabic translator.[48] Such amorphous treatment invites us to consider a set of questions: What is *Kalīla wa-Dimna*? How many chapters did it contain initially? How was it presented to its readers? And how did that readership delineate the textual boundaries of the »Indian book«?

Second, looking at the plurality within the rich corpus of references, the diverse semantic level is also conspicuous. In other words, the interpretations, the status, and the value ascribed to *Kalīla wa-Dimna* did diverge considerably in the first five centuries of its reception. Philosophers such as Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), in their commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics*, focused on the fabulistic features, hence the fictive character of its stories.[49] Some littérateurs such as Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), Ibn Abī ʿAwn (d. 322/934), and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940) concentrated on the parables and gnomic sayings, which, in their anthological works, are surrounded by quotes from the prophetic tradition and the Qurʾān, Arabic poetry, and the wisdom of other civilizations, such as the Persians and the Greeks.[50] Furthermore, some others, such as the first known *Kalīla wa-Dimna* commentator,[51] Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Yamanī (d. c. 400/1009-1010), recognized that the book's gnomic sayings and parables might be helpful to buttress qurʾānic morality, but underlined that Arabs had expressed the same wisdom before Islam, albeit in verse. Also, according to al-Yamanī's view, one may even suspect that the book was altogether an invention of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, adapting ancient Arabic poetry, which after all – like *Kalīla and Dimna* – carries moral messages of a universal character, accessible to different language communities.[52] Another figure, al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048), chose to cast some doubt on the Arabic translator's reliability in faithfully transmitting Indian wisdom, being critical of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's alleged heretical intentions and aware of the differences among the Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic versions of the book.[53] In sum, whereas some authors characterize the work as consisting of fabulistic content or take it as a book of wisdom sayings, others shed light on its purportedly doubtful transmission history.

The different perspectives on the book's ontological status suit its diverse and complex structure. Part of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*'s changing nature is its framing by several prefaces which are attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ himself, and some rather obscure authors of allegedly Persian origin: the wise man Buzurgmihr, the physician Burzoy, and someone known as ʿAlī b. al-Shāh al-Fārisī.[54] Since the different prefaces, which are interconnected in form and content, provide some historical embedding of the »Indian book«, the variegated premodern scholarly references to its place in history will not come as a surprise. With time, one may conclude, the prefaces became an integral part of the book's significance.

---

48 See the different titles mentioned in Werkmeister, *Untersuchungen zum Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, 142-144; and Gruendler, Versions arabes de *Kalīla wa-Dimna.*

49 Ibn Sīnā, *Fann al-shiʿr,* ed. Badawī, 54; Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Arisṭūṭālīs fī al-shiʿr*, ed. Sālim, 89.

50 There are numerous references in several volumes of Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd,* ed. al-ʿAryān; and in one chapter of Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt,* ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, 312-318.

51 I use »commentary« in the broad Genettian sense of metatextuality, which »unites a given text to another, of which it speaks«. Genette, *Palimpsestes,* trans. Newman and Doubinsky, 4.

52 Al-Yamanī, *Kitāb Muḍāhāt,* ed. Najm, 1-5.

53 Al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind,* 123.

54 On the different prefaces/introductory chapters, see de Blois, *Burzōy's Voyage*, 24-33; and Kristó-Nagy, *Pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ,* 113-138. On the different »authors«, see part II, the section by Isabel Toral.

The prefaces, the multitude of references, and the diverging copies of the later full manuscript texts, along with the work's contextualization within advice literature and narratives with speaking animals, and approaches to its functionality, all together suggest a conceptualization of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* less as a book that stems from a single Arabic text, but rather as a textual tradition. This term bears first of all a methodological implication: underscoring that the numerous texts belong to one book, we tend to overlook that the very concept of »book« is a nebulous category. One usually tends to spontaneously equate the meaning of »book« with that of »text« in a totalizing material sense. Premodern writers, both commentators and copyists, however, must have had a remarkably different understanding. As a relatively open text, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* has a stable and meaningful core with a fairly stable significance, in clear contrast to its rather flexible and dynamic borders, extensions, and endings. The term »tradition« is an attempt to capture this ambiguity between two poles: stability on the one hand and textual flexibility on the other.

Our study of the indirect transmission thus attempts to disentangle the complexity between the two poles within the tradition, its transmission over centuries, and the reception history, in order to contribute to a more comprehensive history of Arabic literary ethics, as well as a more detailed conceptualization of premodern fictionality and knowledge-production within an Arabo-Islamic context.

Kalīla wa-Dimna: *Genre and Literary Context – Matthew L. Keegan*

As has been noted already, the text of *Kalīla and Dimna* is subject to a high degree of variation both across languages and cultures and within the Arabic manuscript tradition. Copyists acted as co-authors and, in so doing, subtly reshaped the text according to their understanding of it. Thus, what constitutes the text itself is an open question. One might legitimately wonder if this high degree of variation is typical of Arabic manuscript culture. It is not. Some Arabic texts were remarkably stable, and copyists went to great lengths to preserve what they thought the »original« text was, and to point out variants on the basis of collation with other manuscripts.[55]

It might be suggested that the Arabic versions of *Kalīla and Dimna* are marked by a high degree of *mouvance* because they belong to a genre that permitted textual flexibility, while other Arabic genres did not. The problem with this theory is that no agreement exists about how to taxonomize *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Neither premodern readers nor modern scholars seem to have agreed on what *Kalīla wa-Dimna* really was.[56] The tenth-century bookseller Ibn al-Nadīm considers *Kalīla wa-Dimna* to be amusing tall-tales (*khurāfāt*), suitable for evening entertainment like the Persian *Hazār afsān* or *Thousand Nights*, a story collection that formed the basis for the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights*. Ibn al-Nadīm takes them to be fictive stories and does not suggest in any way that they contain useful political advice or wisdom. By contrast, the twelfth-century Persian translator Naṣr Allāh Munshī (active c. 540/1146) claimed that, after the books of law, no book was more beneficial than *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Although

---

55 See Keegan, Commentators, collators, and copyists.

56 Robert Irwin claims that it consists of »beast fables«, although he notes that no such term exists in Arabic. He is nevertheless certain that »the medieval reader could open a book of beast fables confident that his expectations would not be disappointed«. Irwin, Arabic beast fable, 36.

he admits that the style is full of jest, he deems it obvious that the book contains beneficial wisdom about how to manage one's affairs for rulers, élites, and commoners alike.[57] Still other readers interpreted *Kalīla wa-Dimna*'s stories as allegories of the soul's descent into and subsequent extrication from the material realm.[58]

Some authors attempted to claim that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* did not originate in Middle Persian (let alone Sanskrit) but was Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's creation. The aforementioned al-Yamanī, who wrote a critical commentary on *Kalīla wa-Dimna* that takes the form of a sort of »counter-anthology«, accuses Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ of prosifying the wisdom found in Arabic poetry and then packaging it in animal stories of his own invention. Even though he criticizes Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, al-Yamanī considers the book's wisdom to be highly beneficial when it comes to ethics, justice, and politics.[59]

Taking these divergent taxonomizing claims into account, it becomes problematic to assert that *Kalīla wa-Dimna* actually belongs to one genre and is then appropriated by others. Rather, this promiscuous text came to be interpreted by its readers as a book that might be wise or foolish, superficial or symbolic.[60]

Part III – Digital Infrastructure

An Online Reader App for Published Versions of Kalīla and Dimna – *Theodore S. Beers*

The main task of the AnonymClassic project is to build a synoptic digital edition of the Arabic text of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. This means collecting manuscripts, transcribing their contents, integrating them into a bespoke software suite, identifying recensions, creating data visualizations, and so forth. But it is also important for us to develop a general understanding of the *Kalīla and Dimna* tradition, which spans dozens of languages and several historical periods.

Indeed, one of the ironies of *Kalīla and Dimna* is that there has never been a proper critical edition of the Arabic text – hence the mission of our team – but there is a daunting number of published versions of works within the broader tradition. Apart from non-critical editions of the Arabic (e.g., those carried out by Louis Cheikho and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām),[61] this includes the medieval Persian adaptations of Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (c. 544/1149) and Naṣr Allāh Munshī (c. 540/1146); two Syriac translations, one of which is based on the lost Middle Persian text; the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, as far as it can be reconstructed;[62] a number of versifications; and much else. We have, furthermore, scholarly translations of many of these sources into European languages.

57   Naṣr Allāh Munshī, *Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. Mīnuvī, 18.

58   See al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* 2, 249.

59   See al-Yamanī, *Kitāb Muḍāhāt,* ed. Najm, 3-4.

60   For more on the divergent receptions of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, see Keegan, Its meaning lies elsewhere.

61   See *Version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah*, ed. Cheikho; and *Kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna*, ed. ʿAzzām.

62   See *Tantrākhyāyika*, ed. Hertel.

It is often necessary for us to consult various published versions. For example, the Persian adaptations of Bukhārī and Naṣr Allāh – both of which, again, date to the sixth/twelfth century – have some relevance for the textual history of the Arabic work on which they are based, since they have survived in exceptionally early copies.[63] (The lack of Arabic manuscripts from before the seventh/thirteenth century has been noted several times throughout this article.) The task of cross-referencing different *Kalīla and Dimna*-related texts, whether in the form of printed books or a library of PDF files, can become rather cumbersome.

With this in mind, we have developed a simple web application, which allows the user to select any chapter of *Kalīla and Dimna*, and then any of the versions in which it is available, and the relevant PDF is displayed in the browser window. This is fast, easy, and accessible to members of the team wherever they may be (provided they have an Internet connection). If we happened to be working on the story of »The Owls and the Crows«, for example, and we wished to see how it is rendered in the Arabic versification of Ibn al-Habbāriyya (d. c. 509/1115),[64] finding the appropriate passage would require just a few clicks (see *Fig. 6* at the end of this section). To examine multiple versions for a comparative reading, one can simply open new instances of the reader app in browser tabs or windows. The utility is designed to be as lightweight as possible.

As of the beginning of May 2020, we have incorporated twenty-five versions of *Kalīla and Dimna* (and related works) into the online reader, including adaptations or translations in the following languages: Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Old Castilian, Hebrew, Latin, German, French, and English. More will be added over time, depending on the needs of AnonymClassic team members and collaborators.

I would like to make two final observations based on this effort. First, work that is ancillary to the main project can be surprisingly useful. The online reader app began as a convenience feature, but it has grown to a point at which it would be a valuable resource for any researcher interested in *Kalīla and Dimna*. Second, it is worth remembering that the digital humanities are not restricted to massive undertakings. We have countless opportunities to build tools, however small, that can benefit our textual scholarship.

---

63 See al-Bukhārī, *Dāstān-hā-yi Bīdpāy,* ed. Khānlarī and Rawshan; and Naṣr Allāh Munshī, *Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. Mīnuvī.

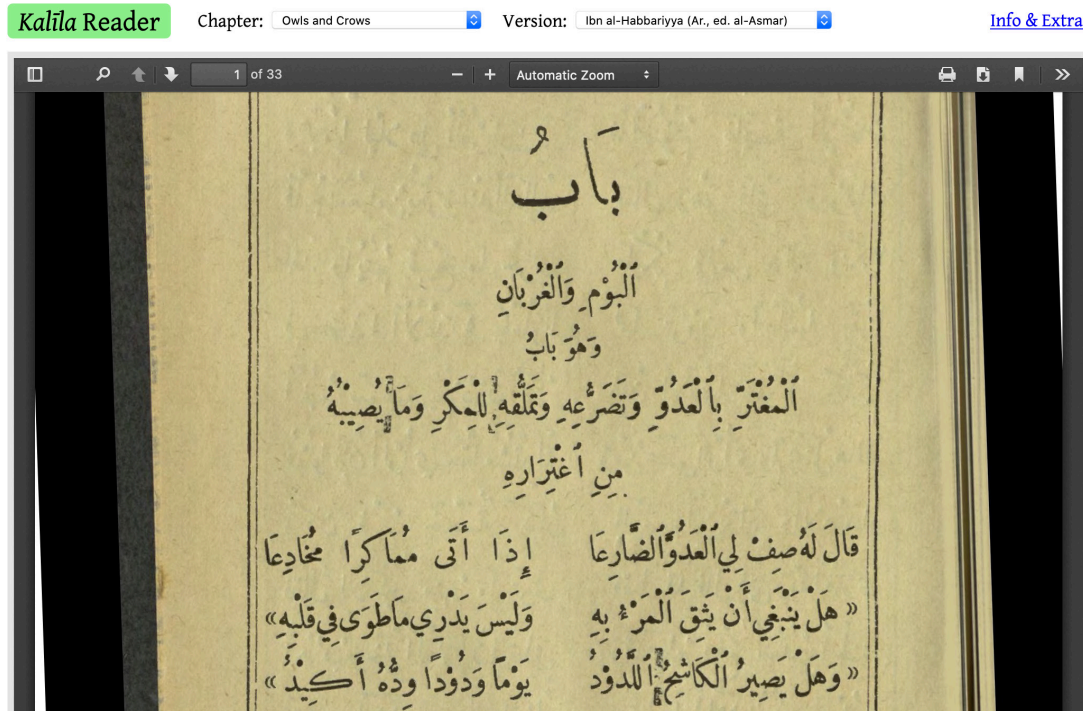64 See Ibn al-Habbāriyya, *Natāʾij al-fiṭna,* ed. al-Asmar.

Fig. 6: A screenshot of the Kalīla Reader *app.*

Toward Usable and FAIR Software for Arabic Textual Scholarship: An Outline of the Digital Support for the AnonymClassic Project – Mahmoud Kozae and Marwa M. Ahmed

The *Kalīla and Dimna – AnonymClassic* project seeks to assess the range of variation among selected Arabic manuscripts of this work, dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, through a synoptic critical edition of chosen passages. This comprehensive study of *Kalīla and Dimna* poses a twofold challenge for the software engineering team: (a) how to tackle the sheer volume of the data in a sensible and relatively fast manner, and (b) how to then process these data, both to mirror the continual updates in related research activities, and to create the online digital edition(s) which is the aim of the project.[65]

On a meta level, the AnonymClassic project serves as a pilot enterprise for an urgent question in the digital humanities: how to create tools compatible with Arabic script, and easily customizable for other non-Latin scripts (NLS). Our *conditio sine qua non* is adhering to FAIR principles – Free, Available, Interoperable, and Reusable – in support of a worldwide academic community.

---

65 We are indebted to Andreas Kaplony for permission to reuse, in part, the presentation given by Mahmoud Kozae and Rima Redwan at the *International Society of Arabic Papyrology (ISAP) VII Conference*. See Kozae and Redwan, Digital approaches.

The methodological approach of the project focuses on the juxtaposition and comparison of versions: AnonymClassic is about observation, not reconstruction. The goals of the project consist in documenting the history of the text in its preserved state and its given variants, and the analysis of the context and factors of textual development. Because of a high degree of variation within the text data, a structured procedure needs to be implemented to make the process of analyzing large numbers of manuscripts possible at all. This analysis is ultimately enabled via the digital synoptic edition. The individual steps to achieve this range from digitizing to structuring the data to analyzing.

In order to understand the structure of the workflow of digital support for the project, a good start is to try to grasp the sheer data volume as such: the *Kalīla and Dimna* text corpus appears as multi-faceted versions, embedded in multiple languages and cultures. So far, the project has actively processed more than 90 different manuscripts; this number increases on a regular basis. We currently know of some 140 manuscripts in Arabic alone. Additional language versions will be incorporated over time; our »activated« versions cover the Arabic, the Syriac, and (to an extent) the Persian traditions. The challenges thus are threefold: first, keeping the multifaceted data saved in a consistently well-formed structure; second, finding computational methods for analyzing the data according to our research questions; third, and most importantly, optimizing the aforementioned elements for a streamlined workflow. Practices from corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, data science, and software development have been adopted to model a digital infrastructure of data and tools for the project.

The Workflow

The object that is undergoing digitization is the corpus of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts. Work begins with data collection and curation. This means transcribing the text of a manuscript in a line-by-line manner, juxtaposing the original (i.e., images of pages) and the transcription. Codicological information must also be entered into our database: dating, state of preservation, type of script, and many other parameters.[66] In order to ensure accurate documentation of all features of the text, a markup language, XML,[67] is used rather than raw text. Markup texts offer more versatility in annotating and structuring documents. Initially, XML files encoded according to the TEI standard were the main format for saving the digitized text.[68] As our corpus grew and became more complex, however, we began using an SQL database, which is easier to back up and maintain.[69] Furthermore, a relational database is better suited to serve as a back end for websites and APIs,[70] both of which are in the making. Additional text corpora and lexical resources are collected from public domain sources, as these are needed to test, develop, and operate machine learning algorithms for producing automated text analysis software. In addition to the manually entered data, certain information can be automatically extracted or aggregated. The most basic examples of this are word counts and lists of features notated in XML.

---

66 For details on manuscript description, part I, the section by Khouloud Khalfallah.

67 An abbreviation for Extensible Markup Language, which is a standard maintained by the World Wide Web Consortium. For more information, see: https://www.w3.org/XML/.

68 The »Text Encoding Initiative« provides a set of guidelines for the use of XML in philological practices. For more information, see: https://tei-c.org/.

69 An abbreviation for Structured Query Language, which is an ISO/IEC standard for data management.

70 An abbreviation for »Application Programming Interface«, which is a procedure for automated data exchange.

A second step then involves the identification of semantic and lexical elements of the transcribed data corpus. Lexical microanalysis, i.e., lemmatization, is necessary in order to process data in Arabic. In many cases, non-Latin scripts need substantially different processing in comparison to the methods used for data provided in Latin script. (This is a difficult problem, and our work to address it remains at an early stage.) Semantic segmentation consists of identifying small semantic »units« of the text. These units are labeled individually in order to facilitate comparison. Both levels – i.e., transcriptions and manuscript parameters, and unit sequencing – are subject to ongoing updates and corrections. To streamline updating processes, for human and machine alike, is vital to the project and a core task in our software engineering.

As a third step, data are bundled into *ad hoc* »editions«, prospectively to become our digital synoptic edition and be presented online. These are visualizations created with the help of the LERA platform. A clear representation of the data is needed to gain insights into patterns and variations. There is no predetermined hierarchical way to organize the data or visualize it, but the researcher's eye is better suited to recognizing similarities and differences among aligned portions of text.[71] In addition, visualizations created from the numerical information of the units in a given passage across multiple manuscripts are helpful in making observations (which, however, may not always lead to a definite conclusion). *Fig. 7* is a screenshot of the LERA platform developed at Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg.[72] LERA is used by the project for collating manuscripts and aligning passages. This allows the project team to perform microanalysis of the text, either in group seminars or individually. This has resulted in identifying manuscripts that have near-verbatim similarity; others that are close to each other but with frequent paraphrasing; and still others that appear to have cross-copied from several sources.[73] LERA offers automatic detection of text variations, which has been successful for English, German, and French. Adjusting this functionality for Arabic is a task addressed in close cooperation between data scientists in Halle and Berlin.

---

71   See Few, Data visualization.

72   The LERA home page: https://lera.uzi.uni-halle.de/. See also Schütz and Pöckelmann, LERA.

73   For more information on microanalysis, see Gruendler, Arabic anonymous; and, for a sample study, *id.*, Rat and its redactors.
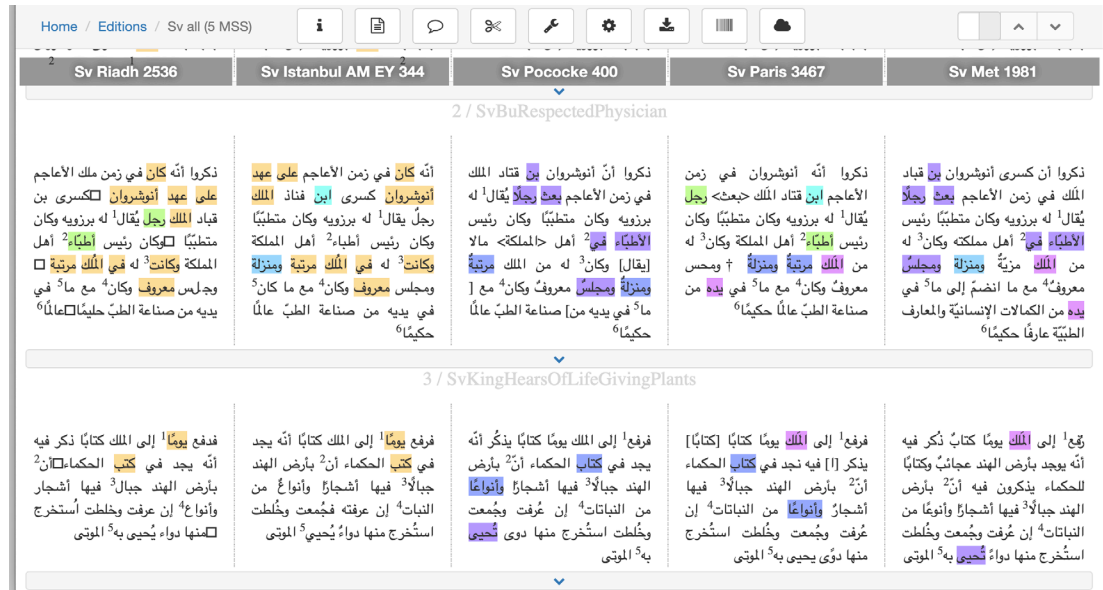
Fig 7: A screenshot of the LERA platform.

For our software engineering, there are a number of challenges to confront. Traditional editing programs tend to establish one textual witness as the »master« or »lead« text, and then provide comparisons on changes in filial witnesses. This is different in LERA and the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* edition project: all text witnesses are treated as equal, and the corpus is seen as a *network* of different manifestations. Digital challenges are thus encountered in how to tackle a large volume of data. Not only are there many versions in Arabic and in other languages, but comparative work must be made possible both within a given language and crossing the boundaries of languages or translations. Future expansion of the project to further languages and/or script systems must be built in from the start.

In response to these challenges, research activities and software usage in AnonymClassic are based on a high degree of human-machine collaboration. Currently available software and methods are complemented by work on designing and building new specialized software. Human-only activities focus on discovering continua, detecting text variants, segmentation, describing manuscripts, analyzing image cycles, and beyond. Machines complement human activity in tasks related to transcription, data archiving, gathering manuscripts, and processing text annotations. Humans complement machine activity when segmenting text for collation and analysis. Machine-only activities consist mainly of the automated compilation of synoptic editions.

The basic software programs used in the project are operating systems for file management, and Microsoft Office for word processing, spreadsheets, and presentations. This is complemented by LERA and further aided by the automation of repetitive tasks using various programming languages. While searching for specialized software for editing practices, we identified a number of problems. Of the few options available, most are XML-oriented and predominantly monolithic, with user interfaces that could be better. Simple practical issues also may become time- and energy-consuming: source code is not always available, nor always intended for collaborative development. A major challenge consists in the fact that many ready-made tools are incompatible with Arabic script. Workarounds need to be developed, or digital tools created from scratch that are suited to the project. These should

be able to interact with other projects, while ensuring longevity, both for implemented tools and for the accessibility of results.

In the AnonymClassic project, we are following an approach that could benefit the broader community of researchers. Our technology is meant to be agnostic, featuring modular architecture, and paying special attention to user interface design and usability. We aim at a solution that is compatible with Arabic and easily customizable for other non-Latin scripts, while adhering to the FAIR principles. It will take time to reach this goal, but we are on the way.

References

Manuscripts

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, MS 0022(2) (1263/1847)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Syr. 104 (Sachau 139)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Syr. 105 (Sachau 150)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Syr. 106 (Sachau 149)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Wetzstein II 672 (1246/1830)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 578 (eighth/fourteenth century)

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1505

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Syr. 1

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, MS EY 344 (eleventh/seventeenth century)

Istanbul, Ayasofya, MS 4095 (618/1221)

Istanbul, Ayasofya, MS 4213 (880/1476)

Istanbul, Sultan Ahmed III Library, MS 3015 (727/1327)

London, British Library, MS Or. 3900 (1166/1752-1753)

London, British Library, MS Or. 4044 (ninth/fifteenth century)

London, British Library, MS Or. 8751 (799/1369)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 616 (eighth/fourteenth century)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 618 (1046/1636)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arab. 253 (1227/1812)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 400 (755/1354)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465 (seventh/thirteenth century)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3466 (854/1450)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3467 (c. 750/1350)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3471 (1053/1643)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3473 (eleventh/seventeenth century)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 5881 (1092/1681)

Rabat, Bibliothèque royale, MS 3655 (c. 1265-1280 CE)

Riyadh, King Faisal Center, MS 2407 (1103/1692)

Riyadh, King Faisal Center, MS 2536 (747/1346)

Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie, MS 2281 (1070/1660)

Published Materials

Assemani, Giuseppe Simone, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3/2 (Rome, 1725).

Bickell, Gustav, *Kalilag und Damnag: Alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels, Text und deutsche Übersetzung* (Leipzig, 1876).

al-Bīrūnī, Abū al-Rayḥān, *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fī al-ʿaql aw mardhūla* (Hyderabad, 1958).

de Blois, François, *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalīlah wa Dimnah* (London, 1990).

al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, *Dāstān-hā-yi Bīdpāy*, ed. Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī and Muḥammad Rawshan (Tehran, 1982).

Dagenais, Jean, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture* (Princeton, 1994).

Few, Stephen, Data visualization for human perception, in: Interaction Design Foundati-
on, *The Encyclopedia of Human-Computer Interaction* (second edition) (2013). Accessed
on 19th May 2020: https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/book/the-encyclope-
dia-of-human-computer-interaction-2nd-ed/data-visualization-for-human-perception.

Forster, Regula, Barlaam and Josaphat, in: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John
Nawas and Everett Rowson (eds.), *Encyclopædia of Islam, THREE* (2012). Accessed on 19th
May 2020: https://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24301.

Genette, Gérard, *Palimpsestes: Literature in the Second Degree,* trans. Chana Newman and
Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE, 1997).

Gruendler, Beatrice, The Arabic anonymous in a world classic (acronym: AnonymClassic):
Presentation of a research project, *Geschichte der Germanistik* 51/52 (2017) 156-157.

Gruendler, Beatrice, A rat and its redactors: Silent co-authorship in *Kalīla wa-Dimna,* in: An-
nie Vernay-Nouri and Eloïse Brac de la Perrière (eds.), *The Journeys of Kalila and Dimna:
Itineraries of Fables in the Arts and Literatures of the Islamic World* (Leiden, forthcoming).

Gruendler, Beatrice, Les versions arabes de *Kalīla wa-Dimna*: Une transmission et une circu-
lation mouvantes, in: Marie-Sol Ortola (ed.), *Énoncés sapientiels et littérature exemplaire:
Une intertextualité complexe* (Nancy, 2013) 387-418.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd,* 4 vols., ed. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿAryān (Cairo, 1940).

Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Kitāb al-Tashbīhāt,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Cambridge, 1950).

Ibn al-Habbāriyya, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb Natāʾij al-fiṭna fī naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna,*
ed. Niʿmat Allāh al-Asmar (Baʿabdā, Lebanon, 1900).

Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 4 vols. in 2, ed. Ayman Fuʾād al-Sayyid
(London, 2009).

Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1925-1930).

Ibn Rushd, *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Arisṭūṭālīs fī al-shiʿr,* ed. Muḥammad Salīm Sālim (Cairo, 1971).

Ibn Sīnā, *Fann al-shiʿr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥman Badawī (Cairo, 1953).

Irwin, Robert, The Arabic beast fable, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992)
36-50.

al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, 7 vols. in 4, ed.ʿ Abd al-Salām M. Hārūn (Cairo,
1938-1945).

Keegan, Matthew L., Commentators, collators, and copyists: Interpreting manuscript varia-
tion in the exordium of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, in: Joseph E. Lowry and Shawkat M. Toora-
wa (eds.), *Arabic Humanities, Islamic Thought: Essays in Honor of Everett K. Rowson* (Leiden,
2017) 295-316.

Keegan, Matthew L., Its meaning lies elsewhere: The vagaries of *Kalila and Dimna* (forthco-
ming).

Kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām (Cairo, 1941).

Kozae, Mahmoud and Rima Redwan, Digital approaches to a mutable textual tradition: *Kalīla
wa-Dimna* in manuscripts from the 13th to 19th centuries, in: *International Society of Ara-
bic Papyrology (ISAP) VII Conference Proceedings* (forthcoming).

Kristó-Nagy, István, *La pensée d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: »Un agent double« dans le monde persan et
arabe* (Paris, 2013).

Marlow, Louise, Advice and advice literature, in: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe,
John Nawas and Everett Rowson (eds.), *Encyclopædia of Islam, THREE* (2007). Accessed on
19th May 2020: https://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_0026.

Naṣr Allāh Munshī, Abū al-Maʿālī, *Kalīla va Dimna,* ed. Mujtabā Mīnuvī (Tehran, 1964).

Nau, François, Un manuscrit de Mgr Graffin: l'Ancien manuscrit du *Kalila et Dimna* syriaque, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 16 (1911) 200-204.

al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, 32 vols. in 16 (Beirut, 1981).

Schoeler, Gregor, Verfasser und Titel des dem Ǧāḥiẓ zugeschriebenen sog. *Kitāb al-Tāǧ, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130 (1980) 217-225.

Schulthess, Friedrich, *Kalila und Dimna: Syrisch und Deutsch,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1911).

Schulthess, Sara, *Les manuscrits arabes des lettres de Paul: La reprise d'un champ de recherche négligé.* Unpublished PhD thesis (Radboud Universiteit, 2016). Online component: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.13.

Schütz, Susanne and Marcus Pöckelmann, LERA: Explorative Analyse komplexer Textvarianten in Editionsphilologie und Diskursanalyse, in: *Book of Abstracts of the Third Annual Conference of Digital Humanities for German-Speaking Regions* (2016) 239-243.

Tantrākhyāyika: Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen, 2 vols., ed. Johannes Hertel (Berlin, 1909).

Toral-Niehoff, Isabel, Die Legende »Barlaam und Josaphat« in der arabisch-muslimischen Literatur: Ein arabistischer Beitrag zur »Barlaam-Frage«, *Die Welt des Orients* 31 (2000) 110-144.

Toury, Gideon, *Descriptive Translation Studies: And Beyond* (Amsterdam, 2012).

Vernay-Nouri, Annie and Eloïse Brac de la Perrière (eds.), *The Journeys of Kalila and Dimna: Itineraries of Fables in the Arts and Literatures of the Islamic World* (Leiden, forthcoming).

La version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah, ed. Louis Cheikho (Beirut, 1905).

Werkmeister, Walter, *Untersuchungen zum Kitāb al-ʿIqd al-farīd des Andalusiers Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (246/860-328/940): Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1983).

Wright, William, *The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah or: The Fables of Bidpai* (Oxford, 1884).

al-Yamanī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, *Kitāb Muḍāhāt amthāl Kitāb Kalīla wa-Dimna bi-mā ashbahahā min ashʿār al-ʿarab,* ed. Muḥammad Y. Najm (Beirut, 1961).

al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh,* 2 vols., ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1860).

al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī,* 3 vols., ed. and trans. Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, and Michael Fishbein (Leiden, 2018).

List of Figures