

**Original citation:**

Vagelpohl, U. (2011). In the translator's workshop. *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 21(2), pp. 249-288.

**Permanent WRAP url:**

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/38436>

**Copyright and reuse:**

The Warwick Research Archive Portal (WRAP) makes the work of researchers of the University of Warwick available open access under the following conditions. Copyright © and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable the material made available in WRAP has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

**Publisher's statement:**

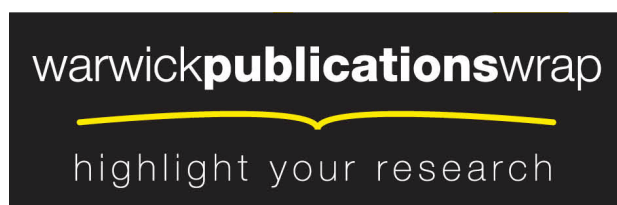
© Cambridge University Press

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0957423911000038>

**A note on versions:**

The version presented in WRAP is the published version or, version of record, and may be cited as it appears here.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: [wrap@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wrap@warwick.ac.uk)



<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/lib-publications>

## IN THE TRANSLATOR'S WORKSHOP

UWE VAGELPOHL

*Department of Classics & Ancient History,  
University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, United Kingdom  
Email: u.vagelpohl@warwick.ac.uk*

**Abstract.** Hunayn ibn Ishāq's Arabic translation of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic *Epidemics* is an invaluable source for our knowledge of Galenic medicine and its transmission history, not least because much of it is extant only in Arabic. Its importance for the Arabic medical tradition is amply attested in the later medical literature. It also tells us much about the methods and self-image of contemporary translators. Throughout the translation, we find remarks by Hunayn discussing the quality of his source text, his own interpretation and also his attempts to reconstruct problematic or damaged passages. Based on an edition of these notes, their analysis and comparison to similar texts and Galen's own thought on editing and interpreting difficult medical texts, this article aims to situate Hunayn's methods in the context of the Greek-Arabic translation movement. It argues that his approach differs in important respects from that of preceding Greek-Arabic and Greek-Syriac translators and that he was indebted to Galen not just as a physician, but also as a translator and exegete.

**Résumé.** La traduction arabe de Hunayn ibn Ishāq du commentaire de Galien sur les *Épidémies* d'Hippocrate est une source d'importance capitale pour notre connaissance de la médecine galénique et de son histoire de transmission, notamment parce que la majeure partie n'est conservée qu'en arabe. Son importance pour la tradition médicale arabe est amplement attestée dans la littérature médicale postérieure. En plus, elle nous apprend beaucoup sur les méthodes et l'image de soi des traducteurs contemporains. Tout au long de la traduction, nous trouvons des annotations de Hunayn dans lesquels il parle de la qualité de son texte, de sa propre interprétation et de ses tentatives de reconstituer des passages problématiques ou endommagés. En s'appuyant sur une édition de ces notes, sur leur analyse et en les comparant à des textes similaires et à la pensée de Galien sur l'édition et l'interprétation des textes médicaux difficiles, cet article vise à situer les méthodes de Hunayn dans le contexte de l'histoire des traductions gréco-arabes. Il fait valoir que son approche est différente à bien des égards de celle des traducteurs gréco-arabes et gréco-syriaques précédents et qu'il était redevable à Galien non seulement en tant que médecin, mais aussi en tant que traducteur et exégète.

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Scholars of classical Islamic civilisation, especially the history of science and philosophy, routinely acknowledge the fundamental and

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Peter E. Pormann and Simon Swain for their helpful comments on a previous version of this article.

transformative role played by translation from Syriac and Greek into Arabic. We now have a fairly good idea about the range and contents of the philosophical, scientific and medical literature appropriated by Muslim scholars through summaries, excerpts and translations. Also, we become more and more aware of the complex interactions between exponents and supporters of the so-called Greek-Arabic “translation movement”, *i.e.* between translators on the one hand and their readers and sponsors on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Along with establishing basic external data about the translation movement – who translated what and when – modern scholarship has collected an impressive amount of information about methodological aspects of Greek-Arabic translation. Understanding the (always fluid) methodological standards of translation in a given period is an essential prerequisite for the appreciation of the translators’ achievement and the success or failure of their efforts. The history of translation, irrespective of the languages involved, is always also a history of the idea of translation: where do different cultures at different times draw the line between the (overlapping) genres of translation, paraphrase, commentary and summary? What are their criteria for a successful translation?<sup>3</sup>

The sources for this crucial methodological information fall into two basic categories. The first are the *products* of the translation movement, the translations themselves. Although the study of Graeco-Arabic translations still awaits the systematisation and application of analytical methods that have become standard in related fields,<sup>4</sup> careful examinations of individual translations illustrate the wealth of information that can be gleaned even from a relatively small amount of textual material.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Indispensable on this issue: Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London, New York, 1998). A somewhat different (if at times problematic) account is presented by Georges Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, *Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology* 16 (Cambridge/Mass., 2007), esp. chs. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> Paul St-Pierre, ‘The historical nature of translation’, in Patrick N. Chaffey *et al.* (eds.), *Translation Theory in Scandinavia* (Oslo, 1990), pp. 254–63, on p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Translation Studies, a branch of linguistics, has developed a set of analytical tools to classify and compare source texts, translations and related texts. The compilation of digital textual corpora and the widespread availability of computing resources has put the study of translations on an entirely new methodological footing; at this point, entire corpora of texts can be compared and scanned for terminological, phraseological and stylistic data.

<sup>5</sup> Excellent examples of thorough translation analyses of individual texts are (among many others) Khalil Georr, *Les Catégories d’Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes* (Beirut, 1948); Hans Daiber, *Aetius Arabus. Die Vorsokratiker in arabischer Überlieferung*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission 33 (Wiesbaden, 1980); Gerhard Endress, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen von Aristoteles’ Schrift De Caelo*, Ph.D. dissertation (Frankfurt/Main, 1966) and *id.*, *Proclus Arabus: Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio Theologica in arabischer Übersetzung*,

The second category of sources consists of a relatively small number of extant comments by translators and their audience. They range from terse notes in the margins of manuscripts to testimonia transmitted by fellow scholars and historians.<sup>6</sup> The most comprehensive such witness is the celebrated *Risāla* (“Epistle”) by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. c. 870), the most prominent and prolific of the translators we know of. As we will see below, the contents of the *Risāla*, a survey of Syriac and Arabic translations of the works of Galen (d. 217), are more valuable for the reconstruction of translation history than for a study of translation methods.

Given the relative scarcity of methodological data, each new source that helps us improve our understanding of translations and translators and put their approach into perspective is highly welcome. One such new source is a set of texts which purports to transmit in his own words the comments of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq on a specific translation: his notes on Galen’s commentary on Hippocrates’ *Epidemics*. The translation of this commentary is of particular relevance for two reasons: firstly, Ḥunayn’s notes on the text preserved in the manuscripts deal with a variety of philological, methodological and scientific issues and give us a particularly informative insight into his approach and the problems he had to deal with. Secondly, for reasons that are not yet clear, the notes are transmitted not as marginalia to the respective manuscripts, but as part of the text body: they have become “domesticated”, *i.e.* they are (or have become) textual “lemmata” in their own right.<sup>7</sup>

In what follows, I would like to introduce the notes incorporated into the Arabic version of Galen’s commentary on the Hippocratic *Epidemics*<sup>8</sup> and compare them to those contained in the pseudo-

---

Beiruter Texte und Studien 10 (Beirut, 1973); Peter Pormann, *The Oriental Tradition of Paul of Aegina’s Pragmateia*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 29 (Leiden, Boston, 2004); as well as Hans-Jochen Ruland’s Ph.D. thesis and series of editions of shorter texts by Alexander of Aphrodisias published in the *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I: Phil.-hist. Kl.* in 1978, 1979 and 1981.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the most prominent contemporary voices on translation, cf. Uwe Vagelpohl, ‘The Abbasid translation movement in context. Contemporary voices on translation’, in John Nawas (ed.), *Abbasid Studies II. Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 177 (Leuven, 2010), pp. 245–67.

<sup>7</sup> These are not the only texts transmitted together with notes by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. What sets the *Epidemics* apart, however, is the number, size and thematic variety of the notes. In a future publication, I intend to compile and analyse in detail these and other such notes from a wider range of translations.

<sup>8</sup> A small number of these notes have previously appeared in print, *e.g.* in Rainer Degen, ‘Wer übersetzte das 6. Buch der Epidemienkommentare Galens ins Arabische? Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der “Risāla” des Ḥunayn b. Ishāq’, *Die Welt des Orients*, 10 (1979): 73–92, on pp. 81–2 and 90.

Aristotelian *Physiognomics*<sup>9</sup> and additional relevant sources. My primary concern is methodological: what do the notes and other texts tell us about Ḥunayn's methods and attitudes as a translator and a physician? In a second step, I would like to speculate on possible sources and models for Ḥunayn's methods. While conclusions can only be tentative given the scarcity of relevant sources, I hope at least to have plausibility on my side.<sup>10</sup>

### ḤUNAYN ON TRANSLATION AND MEDICINE

Among Galen's many commentaries on Hippocratic works, his commentary on the *Epidemics* (henceforth: *Epidemics*) occupies a prominent position. Its importance rests both on its size – it is the most substantial Galenic commentary on any Hippocratic text – and, through the medium of translation, its impact on the history of medicine, both in the Islamic world and beyond.<sup>11</sup> In his extensive remarks, Galen speaks not only as a practising physician, but also an accomplished philologist.

One of Galen's main concerns as a commentator was the authenticity of the allegedly Hippocratic writings he commented on.<sup>12</sup> Of the seven books of the *Epidemics* transmitted under Hippocrates' name, Galen only commented on four: Books 1, 2, 3 and 6. Of these, he seemed to have regarded only the first and third as authentically Hippocratic without, however, justifying his conclusion in detail.<sup>13</sup> Books 2 and 6, Galen maintained, consist of disparate Hippocratic notes collected by his son Thessalus and, at least in the case of Book 2, supplemented with material of his own.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The question of this text's authorship is still debated; cf. Sabine Vogt, *Aristoteles. Physiognomonica*, Aristoteles. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung 18/6 (Berlin, 1990), pp. 192–7.

<sup>10</sup> Many of Ḥunayn's medical translations, extant in a number of manuscripts, remain undated. Given the fact that a number of edited translations contain notes and remarks, I expect more relevant material to come to light.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Peter E. Pormann, 'Case notes and clinicians: Galen's *Commentary* on the Hippocratic *Epidemics* in the Arabic tradition', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 18 (2008): 247–84, on pp. 247–9.

<sup>12</sup> This was an issue close to the hearts of many of Galen's predecessors and contemporaries, especially regarding the Hippocratic corpus. Galen frequently discussed this issue and also instrumentalised concerns over authenticity to weed out such texts that did not support his idealised concept of Hippocratic teachings; hence, discussions about authenticity were a very important exegetical instrument for him. Cf. Jaap Mansfeld, *Prolegomena. Questions to be Settled before the Study of an Author, or a Text*, *Philosophia Antiqua* 61 (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994), p. 176 with n. 312.

<sup>13</sup> See also Ludwig Bröcker, 'Die Methoden Galens in der literarischen Kritik', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 40 (1885): 415–38, on pp. 433–4 and Johannes Mewaldt, 'Galenos über echte und unechte Hippocratica', *Hermes*, 44 (1909): 111–34, on pp. 119–20.

<sup>14</sup> *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II*, ed. Ernst Wenkebach and Franz Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V*, 10, 1 (Leipzig, Berlin, 1934), pp. 310–11.

By the time Renaissance scholars collated the extant manuscripts, the Greek text of Galen's commentary had shrunk considerably: almost all of Book 2 and parts of Book 6 were lost. Still extant, however, is an almost complete Arabic translation of the commentary produced by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.<sup>15</sup> In the course of his remarkably productive career as a translator, Hunayn, himself a medical expert and practising physician, almost single-handedly made most of the Galenic corpus available in Arabic. The importance of his translation of the *Epidemics* does not only rest in the fact that it is our only witness for the parts lost in Greek. In addition, Hunayn's translation was based on sources that were substantially older than any of the Greek manuscripts available to us and often preserved better readings.<sup>16</sup>

The Arabic translation of Galen's *Epidemics*, i.e. his commentary on Books 1–3 and 6 of Hippocrates' *Epidemics*, contains seventeen notes, ranging in length from three lines to a full manuscript page.<sup>17</sup> These notes, distinguished from the surrounding text by the introductory formula *qāla Ḥunayn* ("Ḥunayn said"), were transmitted together with the Arabic text, not as marginalia, but as part of the text body. The translation of the *Epidemics* is one of a small number of texts that contain such an impressive number of notes by Ḥunayn.<sup>18</sup> Toward the end of Book 6, one of the manuscripts signals an additional, eighteenth note, but the lemma following the introductory *qāla Ḥunayn* ("Ḥunayn said") is clearly a comment by Galen himself rather than Ḥunayn.<sup>19</sup> In addition, in a lengthy colophon appended

<sup>15</sup> For Hunayn's own account of the manuscript material at his disposal and the complicated translation process, see Gotthelf Bergsträsser, 'Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabische Galen-Übersetzungen', *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 17 (1925): 1–49, on pp. 41–2 (Arabic) and 34–5 (German).

<sup>16</sup> A research group at the University of Warwick under the supervision of Simon Swain and Peter E. Pormann is currently preparing an edition and translation of Books 1 and 2 of Hunayn's Arabic version. Pormann, 'Case notes', pp. 263–7 discusses the manuscript situation in detail. In this article and the appendix at the end, I am going to follow Pormann's nomenclature. His E1 (Madrid, Escorial, MS árabe 804) contains Books 1–3, E2 (Madrid, Escorial, MS árabe 805) Book 6 and M (Milan, Ambrosiana, MS B 135 sup.) Book 2 and the last two and a half parts of Book 6. In addition, we have a late and partial copy of M: P (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 2846). Marginal annotations and corrections written in different hands in these manuscripts are distinguished by superscript numbers: E1<sup>2</sup>, E1<sup>3</sup> etc.

<sup>17</sup> The seventeen notes, edited and translated in the Appendix to this article, are numbered in the order of their occurrence in the *Epidemics*.

<sup>18</sup> While a number of his other translations also contain notes, they are usually few in number and relatively short. The only other example of an extensively annotated text I am aware of is Hunayn's aforementioned translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics*, edited by Antonella Ghersetti, *Il Kitāb Aristātālīs al-faylasūf fī l-firāsa nella traduzione di Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*, Quaderni di Studi Arabi. Studi e testi 4 (Rome, 1999). We will discuss the notes in this text, also transmitted as part of the text body, below.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Franz Pfaff's remarks in *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI commentaria I–VIII*, ed. Ernst Wenkebach and Franz Pfaff, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V*, 10, 2, 2 (Berlin, 1956), p. 499, n. 1. He confirms that the comment "ist nach Art der Erklärung zweifellos von Galen".

at the end of Book 6, Ḥunayn explained the problems he encountered in establishing his (incomplete) source text.<sup>20</sup> The notes are distributed as follows: one in Book 1; seven in Book 2; two in Book 3; and seven in Book 6. Their distribution roughly corresponds to the differences in length between the respective books.

With some overlap, Ḥunayn's notes fall into five general categories. Before we analyse them more closely and compare them to other such notes, let us outline their contents.<sup>21</sup>

Of the seventeen notes, six present amplifications of and comments on Galen's commentary.<sup>22</sup> Ḥunayn sometimes added medical information while explaining a difficult medical term, several times by expanding Galen's commentary where he regarded it as insufficient.<sup>23</sup> In one place, Ḥunayn found Galen's explanation too garbled and provided his own, more lucid and detailed explanation.<sup>24</sup> On one occasion, Galen rejected a Hippocratic lemma as spurious. Ḥunayn quoted the missing lemma from another source and claimed that Galen's decision to exclude it may have been a result of a misunderstanding on Galen's part.<sup>25</sup> On another occasion, Ḥunayn pointed out an ambiguity in the Greek text, something that Galen occasionally does for the Hippocratic text.<sup>26</sup>

In a second group of five notes, Ḥunayn offered terminological explanations, sometimes referring to the original Greek word.<sup>27</sup> None of his explanations remain on the level of mere glosses; some provide cultural background information<sup>28</sup> or attempt to clarify the etymology of transliterated Greek terms.<sup>29</sup> In a remarkable example of linguistic "accommodation" for the benefit of his Arabic-speaking audience, Ḥunayn remarked on a statement of Galen to the effect that certain terms in the preceding Hippocratic lemma did not need explanation because his (Greek) audience could be expected to know them. Ḥunayn observed that the linguistic differences between

<sup>20</sup> The colophon in question can be found in E2, fol. 195b1–17 and M, fol. 177b14–ult.; for translations and comments, see Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', pp. 81–6 and Pormann, 'Case notes', pp. 252–7. Both discuss the relationship between this colophon and the entry on the *Epidemics* in Ḥunayn's *Risāla*, from which it is quoted. As Degen shows, it is not unusual for compilers of Arabic Galenica to supply the relevant entries from the *Risāla* in manuscript colophons.

<sup>21</sup> This and the following notes refer to the Arabic texts and my English translations of Ḥunayn's statements assembled in the Appendix.

<sup>22</sup> 4, 11–14 and 17 (E1, fol. 53a12–18 and E2, fols. 16b7–12, 24b6–18, 55a16–b16, 132a7–21 and 176a22–25).

<sup>23</sup> 4 and 11–12 (E1, fol. 53a12–18 and E2, fols. 16b7–12 and 24b6–18).

<sup>24</sup> 13 (E2, fol. 55a16–b16).

<sup>25</sup> 14 (E2, fol. 132a7–21).

<sup>26</sup> 17 (E2, fol. 176a22–25).

<sup>27</sup> 4, 9–10 and 16–17 (E1, fols. 53a12–18, 135a29–b2 and 136b18–24 and E2, fols. 168a5–13 and 176a22–25).

<sup>28</sup> 4, 10 and 16–17 (E1, fols. 53a12–18 and 136b18–24 and E2, fols. 168a5–13 and 176a22–25).

<sup>29</sup> 9–10 (E1, fols. 135a29–b2 and 136b18–24).

Greek and Arabic required him to supply the missing explanation and proceeded to clarify the meaning of the term.<sup>30</sup>

A further five notes represent attempts to fill gaps Ḥunayn found in his manuscripts.<sup>31</sup> In two of them, he added missing Hippocratic lemmata from other sources (without, unfortunately, explaining what these sources were).<sup>32</sup> More interestingly, in four of these notes, he lacked textual support to fill lacunae or found it necessary to add his own “in the spirit” of Galen. He boldly stepped into the shoes of the commentator and attempted to complete Galen’s comments with the help of similar, parallel texts from the Galenic corpus or his sense of what Galen would have written.<sup>33</sup> Tantalisingly, in one of these notes, he alluded to “the principles I took from his writings” as the inspiration for his creative foray.<sup>34</sup> We will discuss the potential significance of this statement below.

Two notes<sup>35</sup> and the colophon at the end of Book 6 mentioned above contain information about philological aspects of Ḥunayn’s work. In a longer remark inside Book 2, Ḥunayn explained why his translation of Book 2 is incomplete. Suitably qualified readers, he added, should fill this conspicuous gap as soon as better, more complete manuscript sources become available.<sup>36</sup> Ḥunayn’s reaction to another textual problem he encountered in Book 2 illustrates his occasional lack of trust in his manuscripts. He pointed out an apparent contradiction between different parts of Galen’s commentary and corrected his source text by offering an alternative explanation on the basis of a parallel text drawn from Galen’s *Ars parva*.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, two further notes mark passages Ḥunayn omitted or thought about omitting from the Arabic translation.<sup>38</sup> On one occasion, he wrote that he considered leaving out a particularly difficult passage he thought could not be replicated in Arabic. In the end, he decided to attempt a translation anyhow and noted that those readers able to understand his rendering may profit from it while the others could safely ignore it.<sup>39</sup> On another occasion, Ḥunayn admitted that he ignored a number of quotations from Homer, Plato and others

<sup>30</sup> 16 (E2, fol. 168a5–13).

<sup>31</sup> 2–3, 5, 14 and 16 (E1, fols. 51a22–b12, 53a6–9 and 104b9–12 and E2, fols. 132a7–21 and 168a5–13).

<sup>32</sup> 3 and 14 (E1, fol. 53a6–9 and E2, fol. 132a7–21).

<sup>33</sup> 2–3, 5 and 16 (E1, fols. 51a22–b12, 53a6–9 and 104b9–12 and E2, fol. 168a5–13).

<sup>34</sup> 3 (E1, fol. 53a6–9). Ḥunayn wrote: “aḍaftu ilayhi min al-tafsīr mā ḡanantu an yuṣākila maḍhaba Ġālīnūs fī tafsīrihi lahu wa-mā yaḡsidu bihi” ([I] added comments I thought corresponded to Galen’s procedure in his commentary and what he meant with it).

<sup>35</sup> 6–7 (E1, fols. 105a19–b4 and 108a26–b12).

<sup>36</sup> 6 (E1, fol. 105a19–b4).

<sup>37</sup> 7 (E1, fol. 108a26–b12).

<sup>38</sup> 8 and 15 (E1, fol. 119a23–30 and E2, fol. 145a17–23).

<sup>39</sup> 8 (E1, fol. 119a23–30).



Galen had inserted to make a theoretical point. According to Ḥunayn, translating them would be pointless because there were no Arabic equivalents for the concepts discussed in this passage.<sup>40</sup>

Ḥunayn also translated a number of other, non-Galenic medical or quasi-medical texts. One of them was the *Physiognomics* falsely attributed to Aristotle, a treatise on the correlation between facial features and expressions on the one hand and character traits on the other. While not directly medical in nature, the text frequently touches on medical matters.

The Arabic translation of the *Physiognomics* contains fifteen notes by Ḥunayn,<sup>41</sup> almost all of which occur toward the beginning of the text. Their contents and purpose often parallel those in the *Epidemics*, but there are also some interesting differences.

Seven of the fifteen notes consist of terminological discussions.<sup>42</sup> Ḥunayn explained difficult terms, sometimes referring to the original Greek word in order to justify his translation. In another five notes,<sup>43</sup> Ḥunayn elaborated on difficult and terse passages in an attempt to clarify their meaning. Three times, he referred to or even quoted Galen or Hippocrates in support of statements made by the author of the *Physiognomics*.<sup>44</sup> Frequently, however, Ḥunayn criticised the text. Among the six notes in which he rejected the reasoning of the author,<sup>45</sup> two adduce the diverging opinions of Galen and Hippocrates.<sup>46</sup> Even more interestingly, another two cite examples from Ḥunayn's personal experience that contradict the claims of the *Physiognomics*.<sup>47</sup>

Overall, the notes contained in the *Physiognomics* differ somewhat in tone and purpose from those in the *Epidemics*, but in some respects, they reflect the same critical attitude to the text and, in the case of the *Physiognomics*, its (real or alleged) author. The severity of his judgments and the exasperation that seems to emerge from his remarks

<sup>40</sup> 15 (E2, fol. 145a17–20).

<sup>41</sup> In the following references, the fifteen notes are numbered in the order they appear in the text. I will give page and line numbers according to the Arabic edition by Ghersetti, *Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*. Cf. also the discussion of these notes in Mario Grignaschi, 'La "Physiognomie" traduite par Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq', *Arabica*, 21 (1974): 285–91, here: pp. 288–91.

<sup>42</sup> 6–8 and 10–13 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, pp. 13:11–16; 13:18–14:2; 14:12–17; 18:3–11; 21:13–22; 23:12–24 and 25:10–26).

<sup>43</sup> 4, 11 and 13–15 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, pp. 8:4–7; 21:13–22; 25:10–26; 28:4–5 and 39:18–40:1).

<sup>44</sup> 2–3 and 13 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, pp. 4:2–6; 5:10–8:1, including a long quote from Book 6 of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics*; 25:10–26).

<sup>45</sup> 2, 5–6, 9–10 and 12 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, pp. 4:2–6; 9:14–21; 13:11–16; 14:18–17:16, including a long quote from Book 2 of Galen's *On mixtures*; 18:3–11 and 23:12–24).

<sup>46</sup> 2 and 9 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, p. 4:2–6, referring to Galen's *The Faculties of the Soul Follow the Mixtures of the Body*, and 14:18–17:16, quoting Book 2 of Galen's *On Mixtures*). Cf. Grignaschi, 'La "Physiognomie"', p. 288.

<sup>47</sup> 5 and 9 (*Il Kitāb Aristāṭalīs*, ed. Ghersetti, pp. 9:14–21 and 14:18–17:16; the passage in question is on p. 17:16–18).

suggest that Ḥunayn already had his doubts about the text's authorship.<sup>48</sup> The concentration of notes at the beginning of the *Physiognomics* may have been caused by any number of factors, but invites the hypothesis that Ḥunayn simply lost his patience with a text that seemed unconvincing. Be that as it may, the notes indicate that Ḥunayn regarded Galen and Hippocrates (and his own experience and common sense) as his main authorities in matters physiognomical, not the author of the *Physiognomics*.

The length and content of his notes on Galen's *Epidemics* commentary and the *Physiognomics* clearly illustrate that Ḥunayn saw his role as more than just a translator. In parts, the notes represent a "super-commentary"; in others, he invited his audience to reflect on his translation choices; in others again, he explained or illustrated his philological approach. Ḥunayn's notes enable the reader to observe him at his workplace, collecting and collating manuscripts, mending the damaged text and translating it. But he did not stop there: commenting on difficult textual and medical details, he slipped into the role of a commentator or, where the text of Galen's commentary remained incomplete, channelled the voice of Galen, reconstructing it from his own knowledge of the Galenic corpus or even his intuition into what Galen would have said. These notes, particularly those in which he discussed expanding his source text, are highly significant: they show how much more comprehensive Ḥunayn's self-image as a translator and his concept of translation was compared to modern standards of philological accuracy and faithfulness to the source text.

In addition to notes transmitted alongside his translations, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq left another important document about his translation activities, the *Risāla* mentioned above.<sup>49</sup> In this treatise in letter form addressed to one of his sponsors, Ḥunayn surveyed the translation history of the Galenic corpus as it was known to him. For most of the titles listed in the *Risāla*, Ḥunayn provided information about previous translations into Syriac or Arabic, details about the manuscript situation and the contribution of his own group of translators, either in the form of translations or revisions of existing translations.

Together with the outline of (Galenic) translation history that emerges from the pages of the *Risāla*, the reader also gains valuable insights into Ḥunayn's understanding of the task of translation and

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Grignaschi, 'La "Physiognomie"', pp. 290–1.

<sup>49</sup> Edited by Bergsträsser, 'Ḥunain ibn Ishāq', with additions and corrections in *idem*, 'Neue Materialien zu Hunain ibn Ishāq's Galen-Bibliographie', *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 19 (1932): 1–108. See also the remarks by Max Meyerhof, 'New light on Hunain Ibn Ishāq and his period', *Isis*, 8 (1926): 685–724.

his assessment of the merits and flaws of translations produced by himself, his contemporaries and predecessors.<sup>50</sup> While frequently faulting previous translators (especially those translating from Greek into Syriac) for their allegedly insufficient command of the Greek language and lack of medical knowledge,<sup>51</sup> he also freely admitted to problems with his own translations or those written under his supervision.<sup>52</sup>

One of the more important aspects of his translation “ethos” is his thoroughly pragmatic attitude. Numerous entries in the *Risāla* illustrate that Ḥunayn regarded the transmission of information as his main task, not the unconditional preservation of structural and terminological features of his source texts.<sup>53</sup> We hear of excerpts or summaries of texts instead of full translations;<sup>54</sup> sometimes, he merely revised and corrected existing translations.<sup>55</sup> In extreme cases, e.g. where he had to work with exceptionally flawed or damaged manuscripts, he either put off translation or occasionally – as we saw in the *Epidemics* – attempted to fill gaps with the help of parallel sources or his thorough knowledge of Galenic medicine.<sup>56</sup>

An integral element of his approach was to take the needs and expectations of his customers and sponsors into consideration and to accommodate the language of a translation to their level of expertise and understanding.<sup>57</sup> As we know from a statement transmitted in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* (“The Sources of Reports on the Generations of Physicians”), Ḥunayn put great store in his ability to translate complex medical texts into a language even the uninitiated were able to understand.<sup>58</sup>

### HUNAYN’S SOURCES AND MODELS

The pragmatic attitude Ḥunayn emphasised in many of his statements constitutes only one aspect of his approach as a philologist

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Vagelpohl, ‘The Abbasid translation movement’, pp. 248–53.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 11, 37, 53 and 84.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 16 (on his nephew Ḥubayš), 17, 43 and 108 (on his own translations).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 140–1.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 10, 74.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 13, 15, 18–19, 37, 53.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 28, 95 and 122.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergsträsser, ‘Ḥunain ibn Ishāq’, nos. 5, 16, 37 and 56; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, p. 140.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibn Abi Useibia* [*‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*], ed. August Müller (Cairo, 1882), p. 191, ll. 25–28. On the contents and authenticity of the autobiographical narration Ḥunayn’s remark forms part of, cf. Michael Cooperson, ‘The purported autobiography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’, *Edebiyât*, 7 (1997): 235–49.

and translator. Also important and, thanks to its frequent discussion in the secondary literature, somewhat more prominent is the claim that his translation methods represented a decisive improvement over his predecessors in terms of philological precision and textual fidelity. The sometimes arduous process of collection, comparison and collation of Greek manuscripts and, where applicable, pre-existing Syriac and Arabic translations Ḥunayn described in the *Risāla*,<sup>59</sup> together with his pronouncements about the superior quality of his translations, suggest that he adhered to very high standards of philological and translational exactitude. An examination of his extant translations confirms most of his claims, however transparently self-promoting they often read.

Where, then, do we find his models? What are the sources for his methodological standards? There are three obvious candidates: firstly, Ḥunayn's education and training as a translator and physician. Secondly, he could have drawn on the work of his predecessors, *i.e.* available translations or literature about translation, should it have existed. Thirdly, he may have been inspired in part by the *contents* of some of the Greek texts he worked with, at least as far as they dealt with issues relevant for translators. On the following pages, I would like to suggest that, while all of them played a role, two factors may have been particularly significant: his medical background and training; and the influence of Galen, the philologist.

The Syriac translation tradition, of which Ḥunayn was still an (albeit late) exponent, furnished much of the attitudes, methods and even the manpower for the Arabic translation movement between the eighth and eleventh century, with which it partly overlapped. The Syriac translation movement, however, stretching from the fifth to the ninth century, lacked the widespread sponsorship and systematic character of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

The bulk of the output of Syriac translators consisted of Christian theological writings and related texts. Owing to the sensitivity of this material, the Syriac translation tradition displayed a growing tendency toward the imitation of terminological and structural features of Greek source texts, especially from the seventh century onward.<sup>60</sup> More often than not, the Christological conflicts then raging between local churches in Syria and the ecclesiastical authorities in Byzantium were fought through the medium of texts.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Most prominently in Bergsträsser, 'Ḥunain ibn Ishāq', nos. 3, 20 and 115.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *e.g.* Sebastian Brock, 'Towards a history of Syriac translation technique', in René Lavenant (ed.), *III. Symposium Syriacum 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 10 (Rome, 1983), pp. 1–14, on pp. 12–13.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Brock, 'Towards a history', pp. 8–9.

For a translator, this meant that a lack of precision or an unfortunate choice of words could put him and his unwitting audience on the wrong side of a doctrinal debate, imperilling not only their personal safety but their very afterlife.<sup>62</sup>

The reasoning behind the methodological shift toward a text-centred translation style did obviously not apply to the same degree to the small but steady flow of translations of secular texts into Syriac, e.g. Aristotelian logic. Many of the translators producing these Syriac versions of secular texts, however, were the same individuals who worked on theological texts. Unsurprisingly, they often applied their customary translation style to each text they worked on, irrespective of its actual contents. In conjunction with this methodological bias arising from theological considerations, translation styles from Greek into Syriac were probably also influenced by the respect accorded to what translators and their audience regarded as a superior culture. The authority of the Greek language was rooted not only in the prestige of the cultural achievements it represented and transported, it may also have rested in part on the fact that Greek was the language of the foundational text of the religious communities that were playing such a prominent role in the Greek-Syriac translation movement: the New Testament.<sup>63</sup>

These factors, among others, likely converged to foster a reverential attitude to the source text. Translators strove to imitate their Greek sources down to their syntactic structure and even word order. Whenever they found themselves unable to understand a text, rather than pointing out inconsistencies and problems in the text or the source manuscripts or even the reasoning of the original author, translators often resorted to extremely literal renderings. Some of the resulting translations are almost impossible to read without the help of the corresponding Greek sources.<sup>64</sup> Examples for translations that illustrate this reverential attitude can also be found among early Greek-Arabic translations. In fact, some of the more remarkable cases, e.g. the translations of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Posterior Analytics* produced in the first half of the tenth century by the

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Sebastian Brock, 'Aspects of translation technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979): 69–87, on p. 78 and also the interesting appendix to a probably late sixth century Syriac translation, in which the author asserted that "[t]his [treatise] was translated and interpreted from Greek into Syriac word for word without alteration in so far as possible, so as to indicate, not just the sense, but, by its very words, the words of the Greek; and for the most part not one letter has been added or subtracted, provided the requirements of the language have not hindered this", quoted by Brock, 'Towards a history', pp. 9–10.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Vagelpohl, 'The Abbasid translation movement', p. 263 with n. 79.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Harald Suermann, 'Die Übersetzungen des Probus und eine Theorie zur Geschichte der syrischen Übersetzung griechischer Texte', *Oriens Christianus*, 74 (1990): 103–14, on p. 105.

Nestorian Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 940),<sup>65</sup> one of the teachers of al-Fārābī (d. 950), postdate Ḥunayn's activities.

Either directly or indirectly, this background must have exerted a strong influence on Greek-Arabic translators. With few exceptions, they were Christians belonging to one of the various denominations based in Syria and Iraq. For all we know, many or even all of them received their education at the same church-based schools and convents that took an active interest in translation from Greek into Syriac. Ḥunayn, who may have traveled all the way to Byzantium to improve his Greek,<sup>66</sup> seems to have been an exception insofar as he possibly received at least part of his training outside these structures. What is more, a substantial number of translations into Arabic were based not on Greek source texts but pre-existing Syriac translations. Ḥunayn himself reports in his *Risāla* that for almost all of the Galenic works he or his collaborators translated into Arabic, they first created a Syriac intermediary or revised an existing Syriac version on which the Arabic translation was ultimately based.<sup>67</sup> Whether through their training or the Syriac translations they consulted, Arabic translators before and after Ḥunayn were bound to assimilate elements of the translation methodology of the Greek-Syriac translation movement.

As far as we know, none of Ḥunayn's predecessors left us with the kind of extensive notes, let alone a whole treatise, discussing translation. Besides a small number of remarks attached to translations

<sup>65</sup> Edited by Jaroslav Tkatsch (ed.), *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Kommission für die Herausgabe der arabischen Aristoteles-Übersetzungen 1–2 (Wien, Leipzig, 1928) and 'Abdurrahmān Badawī, *Manṭiq Aristū*, *Dirāsāt islāmiyya* 7 (Cairo, 1948–52), vol. 2, pp. 307–465 (corresponding to vol. 2, pp. 329–485 of the 1980 Kuwait reprint). Fritz Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*, Classical and Medieval logic texts 3 (London, 1981), p. lxxvi, calls the former translation "uncommonly inarticulate" and the latter "uncommonly tortuous", possibly due to Abū Bišr's insufficient command of Arabic. In addition, the *Poetics* amply demonstrate that the translator (as all other Muslim scholars before or after him) had no idea about the meaning of basic concepts such as "tragedy" and "comedy"; cf. Uwe Vagelpohl, 'The *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* in the Muslim world', in Ahmed Alwishah and Josh M. Hayes (eds.), *Aristotle and the Arabic Tradition* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Gotthard Strohmaier, 'Ḥunain Ibn Ishāq – An Arab scholar translating into Syriac', *Aram*, 3 (1991): 163–70, on. pp. 166–7.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergsträsser, 'Ḥunain ibn Ishāq', nos. 16, 20, 39, 49 and 88 and the discussion by Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'La formation du vocabulaire de la logique en arabe', in Danielle Jacquart (ed.), *La formation du vocabulaire scientifique et intellectuel dans le monde arabe*, *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge* 7 (Turnhout, 1994), pp. 22–38, on p. 23. In rare cases, Arabic translations were also translated into Syriac; cf. Gotthard Strohmaier, 'Der syrische und der arabische Galen', in Wolfgang Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Teil II: Principat*, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 37/2 (Berlin, New York, 1994), pp. 1987–2017, on p. 2006.

or scattered across the bio-bibliographical literature, our only evidence for the translation methods and “ethos” applied before Ḥunayn are the extant Arabic translations themselves. As many studies have shown, they often display a certain methodological and terminological unevenness, ranging from paraphrases to mirror images of the Greek source text. One constant appears to be the recourse to extremely literal renderings whenever problems of understanding arose.

Unlike Ḥunayn, many translators we know of were not trained experts in the fields they were translating in; often enough, they were not even native speakers of Arabic, but Christians whose mother tongue was Syriac. Contemporary observers, including Ḥunayn, occasionally remarked on their unidiomatic, often tortured language and their lack of credentials.<sup>68</sup> More importantly, there are few, if any, indications for the kind of critical attitude to texts (let alone source authors) characteristic for Ḥunayn’s writings. This may have been a consequence of the respect for texts and authors engendered by the Syriac translation movement. While the philological and translation methods employed by Ḥunayn (and described in his writings) are most likely the outcome of an evolutionary rather than revolutionary development, his most significant innovation, I suspect, lies elsewhere: his attitude to his textual sources.

While still highly respectful of Galen as a physician,<sup>69</sup> Ḥunayn drops the reverence for the text itself. It is not an immutable artefact to be uncritically accepted by translator and audience, but rather a linguistic vehicle for ideas and theories that may have been subject to alterations and damage in the course of transmission. As a translator and physician, Ḥunayn’s aim was to transmit information, not just texts (with all their potential flaws). Throughout the *Risāla*, his concern with philological diligence and translational fidelity was tempered by his desire to provide the most accurate medical information possible for his own use and that of other practising physicians.

The graphical form of his interventions in the manuscripts of the *Epidemics* – assuming that their prominent placement in the text body and their lemma-like shape were not just the invention of the individuals who copied our manuscripts – contrasts strongly with the much more modest traces of preceding translators, which were

<sup>68</sup> Problems with their Arabic seems to have been a frequent complaint, cf. Zimmermann, *Al-Farabi’s Commentary*, p. lxxvi on Abū Bišr. Zimmermann explains that the latter, like other early teachers of Aristotelian philosophy in Baghdad, “are likely to have come [...] from convents and the least Arabicized section of the Christian community”.

<sup>69</sup> In note 7 (E1, fol. 108a26–b12), Ḥunayn explained that a contradiction he noticed in a Galenic comment must have been introduced by an incompetent scribe and made a point of stating that, while correcting the text, “lam arad [...] al-’itirāda ‘alā Gālīnūs” (I did not intend to oppose Galen).

normally strictly distinguished from the translation itself and took the form of marginal notes or were relegated to a colophon. Together with their number and relative length, Ḥunayn's notes on the *Epidemics* and also the *Physiognomics* illustrate a novel willingness to trust in his own expertise and to privilege the audience of his translations over the text.

Although I am confident that there is strong evidence for the kind of innovation Ḥunayn's approach represents, I also need to sound a note of caution. As I said before, a number of Arabic translations were not produced directly from Greek sources, but based on Syriac texts. Often enough, it is extremely difficult to determine whether a given translation was made from one or the other language. Any perceived flaws and inconsistencies of an Arabic version may already have been present in the Syriac intermediary. Also, little is known about the transmission histories of individual texts. Our sources indicate that revisions by later translators, scholars and scribes were a regular occurrence. Again, most of the time, it is impossible to detect, let alone peel away layers of later interventions.<sup>70</sup> This is particularly regrettable since virtually our only source of evidence about the methods of translators before and even after Ḥunayn accessible to us are the translations themselves. Ḥunayn, remarkable in so many respects, is the only translator whose own writings have survived in sufficient quantity to reconstruct his methods with any degree of confidence.

The role of the translator that emerges from many Syriac and early Arabic translations seems to be that of a silent, slightly passive transmitter: the personal opinions and attitudes and sometimes even the identity of individual translators were of little concern. This understanding of their task was the natural outcome of a concept of translation that regarded a translated text as little more than a mirrored version of the source in another linguistic medium.

In the final analysis, it seems at the very least highly unlikely that Ḥunayn's novel understanding of the task of the translator, his pragmatism and self-confidence derived exclusively from his education in the schools of his native Nestorian community or his exposure to exponents and products of the Greek-Syriac and Greek-Arabic translation movement. As a prominent scholar and physician in ninth-century Baghdad, attending to a succession of 'Abbāsid caliphs,<sup>71</sup> Ḥunayn was an active participant in the flowering of scholarship that took place all around him, not just in fields directly affected by

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Uwe Vagelpohl, *Aristotle's Rhetoric in the East. The Syriac and Arabic translation and commentary tradition*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies 76 (Leiden, Boston, 2008), pp. 212–13.

<sup>71</sup> Gotthard Strohmaier, 'Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq und die Bilder', *Klio*, 43/45 (1965): 525–33, on p. 525.



Greek-Arabic translations such as philosophy and the sciences. Even though his own writings give us little indication of any sustained interaction with any of the myriad Muslim philologists and theological scholars of all stripes converging on Baghdad during his lifetime, it would be very surprising for him to have been completely unaware of their activities and methods.<sup>72</sup> It is therefore not inconceivable that the intellectual ferment of ninth century Baghdad contributed to the development of his philological and translation methods.

At the same time, we find his name mentioned relatively rarely in the writings of contemporary observers and scholars, an astonishing omission in view of his importance as a translator. It is less astonishing given the fact that medical practice at the court and in the upper echelons of 'Abbāsīd society was firmly in the hands of Syrian Christians. Not only that, their relative isolation from potentially dangerous religious and political factions in the Muslim community made them welcome guests in the salons of the caliphs. It was fellow Christians Ḥunayn studied with in Baghdad, who purchased his services as a translator and competed with him for caliphal favours.<sup>73</sup> The circles Ḥunayn moved in and worked for were in all probability largely Christian. Whatever the concrete influence contemporary Muslim scholars had on Ḥunayn's work, it may in the end have been slight.

As a translator and follower of Galen, the writings of this greatest physician of antiquity were in many respects probably "closer to home" for Ḥunayn. While not speaking to the concerns of a translator as such, Galen left numerous remarks on his procedure as a commentator.<sup>74</sup> Especially in the introductions to his commentaries on Hippocratic texts, he frequently explained his approach and illustrated his philological methods. According to the *Risāla*, Ḥunayn translated each of the commentaries in which Galen elaborated on these issues. They may have been instrumental in forming Ḥunayn's attitudes and understanding of the translator's task which, as we can see from his notes, sometimes crossed the line between translating and commenting.<sup>75</sup>

Galen's first (and obvious) aim, as stated in his *Difficulties in Breathing* and a short programmatic note at the beginning of Book 3 of his commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* (possibly, but not

<sup>72</sup> Cf. e.g. Cooperson, 'The purported autobiography of Ḥunayn', p. 242.

<sup>73</sup> Strohmaier, 'Ḥunain Ibn Ishāq – An Arab scholar', pp. 163–5.

<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, the potentially most important source for his methods, an independent work entitled *On Exegesis* (Περὶ ἐξηγήσεως), is lost. Galen summarised some of its central tenets in the introduction to his commentary on Hippocrates' *On Fractures*, discussed below. Cf. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 135 and 148, n. 269.

<sup>75</sup> The following remarks rely heavily on Jaap Mansfeld's brilliant and insightful analyses of Galen's statements about reading and commenting on Hippocratic texts in ch. 5 of his *Prolegomena* (pp. 148–76).

likely a later addition), was “to make clear what is unclear”.<sup>76</sup> In his commentary on Hippocrates’ *On Fractures*, he added that he accorded explanation much more importance than other concerns emphasised by his predecessors, e.g. evaluating the contents of a text or defending its theories and tenets against detractors.<sup>77</sup> In the same commentary, he maintained that clarification and explanation become necessary whenever the Hippocratic text is obscure or the reader lacks the requisite knowledge or discernment to understand it. Hippocrates’ works allegedly contain many expressions and passages that are unclear “in themselves”.<sup>78</sup> The reason, Galen held, was not their obscurity *per se*, but (among others) the complexity and difficulty of the subject matter. In addition, those of Hippocrates’ works circulated during his lifetime were addressed to the *cognoscenti* while those compiled after his death consisted of “cryptic personal notes” that underwent an “editing” process.<sup>79</sup> Only scholars with sufficient medical knowledge, Galen foremost among them, were qualified to understand and explain what Hippocrates “really meant”.<sup>80</sup> By arrogating to himself the authority to determine Hippocrates’ “real” intentions and distinguish between passages that need explaining and those that do not, Galen gave himself great leeway to “modernise” Hippocrates in his own image. Unsurprisingly, he often ended up with a creative, quasi-Galenic reading of Hippocratic doctrines.<sup>81</sup>

Perhaps even more than Hunayn, Galen was interested in the practical usefulness of Hippocratic doctrines he found (or sometimes read into) his texts. Commenting on his source, he often switched from interpreting a lemma to explaining medical, philosophical or scientific issues and back.<sup>82</sup> The apparent arbitrariness of this approach is,

<sup>76</sup> Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, pp. 149, 135 with n. 244. In the first work, Galen quotes an unnamed predecessor who defines explanation (ἐξηγησις) as “ἀσαφούς ἐρμηνείας ἐξάπλωσις”. In the second, he writes: “μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὅσον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀσαφές ἐστι σαφηνίζοντες, ἔργον γὰρ τοῦτο ἴδιον ἐξηγήσεως” (*Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, ed. Karl Gottlob Kühn, vol. 17b, p. 561, ll. 4–5).

<sup>77</sup> Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 163. At the very beginning of this commentary, Galen states: “Πρὸ τῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐξηγήσεως ἄμεινον ἀκηκοέναι καθόλου περὶ πάσης ἐξηγήσεως, ὡς ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς, ὅσα τῶν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀσαφῆ, ταῦτ’ ἐργάσασθαι σαφῆ.” (*Galen Opera*, ed. Kühn, vol. 18b, p. 318, ll. 1–4.)

<sup>78</sup> Described as “τὸ μὲν ὄντως ἀσαφές αὐτὸ δι’ ἑαυτὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχον” (Kühn, *Galen Opera*, vol. 18b, p. 319, ll. 11–12).

<sup>79</sup> Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, pp. 150–2 with n. 274.

<sup>80</sup> Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 152, n. 276.

<sup>81</sup> For an example of his utilisation of Hippocratic statements to project Galenic doctrines onto Hippocrates, cf. In-Sok Yeo, ‘Hippocrates in the context of Galen: Galen’s commentary on the classification of fevers in *Epidemics VI*’, in Philip J. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context. Papers read at the XIth International Hippocrates Colloquium University of Newcastle upon Tyne 27–31 August 2002*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 31 (Leiden, Boston, 2005), pp. 433–43.

<sup>82</sup> Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, pp. 152–3. As Mansfeld demonstrates, Galen is not the first exegete to apply similarly creative methods; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 153–4 and 155–80.

however, limited by another principle Galen insisted on, *e.g.* in *Diagnosis by Pulses*: Hippocratic (and other) writings should be read and explained with reference to other works by the same author so as “not to indulge in foolishness through empty assumptions and unproven assertions”.<sup>83</sup>

The same kind of pragmatic ambiguity apparently pervaded Galen’s philological practice. In Book 6 of his commentary on Hippocrates’ *Epidemics*, Galen included a fascinating note in which he accused other interpreters of damaging the text and introducing changes that were neither useful nor in accordance with Hippocrates’ views.<sup>84</sup> He, on the other hand, faithfully adhered to the “ancient reading” (τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφήν) and limited himself to “plausible conjectures” (πιθανὴν τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν) – unlike, among others, the editors of a widely used collection of the Hippocratic corpus at the time, Artemidorus Capito and Dioscurides.<sup>85</sup> Like the exegetical work following it, the philological operation of establishing reliable Hippocratic source texts was also in part subject to the dictates of “usefulness”, tempered by the requirement of agreeing with Hippocrates’ (admittedly malleable) views.

In addition to Galen’s professed intention accurately to reconstruct the wording of Hippocrates’ writings, the very form of the lemmatic commentary itself emphasises his claim to textual faithfulness. The format suggests that the reader can draw a clear line between authentic Hippocratic utterances on the one hand and Galen’s interpretation on the other. The lemmata from Hippocrates’ *Epidemics* Galen expounded on, however, did not cover the entire text and were already the result of a selection process. His motivation comes out most clearly in a passage in which he posited that a commentary has to preserve the “thought” (τὴν γνώμην) of a text and convey the “useful material” (τὰ χρήσιμα . . . τὰ ὑπομνήματα) it contains.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> “καὶ γὰρ μοι καὶ νόμος οὗτος ἐξηγήσεως, ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ σαφηνίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ὑπονοίαις καὶ φάσεσιν ἀναποδείκτοις ἀποληρεῖν, ὃ τι τις βούλεται” (*Galenī Opera*, ed. Kühn, vol. 8, p. 958, ll. 6–8), cf. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 148 with n. 270. As much as he professed its exegetical value, Galen was not always consistent in the application of the *Homerum-ex-Homero* principle he advocated in this passage; cf. *ibid.*, p. 152, n. 278.

<sup>84</sup> “εἰ μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ δηλώσαι τὴν παλαιὰν γραφήν ἔλεγον ἡμαρτησθαι τὴν | λέξιν εἰκὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπονοεῖν αὐτοὶ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους γραφήν εἶναι τήνδε τινά, κὰν ἀπεδεξάμην αὐτούς, εἴ γε μετὰ τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐώρων διδάσκοντάς τι χρήσιμόν τε ἅμα καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενον τοῦ παλαιοῦ” (*Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 3, l. 11–p. 4, l. 4), cf. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 139.

<sup>85</sup> “πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπαλλάζαντων τὰς παλαιὰς γραφὰς τολμηρότατα τοὺς περὶ Καπίτων καὶ Διοσκοουρίδην εὐρίσκω πράξαντας τοῦτο” (*Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 4, ll. 15–17), cf. Mansfeld, *Prolegomena*, p. 140.

<sup>86</sup> “ἀρεταὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐξηγητῶν δύο αὐται, τὸ τε τὴν γνώμην φυλάσσειν τοῦ συγγράμματος καὶ τὸ τὰ χρήσιμα διδάσκειν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους αὐτοῦ τὰ ὑπομνήματα” (*Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 6, ll. 16–18).

It is precisely this complicated balancing act between textual faithfulness to their respective sources on the one hand and pragmatic considerations such as intelligibility and medical usefulness on the other where, I think, Galen and Ḥunayn meet. Objective proof that Ḥunayn explicitly drew on Galen's opinions about philology and exegesis in formulating his own position on translation is probably hard to come by, with the possible exception of Ḥunayn's allusion to "the principles I took from his writings" in the *Epidemics*. As tempting as it is to read this phrase (*uṣūl allatī aḥadtuhā 'anhū min kutubihī*)<sup>87</sup> as a direct reference to his methodological debt to Galen, it could just as plausibly be an allusion to medical doctrines.

There are, however, a number of highly suggestive parallels in the thinking of these two authors. By referring to the same and other Galenic and Hippocratic texts while reading and interpreting Galen's commentary on the *Epidemics*, especially when he encountered lacunae, Ḥunayn displayed a marked awareness of the *Homerum-ex-Homero* principle Galen so forcefully advocated. Galen's insistence on using commonly known words in his interpretation of seemingly obscure Hippocratic passages finds its correlate in Ḥunayn's proud assertion that his translations were formulated in a way that allowed even the uninitiated to understand difficult medical issues.

On a more general level, Galen and Ḥunayn equally emphasised "explanation" as their core concern, *i.e.* the transmission and clarification of the *ideas* of a text, sometimes at the expense of its exact wording – be it by subtly altering the wording in the process of translation or by carefully selecting and embedding lemmata in a commentary. It required a certain independence of mind to develop as critical an attitude as Galen and Ḥunayn while also professing the utmost respect for their sources – unless, as in the case of the *Physiognomics*, they turned out to be so obviously defective.

## CONCLUSION

On the basis of the argument outlined above, I believe we have grounds to place Galen among the formative influences on Ḥunayn not only in his capacity as a physician, but also as a philologist, translator and exegete. Thanks to his decades-long effort to make the Galenic corpus available in Arabic, Ḥunayn was intimately familiar with Galen's thought on all matters medical and beyond. Scattered throughout Galen's writings, he found a developed methodology of

<sup>87</sup> In note 2 (E1, fol. 51a25).

reconstructing, reading and interpreting (medical) texts. As we have seen, Ḥunayn shared many of Galen's ideas about philology and textual interpretation. Whereas his predecessors and even some of his contemporaries and successors faithfully upheld their inherited, virtually unconditional respect for the texts they were translating, Ḥunayn shifted his attention away from the text toward its reader. In spite of his undoubted respect, perhaps even veneration for Galen, he retained enough independence to criticise his textual sources and even Galen himself where required. If there was a translation "programme" or "strategy" Ḥunayn followed, it was centered on the transfer of knowledge rather than unwavering philological precision. In this as in the field of medicine, he proved to be a worthy student of his master Galen.

APPENDIX: ḤUNAYN "LEMMATA" IN BOOKS 1-3 AND 6 OF GALEN'S  
*EPIDEMICS*<sup>88</sup>

1. Book 1:1, E1 9a3-6

To supplement an apparently incomplete explanation by Galen, Ḥunayn refers to and explains a similar passage in which Galen proposes the cause for the different conditions of diarrhoea listed in this lemma.

قال حينئذ: قد وصف جالينوس السبب في جميع أحوال ذلك الاختلاف خلا ما وصفه من القلة. فأني لم أجده ذكره وأرى تركه وصف القلة إما أن يكون وهماً منه وإما أن يكون سقط من النسخة التي ترجمت منها أو من النسخة الأصلية. والسبب عندي في قلته كان تواتر القيام كأنه قال: «إنه كان يجيء قليلاً قليلاً». وذلك جائز أن يكون معنى قوله «قليلاً» في لغة اليونانيين.

Ḥunayn said: Galen described the reason for all the conditions of this diarrhoea except for what he [sc. Hippocrates] described about the small quantity. I have not found him mention it and think that he left it out either by mistake or because it was missing from the manuscript I translated from or the original manuscript. The reason for its small quantity is, I think, the frequency of the bowel movements, as if he had said: "it emerged little by little". This is indeed one of the possible meanings of "little" in Greek.

<sup>88</sup> For a list of the sigla used in the Appendix, cf. above, n. 16.

## 2. Book 2:1, E1 51a22-25, M 9b18-20

Ḥunayn identifies a lacuna in his manuscript covering Galen's explanation to a lemma and the one following it and fills it according to Galen's method for explaining similar lemmata.

قال حينئذ: إني وجدت النسخة اليونانية التي ترجمت منها هذا<sup>a</sup> الكتاب ينقص باقي تفسير كلام أبقراط هذا الذي وضع قبيل وتفسير قول آخر بعده لأبقراط فتكلفت استتمام<sup>b</sup> ما نقص من عند نفسي بحسب ما رأيت جالينوس ينحو نحوه في تفسير أشباه هذا الكلام وعلى الأصول التي أخذتها عنه من كتبه.

<sup>a</sup> هذا] E1: om. M    <sup>b</sup> استتمام] E1: استتمام

Ḥunayn said: I found that the Greek manuscript I translated this book from lacked the rest of the commentary on the Hippocratic lemma he presented before and the commentary on another Hippocratic lemma following it. I took it upon myself to fill the gap in accordance with what I thought was Galen's method in commenting on similar lemmata and according to the principles I took from his writings.

3. Book 2:1, E1 53a6-9, M 11b13-16<sup>89</sup>

As in the preceding note, Ḥunayn fills a gap by adding a missing Hippocratic lemma and providing a commentary according to Galen's method.

قال حينئذ: إني وجدت في هذا الموضوع أيضاً من الكتاب اليوناني الذي ترجمته<sup>a</sup> منه نقصان قول من أقاويل أبقراط يتلو قوله المتقدم وبعض تفسير جالينوس فيه فوضعت<sup>b</sup> ذلك القول الناقص من كلام أبقراط وأضفت إليه من التفسير ما ظننت أن يشاكل مذهب جالينوس في تفسيره<sup>c</sup> له وما يتصل<sup>d</sup> به.

<sup>a</sup> ترجمته] E1: ترجمت M    <sup>b</sup> فوضعت] *scripsi*: E1, M

<sup>c</sup> تفسيره] M: تفسير E1    <sup>d</sup> وما يتصل] M: وبصل E1

Ḥunayn said: Also in this place of the Greek manuscript I translated from, I found that one of the Hippocratic lemmata following his

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Pormann, 'Case notes', p. 256.

preceding lemma was missing together with part of Galen's commentary on it. I supplied this missing Hippocratic lemma and added comments I thought corresponded to Galen's procedure in his commentary and what belongs to it.

4. Book 2:1, E1 53a12-18, M 11b21-30<sup>90</sup>

Hunayn's comments are inserted between the Hippocratic lemma and the following Galenic explanation, parts of which seem to have dropped out: the remaining comments only refer to the end of the lemma. Hunayn explains a technical term and comments clause by clause on the first part of the lemma not covered by Galen.

قال حينئذ: إن أبقراط يعني بالمراقّ في هذا الموضع الغشاء الممدود على البطن كله الذي يسميه اليونانيون باريطوناون<sup>a</sup> وما كان من الفتوق العارضة في هذا الحجاب «فوق السرة قليلاً» «فإنه مؤلم يورث كرباً وقيء الرجيع» وذلك واجب<sup>b</sup> من قبل أن الأمعاء الدقاق في ذلك الموضع وتلك الأمعاء أضيق ومن قبل ذلك هي أخرى أن<sup>c</sup> تحتبس فضول الطعام إن بدرت من فتق ذلك الغشاء وذلك إذا كان عرضت الأوجاع والكرب وقيء الرجيع. وقال إن ذلك خاصة يعرض<sup>d</sup> متى كان الفتق «في الجانب الأيمن» لأن هناك موضع المعاء المعروف بالأعور وجزء أيضاً من المعاء الذي يقال له «قولن». فأما الفتق<sup>e</sup> الذي يكون من<sup>f</sup> أسفل «نحو العانة» في موضع الأمعاء الغلاظ التي هي أوسع فهو<sup>g</sup> أقل<sup>h</sup> ضرراً في أول الأمر وإنما استثنى فقال «في أول الأمر» لأنها بأخرة تصير أردأ ولا تزال دائماً في تزايد من الاتساع.

<sup>a</sup> [باريطوناون] E1: فاريطوناون M <sup>b</sup> [واجب] M: om. E1, in marg. add. E1<sup>2</sup>

<sup>c</sup> [أن] E1: om. M <sup>d</sup> [خاصة يعرض] E1: trsp. خاصة يعرض M

<sup>e</sup> [فأما الفتق] M: om. E1, in marg. add. E1<sup>3</sup> <sup>f</sup> [من] M: om. E1

<sup>g</sup> [فهو] scripsi: فهي E1, M <sup>h</sup> [أقل] E1: قل M

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II, ed. Wenkebach, p. 188.

Ḥunayn said: By “peritoneum”, Hippocrates here means the membrane covering the entire stomach area the Greeks call “peritoneum”. Ruptures occurring in this membrane “slightly above the navel” “are painful and cause nausea and vomiting of excrement”. This is inevitable because the small intestine is located in this area and this intestine is very narrow. Because of this, it is more likely to obstruct food wastes if it [sc. the small intestine] escapes through a rupture in that membrane. When this happened, pain, nausea and vomiting of excrement occurred. He said that this happens especially when the rupture is located “on the right hand side”, because this is the location of the intestine known as the “blind gut” and also part of the intestine called “colon”. A lower rupture “around the pubic region” in the area of the large intestine (which is wider) is at first less harmful. He specifically noted this and said “at first”, because later on, it grows worse and continues to expand.

5. Book 2:4, E1 104b9-12, M 66b *marg.*<sup>91</sup>

Ḥunayn reconstructs several lines of text based on his understanding of the preceding Galenic comment and then observes that in addition to the gap he attempted to fill, more text was lost at the end of the preceding Galenic comment. The “tags” he claims to have used in his own manuscript to distinguish between extant text and his reconstruction have not been preserved in our manuscripts.

قال حنين:<sup>a</sup> إن هذه الأسطر المعلمة كانت ساقطة من النسخة اليونانية التي منها ترجمت وألحقتها أنا من عندي نفسي على نحو ما دلني<sup>b</sup> عليه معنى الكلام وأظن أنه قد سقط من آخر تفسير<sup>c</sup> القول الأول ومن تفسير<sup>d</sup> القول الثاني أشياء آخر.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> [حنين] M<sup>1</sup>: *in marg. corr. ex* أبقراط E1<sup>3</sup> <sup>b</sup> [دلني] E1: دني M1 <sup>c</sup> [تفسير] scripsi: تفسير E1, M<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup> [ومن تفسير] E1: تفسير M<sup>1</sup> <sup>e</sup> ... أشياء آخر E1: *om. M, in marg. add. M<sup>1</sup>*

Ḥunayn said: These tagged lines have dropped from the Greek manuscript I translated from. I added them myself in accordance with what the meaning of the passage indicated to me and I think that

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 351.



additional material was dropped from the end of the commentary on the first lemma and the commentary on the second lemma.

6. Book 2:5, E1 105a19-105b4, M 67a2-15<sup>92</sup>

Hunayn explains why Part 5 of Book 2 is missing in its entirety from his translation, describes the quality of the two manuscripts he worked from and encourages his reader to add the missing material, should it become available.

قال حنين: إن المقالة الخامسة من تفسير جالينوس لهذه المقالة الثانية من كتاب أبقرات لم نجد لها نسخةً باليونانية والذي وجدناه من تفسير هذه المقالة نسختان إحداهما<sup>a</sup> على طريق الكتب التي نسخ جميع ما فيها على الولاء والأخرى على طريق ما تلتقط به منه<sup>b</sup> تنف. وقال صاحبها فيها إنه قصد للأقاويل النافعة من هذه المقالة وتفسيرها ولم نجد في واحدة من النسختين المقالة الخامسة ولا شيئاً منها أصلاً على أن النسخة الملتقطة<sup>c</sup> قد دللتنا دلالة بينة أنها لم تنسخ من تلك<sup>e</sup> التي هي في الحساب تامة<sup>f</sup> من قبل أنا وجدنا في النسخة الملتقطة<sup>g</sup> أقاويل كثيرة بأسرها مع تفسيرها قد سقطت أصلاً من النسخة التي هي في الحساب تامة<sup>h</sup>. وإني لأعجب من كاتب تلك النسخة أنه<sup>i</sup> لم يدع نوعاً من أنواع الخطأ التي قد عرفها الناس إلا وقد استعمله<sup>j</sup> ثم أبدع هو أنواعاً أخرى من أنواع الخطأ<sup>k</sup> عن نفسه<sup>l</sup> إن كان ذلك منه خطأ وليس هو إفساداً بالتعمد<sup>m</sup> وذلك<sup>n</sup> أنه لم يقتصر على أن زاد ونقص وكتب بدل الشيء غيره<sup>o</sup> حتى جاء شيء آخر بديع وهو أنه في مواضع<sup>p</sup> من الكتاب جعل يؤلف<sup>q</sup> عشر ورقات أو نحوها ثم يكتب من الموضوع الذي طفر إليه ورقتين أو ثلاثاً ثم ترجع إلى وراء عشر ورقات<sup>r</sup> من حيث قطع الكتاب أو نحوها ولم يزل يترجح هذا الترجح فمرة تمر<sup>s</sup> إلى خلف ومرة إلى قدام بغاية الاضطراب إلى أن فرغ. ولذلك || وقعت<sup>t</sup> من تخلص ما تخلصت<sup>u</sup> من هذا الكتاب في تعب شديد

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Pormann, 'Case notes', pp. 257–9 and *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 353.

ووصفت ما وصفت من هذا كيما إن جاء بعدي من يعني بالعلم فوجد نسخة لهذا الكتاب باليونانية تامة<sup>v</sup> صحيحة<sup>w</sup> يحته<sup>w</sup> ما وصفت له من هذا على المقابلة بهذا الكتاب وبتصحيحه<sup>x</sup> واستتمام ما نقص منه ويخرجني<sup>y</sup> من اللائمة إن شاء الله.

<sup>a</sup> [إحداهما] M: أحدهما E1 <sup>b</sup> [به منه] E1: om. M <sup>c</sup> [الملتقطة] E1: الملتفة M

<sup>d</sup> [قد] E1: وقد M <sup>e</sup> [تلك] E1: ذلك M <sup>f</sup> [تامة] M: بأمر E1 <sup>g</sup> [الملتقطة] M: om. E1

<sup>h</sup> [الحساب تامة] M: om. E1 <sup>i</sup> [أنه] M: om. E1

<sup>j</sup> [استعمله] E1: استعملته M <sup>k</sup> [أنواع] M: om. E1 <sup>l</sup> [عن نفسه] E1: غريبة M

<sup>m</sup> [تعمد إفسادنا] M, in marg. E1: فساد بالتعمد Ullmann (personal communication): *coni.* M. [إفساداً بالتعمد] M<sup>1</sup> *scr.*

<sup>n</sup> [يؤلف] E1: مؤلف M <sup>o</sup> [مواضع] E1: مواضع M <sup>p</sup> [مواضع] E1: مواضع M <sup>q</sup> [وذلك] E1: *dittogr.* M <sup>r</sup> [غيره] M: om. E1, in marg. add. E1<sup>2</sup>

<sup>s</sup> [يثبت] M: om. M <sup>t</sup> [أو نحوها ثم يكتب ... إلى وراء عشر ورقات] E1: om. M <sup>u</sup> [تأمر] E1: om. M

<sup>v</sup> [وقعت] E1: وقعت M <sup>w</sup> [scripsi] E1: رقت

<sup>x</sup> [تخلصت] E1, M: تلخيص ما لخصت Ullmann (personal communication) *coni.* M.

<sup>y</sup> [تامة] E1: om. M <sup>z</sup> [يحته] M: بحسب E1 <sup>aa</sup> [وتصحيحه] E1: وتصحيحه M

<sup>ab</sup> [ويخرجني] M: وخرج E1

Hunayn said: We have not found a Greek manuscript of the fifth part of Galen's commentary on this second book of Hippocrates' work. What we have found of the commentary on this part are two manuscripts, one of which follows the manner of books in which the complete text is written in an uninterrupted sequence, the other in the manner of a collection of short excerpts. Its author said that he concentrated on useful lemmata from this part and their explanations. In the first of the two manuscripts, we found not a trace of the fifth part. The excerpt manuscript, on the other hand, clearly proved to us not to have been copied from that allegedly complete one, because we found in the excerpt manuscript many complete lemmata together with their interpretations which had been entirely omitted from the allegedly complete manuscript. I am surprised that the scribe of this manuscript did not leave out the kind of errors that people already knew; not only that, he included them and then introduced other, new mistakes of his own – if they happened in error and were not corrupted on purpose, because he not only added and subtracted [material] but wrote one thing instead of another so that the result was something entirely bizarre: in [some] places of the book, he began to compile around ten folios and then wrote from the place he

jumped to two or three folios, then moved back around ten folios from where he had stopped copying. He sometimes moved backward and sometimes forward in the most confusing manner until he was finished. Therefore, || recovering what I saved from this book was extremely tiring for me. I described this so that, in the event that someone comes after me who is interested in the science and finds a complete, correct Greek manuscript of this book, my description encourages him to collate this book, correct it, supply what is missing and, God willing, save me from blame.

7. Book 2:6, E1 108a26-108b12, M 69b19-70a3<sup>93</sup>

Hunayn notes an apparent contradiction between Galen's comments on the previous lemma and a similar remark he made in his *Ars parva*. He then tries to explain the Hippocratic lemma in detail and states that his flawed manuscripts must be the source of the misunderstandings and that he does not intend to contradict Galen.

قال حنين: إني وجدت جالينوس قد تأول على أبقرط أنه إنما أراد بعظم الرأس أن يجعله دليلاً على قوة النفس الناطقة. وقد بين جالينوس في كتابه المعروف بالصناعة الصغيرة<sup>b</sup> أن عظم الرأس إنما يدل على قوة النفس الفكرية متى كانت الرقبة مشاكلة<sup>c</sup> له أي غليظة قوية. فأما متى كانت الرقبة ضعيفة دقيقة<sup>d</sup> والرأس عظيماً<sup>e</sup> فذلك عنده دليل على كثرة المادة وضعف القوة. فقد<sup>f</sup> يجب بحسب هذا أن يكون مع عظم الرأس في صاحب هذه الحال غلظ من الرقبة حتى يكون || [E1 108b] عظم الرأس دليلاً على القوة التي فيه وهذا مناقض لما تقدم من قول جالينوس إن أبقرط إنما أراد «بالرقبة القصيرة» الرقبة الدقيقة أو الصغيرة وقد تبين أن الأولى أن يكون عنى «بالرقبة القصيرة» القصيرة الغليظة<sup>g</sup> وواجب متى كانت الرقبة كذلك أن يكون فقار الصلب ناقصاً في قطر الطول وإن كان تاماً أو فاضلاً في قطر الدور. وإذا كان ذلك فواجب أن يكون الصدر أيضاً ناقصاً في قطر الطول فيكون سعته بسبب ذلك ناقصة. فإذا كان الدماغ يوجب أن يكون الصدر بهذه الحالة وكان<sup>h</sup> القلب بجزارته يوجب أن

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II, ed. Wenkebach, pp. 361–2.

يكون الصدر زائد السعة فلا بد إذ كان لا يمكن أن<sup>1</sup> يزداد<sup>ج</sup> في طول الصدر أن يزداد<sup>ك</sup> في قطر دوره حتى يتلاقى تفضيل<sup>1</sup> زيادة قطر الدور ما نقص<sup>م</sup> من سعته بسبب نقصان قطر الطول. وإذا كان ذلك فواجب أن يعرض القص ويكون عرضه غير مناسب لطوله وهذا فيما أحسب كان معنى أبقرط في تركه ذكر سعة الصدر وذكره عرض القص كيما يدل أنه || [M 70a] يريد أن يكون عرض القص بقياس طوله زائداً.

وإنما وصفت ما وصفت من هذا قلة ثقة<sup>ن</sup> مني بالنسخة التي ترجمت منها إذ<sup>و</sup> كانت من كثرة<sup>پ</sup> الخطاء على ما وصفت قبل ومخافة أن تكون زائلة عن معنى جالينوس ولم أرد بذلك الاعتراض على جالينوس.

<sup>a</sup> [إنما] E1: om. M <sup>b</sup> [الصغيرة] M: om. E1 <sup>c</sup> [مشاكلة] dittogr. M

<sup>d</sup> [ولقد] M: [فقد] E1 <sup>e</sup> [عظيماً] M: [عظيم] E1 <sup>f</sup> [ضعيفة دقيقة] M: [ترsp. ضعيفة دقيقة] E1

<sup>g</sup> [الغليظة] E1<sup>3</sup> [القصيرة الغليظة] M: [scr. et del. القصيرة] E1, in marg. add.

<sup>h</sup> [يكون] M: [Post أن] scr. et del. E1 <sup>i</sup> [سعته بسبب ... الحالة وكان] E1: om. M

<sup>j</sup> [يزاد] M: [يزداد] E1 <sup>k</sup> [في طول الصدر أن يزداد] M: om. E1, in marg. add. E1<sup>3</sup>

<sup>l</sup> [تفضيل] M: [بعض] E1 <sup>m</sup> [ما نقص] M: [بأنقص] E1 <sup>n</sup> [ثقة] M: [بعض] E1

<sup>o</sup> [إذ] M: [إذا] E1 <sup>p</sup> [من كثرة] M: [كثيرة من] E1

Hunayn said: I found Galen explain that Hippocrates only meant to make the size of the head an indicator for the power of the rational soul. In his book known as *Ars parva* Galen clarified that the size of the head only indicates the power of the rational soul when the neck resembles it, *i.e.* is thick and strong. When the neck is thin and weak while the head is large, this indicates in my opinion that the matter is plentiful and the power weak. Hence, according to this, the size of the head of someone in this condition has to be accompanied by a thick neck so that || [E1 108b] the size of the head becomes an indicator for its power. This contradicts Galen's previous claim that by "short neck", Hippocrates only meant a thin or small neck. It is clear that it would be more appropriate for him to mean by "short neck" a short, thick one. When the neck is like this, the vertebrae of the backbone necessarily have a reduced vertical diameter, even though their circumference is normal or above. When this is the

case, the chest also has to be shorter. Through its heat, the heart makes it necessary for the chest to be more spacious. Because it cannot increase in height, the chest must increase in width, so that the additional increase in width makes up for the loss of volume caused by the decreased height. When this is the case, the breastbone needs to be wide without its width being proportional to its height. This, I reckon, is what Hippocrates meant when he failed to mention the volume of the chest while mentioning the width of the breastbone in order to indicate that || [M 70a] the width of the breastbone increases in comparison to its length.

I only described all of this because I did not trust the manuscript I translated from, since it is, as I mentioned before, full of mistakes and I feared that it deviates from Galen's thought. By doing this, I did not intend to oppose Galen.

#### 8. Book 2:6, E1 119a23-30, M 79b34-40<sup>94</sup>

Ḥunayn found himself unable to reproduce the ambiguity of a Greek remark in Arabic and considered to drop it but reconsidered, because its contents could potentially still be useful to some readers.

قال حينئذ: إن هذا الكلام في اللسان اليوناني يحتمل أن<sup>a</sup> يقطع ويقرأ على أنحاء شتى من التقطيع والقراءة فيدل بحسب كل واحد من أنواع تقطيعه وقراءته على واحد واحد من هذه المعاني التي أشار إليها جالينوس وليس ذلك في العربية بممكن<sup>b</sup> ولذلك قد كنت هممت بإسقاط هذا الكلام إذ كان لا يطابق اللغة العربية ويفهم فيها على حقوقها إلا أنني لما وجدت معاني قد مرت في هذا الكلام نافعة لمن تدبرها رأيت ترجمته على حال إذ كانت<sup>c</sup> ليس تضر ترجمته وهي إلى المنفعة أقرب ومن قرأه فقدر<sup>d</sup> أن يصل إلى الانتفاع<sup>e</sup> به فهو منه على ربح ومن لم يقدر على ذلك<sup>f</sup> فهو قادر أن يتركه<sup>g</sup> فلا يضره مكانه شيئاً<sup>h</sup> إن شاء الله.

<sup>a</sup> أن M: لأن E1 <sup>b</sup> بممكن M: ممكن E1 <sup>c</sup> كانت M: كان E1 <sup>d</sup> فقدر M: فقد E1

<sup>e</sup> إذ كان ليس تضر ترجمته وهي إلى المنفعة أقرب ومن <sup>f</sup> *Post* ذلك *ditto*gr. *et del.* M: الانتفاع E1 <sup>g</sup> قرأه فقد أن يصل إلى اسفاح E1 <sup>h</sup> شيئاً M: *om.* E1

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *Galenus in Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros I et II*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 394.

Ḥunayn said: In Greek, this lemma can be split up and read in various ways. Each of the ways of dividing and reading it indicates one of the meanings Galen pointed out. This is not possible in Arabic. Because this lemma does not suit the Arabic language and could not be understood completely in it [sc. Arabic], I had considered to drop it, but decided to translate it anyhow when I found ideas in this lemma that benefit those who study them, because translating it does not hurt but may be beneficial. Those who read it and are able to draw a benefit from it profit from it; those who cannot can ignore it without suffering any harm, God willing.

#### 9. Book 3:1, E1 135a29-135b2

In the comments immediately preceding Ḥunayn's remark, Galen discussed the opinion of another commentator on the case of Silenos (described in Book 1) who claimed that there was a link between the patient's sleeplessness and his name. Ḥunayn gives an etymological explanation of the name and dismisses the reasoning of the commentator Galen quoted.<sup>95</sup>

قال حنين: إن اسم ساليوس مشتق من سالي وهو القمر. ومن عادة كثير من اليونانيين أن يشتقوا للمصروع اسماً من أسماء القمر لأن أدوا أن الصرع || في أكثر الحالات لازقة لأدوار القمر. فإلى هذا المعنى فيما أحسب أشار هذا المفسر الركيك في هذا التفسير الذي هو بأن يسمى إغماض (?) ويخبر (?) أولى بأن يفسر تفسيراً حتى يحتاج مني إلى هذا الشرح.

Ḥunayn said: The name Silenos is derived from Selene, *i.e.* the moon. Many Greeks customarily use a term derived from one of the words for the moon for epileptics to convey that epilepsy || mostly follows the lunar cycles. This, I think, is the meaning this feeble interpreter pointed out in this commentary: he calls it obscure (?) and claims (?)

<sup>95</sup> Ḥunayn's note refers to the following anecdote reported by Galen: "ἀλλ' ἔνοιό γε τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ βιβλία κατεγνώκασιν εἰς τοσοῦτον τῶν ἀκροατῶν, ὥστ' ἐγώ ποτε ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τοιαύτης ἐξηγήσεως ἤκουσα περὶ τινος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐπιδημιῶν ἀρρώστου γεγραμμένου κατὰ τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ· 'Σιληνὸς φέκει ἐπὶ τοῦ πλαταμῶνος'. ἐν γὰρ τῷ διηγείσθαι τὰ συμβάντα τούτῳ καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ῥῆσιν ἐγράψεν ὁ Ἰπποκράτης· 'νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἐκοιμήθη, λόγοι πολλοί, γέλωσ, ὄδῃ'. τούτοις οὖν ἐπεφώνησεν 'ίου' ὁ ἐξηγούμενος τὸ σύγγραμμα, 'Σιληνὸς γὰρ ἦν.' οἱ μαθηταὶ δ' ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐκεκράγεσαν ὑπερθαυμάζοντες." (*Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum III*, ed. Ernst Wenkebach, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* V, 10, 2.1 [Leipzig, Berlin, 1936], p. 12, ll. 15–23.)

that it is very appropriate to comment on, so that I am required to give this explanation.

10. Book 3:1, E1 136b18-24

To expand Galen's brief comments, Ḥunayn attempts to supply cultural background information.<sup>96</sup>

قال حنين: إنه كانت لليونانيين<sup>a</sup> أشعار فيها أقاصيص من أقاصيص القدماء يحكونها عن عدة قوم جرت فيما بينهم أقاويل فكانوا إذا أرادوا أن يحثوا الناس على السُّنة بالقدماء في الحذر من الكسل والفسالة والحرص على النجدة والشجاعة أو يزيلوهم (?). عن الشرة إلى كلف (?). النفس، اجتمع قوم يعدد القوم الذين جرت الأقاويل بينهم في تلك الأشعار، فليس كل واحد منهم صورة ذلك الرجل الذي يريد أن يبشّر الشعر الذي فيه قوله ثم يوحى كل واحد منهم أن يكون تخارج القول منه تخارج القول من (...?)<sup>b</sup> الأول حتى يذكره ويكون كأنه الأول بعينه فإلى هذا المعنى يشير جالينوس في هذا الكلام.

<sup>a</sup> لليونانيين] *scripsi*: E1 ليونانيين <sup>b</sup> illegible

Ḥunayn said: The Greeks have poetry containing tales of the ancients which they report on the authority of numerous people among who reports circulated. When they wanted to encourage people to imitate the ancients in avoiding indolence and despicable conduct and aspiring to bravery and courage or to turn them (?) from evil to self-abandonment (?), then people assembled who recounted those among which the reports (?) circulated in this poetry. Not everyone of them is the image of this man whose poetry he wanted to declaim which tells his story, but each of them creates the impression that his recitation of the story is the former (...?) so that he tells it and it is as if he himself is the former. This is the meaning Galen indicates in this passage.

<sup>96</sup> Ḥunayn attempts to explain the following passage: “εις ταύτας γούν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ οἱ πρὸ Λύκου καὶ Κοῖντου τῶν Ἱπποκράτους ἐξηγησάμενοι τι βιβλίον ἐμπειρικοὶ πάντ’ ἀνάγειν πειρῶνται, καθάπερ ἐν δράματι φυλάττοντες ἔνιοι τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ περικεμένου προσώπου.” (*Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum III*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 16:23–p. 17:3.)

11. Book 6:1, E2 16b7-12<sup>97</sup>

In his short remark, Ḥunayn adds his own observation and extends Galen's explanation of the Hippocratic lemma.

قال حنين: إن جالينوس قد فهم قول أبقراط في الغبار الذي يعلو فيمن هذه حاله على العينين خاصة، وقد نرى هذا الغبار ربما شمل الوجه كله في أصحاب تلك الحال. وما قاله جالينوس في العينين من أمراض الرمص، فقد يمكن أن يتوهمه في الوجه كله في أمر العرق، فقد يمكن أن يفهم ذلك عن أبقراط من قوله «وما يجف فيعلو كأنه غبار» أي يغشي العينين وجلدة الوجه كله ما تجدد على العينين من الرمص وعلى الوجه من العرق.

Ḥunayn said: Galen understood Hippocrates' lemma on dust covering especially the eyes of those in this condition. We sometimes see this dust cover the entire face of people with this condition. When Galen talks about the eyes in eye inflammations, he may have imagined it all over the face in sweating (?), something that can be read into Hippocrates' statement "what dries out and covers, as if it was dust", *i.e.* the secretion you find about the eyes and the sweat on the face cover the eyes and the skin of the entire face.

12. Book 6:2, E2 24b6-18<sup>98</sup>

Ḥunayn claims that Galen missed one of two possible interpretations of Hippocrates' lemma and adds an explanation of the second interpretation.

قال حنين: ما أرى أن جالينوس بلغ في شرحه لهذا الفصل ما يحتاج إليه، وذلك أني رأيت أبقراط قد قصد في استفراغ الخلط الذي قد ثبت وتمكن في عضو من الأعضاء من المواضع المضادة<sup>a</sup> له إلى معنيين أحدهما المبادرة والآخر ألا يجعل

<sup>97</sup> Cf. *Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 42, ll. 1–2 (lemma I 23) and Galen's commentary.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 65, ll. 4–5 (lemma II 8) and Galen's commentary.



الاستفراغ متصلاً دائماً، لكن يجعل بين فترات. ورأيت جالينوس قد شرح معنى قوله في المبادرة وإن لم يكن وضع ذلك موضعه ولم يشرح قوله في المعنى الآخر، فرأيت أن أضيف إلى ما قال ما نقص من قوله بالسهب منه وهو أن الاستفراغ إذا كان دائماً متصلاً لم يكن جميع ما يستفرغ من العضو الذي ثبت فيه وتمكن الخلط، لكن يكون من غيره من الأعضاء التي هي أقرب. ومتى كان فيما بين الاستفراغ فترات كان يخرج في كل وقت من أوقات الاستفراغ خرج من ذلك الخلط الثابت المتمكن في ذلك العضو الآلم وكان في أوقات الفترات كل واحد من الأعضاء التي تفرغت أكثر وهي الأقرب تجذب شيئاً من الأعضاء التي تفرغت أقل وهي الأبعد، حتى ترجع الأخلاط في العروق إلى التساوي في المقادير، فيجب من ذلك أن تكون الأخلاط التي ثبتت في العضو والتي ثبتت فيه بهذه الطريق تخرج قليلاً قليلاً حتى تتفرغ.

<sup>a</sup> E2 المضاد] scripsi] المضادة

Hunayn said: I do not believe that Galen has sufficiently explained this lemma, because I think that Hippocrates meant two things with the elimination of a humour that settled in and took hold of one of the body parts from places opposite to it (?): firstly, its spontaneous occurrence, and secondly, that the elimination does not take place continuously and without interruption, but intermittently. In my opinion, Galen explained the meaning of his lemma with respect to its spontaneous occurrence, even though he did not put it in its place (?), but did not explain his lemma with respect to the other meaning. I decided to supplement what he said with what he inadvertently left out, *i.e.* when the elimination is continuous and without interruption, not everything that is eliminated comes from the body part the humour settled in and took hold of. Rather, it comes from another, close-by body part. When the elimination intermitted, a [certain] amount of the humour that settled in and took hold of this suffering body part emerges during each episode of elimination. During the intermissions, each of the body parts that eliminate more, *i.e.* the ones close by, draw out something from the body parts that eliminate less, *i.e.* the ones further away, until the humours in the veins return to a quantitative balance. Therefore, the humours that remain in a body part and those that persist in this manner inevitably emerge gradually until they are eliminated.

13. Book 6:2, E2 55a16-55b16<sup>99</sup>

Hunayn considers Galen's explanation of the preceding Hippocratic lemma disjointed and incomplete and supplies his own detailed take on how Galen's apparently incoherent comments can be read in order to make sense of them.

قال حنين: إن جالينوس في هذا القول ابتداءً فيه شيء، ثم أتى بآخره كأنه غير ناسق عليه، وذلك أنه ابتداءً فوصف أن السبب الذي صار له من هو ملقى من رأسه بالزكام لا تكاد تعرض له أورام الطحال، هو أنه لا يكاد يوجد في البدن الواحد عضوان بحال واحدة من الضعف لكن الذي يوجد في الأمر الأكثر في كل بدن من الأعضاء عضو واحد هو أضعف أعضائه. وإذا كان ذلك فيجب أن يكون ذلك العضو هو الملقى بالعلل في ذلك البدن<sup>a</sup> دون سائر الأعضاء. ثم قال في آخر قوله إن الملقى من الرأس الزكام إنما تحدث به العلل من الرطوبة المائية والرطوبة البلغمية والملقى بأورام الطحال إنما تحدث به تلك الأورام من فضول غليظة سوداوية. لا يكاد يجتمع في البدن الواحد أن يكون صاحبه ملقى فيه من طحاله بالأورام ومن رأسه بالزكام. والقول الأول إنما ينحو نحو اختلاف الأعضاء في الضعف وأن في أكثر الأمر واحداً منها يكون أضعفها ومن قبل ذلك يكون ذلك العضو الملقى بالعلل. والقول الثاني ينحو إلى اختلاف ما يتولد في الأبدان من الأخلاط وأن الموضع التي تغلب فيه تلك الأخلاط الغالبة في ذلك البدن هو الأولى بأن يكون ملقى بالعلل حتى يكون من غلبت فيه الرطوبة || البلغمية والمائية أولى بأن يكون رأسه ملقى من التترك إذ كانت تلك الرطوبة في الدماغ أغلب منها في سائر الأعضاء ومن كانت الأخلاط الغليظة السوداوية عليه غلب فالأولى أن يكون ملقى من الأورام في طحاله إذ كانت تلك الفضول إلى الطحال أميل. وقد يمكن أن يجمع فيما بين القولين بعد أن تبين صحة كل واحد منهما على حدته واتفاقهما، فنقول إن

<sup>99</sup> Referring to *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 114, l. 17–p. 115, l. 12 (lemma II 44 and Galen's commentary).

كل واحد من الأعضاء إنما يتولد فيه من الفضل ويندفع إليه ما يندفع إذا ضعف بحسب طبيعته التي تخصه، ويخص الدماغ أنه بارد رطب وأنه في أعلى موضع من البدن بحيث يجب أن يقبل<sup>b</sup> بخارات البدن مثل ما يقبل سقف الحمام بخاراته، وأن يكون الفضل المتولد منه إذا كان بارداً رطباً مشاكلاً لطبيعته، وقد وجب من ذلك أن يكون ما يتولد فيه وما يقبله في أكثر الحالات رطوبة مائة وبلغمية. ويخص الطحال أنه آلة لتنقية عكر الدم من الكبد ولذلك خلق وهيم وبه يغتذي، وإذا اغتذى منه فهو أخرى أن يزيد ما يبقى من غذائه غلظاً وميلاً إلى المرة السوداء. ومتى كان تولد هذا العكر في الدم كثيراً، فواجب أن يحدث في الطحال ضعف لكثرة ما يميل إليه منه، فيجتمع ضعف الطحال وكثرة تلك الفضول الغليظة السوداء فيكون صاحب تلك الحال أولى بأن يكون من طحاله ملقى بالأورام بأكثر مما يكون من رأسه ملقى بالترك إذ كان الرأس إنما يألم في أكثر الحالات من الرطوبة البلغمية والمائية. وعلى هذا المثال يجري القياس في سائر جميع الأعضاء وعلى هذا المعنى أحسب جالينوس ذكر ما ذكره من اختلاف الأعضاء في القوة والضعف.

<sup>a</sup> E2 *scripsi*: [البدن] <sup>b</sup> E2 *scripsi*: [رأسه يقبل]

Hunayn said: In this explanation, Galen started with something and then switched to something else as if he had not ordered things properly. Specifically, he began to describe that the cause affecting those who suffered from a head cold rarely produces swellings in the spleen, because one rarely finds in the same body two body parts in the same weak condition. What one finds in most cases is that one of the body parts in the whole body is the weakest of them. If this is the case, it is inevitable that this body part suffers from the diseases in this body rather than the others. He then said at the end of his explanation that those with a head cold only suffer from diseases from watery and phlegmy liquids and those with swollen spleens only suffer from swellings from thick, melancholic wastes. It hardly ever happens that the same body suffers from both a swollen spleen and a head cold. The first statement only refers to the differences of body parts in terms of weakness and that in most cases, one of them is the weakest. For this reason, this body part suffers from

the diseases. The second statement refers to the difference between the humours generated in the bodies and that the regions which the humours prevailing in this body dominate are most likely to suffer from the diseases, so that those dominated by || phlegmy and watery liquids are more prone to suffer from head colds, because this liquid is predominant in the brain rather than the other body parts. Those dominated by thick, melancholic humours are more prone to suffer from swellings in the spleen because these wastes tend toward the spleen. It is also possible to combine the two statements after clarifying that each of them is correct in itself and that they agree with each other. We then say that only those wastes are generated in and pushed toward each body part when it is weak according to its characteristic nature. Coldness and wetness are characteristic for the brain, as is its position at the highest point of the body. Therefore, it receives bodily vapours much like the ceiling of a bathhouse [receives] its vapours. When it is cold and wet, the waste it generates resembles its nature. It is therefore necessary that the matter generated in and received by it consists mostly of watery and phlegmy liquids. [On the other hand,] it is characteristic for the spleen that it is an organ for purging the dregs of the blood from the liver. This is what it was created and designed for and what it derives nourishment from. When it is nourished by it, it is only appropriate that the leftovers of its nourishment increase in thickness and tend toward black bile. When these dregs form in the blood in large quantity, the spleen is necessarily weakened by the large amount of it tending toward it. The weakness of the spleen and the quantity of these thick, melancholic wastes combine to make someone in this condition prone to suffering swellings of his spleen more often than he suffers a head cold, because his head only hurts in most cases from phlegmy and watery liquids. The same pattern applies to all the other body parts. I think this is the meaning of what Galen said about the difference of the body parts in terms of strength and weakness.

14. Book 6:6, E2 132a7-21, M 85b23-35<sup>100</sup>

Ḥunayn explains that Galen considered a Hippocratic lemma inauthentic and claims that Galen probably misunderstood Hippocrates. He then quotes the lemma in question and explains it.

قال حنين: إني قد وجدت هذا الكلام المنسوب إلى أبقراط مع الكلام الذي تقدمه وهما القولان اللذان أنكروا جالينوس أن يكونا لأبقراط وقد يجوز أن تكون ترجمته

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', p. 90 (2) and *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, pp. 356–7.

بالعربية على نحو من الأنحاء التي ينصرف عليها الكلام اليوناني ترجمةً غير الترجمة التي ترجمها عليه على نحو ما وجدت جالينوس يقصد إليه من التأويل. والأمر عندي أنه خليق أن يكون أبقرات لم يقصد لهذه المعاني التي ذهب إليها جالينوس لكنه قصد المعنى الذي أنا ذاكره بعد أن أضع كلام أبقرات على الترجمة التي أرضاها وهي هذه:

قال أبقرات: المرار كما قلت في الطيور إنها مولدة للمرار حيث تكون حرارة. قال حنين:<sup>a</sup> إن الأمر عندي أن أبقرات يقصد بهذا القول أن المرار لما كان على ما وصفت من أنه يتولد عن الشيء الدسم الحلو كانت لحوم الطير فسدت في معدهم وانقلبت إلى المرار. وإذا أكلوا اللحوم الغليظة مثل لحوم البقر استمرؤها لأنها لا تفسد الأغذية الغليظة سريعاً كما تفسد الأغذية الرقيقة اللطيفة التي منها لحوم الطير. ويكون ترك أبقرات لذكره ما تقدم ومن قوله في تولد المرار اتكلاً<sup>b</sup> منه على أن ما ذكره من أمر الطيور وتوليدها للمرار تذكرة له فالقول الأول الذي قاله فيها شاهد على صحته منشق عليه. إذاً كان الشيء الدسم الذي يدخل فيه الحلو إنما صار ينقلب إلى المرار سريعاً لقوة الحرارة عليه حتى يخرج من الاعتدال<sup>c</sup> وكان لحم الطير<sup>d</sup> لخصته إذا صادف من البدن حرارةً أزيد من المقدار الطبيعي عرض له مثل ذلك.

<sup>a</sup> [قال حنين] E2: om. M, P    <sup>b</sup> [اتكلاً] E2: اتكلالا M, P    <sup>c</sup> [الاعتدال] E2: الإعدال M, P

<sup>d</sup> [الطيور] E2, M: الطيور P

Hunayn said: Together with the previous lemma, I found this lemma ascribed to Hippocrates. These are lemmata of which Galen denied that they were Hippocratic. It is conceivable that its interpretation in Arabic is, in some way which departs from the Greek lemma, other than that I found Galen aim at in his explanation. In my opinion, it is appropriate that Hippocrates did not intend the meanings Galen thinks of, but the meaning I will discuss after presenting the Hippocratic lemma in an interpretation I find satisfactory, *i.e.* the following:

Hippocrates said: Bile: as I said in the case of birds, they generate bile where it is warm.

Hunayn said: I think what Hippocrates meant to say with this lemma is that, because bile is, as I described, generated from fatty, sweet matter, bird meat putrefies in the stomach and turns into bile. When people eat coarse meat such as beef, they digest it because coarse foods do not putrefy as quickly as delicate, soft foods, such as poultry. Hippocrates' failure to mention the preceding and his account of the generation of bile reliably [indicates] that what he mentioned about birds and their production of bile is a reminder for himself for the first lemma in which he gives separate evidence of its correctness. Hence, the fatty, sweetish matter only turns into bile quickly through the power of the heat [affecting] it so that it [sc. the heat] disturbs its balance. This happens to bird meat due to its lightness when it encounters from the body warmth that exceeds the natural measure.

15. Book 6:7, E2 145a17-20, M 93b32-34<sup>101</sup>

Hunayn notes that he left out a number of quotations from Homer, Plato and others Galen had inserted to illustrate expressions that do not match grammatically; the Arabic language does not allow such expressions and their inclusion would be pointless.

قال حنين: ثم اقتص جالينوس أقاويل من أقاويل أميروس وأفلاطون<sup>a</sup> وغيرهما من القدماء قد يدل النسق فيها<sup>b</sup> ونسق الشيء على غير ما هو ملائم له ليس له<sup>c</sup> في العربية نظائر تحسن<sup>d</sup> فتركت ترجمتها لأنه لا ينتفع بها<sup>e</sup> في العربية<sup>f</sup> إذ<sup>g</sup> كانت لا تفهم فضلاً عن أن يستحسن<sup>h</sup> أو ينتفع بها.

<sup>a</sup> [أفلاطون] M: أفلاطن E2, P <sup>b</sup> *ex* فيهما *corr.* Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', p. 90 (3)

<sup>c</sup> له] E2, M: *om.* P <sup>d</sup> [تحسن] E2: ححسن M, P: الجنس Degen, *ibid.*

<sup>e</sup> [بها] E2, M, P: لها Degen, *ibid.* <sup>f</sup> [في العربية] E2: بالعربية M, P

<sup>g</sup> [إذ] E2: إذا M, P <sup>h</sup> [أن يستحسن] E2: استحسن M, P

Hunayn said: Then, Galen related dicta by Homer, Platon and others of the ancients in which he indicates that the [grammatical] congruence between them is inappropriate. In Arabic, there are no suitable equivalents for it. I have therefore not translated them into Arabic;

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', p. 90 (3) and *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, p. 389.

they have no useful purpose in Arabic, because they are incomprehensible, let alone pleasant or useful.

16. Book 6:8, E2 168a5-13, M 105a26-30<sup>102</sup>

According to Ḥunayn, Galen did not explain some parts of the preceding lemma because they are clear for a Greek-speaking audience (“culture-specific”); Ḥunayn then attempts to fill the gap by providing an explanation according to his understanding of what Greeks meant by the terms in question.

قال حنين: إن جالينوس ترك شرح ما ذكره أبقرات في هذا القول من الأرواح والأجسام لأن أمرهما عند اليونانيين بين وليس أمرهما كذلك عند أهل العربية. فرأيت أن أشرح المعنى فيهما على حسب ما يمر متعارف عند اليونانيين. وهو أنهم يستعملون كثيراً اسم الأرواح وهم يريدون به كل اسم هوائي. ويخصون باسم الأجسام الأجزاء الأرضية منها والمائية. فأبقرات يعني هذا القول بالأرواح ما ورد على البدن من الفم والجلد من الهواء وما يخالطه من الرياح والبحارات. ويعني بالأجسام ما يرد على البدن من الفم مما يؤكل ويشرب وما يصل إليه من الجلد يجذب العروق الضواريب من الماء عند الاستحمام به والاستنقع<sup>a</sup> فيه ومن الدهن<sup>b</sup> عند التمرخ به ومن غير ذلك مما أشبهه.

<sup>a</sup> [والاستنقع] scr. Degen, ‘Wer übersetzte’, p. 90 (1): والاستفراع E2: والاستفراع M, P

<sup>b</sup> [الدهن] E2: النفس M, P

Ḥunayn said: Galen failed to explain what Hippocrates said in this lemma about “breaths” and “bodies” because this issue is obvious for Greeks. It is not for Arabs. I decided to explain their meaning according to what passes as generally accepted among the Greeks. They often use the term “breaths” when they mean airy things. With the term “bodies”, they denote the remaining bodies, be they earthen or watery. In this lemma, Hippocrates therefore means by “breaths” the air that enters the body through mouth and skin and the winds and vapours it is mixed with. By “matter”, he means foods and drinks that enter the body through the mouth, the water

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Degen, ‘Wer übersetzte’, p. 90 (1) and *Galen in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI*, ed. Wenkebach, pp. 443–4.

that enters it through the skin due to the attraction of the arteries while bathing and soaking in it, the fat while rubbing the skin with oil and other, similar things.

17. Book 6:8, E2 176a22-25, M 109a6-7<sup>103</sup>

Ḥunayn points out an ambiguity in the text.

قال<sup>a</sup> حنين: هذا الكلام بهذا التأليف في اليوناني يكون معناه مساوياً لمعناه بهذا التأليف الآخر: «خروج الأسنان ونبات الشعر والمنى<sup>b</sup> قد ينبغي أن تنظر في أمر كل واحد منها هل هو متقدم في السن التي يكون فيها أو متأخر عما ينبغي».

<sup>a</sup> Post قال scr. et del. أبقراط M <sup>b</sup> [والمنى] E2: والمعنى M, P

Ḥunayn said: In the Greek, this lemma in this phrasing means the same as this other phrasing: “for each of these things – the emergence of the teeth and the growing of hair and semen – one needs to examine whether the age during which it happens is either earlier or later than necessary”.

Colophon (after the end of Book 6) of MS E2 195a1-17, M 117b17-28<sup>104</sup>

Ḥunayn explains the problems he had in establishing a reliable text of the *Epidemics*. At the end, this passage (which is in fact a quotation from Ḥunayn's *Risāla*) is contaminated with fragments from the following entry of the *Risāla* on Galen's *On humours*.<sup>105</sup>

قال حنين بن إسحق: وأما المقالة الأولى من كتاب إفيديميا<sup>a</sup> ففسرها جالينوس في ثلاث مقالات نقلها أيوب إلى السريانية<sup>b</sup> ونقلتها<sup>c</sup> إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى. وأما المقالة الثانية ففسرها جالينوس في ست مقالات وقد كنت وقعت على هذا الكتاب باليونانية إلا أنه كان ينقص مقالة واحدة وكان مع هذا كثير الخطأ منقطعاً مخلطاً<sup>d</sup> فلخصته حتى نسخته باليونانية ثم ترجمته إلى السريانية<sup>e</sup> ثم إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى إلا أنه كانت قد بقيت منه بقية يسيرة. ثم حدث ما

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Galeni in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum VI, ed. Wenkebach, p. 464.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', pp. 81–6 and Pormann, 'Case notes', pp. 252–7, both with translation.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Degen, 'Wer übersetzte', pp. 87–8 and Bergsträsser, 'Ḥunain ibn Ishāq', nos. 95, 96.



حدث من أمر كتيبي فعاقني<sup>f</sup> عن استتمامه. وأما المقالة السادسة من كتاب إفيذيميا ففسرها جالينوس في ثماني مقالات قد نقلها أيوب إلى السريانية<sup>g</sup> ونسخة هذه المقالات كلها لتفسير كتاب إفيذيميا موجودة في كتيبي. ولم يفسر جالينوس من كتاب إفيذيميا إلا هذه الأربع. وأما الثلاث الباقية وهي الرابعة والخامسة والسابعة فلم يفسرها لأنه زعم أنها مفتعلة على لسان أبقرات والمفتعل لها غير شديد.<sup>h</sup> وقد أضفت إلى ترجمة ما ترجمت من تفسير جالينوس للمقالة<sup>i</sup> الثانية من كتاب إفيذيميا ترجمة كلام أبقرات في تلك المقالة إلى السريانية<sup>j</sup> وإلى العربية مجرداً<sup>k</sup> على حدته من تفسيره لكتاب الأخلاط ولا أعلم أن غيري ترجمه وقد وضع جالينوس مقالات<sup>l</sup> آخر منها ما نص فيها قول أبقرات ومنها ما بين فيها غرضه. ولم أجد منها إلا عدداً قليلاً وأنا ذاكرها.

81 p. 'Wer übersetzte', Degen السريانه *corr. ex* [السريانية<sup>b</sup>] E2, P افيدما M: [إفيذيميا<sup>a</sup>

E2 السريانه: M, P: [السريانية<sup>e</sup>] P مختلطاً: E2, M: [مخلطاً<sup>d</sup>] E2 نقلها: M, P: [نقلتها<sup>c</sup>

*corr. ex* [شديد<sup>h</sup>] M سريانية: E2 السريانه: P: [السريانية<sup>g</sup>] E2 فعاقني M, P: [فعاقني<sup>f</sup>

[السريانية<sup>j</sup>] P المقالة: E2, M: [للمقالة<sup>i</sup>] E2, M: [للمقالة<sup>i</sup>] Degen شديد

M مقالة: E2, P: [مقالات<sup>l</sup>] P شركا *vel* محرکا: E2, M: [مجرداً<sup>k</sup>] E2 السريانه: M, P: