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Commented Translation
of An Excerpt from
Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq's Epistle to His Patron ʿAli ibn Yahyā
on The Translations of Galen

Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
of the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation

by
Ahmed El Khamloussy

Under the supervision of
Professor Brian Harris

School of Translation and Interpretation
University of Ottawa

1994

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Frontispiece from an Arabic translation of Galen’s *The Book of Antidotes*. Galen (bottom left) appears along with eight other Greek physicians who wrote treatises on the subject of antidotes. (reproduced from Badeau, 1983)
I am greatly indebted to Professor Brian Harris, who first introduced me to Ḫunayn’s text and provided me with invaluable guidance and advice at both the academic and personal levels. I would also like to thank Ghassan Aris, author of an earlier M.A. thesis on Abbasid translation, for his contribution to our seminars on the Risālah.

I want to thank the University of Ottawa and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for granting me a scholarship that allowed me to pursue my M.A. program. Likewise, I am grateful to Dr. Margaret Moriarty, of the School of Graduate Studies and Research, for providing me with an ideal working environment.

It is customary to thank one’s family and friends for their support and I am happy to follow in this tradition. Thanks to all my friends, particularly Zoubair Rubio for his help in word processing the Arabic text, and Mohamed Khnibila for his understanding and patience.

Last but not least, I owe everything that I am and that I have achieved to God, to my parents and to my brothers and sister. I would finally like to thank Sylvie Tremblay, whose unconditional love and support has made my stay in Canada so enjoyable.
ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of a commented translation of an excerpt from a ninth century C.E. letter by the celebrated Arabic translator Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq. The epistle is addressed to one of his patrons, ‘Ali ibn Yahyā, and gives an account of the works of the Greek physician Galen as well as their translations.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One provides a historical background to the translation, and is subdivided into two sections: (1) Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq (his life, his achievements) (2) Ḥunayn’s fellow translators and patrons mentioned in the epistle. Part Two comprises the Arabic text (Source Text), about 5,000 words, and its English translation (Target Text). Part Three consists of a theoretical discussion of the problems of translating this letter. In the first section of that part, we explain the purpose and style of our translation. We also analyze some of the main differences between Arabic and English textuality (e.g. cohesion), and discuss translation difficulties of different types, namely interpretive (e.g. polysemy) and terminological (e.g. synonymy). In Section Two, we expound Ḥunayn’s own method of research and views on translation. Finally, we summarize the main conclusions that we draw from the epistle, and from its translation. For the convenience of the reader, a glossary of proper names is provided at the beginning of the thesis.

We include as appendices three samples from various translations of the letter. Given the different nature of the three parts of this thesis, the bibliographical references are arranged under three headings, each corresponding to a part. An index of names and subjects appears at the very end.
RÉSUMÉ


La thèse se présente en trois parties. Dans la Partie I, nous décrivons le contexte historique dans lequel s’insère la lettre; cette partie sert d’introduction générale. Elle comporte deux sections, à savoir Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq, sa vie et ses réalisations, et les traducteurs et les mécènes que ce dernier mentionne dans sa lettre. La Partie II comprend le texte arabe (Texte de départ), qui compte quelque 5000 mots, et la traduction anglaise (Texte d’arrivée). Dans la troisième et dernière partie, nous faisons une analyse théorique de certains problèmes posés par la traduction d’un texte de cette nature. Cette partie comporte également deux volets. Dans le premier, nous expliquons notre approche traductionnelle. De plus, nous nous penchons sur quelques-unes des principales différences entre le texte arabe et la traduction anglaise (p. ex., la cohésion), et nous traitons de certaines difficultés traductionnelles d’ordre interprétatif, notamment le problème de la polysémie, et d’ordre terminologique. Dans le deuxième volet, nous décrivons les méthodes de recherche et de traduction employées par Ḥunayn. Enfin, nous résumons les principales conclusions tirées de l’étude et de la traduction de cette lettre. Afin de faciliter la lecture du présent travail, nous avons inclus au tout début un glossaire des noms propres cités dans la thèse.

En outre, nous avons annexe un exemple de trois traductions d’extraits de la lettre de Ḥunayn. Étant donnée la nature différente des trois parties qui constituent notre thèse, nous avons classé nos ouvrages de références sous trois rubriques. Nous avons également inclus à la fin un index des noms propres et des sujets mentionnés dans notre travail.
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The system adopted in the present thesis for the transliteration of Arabic characters into Latin ones is based essentially on the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1960).

Transliteration of the Arabic alphabet

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<thead>
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<td>ٰ</td>
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Long Vowels

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<tr>
<td>ْ</td>
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<td>ُ</td>
<td>ā</td>
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<td>ـ</td>
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Diphthongs

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<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُ</td>
<td>ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ـ</td>
<td>iyy</td>
</tr>
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</table>


dh; at (construct state)

al- (article; even when it is not pronounced in Arabic)
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Ibn (son of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C.E.</td>
<td>Before Current Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Circa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.</td>
<td>Current Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
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<td>n.d.</td>
<td>No Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>para.</td>
<td>Paragraph</td>
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<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Source Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Source Text</td>
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<td>TL</td>
<td>Target Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>Target Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Signals an addition to the ST in the TT</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

The following glossary is meant to serve as a quick reference. It contains proper names of people and places as well as some Arabic terms used in the thesis:

Abbassid

(Also spelled Abbasid) n. member of the dynasty of Muslim caliphs that ruled from 750 C.E. until the fall of Baghdad in 1258. The Abbasids were the descendants of al-'Abbās, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad — adj. of or pertaining to this dynasty. Also referred to as Banū al-'Abbās.

'Abd

Arabic word meaning slave or servant, used in proper nouns only when combined with Allāh or one of His attributes (e.g. ‘Abd Allāh, Servant of God).

Abū

Father; is declined after ībn and becomes ābf.

Bayt al-Ḥikmah

Translates literally in English as House of Wisdom; established by Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 830 C.E.; scholarly institution which was at the same time a library, an academy of research and a translation bureau; it had an observatory attached to it.

Byzantines

The people of the Byzantine Empire; the Arabic term, al-Rūm, reflects the fact that the Byzantines, though Greek-speaking, formed the Eastern continuation of the Roman Empire.

Byzantium

Arabic Rūmiyyah; ancient city, founded about 660 B.C.E.; located on the site of modern-day Istanbul; renamed Constantinople in 330 C.E.

Caliph

Arabic Al-Khalīfah means successor, vicar or deputy; title held by the successors of the Prophet Muḥammad as secular and religious leaders of the Islamic Empire.

Caliphate

Arabic Al-Khilāfah; succession; the reign of a caliph; also the actual land ruled by a caliph.

Commander of the Faithful

Arabic Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn; title given to some caliphs; exists to this day in some Islamic countries (Morocco, for instance).

Edessa

Arabic Al-Ruhā; city in NW Mesopotamia, on the site of the modern-day Turkish city of Urfa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Fihrist (al-)</td>
<td>Catalogue, index, list; the compiling of such catalogues was a scholarly tradition among Arab authors especially during the Islamic Empire; in this thesis, used to refer only to the work by al-Nadîm (see Bibliographical References).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galen</td>
<td>Arabic َJâlrâs; celebrated Greek physician-philosopher; born in Pergamon, Asia Minor c. 129 C.E. and died c. 199; his works dominated medicine for over thirteen centuries; most of his writings were translated into Arabic during the 9th century C.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hîrah (al-)</td>
<td>(derived from Syriac َhûta, meaning َcamp) City in the vicinity of the ancient city of Babylon, modern-day central Iraq; capital of Persian Arabia and later of the Lakhmids Kingdom. It reached its golden age in the period from 418 to 462 C.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ibâd</td>
<td>Term used by Arab authors from around the 3rd century C.E. to refer to the inhabitants of al-Hîrah, who were members of the Christian Syrian (later Nestorian) Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jundîshapûr</td>
<td>City in Persia renowned for its academy of medicine and philosophy; main intellectual centre during the reign of the Sassanids, the last dynasty of native rulers in Persia (224-641 C.E.); conquered by the Arabs in 636 C.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhmids</td>
<td>Kingdom founded by 'Amr b. 'Adi ibn Naṣr ibn Râ'ah ibn Lakhm in the second half of the 3rd century C.E.; capital al-Hîrah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadîm (al-)</td>
<td>(Muhammad b. Ishâq b.); d. in 995 C.E.; he was nicknamed َal-Warrâq (the Stationer) because he was a bookseller; author of the invaluable al-Fihrist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestorian</td>
<td><em>adj.</em> of or pertaining to Nestorianism, a religious sect founded by Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (428-431 C.E.); <em>n.</em> member of the East Syrian Christian Church (which later became the Nestorian Church); its native language was Syriac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risâlah</td>
<td>Epistle, missive, letter, open letter, essay, monograph; form of philosophical and scholarly expression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syriac</td>
<td>Arabic َSûriyânîyyah; a dialect derived from Aramaic; became the language of the Nestorian Church and an important literary language.</td>
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</table>
Syrian

Arabic *Surīyān*; in the context of the Risālah, it means a member of the Nestorian Church; not to be confused with modern-day Syrian, national of Syria.

Umayyads

Muslim dynasty established by Muʿāwiyyah ibn Abī Sufyān, who was proclaimed Caliph at Īliyā' (Jerusalem) in 661 C.E.; during his caliphate Damascus became the capital of the Islamic Empire until the Umayyads fell to the hands of the Abbassids in 750 C.E.

Uṣaybiʿa

(Ahmad b. al-Qāsim b. Abī); born in Damascus c. 1194 and d. in Sarkhad, Syria, in 1270 C.E.; author of a rich and voluminous biographical and bibliographical work on the history of medicine in Islam, entitled *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ ft Tābaqāt al-Āṭibbāʾ* (Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians); often cited by Leclerc (1876).
"Honein est la plus grande figure du IXe siècle. On peut même dire qu’il est une des plus belles intelligences et un des plus beaux caractères que l’on rencontre dans l’histoire. La merveilleuse étendue de ses travaux, leur variété, leur supériorité et leur importance, les épreuves qu’il supporta noblement au début et au cours de sa carrière, tout chez lui provoque l’intérêt et la sympathie. S’il ne créa pas le mouvement de la renaissance en Orient, personne n’y prit une part aussi active ..."

(Leclerc I:139-140)

"Hunain is the most prominent figure of the ninth century. We can safely say that he is one of the most remarkable talents and finest characters of all history. Everything about him arouses interest and sympathy: the amazing volume of his works, their variety, their superiority and importance, the adversity he lived through with dignity, both at the beginning and in the midst of his career. He may not have initiated the Eastern renaissance, but nobody contributed to it as actively ..."
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is offered as a modest contribution to the already substantial literature about Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq. It is not intended as an exhaustive account of his life, activities and works. Rather, it consists basically of a commented English translation of part of a ninth-century epistle addressed by Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq to one of his patrons, ‘Ali Ibn Yahyā. In this letter, Ḥunayn describes which works of the Greek physician Galen he had translated and which ones other people had translated, how he proceeded in his translations, and finally who commissioned them. The critical edition of the text that served as a basis for our own translation was edited by the German orientalist Gothelf Bergsträsser and published in 1925;¹ he in turn based his edition on Arabic manuscript N0. 3631 of the Aya Sophia library in Istanbul (Meyerhof, 1926:45).

There are two chief reasons for choosing this particular text. Firstly, the author, Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq, is one of the most prominent names in the history of translation.² In fact, along with some other translators of his period, he served as the medium through which much of the Greek scientific heritage reached the West centuries later.³ Secondly, although the work is often cited, it has never been translated completely into English.

¹Bergsträsser accompanied his edition of the text by a German translation; to the best of our knowledge this is the only full translation in a European language.

²Ḥunayn translated about 100 out of the total 129 books of Galen mentioned in the Epistle.

³For a comprehensive study of this subject see chapter II in Aris (1985).
The thesis is divided into three parts. Serving as background to the Epistle, Part One is subdivided into two sections: (1) Ḥunayn Ibn Iṣḥāq (his life, his achievements) (2) Ḥunayn's fellow translators and patrons mentioned in the Epistle. This Part is intended to provide the general reader with an overview of an epoch in the history of translation. Part Two comprises the Arabic text (Source Text), which is a long extract from the Epistle, and its English translation (Target Text). Part Three consists of a theoretical discussion of the problems of translating Ḥunayn's Epistle. In that part, we explain the purpose and style of our translation. We also analyze some of the main differences between Arabic and English textuality, and discuss translation difficulties of different types, namely interpretive and terminological. To facilitate the reading of the thesis we have provided a glossary of proper names. As well, we have added an index of names and subjects at the end.

In the Epistle, Ḥunayn provides a detailed description of 129 books by Galen. Moreover, he gives a summary of each individual work and mentions the names of the translator and the patron who commissioned it. He also frequently comments on the translations. Due to the length of the Epistle, only part of it, namely the first 5,000 words, is translated in this thesis. As we will see later, the Risālah is an invaluable historical document. Not only does it teach us about the translations of Galen done by Ḥunayn, his predecessors and contemporaries, but it also sheds light on the philological methods used at the time.

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4Henceforward the Epistle will be referred to by its Arabic name Risālah. The word Risālah may be translated in English in at least four different ways, namely missive, letter, open letter and epistle. It is analogous in meaning to the German Sendbrief in Martin Luther's famous Sendbrief zum Dolmetschen (Open Letter on Translation).
We have relied greatly on an article by the German orientalist Max Meyerhof entitled "New Light on Ḥunayn Ibn Išāq and his Period" (1926). This is one of the most complete and accurate accounts of Ḥunayn's works, and is based on the Risālah. Similarly, we have made extensive use of *Histoire de la médecine arabe* by Lucien Leclerc (1876) and *L'Ecole de Ḥunayn Ibn Išāq et son importance pour la traduction* by Myriam Salama-Carr (1982). Another work that has proved a valuable source is an unpublished M.A. thesis defended at the University of Ottawa by Ghassan Aris (1985) and entitled *De Bagdad à Tolède : aperçu historique des traducteurs, de leurs méthodes et de leur rôle dans la transmission des patrimoines culturels grec et arabe à l'Occident*. Other sources are listed at the end in the *Bibliographical References*.

The first draft of the translation that serves as a basis to our commentary was made possible thanks to the collaboration of three fellow translators at a weekly seminar: Professor Brian Harris (who also supervised the thesis), Ghassan Aris, translator and University of Ottawa alumnus, and Marielle Khoury, graduate student. We convened every Friday for a whole year at the School of Translation and Interpretation, discussed the original Arabic text and translated it in parallel into French and English. Where there was ambiguity, Professor Harris consulted the German translation of the Risālah by Bergsträsser. The seminar team adopted a rather literal, or academic, approach. However, as will be seen later, we have chosen a more idiomatic method of translating for this thesis.
"... the man who contributed most enthusiastically and constructively towards consolidating and enriching the Arabic language"

(Sami Hamarneh 1967:20)
Introduction

By the end of the 7th century C.E., a number of countries, including Syria, Persia and Egypt had been annexed to the fast-expanding Islamic Empire. Until the middle of the 8th century, Damascus had been its capital, but in 749 C.E. the Ummayyads conceded the caliphate over which they had reigned since 660 C.E. to the Abbassids. Thirteen years later, Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr chose Baghdad as the capital for the Abbassid Dynasty. Baghdad was to become a cultural melting pot. The presence of Muslims, Syrians (Nestorian Christians), and Persians gave the city a privileged status and favored the expansion of scholarly research. But it was not until the reign of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, from 813 to 833 C.E., that the Arab civilization reached its zenith.

The successive Caliphs of Baghdad demonstrated genuine zeal for the arts and sciences in general, but exhibited a particular enthusiasm for the medical arts. Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (786-809 C.E.) was the first Caliph in the history of the Islamic world to order the building of a hospital. Hamarneh states that "this hospital, as well as others established later, served as important centers in the teaching and practical training of medical students and graduates who needed more experience" (1967:20). Baghdad had reached the status previously enjoyed by the celebrated Persian city of Jundīshāpur. The interest that the different caliphs of Islam had for medicine is rooted deep in the tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad. From the advent of Islam, the Prophet urged Muslims to acquire all forms of knowledge, particularly medicine. Leclerc (I:24-34) even devotes a whole section to the Prophet's views on the art of medicine. He relates

\[5\text{See page } 9 \text{ and Glossary.}\]
the following conversation that supposedly took place between a Muslim and a Christian during
the caliphate of Harūn al-Rashīd:

"Au temps de Haroun Errachid un chrétien dit à un musulman : votre
prophète a-t-il oublié la science du corps, ou bien en est-il question
dans votre livre? Le musulman répondit : Notre livre n'a donné à ce
sujet que la moitié d'un verset, mangez et buvez sans faire d'excès.
Quant à notre Prophète, voici l'un de ses propos : l'estomac est le
réceptacle des maladies, la diète est le principe de la guérison et
l'intempérance la source de toutes les maladies. Le chrétien répliqua :
Votre Prophète n'a rien laissé à Galien." (Leclerc I:31)

"During the caliphate of Harūn al-Rashīd a Christian asked a Muslim,
"did your Prophet omit to talk about the medical arts, or does he
mention it in your Book? The Muslim answered, "Our Book devotes
merely half a verse to this matter, commending us to eat and drink but
beware of excess! As for our Prophet, here is what he says: 'the
stomach is the receptacle of diseases, dieting is the cure, and excess
is the source of all illness.'" The Christian then replied, "Your
Prophet left nothing for Galen to say."

Hitti (1958:4) considers that the Arabs did not seek to build an empire, rather they
established a civilization. Translation was the means to achieve that. Through translation the
Syrians had already introduced the Greek inheritance to the Persians between the third and the
seventh centuries B.C.E. Greek was the official administrative language in Syria, which was
under Byzantine rule; Syriac was the liturgical language of the Church.6 When the Arabs started
their conquests, the first type of translation they did was administrative. Translation served a
double purpose: by translating administrative and legal materials they gained access to a form

6The important volume of translations and literature into Syriac indicates that it was also the
language of daily use and educated discourse for the Christians of Syria and Iraq. Hitti
(1958:747) states that it was still spoken in North Lebanon until the end of the 17th century. For
its origins see al-Nadim (I:22,24).
of knowledge with which they were not familiar but it was also a means of imposing Arabic as the official language.

Arab scholars embarked on what would later become one of the most valuable chapters in the history of civilization. It was during this period that translation activities became increasingly important and voluminous, culminating in the formation of what is known as the Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq school of translation. However, this school cannot be regarded independently from the previous translation activities that had been taking place. Translation, notably into Syriac, was already widespread in almost all the countries that were conquered by the Arabs (Peters 1968:57-67).

1. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq: His Life and Achievements

Over the centuries, a number of scholars have written about Ḥunayn. The main sources for the study of his life and works are the following:

i) al-Nadīm (10th century C.E.): in his famous historical bibliography al-Fihrist (The Catalogue), al-Nadīm first ranks Ḥunayn among the translators from foreign languages into Arabic. He mentions him again under the heading of medical authors. Al-Nadīm says that "he excelled in the profession of medicine and was a master of literary style in

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7For a full account of this school see Salama-Carr (1982,1990).

8Drawn from Salama-Carr (1982:18,19).
the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic languages" (II:693)

ii) Ibn al-Qifti (13th century C.E.), Tārīkh al-ḥukamā' (The History of Physicians);

iii) Ibn abī 'Usaybi'a (13th century C.E.), 'Uyūn al-Anba' fi ṣabaqat al-ṣibā' (Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians). Meyerhof describes this work as a "monument of detailed and patient scholarship" (1926:685).

Another valuable source is Histoire de la médecine arabe by the French physician and Arabist Lucien Leclerc (1876). Among the twentieth century scholars who have studied the life and achievements of Ḥunayn are Giuseppe Gabrieli, in his article "Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq" (1924), and Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1925) and Max Meyerhof (1926) in their respective works mentioned above. More recently some scholars have studied Ḥunayn in a new perspective, namely his role in developing ideas about translation. Two of these authors are Myriam Salama-Carr in her doctoral thesis (1982) and book (1990), and Ghassan Aris in an unpublished M.A. thesis (1985).

1.1. His Life

Abū Zayd Ḥunayn Ibn 'Ishāq al-'Ibādi,10 nicknamed by the Arabs Shaykh al-Mutarjimtin (The Master of Translators) and better known to the West by the Latin version of his name

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9 All the references to al-Fihrist are to Bayard Dodge's translation; see Bibliographical References.

10 Al-'Ibādi is an adjective meaning "of the 'Ibād," who were Christian Arabs who chose to remain faithful to the Syrian (later Nestorian) Church after the advent of Islam. They lived mainly in al-Ḥirah (see Glossary).
Historical Background

Johannitius Oman or Humainus, was born in 809 C.E., in al-Ḥīrah in Iraq to Christian-Arab parents. His father was an apothecary, which put Ḥunayn in contact with the medical field early in life.

Ḥunayn went to Baghdad to study medicine. He lived there during the reign of 10 caliphs: al-Amīn (809-813 C.E.), al-Ma'mūn (d. 833 C.E.), al-Mu'taṣīm (d. 842 C.E.), al-Wāthiq (d. 847 C.E.), al-Mutawakkil (d. 861 C.E.), al-Muntaṣir (d. 862 C.E.), al-Musta'īn (d. 866 C.E.), al-Mu'tazz (d. 869 C.E.), al-Muhtadi (d. 870 C.E.), al-Mu'tamid (870-892 C.E.). Soon after the establishment the Abbassids took the Islamic Empire into its Golden Age. The successive caliphs supported intellectual activities of all kinds and granted translation and translators special status (Aris 1985:35).

In the course of his life, Ḥunayn encountered many hardships. During his early academic life, he was a student of the renowned physician Yūḥanna ibn Māsawayh, known in the West as Mesue Senior or Major. According to Salama-Carr (1982:19,20), who bases her assertion on Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a, Yūḥanna was bothered by Ḥunayn's inquisitive nature. One day, unable to reply to Ḥunayn's questions, he ousted him from his class. Moreover, Yūḥanna looked down on Ḥunayn and the people of al-Ḥīrah in general. He regarded them as unworthy of learning because they had traditionally been involved in trading and money changing. Leclerc (I:140) supports this latter account; however, he omits to mention Ḥunayn's inquisitive and challenging

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11 According to Meyerhof (1926), who bases his assertion on Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a, Ḥunayn was born in 809, and not 808 as mentioned in The Encyclopaedia of Islam. In fact, all the literature on Ḥunayn supports 809.
questions.

In despair, Ḥunayn left Baghdad for the Byzantine Empire. There, he learned Greek and started his book collection. Ibn abī Uṣaybi‘a says that Ḥunayn learned Greek in Alexandria. After that, he travelled to Persia and came back to Iraq, specifically to Basra, where he would strengthen his mastery of Arabic. By then, he knew Syriac, Arabic and Greek perfectly.\textsuperscript{12} Upon his return from his many voyages, Ḥunayn started establishing a name for himself. Acknowledging his talent as a translator and a linguist, his one-time professor, Ibn Māsawayh, offered him the sought-after position of translator in the Bayt al-Ḥikmah (House of Wisdom), the hub of translation and intellectual activities during the caliphate of al-Ma‘mūn.\textsuperscript{13} His reputation was consolidated when he was entrusted by the Caliph himself with the translation and revision of Greek texts.

The hardest problems that Ḥunayn was to encounter in his life were during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil. Leclerc (I:142,143) recounts, based on Ibn abī Uṣaybi‘a, that Ḥunayn’s fellow Christian translators were jealous of him, so much so that they convinced al-Mutawakkil to throw Ḥunayn into prison. They offered a picture of the Virgin Mary to the Caliph and told him that she was adored by all Christians except by Ḥunayn. The Caliph, whose responsibilities as

\textsuperscript{12}According to \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam}, Ḥunayn was almost certainly bilingual from early life. Being a Christian, he would have learned Syriac in Church and in his community, for it was the language of the Nestorian Church and of the Christian minority. As for Arabic, it was the official language and the language of daily life in the Islamic Empire.

\textsuperscript{13}Al-Ma‘mūn was the son of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and himself caliph at Baghdad from 813 to 833 C.E. and founder of the \textit{Bayt al-Ḥikmah}, 830 C.E. (see Glossary).
the *Commander of the Faithful* of the Muslims also entailed the protection of Jews and Christians, summoned him and asked him in the presence of the patriarch of the Christian community what the picture meant for him. Ḥunayn replied that it was a heretical picture like the ones he saw in churches and that he did not believe his Lord or the Virgin could be represented in image.

As a result, Ḥunayn was excommunicated by the leader of the Christians and thrown into jail. In the Risālah, we learn from him that he lost all his books: he refers to "the loss of all the books I had painstakingly collected from the countries I visited in the course of my life." At one point, he asks his patron ‘Ali ibn Yahyā to help him recover his library: "You asked me to translate that book for you as soon as possible, until such time as Allāh might see fit to grant the restitution of all my library with your help." Leclerc (I:143) points out that Ḥunayn was arrested twice and that he was finally released when al-Mutawakkil fell sick. He was generously rewarded by the Caliph after that. It was not the only time he was committed to jail, though. Al-Mutawakkil jailed him for a year for denying the caliph his wish, which was to prepare a poison for him to get rid of an enemy. When he was summoned again by al-Mutawakkil and asked to account for his refusal, he simply replied that he had two reasons. First, being a Christian, he could not allow himself to harm another human being, even an enemy. Secondly, being a physician, he had taken the oath to use his knowledge only to serve the well-being of humanity. Al-Mutawakkil then ordered that Ḥunayn be released and rewarded. He also informed him that he had been testing his integrity because he wanted to make him as his private physician. Indeed he appointed him to that position (Leclerc I:143).
1.2. His Achievements

Undoubtedly, Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq is one of the outstanding figures in the history of science. Leclerc rightly places him among the most important contributors to knowledge in general, and medicine in particular. He was a versatile personality; he was a diligent and meticulous scholar; he was a physician and wrote about medicine. One of his many works is *The Book of the Ten Treatises on the Eye*. This book, says Hamarneh (1964:61), is "probably the earliest existing systematic textbook devoted entirely to ophthalmology." Ḥunayn was also a prolific translator. Of Galen's books alone, he translated over 100, not to mention the numerous earlier translations he was asked to revise. As a linguist he deserves great credit for developing the medical terminology in Arabic. Thanks to his translations Arabic became a sort of *lingua franca* of the medical arts. Salama-Carr (1982:122) states that the translation activities commissioned by the different caliphs and carried out by Ḥunayn and his contemporaries aimed not only at establishing Arabic as the sole official language of the Empire, but also at consecrating it as the language of science.

The translation of the Galenic corpus was not done without difficulties, however. The area of pharmacology posed the hardest challenge because of the accuracy with which plants had to be described and identified. Ḥunayn and his disciples were confronted with a terminological vacuum in the medical field. They were introducing into Arabic terms and concepts which had no ready equivalents. The two main approaches that were adopted then are still in use in terminology, namely word borrowing and coining. The first approach consists in taking a word or a term from the SL and introducing it to the TL. The term is naturalized, i.e., transliterated
in Arabic (e.g. Greek *phlegma* → Arabic *balgham*). This approach was more common in the early translations. Once the translators became familiar with the term and the concept it represented, they generally felt more comfortable creating an Arabic equivalent to it, i.e. coining a new term. Such an approach is referred to as *neologizing*. It is a process whereby the translator creates a new term using the morphological characteristics of the target language (e.g. Greek *anorexia* → Arabic *butlān al-shahwa*); alternatively it consists in attributing a new meaning to an established term. Salama-Carr (1982:131) mentions that Ḥunayn annexed glossaries to many of his translations and writings, which shows his keenness for terminological accuracy.

In addition to his translations of Galen, Ḥunayn translated a number of works by eminent philosophers such as Aristotle and Plato. He wrote commentaries on all the works of Hippocrates. He even translated books and treatises on mathematics, astronomy, physics and agriculture. He was also the first ever to translate the New Testament into Arabic. Leclerc (I:141) mentions that Ḥunayn, in collaboration with his pupil Ḥubaysh and his son Ishāq, wrote over 100 books.

Al-Nadīm devotes a section of his work to some of Ḥunayn’s books. The following is the list of these works:

*Rules of Declension, according to the Schools of Thought of the Greeks, two sections; Catechism of Medicine for students [...] The Bath, one section; Milk, one section; Meats, three sections; Treatment of the Eye, ten sections, excellent; Categories of the Diseases of the Eye, one section; Choice of Medicines for Eye Diseases, one section; Treatment of Eye Diseases with Iron [Cauterization], one section; Organs of Nutrition, three sections; The Teeth and Gums, one section; Coitus, one section; Care of a Convalescent, one section; Knowledge of Pains (Maladies) of the Stomach and Their
Treatment, two sections; The Flow and the Ebb, one section; The Reason Why the Water of the Sea Becomes Salt, one section; Colors, one section. About Urine, in the form of questions and answers, one section; Children Born after Eight Months of Pregnancy [...]; Treacles, two sections; The Eye, in the form of questions and answers, three sections; Mention of the Books Which Have Been Translated,¹⁴ two sections; The "Categoriae", according to the opinion of Themistius, one section; his epistle to al-Tayfūrī on the "Prick of the Rose";¹⁵ The Ulcer and Its Formation, one section; Deaths (Fates), one section; The Generation of Fire between Two Stones, one section; Formation of Urinary Calculi, one section; Choice of Proven Medical Simples, one section ...."  
(al-Nadīm II:693-694)

This list clearly shows Ḥunayn's amazing versatility; he dealt with a great range of subjects. To top all his talents, Ḥunayn possessed one invaluable quality: he was a man of uncompromising integrity. It is therefore no surprise, as we have seen above, that the Caliph al-Mutawakkil trusted him with his life.

By Hamarneh's account, he excelled in the professions of medicine and pharmacy. Before him, no other Arab physician had justified the use of compounded medicine (1967:23). Ḥunayn certainly proved himself a prolific source of erudition and scholarly research. He developed six principles about what is responsible for health and conversely illness. Moderation and abuse are respectively the solution to and problem of all ailments. Hamarneh enumerates those principles as follows:

"1. the air we breathe  
2. the regular intake of food and drink  
3. work and rest  

¹⁴This title may refer to the Risālah.  
¹⁵Abd Allāh al-Tayfūrī, renowned physician and influential protégé of Harūn al-Rashīd's mother; he entrusted Ḥunayn with the translation of many medical works.
4. wakefulness and slumber
5. vomiting and the use of enemas
6. what affects us emotionally and its psychic therapy" (1967:23)

 Hunayn was regarded by his peers with great admiration and respect. Leclerc (I:140) reports that some of his fellow translators viewed him as a new Sergius of Ra's al-'Ayn.16 Ironically, we learn from the Risālah that Hunayn did not think very highly of Sergius as a translator, often criticizing him. Hunayn's harsh criticism is apparent in the following comment: "Sergius had translated this book [On the Natural Faculties] poorly into Syriac. So I retranslated it myself into Syriac when I was a youth of seventeen years or so."17

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16Sergius was one of the earliest translators of medical works into Syriac. He studied Greek and medicine in Alexandria. Although he translated many books, the quality of his translations left a lot to be desired, according to Hunayn.

17Book 13 on the list of books that Hunayn Ibn Ishāq mentions in the Risālah.
An ophthalmological diagram of the eye from one of Hunayn’s ten treatises on the eye.

(reproduced from Badeau, 1983)
2. Ḥunayn’s Fellow Translators and Patrons Mentioned in the Risālah

By the end of the 9th century C.E. the Arabs had already acquired most of the Greek scientific heritage, particularly medicine and alchemy (Leclerc I:92). Baghdad had become symbolically like Jundishapur, which had a celebrated school and a renowned hospital led by Nestorian physicians. The Abbassid Caliph al-Mansūr established a bridge with the Jundishapur tradition in 765 C.E. when he appointed as court physician Jūrjīs ibn Jibrīl ibn Bakhīshū’, the chief physician of the hospital at Jundishapur. The first translations of the Greek corpus were done by Syriac translators, who upon hearing that the Caliphs of Islam treated learned men with utmost generosity, flocked to Baghdad.

The medical teachings at Jundishapur were chiefly inspired by the Greek physicians. So naturally, the Baghdad translation movement was predominantly based on the writings of such authors as Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, etc. While the bulk of the translations was from the Greek, other languages were also translated, namely Sanskrit (Mathematics and Astronomy) and Persian (mainly literary and artistic materials).¹⁸

Translators were confronted with a linguistic challenge. Although Arabic, like Greek, possesses a lexicographical richness that allows it "to express the abstract, defining concepts which are part of the systematics of scholasticism" (Peters 1968:35), it did not lend itself easily to the translation of Greek writings. Arab translators subordinated the Greek to the syntactic rules of Arabic, or to borrow Peters’s words "the Greek text is recast into a Semitic mold"

A fourteenth century C.E. Italian MS showing Galen (right) and Hippocrates. (reproduced from Roux, 1983)
Syriac translators, on the other hand, did not mind the intrusion of foreign expressions and phraseology to Syriac. Peters (1968:65) claims that earlier Syriac translations of Aristotle were "rather straightforward, literal reproductions of the Greek text, stylistically deplorable."

2.1. Ḥunayn's Fellow Translators Mentioned in the Risālah

The following names are enumerated in their order of occurrence in the Risālah:

Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī

i. Also known as Ayyūb al-Abrash and Job of Edessa.19 He came from Edessa, which was a city in North West Mesopotamia. He translated a considerable number of works by Aristotle, chiefly into Syriac.

ii. Among the books of Galen that he translated into Syriac were Phoenix, The Medical Art, The Causes of Respiration, That the Excellent Physician is a Philosopher, The Black Bile, The Pulse.20

Ishāq Ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910/11)

i. His full name is Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq Ibn Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-ʻIbāḍī. He was the son and

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19Al-Abrash is an Arabic word referring to somebody who has white spots on his skin or whose skin suffers a sort of discolouration, hence the equivalent "the spotted" (Meyerhof, 1926:703). Abrash (spotted) used to have the same meaning as abras (one who has vitiligo). It eventually became synonymous with ammash (freckled). Meyerhof (1926:703) correctly points out that both Ibn abī Uṣaybiʿa and Leclerc were wrong in assuming that Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī and Ayyūb al-Abrash were two different people. Later on, Ayyūb al-Abrash was mistakenly translated by the Latins as Job Lentiginosus (the freckled).

20For a complete list of the works of Galen that he translated see Rainer Degen (1981).
pupil of Ḥunayn. He excelled in the translation of scientific works into Syriac and Arabic, but preferred to translate philosophy. He translated several works by Aristotle. Al-Nadîm (II:700) claims that his mastery of the literary style surpassed that of his father. He was often commissioned by the same patrons as his father, particularly the caliphs. He worked at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah under his father’s supervision. Like Ḥunayn he was also a physician and wrote about medicine. Some of his best works are: The Pandect, The History of Physicians, and Medical Simples.

ii. Ishāq translated a number of Galen’s books, some of which are: The Reading Order of His Books, Second Commentary on the Books of Aristotle, The Number of Syllogisms, and The First Mover Does Not Move. He provided as well an interpretation of What Plato Mentioned in the "Timaeus."

Ibn Sahdâ' al-Karkhī (also spelled Ibn Shahdâ')

i. Son of Sahdâ', known as the "Translator of Hippocrates". Ibn Sahdâ’ came from al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdad. He translated from Syriac into Arabic during the early ninth century (al-Nadîm II:1087). Like his father he translated several works from the Hippocratic corpus into Arabic.

ii. He translated The Sects into Syriac, but his work was not deemed satisfactory. So Ḥunayn, who did not think highly of him, retranslated it. Ḥunayn says in the Risālah "This work was translated prior to me into Syriac by a man from al-Karkh named
Ibn Sahlā', but he was weak in translation" (*The Sects*, 3). He also translated into Syriac some of Galen's most important books such as *The Medical Art*, and *The Pulse: Addressed To Teuthras*.

**Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam al-Dimashqī**

i. *Al-Dimashqī* is an adjective meaning that he was from Damascus. He was Ḥunayn's nephew, his sister's son, and certainly his best and favourite pupil. He was an excellent and a prolific translator,²¹ so much so that he "nearly equalled his master in productivity and accuracy" (Meyerhof 1926:708). Ḥubaysh translated chiefly from Greek into Arabic. Moreover, he served as a court physician under al-Mutawakkil and the successive caliphs.

The quality of his translations was such that Ḥunayn often accepted them without revision. Still, Ḥubaysh was not spared from his master's harsh criticism. Ḥunayn mentions in the Risālah that "Ḥubaysh is a man who has a talent for understanding and who aspires to adopt my method of translating, except that his dilligence is not commensurate with his talent" (*The Pulse*, 15).

ii. Of all the translators mentioned in the Risālah none translated as many books of Galen as Ḥubaysh, aside from Ḥunayn. Indeed he translated three books into Syriac and thirty-five into Arabic. Some of the works he translated are wrongly attributed to Ḥunayn.

²¹Refer to al-Nadīm (II:682-685) for a more detailed list of his translations.
Leclerc reports that "l'élève s'éleva à la hauteur du maître, au point que Honéin acceptait ses traductions comme définitives et que plusieurs ont passé sous le couvert de Honéin comme ayant la perfection des siennes propres" (I:155), "the student had reached the level of his master, so much so that Ḥunayn accepted his translations without revision and many people attributed them to Ḥunayn because they were as perfect as though they were Ḥunayn's own." Among the famous books that he composed there is Appendix to the Questions of Ḥunayn. \(^{22}\) Al-Nadîm mentions him under two headings: "Translators" and "Physicians".

Sergius of Ra's al-'Ayn (d. 536 C.E.)\(^{23}\)

i. Sergius was a Jacobite Christian priest. He studied medicine and Greek at Alexandria. He was a translator but established a better reputation as a physician. He died at Constantinople in 536 C.E. He was the first to translate the Greek medical writings into an oriental language, namely Syriac. Peters calls him "the most prolific and versatile of the Syriac translators of Aristotle" (1968:58). Leclerc, however, does not devote a large section to him, claiming that although Sergius translated a considerable number of Greek works there is not much known about his translations.

ii. The Risâlah informs us that he translated over twenty-six books from the Galenic

\(^{22}\) This title refers to Ḥunayn's Catechism of Medicine for Students.

\(^{23}\) Ra’s al-'Ayn, also spelled Rish'Ayna and Resh'Ayna and known as well as 'Ayn al-Wardah, is located in NE Syria.

According to Leclerc (I:173), who bases his opinion on Abī Usaybi‘a, Sergius did not always produce translations of high quality. Ḫunayn often criticized him too; this is illustrated in the following passage: "Sergius preceded me in translating it but he did not understand it and corrupted it" (The Elements According to Hippocrates, 11). Another example of Ḫunayn’s opinion of him is this criticism "Sergius did a bad translation of this book into Syriac. Then I translated it (...) when I was a youth of seventeen or so" (The Natural Faculties, 13).

ʻĪsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm (al-Dimashqī)

i. Born in Damascus; he was the pupil of Ḫunayn. He was a successful translator and author; he composed some works of his own. Peters (1968:41) considers him a remarkable lexicographer as well. He translated mostly scientific Greek materials, often from Ḫunayn’s Syriac versions into Arabic.

ii. Meyerhof (1926:710) reports that Ḫunayn was very pleased with him and satisfied with his work. ʻĪsā’s style supposedly resembled that of his master. Among the twenty-five Galenic books he translated only one was into Syriac. Some of these are: Prognosis, Venesection, Medical Simples Counteracting Diseases, and The First Mover
Does Not Move.

İstifān ibn Basīl

i. Stephen of Basil: a contemporary of Ḥunayn and possibly his pupil too. He was the first to translate Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* from Greek into Arabic. But that translation proved unsatisfactory.

ii. In the Risālah, Ḥunayn attributes to him the translation of nine works. Leclerc (I:179) relates that according to abī Uṣaybiʿa the quality of İstifān's work equalled that of Ḥunayn. However, we learn from the Risālah that almost all the books that he translated were revised by or done with the assistance of either Ḥunayn or some other translator. He translated *The Movement of the Muscles* (contained errors which Ḥunayn corrected), *Causes of Respiration* (corrected by Ḥunayn) and *Motion of the Chest and Lung* (also revised by Ḥunayn).

Yūsuf al-Khūrī (ibn al-Ḥakam al-Qass, "al-Sāhir")

i. *al-qass* in Arabic means "priest". Meyerhof (1926:704) refers to him as Joseph the Priest. He was a Christian priest and a physician. He suffered insomnia as a result of a tumour in the head, hence the Arabic nickname *al-Sāhir* (the sleepless). He lived at the time of Caliph al-Muktāfī.

ii. In addition to being a translator, he was an author. One of his books is *The Pandect.*
Hunayn did not like his translations. At one point in the Risālah, he says of him that "he did an awfully bad translation of this book" (*Medical Simples*, 53).

Išā ibn 'Ali

i. Not to be confused, as often happens, with 'Ali ibn Išā, a celebrated Arab occultist (ophthalmologist in today’s terms). He was one of the best pupils of Hunayn, along with Ishāq and Ḥubaysh. He was a lexicographer and a court physician under Caliph al-Mu’tamid (870-892 C.E.). He even has some philosophical writings. But above all he was "an excellent man" (al-Nadīm II:699).

ii. He is the author of several medical treatises on animals and fish, among which the famous *The Benefits Made Use of from the Organ of an Animal*. His translations of Galen’s works include *The Temporary Stages of Diseases*. Meyerhof (1926:710), who otherwise does an excellent job of dissecting the Risālah, makes a mistake when he claims that Išā apparently did not translate any of Galen’s writings.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt

i. He was an average translator. As he was commissioned by some of the people who patronized Hunayn, we may assume that he was his contemporary. He too translated scientific works into Syriac and Arabic. According to Leclerc (I:182) he aspired to follow the path of Sergius of Ra’s al-‘Ayn.
ii. He translated four of Galen's books, two into Syriac and two into Arabic, including *Advice to an Epileptic Boy*, and *Tumours*.

**Thābit ibn Qurrah** (Abū al-Ḥasan, 836-901 C.E.)

i. He was one of the rare people who could be compared to Ḥunayn. Thābit was a scholar, a philosopher, a physician, and above all a mathematician and an astronomer. He was born in Ḥarrān (ancient Carraea in Mesopotamia) to a Šabian family. He used to be a money changer in his native city until the day Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā saw him, on his way back from a trip to Byzantium. He was so impressed by Thābit's intelligence and elegant literary style that he offered to take him along with him to Baghdad, which Thābit gladly accepted. He was considered a second-class physician, but nobody questioned his talents in mathematics and astronomy. Leclerc (I:172) devotes a section of his work to him, stating that "personne plus que lui ne favorisa l'étude des mathématiques et de l'astronomie chez les Arabes", "nobody did more to promote the study of mathematics and astronomy among the Arabs." Al-Nadīm places him among mathematicians and briefly mentions him as a translator.

24 The sources consulted do not agree on his exact date of birth. Al-Nadīm and Hitti provide 836 C.E. while Meyerhof and Leclerc indicate 829 C.E.

25 The "Ḥarrān Šabians" or pseudo-Šabians are not to be confused with the Mandeans, a Judeo-Christian sect who live to this day by the Euphrates. The former, explains Hitti (1958:358) were heathen people who adopted the name "Šabians" during the Islamic reign to benefit from the protection granted by the Qur'ān to Jews and Christians. The real Šabians are mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (2:59, 5:73, 22:17) and were regarded by the Prophet Muḥammad as true believers in God. Some of them embraced Islam later on in life, including Thābit ibn Qurrah's son.
Thabit bin Qurrah translated and analyzed the Almagest of Ptolemy which was later rendered into Latin.


(reproduced from Badeau, 1983)
ii. Thābit composed books on a variety of subjects, ranging from astronomy to music and philosophy. He provided as well a commentary on Aristotle's works in Logic and Metaphysics and wrote not less than twenty books on Mathematics and Astronomy. He translated Galen's *What One Believes as an Opinion* and *Chyme*. He even improved earlier translations of Euclid.

**Yahyā ibn al-Batrīq (Abū-Zakariyā, d. about 835 C.E.)**

i. John son of the Patrician, also known as Yūhannā. He is not to be mistaken for Abū-Yahyā ibn al-Batrīq, who was a translator too (d. 800 C.E.). He translated mostly Greek scientific writings. By abī-Uṣaybi'a's account (Leclerc I:178), he was an excellent translator.

ii. He translated Galen's *Theriac to Piso*.

**Thiūūfī al-Ruhāwī (d. 785 C.E.)**

i. Also known as Theophilos son of Thomas of Edessa. He was a Maronite Christian astrologer in the service of al-Mahdī. According to Meyerhof (1926:705), he attempted to translate Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He translated Aristotle into Syriac.

ii. Ḥunayn criticizes his work saying that "he did an extremely bad translation of this book into Syriac. Then I translated it at the request of Baktūshū" (*The Preservation of Health*, 84).
Yūhannā ibn Baktīṣḥūʿ (d. 941 C.E.)

i. He was a young contemporary of Ḫunayn and probably a member of the famous Bakhtīṣḥūʿ family of physicians. He was himself a physician and liked to translate medical books.

ii. He seemingly only translated one book from Galen’s writings into Syriac, namely The Antidotes.

Tūmā al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Edessa)

i. He lived in the 9th century C.E. and translated into Syriac.

ii. Ḫunayn was charged by Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib to translate Galen’s How to Recognize One’s Wrong Deeds and Imperfections, but he could only find one of the two treatises of which it consists. Then Bakhtīṣḥūʿ asked him to complete it; so he gave it to Tūmā al-Ruhāwī to translate. Not much is said about this man in the Risālah.

Mansūr ibn Āthānās

i. Like Thābit ibn Qurrah, he belonged to the Sabians. Not much has been written about him.

ii. Meyerhof (1926:705) indicates that he was the first to translate Galen’s The Human Nature into Syriac. We learn from the Risālah that he translated as well The Moral Customs, of which Ḫunayn says “this book was translated into Syriac by a Sabian named
Mansūr ibn Āthānās. Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī may have translated it too. I read Mansūr's translation but I was not pleased with it" (The Moral Customs, 119).

İṣṭifān al-Yunānī (Stephanos the Greek)

i. Ḥunayn does not inform us about hīn.

ii. He mentions him though when speaking about Strength of the Mind Depends Upon the Disposition of the Body. İṣṭifān and Muḥammad ibn Mūsā collated and corrected this work.

2.2. Ḥunayn’s Patrons Mentioned in the Risālah

They fall into two main categories:

(i) Members of the ruling class, chiefly Muslim caliphs who were often either scholars themselves or had a strong interest in the sciences. It was indeed the Caliph al-Ma’mūn who ordered the establishment of the Bayt al-Ḥikmah in 830 C.E. These patrons were also motivated by religious reasons. The Qur’ān exhorts Muslims to acquire al-ʿilm (knowledge), even from a kāfir (a non-Muslim). Translations commissioned by the people in this category were almost all done into Arabic.

(ii) Private sponsors, scholars, teachers, friends and even other translators. The latter mostly asked Ḥunayn to correct or review translations by them or by other people. In other cases, they

26The first verse of the Qur’ān that was revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad urged him to Igra’ (to read, to recite or even to learn, in the broadest sense of the Arabic word): "Read, in the name of your Lord who created ..." (96:1).
would request that he collate or establish manuscripts. This category consists mainly of Nestorians who asked for translations into Syriac.

Among all the private sponsors, three families stand out: the Bakhtīshū', a celebrated family of physicians some of whose members were also translators; the Banū Mūsā, consisting of Mūsā ibn Shākir, the astronomer of al-Ma'mūn, and his three sons, renowned mathematicians and physicists; and last but not least the family of al-Munajjim (the Astrologer),\(^{27}\) to which 'Ali b. Yaḥyā belonged.

**Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim (d. 888 C.E.)**

\(^{1}\) He was nicknamed al-Munajjim (the astronomer) after his father Yaḥyā and his grandfather Manṣūr. He was a man of fine character with a strong liking for the Sciences. Like his father, he served as court astrologer to al-Ma'mūn.\(^{28}\) He was also al-Mutawakkil’s secretary and confidant.\(^{29}\) As we have mentioned earlier, ‘Ali b. Yaḥyā was asked by Ḥunayn to intercede for him with al-Mutawakkil in order to regain his confiscated collection of books. Meyerhof (1926:714) says that by the year 860 C.E. he

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\(^{27}\) The terms "astrologer" and "astronomer" seem to be used interchangeably in the different sources consulted on this subject. In this work too, they are used as synonyms with no regard to their modern connotations.

\(^{28}\) It seems to have been a common practice among the successive caliphs to appoint a personal astrologer to their court. The belief in astrology being forbidden in Islam, this confirms that "astrologer" and "astronomer" were used synonymously.

\(^{29}\) Meyerhof (1926:714) claims that Ibn abī Uṣaybia (I:206) was mistaken in assuming that ‘Ali b. Yaḥyā was al-Ma’mūn’s secretary; Leclerc (I:127) repeats the same error.
became "commander in the northern frontier provinces against the Byzantine Empire."

He later embraced Islam. Meyerhof further relates that ‘Ali possessed a rich library which he liked to call *Khizānāt al-Ḥiknah* (Library of Wisdom).\(^{30}\)

ii. We learn from the Risālah that ‘Ali commissioned Ḥunayn, Ḥubaysh and Ishāq to translate at least ten of Galen’s works some of which are: The Elements According to Hippocrates, The Causes and Symptoms, The Medical Simples, That the Excellent Physician is a Philosopher, and Introduction to Logic.

**Dāwūd al-Mutaţabbib\(^{31}\)**

i. David the Medical Practitioner is probably the same person as David of Serapion, according to Meyerhof (1926:719). Leclerc (I:114) describes him as an eminent physician. He came from a distinguished family of physicians; his father and his brother John practised medicine. Ḥunayn merely mentions his nickname, i.e. al-Mutaţabbib.

ii. At his request, Ḥunayn translated four important Galenic works into Syriac, including The Medical Art, and The Reading Order of His Books. Ḥunayn valued this man, of whom he says: "Dāwūd al-Mutaţabbib (...) was an intelligent man, eager to learn" (The Medical Art, 4).

\(^{30}\) *Khizānāh* may also be translated in English as "treasury" or "treasure house".

\(^{31}\) *Mutaţabbib* is said of somebody who practices medicine without necessarily having the proper training. In other instances, it is rendered in English as "quack." This is clearly not the case here, hence the equivalent "medical practitioner".
Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Mūsā (Ibn Shākir) (d. 872/73 C.E.)

i. He was the eldest of the three sons of Shākir, the astronomer of al-Maʿmūn (813-833 C.E.). He belonged to a family of private sponsors that commissioned works in philosophy and the sciences. They were known as the Banū Mūsā. His father, Muḥammad, was a friend of Ḥunayn's. He had two brothers, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, who shared his interest in scholarly life. The three of them were well-versed in geometry and astronomy, and spent their life collecting Greek manuscripts. Sabra (164) claims that the Banū Mūsā started out as poor but managed to become wealthy later on in life. By the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, they had become very influential. Together with his brothers, Muḥammad composed several books: The Qarastun (Beam Balance), The Measurement of Plane and Spherical Figures and The Trisection of the Triangle. Moreover, he wrote several treatises on his own: The First Motion of the Sphere, The Beginning of the world, and The Atom.

ii. Muḥammad asked Ḥunayn and Ḥubaysh to translate no less than fifty Galenic books into Arabic: The Sects, The Medical Art, To Glaucon, The Bones, The Muscles, etc. Meyerhof (1926:715) give him credit for helping to preserve some of Galen’s writings. Ḥunayn says in the Risālah that "Muḥammad b. Mūsā asked me to collate it (Iṣṭifān’s Arabic translation) with the Greek and correct it" (The Movement of the Muscles, 39).

Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Mūsā (b. Shākir)

i. He was another son of Mūsā and the brother of Abū Jaʿfar. He seemingly achieved
less fame than his two brothers. Nevertheless, he composed some original works both individually and collectively with Abū Ja'far and al-Ḥasan (his brother, not his son). His books include such titles as Questions and The Round and elongated Figure. Aḥmad excelled in mechanics. He and Muḥammad are said to have possessed the largest wealth in their family, a considerable portion of which was spent in sponsoring such translators as Ḥuṇayn and Thābit b. Qurrah.

ii. He requested the Arabic translation of some twenty Galenic works: The Reading Order of His Books, Diagnosing Diseases of the Internal Organs (Ḥubaysh’s translation), The Types of Fevers, etc.

Bakhtīshūʿ b. Jibrīl (d. 870 C.E.)

i. He belonged to the oft-cited family of Bakhtīshūʿ. They came from Jundīshāpūr. The patriarch of the family, Jurjīs (George), was chief-physician of the Jundīshāpūr hospital and headmaster of its school of medicine. Bakhtīshūʿ’s father, mentioned below, was Jibrīl, the "most prominent member of the Nestorian family of physicians which served under the long line of ‘Abbassid Khalifs" (Meyерhof 1926:717). He followed in his father’s steps, and like him he tasted the sweetness of fame and conversely the bitterness of disgrace. He was supposedly the one who hatched the conspiracy against Ḥuṇayn, leading to the latter’s loss of his library and to his imprisonment. This is related by Meyerhof (1926:718). Leclerc (I:102,103), on the other hand, omits to mention this;

32 This title may refer to the "ellipsis", according to Sabra (1983:164).
according to him Bakhtīshū' knew adversity because he made many envious around him. Bakhtīshū' would be exiled to Jundīshāpūr under al-Wāthiq.

ii. Bakhtīshū' commissioned Ḥunayn and his son Ishāq with the Syriac translation of some fourteen Galenic books, including *The Plethora*. He was not pleased with the translation of this work, claiming that it was too literal. So he asked for a freer version. Ḥunayn relates this instance: "I translated it recently at the request of Bakhtīshū' in the same fashion I usually translate, using the most eloquent and fluent style and in the closest possible way to the Greek without encroaching upon the Syriac. He asked me, however, to translate anew in an easier (to read), smoother and freer manner, which I did" (*The Plethora*, 56). This instance marks one of the rare occasions that Ḥunayn's translation was criticized by a patron. The Risālah also mentions that Ishāq translated *The Reading, Order of His Books* into Syriac for Bakhtīshū'.

Shirīshū' ibn Qutrub

i. He came from Jundīshāpūr. Like Dāwūd al-Mutāṭābbīb, he was a medical practitioner. He mostly requested Syriac translations of Greek MSS. Leclerc (I:127) observes that he liked to help translators and even provided them with manuscripts.

ii. Among the works of Galen that Ḥunayn was asked to translate at the request of

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33 This must have taken place before the infamous episode mentioned above, says Meyerhof (1926:718).
Shirīshū, the Risālah mentions *The Sect.*

**Salmuwayh ibn Būnān**\(^3\) (d. 839/40 C.E.)

i. He was a distinguished Nestorian physician who served at the courts of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣīm. The latter, says Meyerhof (1926:718) valued him so much that he attended his funeral and ordered that a Christian mourning period be observed in his memory.

Ḥunayn relates that his father, an apothecary, regarded Salmuwayh as "le médecin le plus instruit de son temps" (Leclerc I:118), "the most learned physician of his time."

Leclerc further reports that Salmuwayh did not think highly of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (see below) and that he even advised al-Mu'taṣīm not to confide entirely in him. This is confirmed by Meyerhof (1926:718), who claims that the two physicians were scientific rivals.

ii. For the last six or seven years of Salmuwayh's life, he regularly entrusted Ḥunayn with the Syriac translation of Greek scientific works, including some thirteen Galenic books. Ḥunayn reports in the Risālah that he took utmost care when translating for him: "In accordance with his level of understanding and how widely-read he was, I took great care to be very precise in everything I translated for him" (*The Pulse: Addressed to Teuthras*, 5).

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\(^3\)Meyerhof (718) claims that Leclerc (I:118) calls him "ibn Bayan", repeating the scribal error he found in Ibn abi Uṣaybi'a. On the other hand, Meyerhof spells his name "Salmawaih", and not "Salmuwayh".
Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh⁵⁵ (Abū Zakariyā’) (771-857 C.E.)

i. He is also known by the Latin version of his name: Mesue Senior/Major. Born in Jundishāpūr, he was a celebrated Nestorian physician. His father was a chemist at the hospital of Jundishāpūr. Like him, he studied the sciences and exhibited a particular interest in medicine. Yūḥannā studied the medical arts with Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū‘. Despite his fame, he was not an excellent physician. Leclerc (I:108) says that he may have caused the death of his own son. Yūḥannā moved to Baghdad at an early age to serve under Hārūn al-Rashīd and later under the latter’s son al-Ma’mūn. In the tradition of learned men of that time, he practised translation in addition to other scholarly activities. He translated chiefly into Syriac, and at the request of Hārūn al-Rashīd he translated into Arabic a number of Greek medical treatises.

Gabrieli (1923:282) relates that in his early teens, Ḥunayn traveled to Baghdad hoping to study medicine with Yūḥannā. He reports as well that the latter was disturbed by the young Ḥunayn’s difficult questions and evicted him as a result from his Majālis (sessions). This incident is also recorded by Salama-Carr (1982:19,20; 1990:26), who adds that Yūḥannā looked down on the people of al-Ḥirah.³⁶ Ironically, he later offered Ḥunayn the position of translator at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah. Gabrieli observes that:

"Yūḥanna b. Masawayhi s’affrettò, per mezzo del comune amico

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³⁵ _John son of Mesue_, in English; Yahyā, in Arabic and Yūḥannā in Syriac. Not to be confused with Māsawayh al-Māridīnī, also called Mesue the Younger, who was a famous Jacobite physician during the rule of the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim in Egypt (see Hitti 1958:310).

³⁶See above, section on Ḥunayn’s life.
Historical Background

Yusuf b. Ibrāhīm, a riannodare i buoni rapporti col giovane ibadita, il quale attese con lui nuovamente allo studio e alla pratica della medicina, traducendo per Yuḥanna, ora in siriano e ora in arabo, parecchie opere di Galeno" (Gabrieli 1925:238)

"Yuḥanna b. Māsawayh hastened, through the mediation of their common friend Yusuf b. Ibrāhīm, to rebuild good relations with the young ‘Ībādī, who delved anew into the study and practice of medicine, translating for Yuḥanna, sometimes into Syriac and sometimes into Arabic, several of Galen’s works."

Yuḥanna wasted no time in trying to establish a good relationship with the young Ḥunayn, who joined him in the study and translation of Greek medical texts. He asked him to translate several of Galen’s writings, both in Syriac and in Arabic.

ii. Among Galen’s works translated for him: The Dissection of the Eye (summarized by Ḥunayn and Yuḥanna), The Movement of the Chest and the Lung (translated by Ḥubaysh from Arabic into Syriac), and The Voice (translated by Ḥubaysh). Speaking of The Bones Ḥunayn says: "In my translation, I aimed to investigate its ideas as thoroughly and clearly as possible, because that man (Yuḥanna) likes clear speech and always insists on it" (The Bones, 7).

Iṣḥāq ibn Sulaymān

i. He was Governor of Egypt during the caliphate of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. Meyerhof (1926:716) recounts that he ruled Egypt with an iron fist, particularly in matters of taxation. That eventually led to a peasant revolt.

ii. The Risālah mentions that he sponsored the translation of four major Galenic books
into Arabic, namely *The Temperaments*, *The Natural Faculties*, *The Application of Alleviating Medicines* and *That the Excellent Physician is a Philosopher*.

**Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū’**

i. Another member of the distinguished Nestorian family of Bakhtīshū’. His father, Baktīshū’, was a physician too. Leclerc (I:99) states that his father once sent Jibrīl to treat Ja‘far al-Barmakī who was sick, claiming that his son was better qualified.37 He served under Hārūn al-Rashīd for over twenty years, but he was disgraced and thrown into jail by al-Ma‘mūn. Leclerc also points out that despite all his wealth Jibrīl was very greedy. Later in his life he reportedly attended the *majālis* (sessions) of Ḥunayn, who was still a youth at the time. He was very impressed by his talent and liked to say that he would one day surpass Sergius of Ra’s al-ʿAyn.

ii. Jibrīl composed some original works, some of which are: *Epistle to al-Ma‘mūn on Food and Beverages*, and *The Composition of Perfumes: Addressed to al-Ma‘mūn*. He entrusted Ḥunayn and Ayūb al-Ruhāwī with the Syriac translation of at least ten of Galen’s books, including *The Natural Faculties* (Ḥunayn translated this work when he was 17 or a little older).

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37A member of the renowned Barmak family of vizirs. Ja‘far’s palace, al-Ja‘farī, was transformed by al-Ma‘mūn into *Dār al-khilāfah* (the Calphal Palace). For a more detailed account on this family, see Hitti (1958:294-96).
Detail from the first page of *The Book of the Excellent Galen On Medical Sects for Students*, translated by Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq the physician. This page is especially interesting because it is annotated by two former owners, one of them none other than Avicenna. His note is on the right, right under the main heading, and reads: "Came into the possession of Husayn ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Sinā the physician in the year 407" (i.e. 1016-17). The second note is bottom right and reads: "Came into the possession of Jibrā’il ibn Bakhtishū, the Christian physician." (reproduced from Lewis, 1976)
Thiyāḏūrī Usquf al-Karkh (Theodoros Bishop of al-Karkh)

i. There does not seem to be much literature about him. Leclerc (I:127) names him "Thadri"; he probably bases this on Ibn abi Ṣaybi‘a. He also relates that Thiyāḏūrī collected books and sponsored their translations. He also paid for the services of some Christian physicians.

ii. The Risālah mentions that Sergius translated, at Thiyāḏūrī’s request, Galen’s *Diagnosing the Diseases of the Internal Organs*.

Al-Yasa‘ (also Elisa or Elisha)

i. He was only mentioned once in the Risālah. Leclerc (I:128) identifies him as a great physician, among many others.

ii. He asked Sergius to translate Galen’s *Diagnosing the Diseases of the Internal Organs*.

Iṣrā’īl ibn Zakariyā (al-Ṭayfūrī)

i. He was the son of Zakariyā ibn ‘Abd Allāh, a Christian physician in Baghdad. Following in his father’s footsteps, he studied and practised medicine. He served as the private physician of al-Fath b. Khāqān, a vizir and protégé of al-Mutawakkil. According to Meyerhof (1926:719) Iṣrā’īl could have been the co-instigator, along with Bakhtishū’ī b. Jibri’il, of the plot that led eventually to Ḥunayn’s imprisonment. This is related by Gabrieli (1923:284,85), who asserts that Iṣrā’īl was jealous of Ḥunayn’s intellectual superiority.
ii. Isrā’īl asked Ḥunayn to retranslate *Diagnosing the Diseases of the Internal Organs* into Syriac.

Zakariyā ibn ‘Abd Allāh (al-Ṭayfūrī)

i. He was the father of the above-mentioned Isrā’īl.

ii. Ḥunayn relates in the Risālah that he was asked by Salmuwayh to correct the translation of the second part of *The Method of Healing*. As this was not possible, he decided to retranslate it. They were at al-Raqqah during the campaigns of al-Ma’mūn when Salmuwayh requested that he give the translated part of the book to Zakariyā, who would take it to Baghdad to have it copied.\(^{38}\) The copy, however, never reached Baghdad as the ship that Zakariyā was sailing on burned. That seems to be the only occasion on which he is mentioned in the Risālah.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt (d. 847/48 C.E.)

i. He was nicknamed *al-Wazīr* because he served as a vizir under al-Mu’taṣim. He was a fervent promoter of the sciences and the arts, with a particular liking for translation. He was himself a poet. He regularly sponsored the activities of translators like Ḥubaysh, Māsawayh and Bakhtīshū‘.

ii. Among the books translated for him, Ḥunayn mentions *The Voice*. He says that he

\(^{38}\)Al-Raqqah is a Syrian town, located on the west bank of the Euphrates. It was Hārūn al-Rashīd’s favourite residence.
was once asked by Muḥammad b. Mūsā to translate The Moral Customs but he could not finish it as Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt requested his company. It can be inferred from this episode that Ḫunayn might have been at the latter’s service.

‘Ali al-Fayyūm39

i. Ḫunayn names him al-Fayyūm and not al-Fayyūmī. The latter expression would mean that he was a native of al-Fayyūm, which he was not necessarily by Meyerhof’s account (1926:720). Leclerc (1:127), on the other hand, asserts that he was indeed from al-Fayyūm. He was a tax-collector from al-Fayyūm in Egypt. He was generous with translators.

ii. At his request, Ḫunayn undertook the Syriac translation of Galen’s The Composition of the Medical Art, two months before the latter’s death in 877 C.E.

Iḥšāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāhirī (d. c. 850 C.E.)

i. He was a member of a family of governors: his uncle was a famous governor of the Persian Province of Khurasān. His cousin Ṭāhir b. Ḫusayn founded the first quasi-independent Persian Muslim dynasty, the Ṭāhirīds. He became himself governor of Baghdad. Meyerhof (1926:715) believes that he was probably the "general and commander of the Baghdad police force in the reign of al-Ma’mūn."

39Also spelled Faiyum and El-Faiyum; city in N Egypt, west of the Nile.
ii. Ḥunayn states in the Risālah that he combined Galen’s *The Strength of Nutriments* in three treatises and translated them into Arabic at Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm’s suggestion.

**Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad** (Abū al-Ḥasan) (d. c. 883 C.E.)

i. He was nicknamed *Ibn al-Mudabbir* (the son of the Administrator or Manager). Leclerc (I:127) calls him "l’écrivain" (the writer), probably because Aḥmad served as a *kātib* (secretary). He may have been a poet and a government official. He governed over Palestine and Egypt. He is described as mean governor who seized every possible opportunity to raise taxes.

ii. He asked Ḥunayn to translate one of seven treatises from Galen’s *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Aphorisms*. He requested that Ḥunayn stop at the first treatise until he (Aḥmad) could revise it. But as he had more than one nail to hammer, he never asked for the rest of the book.

**Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā** (ibn Shākir)

i. He was nicknamed *al-Kātib* (the secretary) as well. He was probably the son of the aforementioned Abū Ja’far Muḥammad. Leclerc (I:127) observes that he protected translators and sponsored their activities.

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40*Kātib* can be translated either as "writer" or "secretary". In this context, the latter is intended.

41There may be a confusion as to his identity. Al-Naḍīm (II:948-49) devotes two separate entries to "al-Mudabbir" and "al-Kātib".
ii. Ḥunayn mentions in the Risālah that he was commissioned by Ibrāhī b. Muḥammad to translate Galen’s Commentaries on Hippocrates.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Iṣḥāq (d. 847 C.E.)

i. He was a Qāḍī (Judge) during the Caliphate of al-Wāthiq. According to Meyerhof (1926:716) he served as well as governor of Fāristān, a province in Persia, under al-Mu’taṣim. Leclerc (I:127) says that he collected Greek MSS and had them translated.

ii. Ḥunayn does not mention translating anything for ‘Abd Allāh b. Iṣḥāq. He does, however, say that he was asked by him to correct Galen’s What One Believes as an Opinion.
An Arabic translation of Galen’s Theriac, also known in English as The Book of Antidotes.
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PART TWO

TEXT AND TRANSLATION
رسالة حمّى بن إسماعيل على عمي بن يحيى في ذكر ما ترجم من كتب جالينوس بعلمه،だがون ما لم تترجم.

ذكرت أكرمُك اللهُ العامة إلى كتاب يجمع فيه ثبوت ما يحتاج إليه من كتاب القدماء في الطب. 

وفى النظر في كتابًا من كتابًا ومن عمله علّى الطالب لباب باب من تلك الأديبات عند العامة تمرض إلى أن وجدت في كتابًا من كتابه الذي صدر عن الإلمامة بجمع تلك الأدبيات إذ كتب أن فقدت ما كنت جمعته منها، أتَبَكَر من السِّريانيين. قد كان سأني بعد أن فقدت كتابي، بُسرت به، في كتاب جالينوس خاصة دلطل مبني أن أتبت ما ترجمته أنا وهو تركيري من تلك الأدبيات إلى السِّرياني دلولًا، لكتبت له كتابًا بالسريانية، نُشرت فيه النص الذي قدر إليه في سأنيه. 

إِفَّاتي دلوله، خُصِّصت أكرمُك اللهُ أن ترجم كَلَّ ذلك الكتاب في العامل إلى أن يتجه عليه، بما نَرَى أنَّهُ من بَدَّ تلك.
HUNAYN IBN ISHĀQ’S EPISTLE TO ‘ALI IBN YAYḤĀ ABOUT THE BOOKS OF
GALEN WHICH, TO HIS KNOWLEDGE, HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED, AND
ABOUT SOME OF THOSE NOT TRANSLATED

1 You have mentioned -- may Allah honour you! -- the need for a compendium of the
medical books of the Ancients.¹ It would also expound the purpose of these books,
enumerate the treatises which compose them and list the branch of science addressed in
each treatise.² That would make it easier for seekers after knowledge to look up a
particular discipline when necessary, and to find out in which book, treatise and passage
it is dealt with.³

2 You asked me to undertake this for you, but I told you -- may Allah grant you His
support! -- that my memory fails to encompass so many works now that I have lost my
book collection.⁴ Furthermore, I informed you that after I lost my books a Syrian
gentleman had made a similar request concerning the works of Galen in particular, asking
me to indicate which ones I and others had translated into Syriac and other languages.⁵
I subsequently wrote a book for him in Syriac along the lines he had suggested.⁶ Then
you in turn -- may Allah honour you! -- asked me to translate it for you as soon as
possible, pending the time when Allah might see fit to grant the restitution of my library
with your help.⁷ I would then be able to augment my citations of Galen’s works in it with
some of those that had eluded me, and mention as well all the other medical works of
كان أعترَن الله ُأمّا ما انتُبعت به ذلك الكتاب أن سمِّيت الرجل دعمنا 8 وسميتهم، وmaktُوب فيها ماُذكِرَت، فلا كتب في كتاب نصي نص الكامل. في كل ما ذكر ذلك في كتاب متكافئ، pues ذكر كتاب غير كتاب ذكر كتاب متكافئ. إنما ذكرت اذكَرأ في كتاب متكافئ، عن كل كتاب ذكر كتاب متكافئ. 9

التعمّر: 3

ذُكرت بأمر كتاب من كتاب متكافئ، من كتاب متكافئ، في كتاب متكافئ. 12

فإنما دعمنا أهل كتاب من كتاب متكافئ. فيه ذكر كتاب متكافئ. 15 13

الترجمة: 8

الترجمة: 7
the Ancients which we (Arabs) have found. In what follows I will proceed — Allah willing — to meet your request.  

3 At the very start of the book — may Allah honour you! — I named the man in question and described his request. I mentioned that you had asked me to give you a descriptive account of Galen’s works and treatises, including their number, their titles, and his purpose in each of them. Then I informed you that Galen himself had written a book along the same lines, in which he outlined his own works. He entitled it *Phoenix*, which I have translated as *Al-Fihrist* (The Catalogue). He also composed another treatise describing the order in which his books should be read. Therefore, it would be better to look for information about Galen’s writings in Galen rather than seek it from me. However, you replied that even if things were as I said, we and other like-minded people who read Syriac and Arabic need to know what has been and what has not been translated into these two languages. Moreover, we need to know which works I alone have been commissioned to translate and which ones others were asked to translate, as well as those that others had translated before me and that I re-translated or corrected.

4 It is also useful to mention who besides myself undertook the translation of each work, how competent he was and who his patron was, for whom I myself translated and at what period of my life. For there are two things we must be aware of: the translation of a work is commensurate with the intellectual powers of the translator and also with the intelligence of the person for whom it is done. Likewise, we need to point out which
كنت واجيزة ما لم توجد له ضعية أو دفع الرب من ضمنه، فإن هذا أمر يُحذِّب إليه ليَحصني بحليمة ما قد دفع منها وَيُطلبه ما لم يوجد. فقلت لأدركت على قلبي ما أدركت علمت أنك قد أصبت في قولك دانلك قد دعوتني إلى أمر يعميني ذهابك دكُرة من الناس منظمة، لبت مرة طويلة وأدُمت بما سألك دامتك بسبع تقدير جميع كتبتي التي جمعتها كتاباً كتاباً في دميهم كله منذ أقبلت أفنيا من جميع ما جعلته من البلدان، فقد كما كلهما جملة حتى لم يكن عندي دلًا الكتاب الذي ذكرته قليل دلًا الذي أثبت فيه جالينوس ذكر كتبته، فلم أهتم عليه، بالصلة اضطررت إلى أن أبهيك إلى ما أكلت فيه، لما كانت بي إليه حاجة من العبء لذلك عند ما دأبتك قد تضبت دق اقتصرت مني على ما أمتلك من تقدير الكتاب ردأنا مبتدئ، لذلك متركون على ما أرجو من التأليف السامي بدعائك لي موجر القول فيه ما أكتبني كما سألت مميت ضعيف جميع ما أملكه من أمر تلك الكتب دافعكم تولى بوصف ما يُحذِّب إلى علمه من أمر الكتابين اللذين ذكراك قليل.

1. أمَّا الكتاب الثاني أسمه جالينوس نيكس دُأبتك فيه ذكر كتبته فهو مقالات، ذكر في المقالة الأولى منه كتبه في الطب، وفي المقالة الثانية كتبه في المنطق والفلسفة، بالبحث دائم، وقد داحتها قاثرقين في بعض السِّلّ بالبرونوائية موضوعات كتبها مقالة دائمة، دعوته في هذا الكتاب أن يصف الكتب التي وضعها ومن عرضه في كل واحد منها وما دعا إلى دفعه وصفيه، ورق في أي من
books have not been translated to date although there is a copy extant in Greek, and for which of them no copy has been found or only a partial one.\textsuperscript{19} This would allow us to deal with the translation of the remaining books which have been found and to search for the missing ones.\textsuperscript{20} So when you approached me, I knew you were right, and that you were proposing something which would be useful for me, for you and for many other people.\textsuperscript{21}

For a long time, however, I was reluctant to do it and I kept putting it off because I had lost all the books I had painstakingly collected from the countries I visited in the course of my life since I began to understand the world.\textsuperscript{22} None of them remained, not even the one I mentioned above in which Galen catalogued his own works.\textsuperscript{23} But when you insisted and I saw that you would be satisfied with what I still remembered about them, I felt obliged to fulfil your request even though I lacked the necessary tools.\textsuperscript{24} So I will now proceed -- relying on what Heavenly help I can hope for through your prayers for me -- to put down succinctly as much as I can of what I remember, and I will begin by describing what we need to know about the two books I mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{25}

1) The book which Galen called \textit{Phoenix}, and in which he lists his works is composed of two treatises.\textsuperscript{26} The first catalogues his medical works, and the second his writings on logic, philosophy, rhetoric and grammar.\textsuperscript{27} However, we have come across these two treatises combined together as a single treatise in some Greek manuscripts.\textsuperscript{28} Galen's intent in it is to describe his works, their contents, what led him to write them, for whom
سنة 28. وقد سبقني إلى ترجعته إلى السريانية أبوُوبُ الرقادي المرذر بالأشر. 29 ثم ترجعته نأا إلى السريانية لداعٍ الطلب، إلى العربي لحبي لعمر معجزة بين موسى والدن. 30 جالبه وهلم لبأت في ذلك الكتاب على ذكر جميع كتبه، أضفت إلى المقالتين مقالة ثالثة صغيرة والسريانية. 31 بينت فيها أن جالبه قد ترك كتاب من كتبه في ذلك الكتاب، عبَّدت كثير من معبأ رأيته وقرأتها.

ووصفت السبب في تركه إياها. 32

4. دائماً الكتاب الذي عناه في مراة قراءة كتبه فهو مقالة دائمة وغرضه فيه أن يعرف كيف بذله أن تُرجم كتبه في قراءتها كتابابه كتب من أخرى إلى آخرها. 33 لم أكن أتُرجمت هذه المقالة إلى السريانية. 34. ترجمتها إني إني إني إبني إني إني إني إني إني إني إني. 35. دامًا إلى العربية فترجمها أنا لربي السجن أشم بن موسى دلال أعلم أن 36 ما أتُرجمها قليلي.

5. كتابه في الدير هذا الكتاب دائمة كتبها إلى المسلمين، وغرضه فيه أن يعرف ما يقوله كل صنف من الديانات المختلفة في الجنس في كتب ما بدعي بالاجتهاد له دار. 6 على من حاله 37. أنا أستنني، فقلت المختلفة في الجنس لأن في كل دام من هذه الثلاثة الفرق، فرقاً آخر.
he did so, and at what period of his life.29

7 This book was translated into Syriac before me by Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī known as al-Abrash.30 Then I translated it into Syriac for Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib, and into Arabic for Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.31 But as Galen did not include all his works in it, I added a short third treatise to the Syriac version of the other two.32 In it I indicated that Galen had omitted to mention some of his works, and I enumerated many of them which I had actually seen and read.33 Finally, I explained why he had omitted them.34

8 2) The Reading Order for His Books consists of one treatise.35 Galen's purpose in it is to show the order in which the entire body of his works should be read.36 While I did not translate this book into Syriac, my son Ishāq did so for Bakhtīshū'.37 I translated it into Arabic, however, for Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, and I have no knowledge of whether anybody had done so.38

9 2) The Sects is a single treatise written for students.39 Galen's purpose is to describe what each group within the three generic sects advances in support of its beliefs, and its arguments in favour of its claims, along with its refutations of opponents; I have chosen to say "generic" because within each of these three sects there are other more specific subdivisions.40 Beginners in medicine possess a thorough knowledge of the writings of these groups once they have studied diligently and learned the teachings of each group and how to discriminate between what is valid and what is unfounded.41 Galen wrote this treatise when he was a young man in his thirties or a little older, on his first visit to
أيضاً منطقة في النّور ٤٠ يعرض مقالات أصحابها الداخل في الطّب، بأخيره بعد أن تعمّن فيها تعلم
ما حلب كل نصف منها كيف الوجه في الحكم على الحق والباطل منها، وكان جالينوس في هذه
المقالة فلما غاباً من أبناء ثلاثين سنة أو أكثر قليباً عند الفن، دخل بحله الجهد، وقد كان ترجمته
قلبي إلى السرياني، وجعل يقال له ابن سيدا من أبلى الكرم، وكان ضعيفاً في الترجمة، ود.”، إذن ترجمته
دَاياء عثمن من ابن وثني عشر سنة أو أكثر قليباً لمتطلب من أهل جنديساب يُقال له
شيرئيغ بن قطرب من نسل بونانية كبيرة الأسبقية ٤٤، ود” تأتي بعد ذلك دَاياء من أبناء أرمينية
أي نحوها ميشه تلميذته إصلاهمه بعد أن كانت قد اجتمعت له عيني عدد نسب بونانية ٤٥، تقابل تلك
بعضها بعض حتى صمت منها نسبة واحدة، ثم” قابلت تلك النسخة السريانية دسمته ٤٦، ود كذلك
عادي أن أحيل في جميع ما أترجمه ٤٧، ثم” ترجمته من بعد سنين إلى العربية، لتبين مصمم
بن موسى ٤٨.

٤. كتابه في المساحة الطبية، هذا الكتاب أيضاً مقالة ٤٩، لم يعنونه جالينوس إلى المتعلمين ذلِك المنحلة.
في ترجمته ليست تخصص المتعلمين، فالمسلمين ٥٠، وذلك أن عزى جالينوس فيه أن يصف جميع جمل
الطب يقول ديزج وذلك نافع المتعلمين، والمسلمين ٥١، أما المتعلم كلاً، قليماً يسبق في تصوير في ذلك.
المعلم كله على طريق الرسم ثم يعود بعد ذلك في جزء أخرى، هذه في علم طره وتبليغه، والمسلمين
This work was translated into Syriac before by a man from al-Karkh named Ibn Sahdā', but he was weak in translation. Then I translated it when I was still a youth, in my twenties or a little older, for a medical practitioner living in Jundishāpūr called Shirīšhu' ibn Qūṭrub; I worked from a very deficient Greek manuscript. Later when I was in my forties, after a number of Greek manuscripts had been collected for the purpose, my student Ḥubaysh asked me to revise it. So I collated them and extracted a correct copy which I then compared with the Syriac and revised. That is what I do with everything I translate. Finally I translated it into Arabic some years later for Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.

4) The Medical Art consists of one treatise. Galen did not subtitle it "To Beginners" because it is equally useful to beginners and advanced students. His purpose is to provide a concise compendium of all the different branches of medicine for both levels of students. The beginner starts by forming a general mental picture of the medical arts through illustration, then goes back over it bit by bit and learns to explain, summarize and demonstrate these examples by drawing from the books in which Galen provided exhaustive explanations. For the advanced student, on the other hand, it serves as a revision of everything he has read and learned at greater length. However, the people who used to teach medicine in Alexandria in former times arranged this book in the following sequence: The Sects, The Medical Art, The Pulse, and then the two treatises
عليه من الكتب التي بالغ فيها في الشعر 52 دامًا المستقل. كلمه يقوم له مقام الذاكرة لجعله ما قد
قرأه دفعه بالعلماء الطويل 53 دامًا المعلمون الذين كانوا يعلمون في الفقه الطب بالإسكندرية
فظموا لهذا الكتاب بعد الكتاب الآخر ثم من بعده في النص إلى المتعلم دامًا المعلمون في مدارسة
الأمراض إلى أظافر 54 دامًا كما كانوا كتاب دامه ذو حمص مقالات مهنئها عناوينها دامًا عنام
إلى المتعلم. 55 قد كان رجيم هذه المقالة أعني الصناعة الطبية عدة منهم سريس الرأس عييني
قبل أن يقوى في الترجمة منهم ابن سعدا منهم أبور الرفاعي 56 وترجمته أنا بعد لدائي المطبوب
وكان دام دام المطابق لهذا رسال مين النص حريصا على العلم 57 كنت في الوقت الذي ترجمته تابع
من أبناء التأريخين ستة ألا نمرونها وعند قد التأتمت لي عدة صالحة من العلم ففي نفسي ذهبنا
من الكتب 58 ثم ترجمته إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسي 59.

5. كتابه في النشأ إلى طورين داني سائر المتعلم دامًا الكتاب مقالة دامه دعري لنا أن يصف
ما يحتاج المتعلم إلى علمه من أمر النشأ 60 بدأر فيه أدلاء أصناف النشأ ليس ذكر فيه جميعها لكن
مايقرو المتعلم على فهمه منها 61 ثم يصف بعد الأسباب التي يغبر النشأ ما كان منها طريقة ما كان
منها ليس بطبيع ما كان حازما من الطبية 62 وكان وضع جالينوس لهذه المقالة في الوقت الذي وضع
فيه كتابه في الضرق 63 وقد كان ترجم هذه المقالة إلى السريانية ابن سعدا 64 ثم ترجمتها أنا لأسلوبه
addressed to Glaucon on the treatment of diseases.\textsuperscript{54} They combined them all into one book, which they divided into five parts and to which they gave the comprehensive title "To Beginners".\textsuperscript{55}

This treatise, i.e. *The Medical Art*, was translated by several people, including Sergius of Ra’s al-'Ayn before he had really mastered translation, Ibn Saḥdā’, and Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī.\textsuperscript{56} I later translated it for Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib, who was an intelligent man, and eager to learn.\textsuperscript{57} At the time, I was a young man in my thirties, but I had already accumulated a sound scientific apparatus both in my own mind and in the books I had acquired.\textsuperscript{58} Then I translated it into Arabic at the request of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.\textsuperscript{59}

5) *The Pulse*: *Addressed to Teuthras* and to other beginners; this work comprises a single treatise, and aims to tell what beginners need to know about the pulse.\textsuperscript{60} First Galen lists the different types of pulse; but he does not mention all of them -- only the ones beginners can understand.\textsuperscript{61} He then describes why the pulse changes: congenital, antecedent and initial causes.\textsuperscript{62} He wrote this treatise at the same time he wrote *The Sects*.\textsuperscript{63}

Ibn Saḥdā’ had translated this treatise into Syriac;\textsuperscript{64} then I translated it for Salmuwayh after I had done *The Medical Art*.\textsuperscript{65} Because he was highly intelligent and very widely-read, I took great care to be extremely precise in everything I translated for
من بعد ترجمتي كتاب الصناعة 65 دعسب ما كان عليه سلمويه من الظلم الطبيبي ومن الدرية في قراءة الكتب والمناظر بها كان نضيل حرسي على استقصاء تخلص جميع ما ترجمتها 66 ثم ترجمتها بعد ذلك إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن سعر مرسى مع كتاب الفرق دكتاه في الصناعة 67.

6. كتابه إلى اغلترن عن هذا الكتاب مقالات دعونوها جاليموس في مساحة الأضرار إلى أعلقت 68 ولم يعنون بها المعلمين لكن أقل إ dukدرية أطرقتها كما قلته ثني في عداد الكتاب إلى المعلمين 69 دعراه فيه أن يصف مساحة الأضرار التي تمرض كثيرا بقول دجري 70 لرجل فل/common سأله عندما رأى من آثاره كأعجبه أن يكتب له ذلك الكتاب 71 دلما كان لا يصل المداول إلى مساحة الأضرار دون تمرنها قلم قبل مساحة دلالها التي تمرض بها 72 ووصف في المقالة الأولى مساحة المعالحب 73 ولم يذكرها كما كله اقتصر منها على مايمرض كثير 74 ولهذ المقالة تنقسم تلمن

دوص في الفصل الأول من هذه المقالة المعالحب التي تظر من الأضرار الغريبة 75 ووصف في المقالة الثانية دلال الأضراب مساحة طورطا 76 دلما وضع جاليموس لهذا الكتاب في الوقت الذي وضع فيه كتال الفرق 77 ود. كان سبقي
him. Later I translated it into Arabic for Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mūsā along with The Sects and The Medical Art.

6) To Glaucon is made up of two treatises which Galen titled "To Glaucon On the Treatment of Diseases". Although he did not use the title "To Beginners", the Alexandrians included them -- as I said before -- among the works written for beginners. Galen's purpose in them is to describe briefly the frequently occurring diseases. He wrote it for a philosopher who asked him to do so because he had found things in Galen's previous works that aroused his admiration. Since a physician cannot successfully treat diseases without diagnosing them, he starts with their symptoms before describing the treatments. In the first treatise he describes the symptoms of fevers and their treatments. He limits himself to the more common ones. It is subdivided into two parts: in the first part he describes fevers which do not present unusual symptoms; and in the second, fevers which do present unusual symptoms. In the second treatise he deals with the symptoms and treatments of swellings. Galen composed this book at the same period as The Sects.

Sergius translated this book into Syriac prior to me. Although he had by then acquired some skill in translation, he had not reached his peak yet. Later I translated into Syriac for Salmuwayh, after I had also translated The Pulse at his request. I translated it recently into Arabic for Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mūsā.
إلى ترجمة هذا الكتاب سرجم إلى السريانية، فإن كان ترى بعض القوة في الترجمة ولم يبلغ غايته، ثم ترجمته بعد إلى السريانية لسلموه بعد ترجمته له كتاب النبى، ثم ترجمته في النهض.

الأيام إلى العربة لأبي جعفر موسى

7. كتابه في العالم هذا الكتاب مقالة دامرة، إذ عثره جالوبس في العظام للمتلمسين ولم ينشره إلى المتلمسين. إذن بدره عند المتلمسين، فيها تفاصيل للمتلمسين نرًا 8. وإذا عثره كتابه إلى المتلمسين، دل على أنه ينوي في تعلم ما يعلم نحو قوة المتلمسين. لأن له تعلُّمًا من دراه هذا التعلم، فنفي ذلك العقل للمسكانيين. وإذا عثره كتابه للمتلمسين، دل ذلك على أن كتابه ذاك يحيط بجميع العلم. وذلك التعلم لا أن تعلُّم، إنما هو للمتلمسين. وذلك أن جالوبس بريط أن يقدم المتلمسين للعلم، علم التشريع على جميع علوم الطب لأنه لوليّن عنده دون معرفة التشريع أن يتعلم شيئاً من الطب القياسي. وعرض جالوبس في ذلك الكتاب أن يصف كيف حالة كل داهم من العظام في نفسه وكيف الحال في اتصاله به، إذا كان وضع جالوبس له في ذلك ما ضع فائر الكتاب إلى المتلمسين. فقد كان ترجمته إلى السريانية سرجم ترجمة دامرة، ثم ترجمته أُنا منذ سنوات ليوهنا بن ماسريه. وقصئت في ترجمته انتصاماً عضاني على غاية الشرع، لذلك أثر ذلك أن هذا الرجل يعباً العالم والعالم دلَّ بالرَّياض يعت عليه، وَتَرِجمت تبل إلى العربة لأبي جعفر بن موسى.
7) *The Bones* is composed of a single treatise.\(^82\) Galen subtitled it "The Bones: For Beginners" and not "To Beginners" because there is a difference between the two.\(^83\) If he called it "To Beginners", it would indicate that his teaching objective was to increase the ability of beginners and that he had a subsequent course on the subject for advanced students.\(^84\) On the other hand, "For Beginners" would mean that the book encompassed the whole of knowledge of that art, but that its teaching was primarily at the level of beginners.\(^85\) Galen's aim is to introduce beginning medical students to anatomy before all the other medical arts, because in his opinion it is impossible to learn anything about comparative medicine without knowing anatomy first.\(^86\) His plan in this book is to describe the constitution of each bone individually and how it is connected to the others.\(^87\) Galen wrote it at the same period as the rest of his works for beginners.\(^88\)

18  Sergei had done a bad translation of this work into Syriac.\(^89\) I translated it some years ago for Yūhanna ibn Māsawayh.\(^90\) In my translation I set myself to investigate its ideas as thoroughly and clearly as possible because Yūhanna likes clear speech and always insists on it.\(^91\) I had translated it previously into Arabic for Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.\(^92\)

19  8) *The Muscles* consists of a single treatise.\(^93\) Galen did not subtitle it "To Beginners"; but the Alexandrians nevertheless included it among his works to beginners.\(^94\) Actually they combined with these two treatises (*The Bones* and *The Muscles*) three other treatises which Galen wrote to beginners: *The Anatomy of the Nerves, The Anatomy of the Veins*
8. كتابه في الخلل هذا الكتاب مقالة 93 لم ينشره جالينوس إلى المتعلمين، فمن أقل أهمية، أو أن نلقي نظرة إلى المقالات الثلاث مقالات أخرى أكثر أهمية. جالينوس إلى المتعلمين دائمًا في تشريع الحب والدهر، في تشريع المرقدين ضروري 95، ونشره كأنه كتاب دائم منذ جمعت مقالات شعرت في التشريع إلى المتعلمين 96 وشرح جالينوس فيه أن يصف أمر جميع الخلل الذي في كل دام من الأعضاء، كم في أي الخلل الذي يئم أن يرى كل دام من نواة فتاية الاستقراء، 97 ونلاحظ أنه، في كتاب العظام من أمر جالينوس دائمًا عازم مالك في هذا الكتاب حتى أتي لم أترجمه إلى العربية إلى هذه النهاية دافع ترجمته. 98

9. كتابه في الخلل هذا الكتاب أيضًا مقالة دائمة كتبها إلى المتعلمين 99، فرض عليه فيها أن يصف كم ندرجات من الخلل تتبث من الدماغ، ونحو الأعضاء التي ذكرها في كتابه، جعلها دائمة، كما نقلها 100 في القصة في هذا الكتاب كتمة في كتاب الخلل. 101

10. كتابه في المرقدين هذا الكتاب عند جالينوس مقالة دائمة 102 يصف فيها أمر المرقدين الذي نبيضًا.
and *The Anatomy of the Arteries.* They combined them as though it were a single work composed of five treatises, and called it "On Anatomy: To Beginners". Galen’s purpose in this work is to describe with utmost precision all the muscles in all the parts of the body; how many there are, which ones they are, where each of them starts and what their functions are.

Everything I have told you about *The Bones* concerning Galen, Sergius and myself should be understood as applying to this work too, except that I have not translated it into Arabic so far; but Ḥubaysh b. Al-Ḥasan did so for Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.

9) *The Nerves* is composed of a single treatise which Galen wrote to beginners. His objective is to describe how many pairs of nerves grow out of the brain and how many out of the (spinal) marrow, which ones they are, how and where they divide up, and what their functions are. The history of (the translation of) this book is the same as that of *The Muscles.*

10) *The Veins*: Galen meant this work to be one treatise. In it he describes the veins that pulsate and those that do not. He wrote it for beginners and called it "To Antisthenes". But the Alexandrians divided it into two treatises, one on the veins and another on the arteries. Galen's objective is to describe how many veins grow out of the liver, which ones they are, and how and where they divide up; how many arteries grow out of the heart, which ones they are, and where and how each one divides up.
التراث.

كجفي للمتعلمين دعوته إلى انطلاقة. في أول الإسكندرية تقدم للإنسانية مقالة في البرق غير العضو بعد مقالته في عدن العضو. وعذرية أنه بين الصفحات من الله في المرة ذلك كيف في داني بن نصف كل داعم منها. إن شريانا تنبت في القلب داني الشرياني، كيف داني بن نصف كل داعم منها. الدائمة في نفي القصة في المقالات التي تقدم ذكرها.

إن رفع جماله ترجمته إلى العربية لمحمد بن موسى.

11. كتابه في الأساطير على سبيل القرأة هذا الكتاب أيضاً مقالة داماء. وعذرية أنه بين أن جميع الأجزاء التي تقبل اكوان واني أبدان العيون دائرية دائرية في الأجزاء التي تقول في قسط النظر. إنها تكبه من أربعة أركان داني الأرض وانها دالبها. داني 110 لأن هذه في الأركان الأول بعدة لبس الإنسان داماء أركان الأرض. وانها في الأجزاء التي تقول بعد الإنسان دسائر ماهل دار من العيون. فهذا الخلاف الأربعة يعني الحيل واللغة والكتاب 111 في هذا الكتاب من الكتب التي يجب ضرورة أن تقرأ قبل قراءة كتاب مثله البدء. وقد كان ينتهي إلى ترجمته سرطان إلا أنه لم يطبعه فأنا. ثم إنه ترجمته إلى السريانية ليبتونه بن جبريل بن نب africa 114. وكان ترجمته له دجلما ترجمته بهذا الرجل في وقت مني. ثم ترجمته إلى العربية لرشب.

العن من يعيب. 116.
The history of this book is the same as that of the two treatises mentioned previously. I excerpted passages of the book and translated them into Arabic for Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.

11) *The Elements According to Hippocrates* is also a single treatise. His purpose is to demonstrate that all organisms which are subject to being and decay; that is to say the bodies of animals, plants and the entities that are procreated within the earth; are composed of four basic elements, namely earth, water, air and fire. These are the primary, non-perceptible elements of the human body; whereas the secondary, perceptible elements that make up the human body and the rest of the living creatures which have blood, are the four humours: blood, phlegm and the two biles. It is essential to read this book before reading *The Method of Healing*.

Sergius preceded me in translating it but he failed to understand it and corrupted it as a result. Then I translated it into Syriac for Bakhtūshū b. Jibrīl; I did so diligently and meticulously. Most of what I translated for this man towards the end of my youth was translated in this way. Finally I translated it into Arabic for Abū al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā.

12) *The Temperaments*: Galen wrote this book in three treatises. In the first two he describes the kinds of temperaments in the bodies of living beings, explaining how many there are, and what their categories are. He also describes the features that characterize
14. كتابه في المراعي كتاب جمله جالوس في ثلث مقالات 117 يصف في المقالتين الأولتين أصناف مراعي الم�ونين كم هي 118. وأدأ الأصناف التي وصف الدلاليل التي تدل على كل دامد منهما 119 وذكر في المقالة الثالثة منه أصناف مراعي الرهينة دين كيف تعتبر ديف تصرف 120 وذكر تلك المقالة تعمل بكتاب قوى الرهينة الذي أنا داكار فيما بعد 121، وذكر هذا الكتاب أيضاً من كتاب الذي يجب قراءتها ضدود قبل كتاب حيلة البدء 122، وقد كان ترجم هذا الكتاب سريس دو ريبين إلى السريانية مع كتاب الأهرام 123 ثم ترجمته بعد إلى العربية إلى سليمان 124.

15. كتابه في القوى الطبيعية هذا الكتاب أيضاً جمله ثلاث مقالات 125 وغرضه فيها أن بين أن تدير البدين يكون تحت قوى طبيعية في القوة العابلة دالقوة الذهبية 126. بأن القوة العايلة مركبة من قوى إحداها تتنبى المنى فيبنى عند�� mũi الأعضاء العضوية الأربعة ودركها تربك الأعضاء العضوية الأربعة باللهي دالوضع والمقداد والعدد الذي يحتاج إليه في كل دامد من الأعضاء المركبة 127. لأنه يعدم القوة الذهبية أربع قوى دالقية القوة الجذبة دالقوة السلكية دالقوة العضوية دالقوة
each of them. In the third treatise he mentions the categories of temperaments of medicines, describing how they are tested and recognized. This treatise is connected with The Faculties of Medicines, which I will refer to below. It is also one of those that should be read before The Method of Healing.

Sergius had translated this book; then I translated it into Syriac along with The Elements. I subsequently translated it into Arabic for Ishāq b. Sulaymān.

13) The Natural Faculties: Galen composed this book as well in three treatises. His purpose in it is to explain that bodies are regulated by three natural faculties: the faculties of reproduction, growth and nourishment. The reproductive faculty is composed of two sub-faculties: one of them converts the sperm and causes it to impregnate, so that organs with homogeneous parts are created therefrom; and the other creates parts that are uniform in respect of the shape, disposition, proportion and number required for each of the constituent organs. The nourishment faculty is supported by four powers: attraction, seizure, conversion and expulsion.

Sergius did a bad translation of this book into Syriac. I translated it into Syriac for Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshī, when I was a young man of about seventeen, although I had only translated one book previously which I will mention later. I translated it from a Greek manuscript containing errors. Then I re-read it, and as I was reviewing, I stopped at every error and corrected it. After I reached a more mature age, I read through it
لاجئاً، وقد ترجمت فنادق الكتاب إلى السريانية ضرر في ترجمته نائماً، ثم ترجمته أثنا إلى السريانية
طائرة. 128 ودمر الكتاب في السريانية ضرر ترجمة ضرر، ثم ترجمته أثنا إلى السريانية
دعاً عامياً قد أتى على سبع عشرة سنة أتى نفساً لعبيريل بن بختيئوع دلم أكن ترجمت قبل إلا كتاباً
d. 130 ودمر الكتاب في السريانية ضرر ترجمته فأثر في ترجمته إذا أست قصصه مشهور
على أحقاق أصليت، ثم إننا بعد اكتمال السنة تصفحه ترجمة هناك وقفت أثنا على أحقاق
أصليت، ثم إننا بعد اكتمال السنة تصفحه ترجمة هناك وقفت أثنا على أحقاق
أصليت. 132 ودمر الكتاب في السريانية ضرر نجى إن دعياً هذا الكتاب من ترجمته ضراً معقلة عرفت السبب
في ذلك. 134 ودمر الكتاب في السريانية ضرر ترجمته نائماً إلى دمشق بين سليمان.

13. كتابه في الملل دال الأعراض هذا الكتاب ست مقالات مجموعتها كلية من المقالات التي تعتني إلى
تراثها غير جمه خطب دال الأعراض نيكتوب دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
كل من أهل الألسن درة جمعها دعتها لعديتها دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
140 ودمر كتاب الملل دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
142 ودمر كتاب الملل دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
143 ودمر كتاب الملل دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
144 ودمر كتاب الملل دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
145 ودمر كتاب الملل دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض دال الأعراض.
again, stopping at other errors and correcting them. I am telling you this so that if you come across variant copies of my translation of this book, you will know the reason why. I also translated a treatise from this work into Arabic for Ishāq b. Sulaymān.

14) *The Causes and Symptoms (of Diseases)* consists of a collection of six treatises that should be read prior to *The Treatment of Diseases*. Galen wrote them separately, but the Alexandrians compiled them under a single title, viz. "The Book of Causes", as if they were naming the collection after its main content. On the other hand, the Syrians gave this book a title which was more generic, though not generic enough, "The Causes and the Symptoms". Had they sought a full title they would have added "of Diseases". Galen himself called the first of these six treatises "On the Kinds of Diseases". In this work he describes the different categories of diseases and divides each category into subcategories right down to the finest subdivision. In the second treatise, "On the Causes of Diseases", he sets out, as the title suggests, to describe the various causes of diseases. He called the third treatise "On the Categories of Symptoms", and in it he describes the types and sub-types of symptoms. He titled the remaining treatises "On the Causes of Symptoms", and in them he enumerated and identified the effective causes for each of the symptoms.

Sergius translated this book into Syriac twice, once before he studied at the school of Alexandria and once afterwards. Then I translated it into Syriac for Bakhūshū b. Jibrīl while I was still in the flower of my youth. Hubaysh translated these six treatises into
الأسباب المناعية كل دام من الأعراض دأي الأسباب في 144. وقد كان ترجم هذا الكتاب سرجس إلى السريانية سريتين مرة قبل أن يرتض في كتاب إلكسندرية مرة بعد أن يرتض في 145. ثم ترجمته أنا لبوب هوين جبريل إلى السريانية في وقت متأخر شبابي 146. وقد ترجم جيبيس هذه الست المقالات لأبي الحسن علي بن يحيى إلى الإنجليزية. 147

15. كتابه في تمرغ عقل الأعضاء الباطنة هذا الكتاب جعله جاليليوس في ست مقالات 148. ورغم أنه يصف دلالات يبدل بها على أحوال الأعضاء الباطنة إذا حدث بها الأعراض دون تأثير تلك الأعراض التي تعود بها أي الأعراض في 149. ووصف في المقالة الأولى دبع بعض الناتجة منها السبت المميتة التي تمرغ بها الأعراض 150. وكشف في المقالة الثانية ظلمة اعتيوباد في الطرق التي سهلك في طلب هذا الغرض 151. ثم أمضى في بقية المقالة الثانية دفع المقالات الأربعة التالية لها في ذكر الأعضاء الباطنة وأضرابها عضواً واحداً من الدماغ والدم جراء على الولد، يصف الدلالات التي يستد بها على دام دام من نها إذا اعتي كلغ تمرغ عقله الن ين انتهي إلى أقسامها. 152. وقد كان سرجس ترجم هذا الكتاب مرتين إلى اليادوت أو ذف الخرع مرة لرجل يقال له البهيج 153. وقد كان بوب هوين جبريل يصفه دعاب القاع أبعدها ظلمت بعد أن أعطرته أن ترجمته أومد دام 154. قلب الناقد على تحلص المواضع التي أصلعتها فيه دعاب كل دام من تلك المواضع بقدر قوةه 155. فبقي الكتاب غير

تال
Arabic for Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Yahyā.\textsuperscript{147}

15) \textit{Diagnosing the Diseases of the Internal Organs} was written in six treatises.\textsuperscript{148} Galen’s purpose here is to describe the signs that indicate the states of the internal organs when they are affected by illnesses.\textsuperscript{149} In the first treatise and part of the second he discusses the common ways of diagnosing these illnesses.\textsuperscript{150} In the second treatise he shows the error of Archigenes’s methods for doing the same.\textsuperscript{151} In the rest of the second treatise and in the four following ones he proceeds to enumerate the internal organs and the diseases affecting them, starting with the brain and working through them in succession describing their different symptoms.\textsuperscript{152}

33 Sergius had translated this book twice: once for Theodoris, Bishop of al-Karkh, and once for a man named Al-Yasa‘.\textsuperscript{153} Bakhtīshū‘ b. Jibrīl asked me to review it and correct its shortcomings, which I did after telling him it would be better and easier to retranslate it.\textsuperscript{154} But the copyist did not transcribe all my corrections; he only corrected what he understood.\textsuperscript{155} So the book remained incorrect and inaccurate until present times.\textsuperscript{156} While I still intended to retranslate it, I was distracted by other business until Isrā‘īl b. Zakariyā, known as al-Ṭayfūrī, asked for a retranslation, which I did.\textsuperscript{157} Later Ḫubaysh translated it into Arabic for Aḥmad b. Mūsā.\textsuperscript{158}

16) \textit{The Pulse} was written in sixteen treatises, divided into four parts, each in turn comprising four treatises.\textsuperscript{159} Galen called the first part "The Categories of Pulse", and
الاستقامة بالإصلاحيّة 156 فإن أن كانت أيامًا هذه دالت الألباب أجمل بإعادة ترجمته لنشطني عنه غيره إلى أن سألني إسرائيل بن زكري المعرفي بالطينوردية إعادة ترجمته 157 فترجمته دترجمه إلى الصريحة

هشام بن أحمد بن موسى 158

11. كتابه في النجش هذا الكتاب جعله جالينوس في ست عشرة مقالة دقيمة بأدبية أجبر في كل دامد من الأجزاء أربع مقالات 159 وعنون الجزء الأول منها في أصانف النجش وعريضه فيه أن بينكم أجناس النجش الأدرل دل أي الجنس الذي كيف يقسم كل دامد منها إلى أن ينتهي إلى أقطاسها 160 دامد في المقالة الأولى من هذا الجزء إلى جملة ما يتعالج إليه من صفة أجناس النجش دانواعها يجمعها فيها عن آخرها 161 وأفرد الباط النقالات الباقية من ذلك الجزء لإزفعج دامد عن أجناس النجش دانواعها وعن مده 162 ولذلك قد يتعالج إلى قراءة تلك المقالة الأولى من هذا الجزء حاجة ضرورية لأنه تلك المقالات الباقية من هذا الجزء 163 ليس بتعالج إلى قراءاتها حاجة ضرورية دامد 164 قد يتعالج البعض 164 ولكن لا يوجد النقدي إذا قرأ المقالة الأولى من الجزء الأدرل لا يقتصر عليها من جملة ذلك الجزء دامد 165 يأخذ بعد الدالا في قراءة الجزء الثاني من هذا الكتاب 166 دامد في جالينوس هذا دامد إنه قد قصص لجميع كل ما يتعالج إليه من علم أجناس النجش دانواعها في تلك المقالة الأولى لهذا السبب الذي دامد 165 وعنون الجزء الثاني في تصرف النجش 166 وعريضه فيه أن يصف كيف يتميز النجم كل دامد من أصانف النجش في موجه النجش أعني كيف يتميز مفاتها النجش العظيم والصغير كيف يتميز النجش السريع والبطلي دامد كذلك على هذا القياس يعبر عن سائر الأصناف 167 وعنون الجزء الثالث في أسباب النجش 168 وعريضه فيه أن يصف من أي أسباب متى يكون النجم العظيم ومن أيها يكون النجم السريع من أي الأسباب يكون كل دامد من سائر أصناف النجش الباقية 169 وعنون الجزء الرابع في تقدمة المعرفة من النجش وعريضه فيه أن يصف كيف يتميز مفاتها العظيمة من كل دامد من أصناف النجش أعني من الظاهري والصغير والصغير والبطلي دامد أصناف النجش. 170 ودامد كان سيرجس ترجم
his objective is to describe exhaustively the basic types of pulse and how they are divided into subtypes.\textsuperscript{160} In the first treatise of this part, his intent is to collect together all the necessary information to describe in detail the types of pulse and their subdivisions.\textsuperscript{161} He devotes the three remaining treatises of that part to the demonstration and investigation of the types and subtypes of the pulse and explains how to distinguish between them.\textsuperscript{162} Therefore it is essential to read the first treatise of this part but not the three remaining ones.\textsuperscript{163} The reader may have enough with the first one, and then proceed directly to the second part of the book.\textsuperscript{164} Indeed Galen says as much, and adds that he aimed to collect all the necessary information about the types and subtypes of the pulse in that first treatise for the reason I have given.\textsuperscript{165} He called the second part "Diagnosing the Pulse".\textsuperscript{166} He describes how to diagnose each category of the pulse by feeling the veins; how for example to diagnose the large pulse and the small pulse, or the abrupt pulse and the slow pulse, and so on.\textsuperscript{167} He called the third part "The Causes of the Pulse".\textsuperscript{168} Its purpose is to describe the causes of each category of pulse; what is the cause, for example, of the large pulse or the quick pulse, and so on.\textsuperscript{169} He called the fourth part "Prognosis from the Pulse", describing how to prognosticate from the different categories of pulse.\textsuperscript{170}

Sergius had translated seven treatises from this work: one (namely the first treatise) from each of the first three parts, and the four treatises of the last part.\textsuperscript{171} Like the Alexandrians who were his inspiration, he thought, since Galen had suggested one needs only read the first treatise because it covered all the information he intended to provide
من لقاء الكتاب إلى السريةية سبع مقالات من كل دامد من الثلاثة الأجزاء الأدبية مقالة مقالة ودقي
المقالة الأدبية من كل دامد من الأجزاء الثلاثة وأربع مقالات الجزء الأخير 171 وظن كما ظن أهل
الأسكندرية الذين عنهم أول مرة كما تحري من الجزء الأول بن قسم من المقالة الأدبية ودقي
عليها كما قال خالدوس لأننا تعبت جميع المقالات لما قصدنا في ذلك الجزء كذلك الحال في سائر
الأجزاء 172 وقد عظم خطأهم في ذلك 173 إلا أن أهل الأسكندرية كما اقتصرنا من كل دامد من
الأجزاء الثلاثة لأدبية مقالة كذلك اقتصرنا من الجزء الرابع أيضا على المقالة الأدبية 174
ذلك قد نجد مصادف كثير بالمزاحمية وإنما فيما لهذه الأدبيات المقالات فقط دقت انتباه من كل
دامد من تلك الأجزاء الأدبية دقت متوسيلة 175 ونجد أيضا النصات من الذين قصدنا لشرح كتاب
أصحابنا إننا شرمو من تلك المقالات الأدبية دقتناه أنهم كذلك 176 أما الرابيا فكان أقرب إلى
الإهان منهم وذلك أنه كان ابنه من يومه وأمس أنه قد يعتن حاجة ضرورية إلى قراءة سائر
المقالات الجزء الرابع نLIKيمها عن آخرها 177 ثم إن أبو الجنيد ترجم لمجريل بن بني سوع
المقالات السبع الباقية 178 وقد ترجمت أما هذا الكتاب كله إلى السريةية منذ سنوات ليوهنا بن ماسوية
دبلغت فيما بالمنية تلخيصه دحسن العبارة 179 ترجمت أيضا المقالة الأدبية من هذا الكتاب إلى العربية
لهم بن موسى 180 أما باقي هذا الكتاب فتولى ترجمته ميشيل من السريةية التي تر جهها 181
دبينج رجل طيب على الفهم وربما أن يبدي بطريقى في النزعة عن ذات لا أحسب عنايه
بسبب طبيعته 182 ونن هذا الكتاب بعد من سابق العلم 183.
in that part, that the same applies to the remaining parts.  

However, that was a blatant error.  

Indeed just as they were content to study only the first treatise of each of the first three parts, the Alexandrians were also satisfied with the first treatise of the fourth part.  

Hence we find many Greek manuscripts that contain only these four treatises: they were extracted from each of the four parts and copied one after the other.  

Some commentators who attempted to explain "The Pulse" confined themselves to these four treatises and tarnished their reputation in the process.  

As for Sergius, he was closer to the mark, realizing there and then that it was essential to read the remaining treatises of the fourth part as well; so he translated all of them.  

Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī translated the seven remaining treatises for Jibriī b. Bakhtīshū'.  

Then I translated the entire book into Syriac a few years ago for Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, using the utmost care, clarity and a fluent style.  

I also translated the first treatise of the book into Arabic for Muḥammad b. Mūsā.  

As for the rest, Ḥubaysh undertook its Arabic translation from the Greek manuscripts I had translated from.  

Ḥubaysh is a man who has a talent for understanding and who aspires to adopt my method of translating, except that his diligence is not commensurate with his talent.  

This book may be considered as one of the works on prognosis.
PART THREE

COMMENTARY
This part is twofold: Section One comprises a theoretical discussion of some of the major differences between the ST and TT, with a particular emphasis on cohesion; we discuss as well some problems encountered in the course of our translation. In Section Two, we explore Ḥunayn’s own philological approach and views on translation.

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction, the text that served as the basis for our translation was edited by the German orientalist Gotthelf Bergsträsser, and published in 1925.⁴² Bergsträsser taught oriental languages at the University of Munich. In 1913, he published a systematic study of Ḥunayn’s translations as well as those of his disciples under the title "Ḥunain Ibn Ishāk und seine Schule." He accompanied his edition of the Risālah by a German translation.⁴³ Along with the ST, he added interesting footnotes where variant readings were possible.

We have chosen to translate an excerpt from the Risālah for the reasons indicated above, which are that the text has never translated entirely into English, and that its author is a prominent figure in the history of Arabic translation. In our TT, we have adopted a rather more idiomatic approach than in the literal version produced in collaboration with Harris, Aris and Khoury. The reason we say "rather more" is that we actually tried to reconcile the two approaches. We do not claim that one of these ways of translating is better than the other.

⁴²See Meyerhof (1926:685).

⁴³Professor Harris has characterized this version as "literal and accurate, very useful as a guide to the interpretation of difficult expressions" (personal communication).
Instead, we posit that the purpose of the translation determines the most appropriate approach. The primary aim of our translation is to render the message conveyed by Hunayn in his epistle as accurately as possible without encroaching upon the grammatical rules and stylistic conventions of English. For purposes of illustration, passages from different translations are appended to this thesis. They include an example of an interlinear approach; it is intended to give an insight into the construction and the functioning of the Arabic SL. While the interlinear product may not be fluent, or even correct, it does nevertheless bring out some of the main differences between Arabic and English.

Because the Risālah is a historical document, we tried not to depart too far from the ST in order to preserve its historicity; in other words, the TT would not read like a modern one. As we will see below, an idiomatic approach requires a number of adjustments in the TT, mainly due to inherent characteristics of Arabic, a Semitic language, and English, an Indo-European one. The assumption underlying our work is that to be effective, the translation must function as a text, and perform the same function as the ST. Baker (1992:111) argues that "it is (...) imperative that we view the text as a whole both at the beginning and the end of the process" (our emphasis). To achieve this, the translator must strike a balance between accuracy and naturalness. Our analysis will therefore focus on overall textual equivalence; we will not delve into micro-levels. While equivalence at the syntactic and lexical levels is essential to facilitate the readability of individual sentences, it is not a guarantee that the TT will be coherent and cohesive. Halliday and Hasan (1976:1) define text as "a unit of language in use. it is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence." To work effectively, the TT must thus constitute
a semantic unit, realized by individual sentences related to one another by means of cohesive devices. By cohesion is meant the "network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations which provide formal links between various parts of a text" (Baker 1992:285). Al-Batal (1988:250) defines cohesive elements as "a network of ties and relationships that hold the entire text together and reflect the flow of discourse in it." Examples of these devices are punctuation, substitution, ellipsis, reference and conjunctions.

These devices do not work in the same way in all languages. Hence text is not encoded in the same way in, say, Arabic and English. The analysis below will concentrate on the main differences between these two languages in the use of some cohesive elements, namely punctuation and conjunctions. This is followed by an interlinear translation illustrating the basic adjustments made in the TT. After that, we will discuss some problems encountered in our ST, particularly redundancy and polysemy.

I. 1. Theoretical Discussion

1.1. Punctuation

One of the most striking differences between Arabic and English is probably the use of punctuation. English relies on an elaborate system of punctuation as a means to ensure cohesion in a text. In Arabic, on the other hand, it is not applied with as much precision. Baker (1992:192,193) observes that "English generally prefers to present information in relatively small chunks." Arabic, however, tends to present it in larger syntactic units. For instance, in

44See Halliday and Hasan (1976:293).
Bergsträsser's recension of the Risālah there are two basic types of punctuation, signalling the end of a section and the end of a paragraph. It should be noted, however, that this is an edited version of the text; in the original there was probably no punctuation at all. One may therefore come across a text in Arabic consisting of a single very long sentence. Baker (1992:193), quoting Holes (1984), states that "punctuation and paragraphing are a relatively recent development in Arabic." Al-Batal (1988) supports this assertion, observing that just like any other language Arabic has evolved. Moreover, he claims that "a well-formed text in (Modern Standard) Arabic is one in which the writer continuously signals to the reader the type of relationships holding the various elements of the text" (1988:254). Let us consider the following table compiled from the translation of the first three sentences in the Risālah:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST Sentence</th>
<th>Paragraphs in TT</th>
<th>Number of Sentences in TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Sentence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Sentence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Sentence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because Arabic tends to prefer longer grammatical units, two main adjustments were required to make the TT read more fluently in English: insertion of punctuation marks, and paragraphing.

While we have not actually seen the ms of the Risālah, it is well-known that Arabic writers, particularly in the classical period, used very little, if any, punctuation in their texts. See Holes (1984).
Baker (1992:193) claims that typical Arabic texts are characterized not only by long sentences, but also by a limited number of conjunctions and an abundance of connectives like \( wāw \) and \( fā' \) (see below).

1.2. Conjunctions

There are various types of conjunctive devices but only four of them are generally used, namely additive, adversative, causal and temporal.\(^{46}\) For clarity, we reproduce below Baker's (1992:191) examples of conjunctions that illustrate these types of relationships:

a. additive: and, or, also, in addition, furthermore, besides, similarly, likewise, by contrast, for instance;

b. adversative: but, yet, however, instead, on the other hand, nevertheless, at any rate, as a matter of fact;

c. causal: so, consequently, it follows, for, because, under the circumstances, for this reason;

d. temporal: then, next, after that, on another occasion, in conclusion, an hour later, finally, at last

In English conjunctions are used to explicit the relationship between sentences, clauses and paragraphs. On the other hand, Arabic depends on the context to convey this relationship. Baker (1992:193) argues that the interpretation of the relationships between individual clauses in Arabic relies on the reader's ability to infer them. As a rule, Arabic uses few conjunctions, the most common connectives by far being \( wā \) (literally "and") and \( fā \) ("so"). Hence, Arabic conjunctions have to be semantically multifunctional, i.e. their meaning varies according to their context. Likewise they assume a different function at each occurrence. In English, "and" has two

\(^{46}\)See Halliday and Hasan (1976:238,271) for a more comprehensive study of conjunctions.
functions: either *conjunctive* or *coordinating*. In Arabic, however, "wa" and "fa" can be respectively markers of "temporal sequence, simultaneous action, semantic contrast or semantic equivalence" and of "temporal sequence, logical consequence, purpose, result or concession," (Baker 1992:193). Al-Batal (1988:245) notes that *wa* occurs at almost every level of the text. When used at higher levels, like at the beginning of paragraphs, *wa* ensures the flow of the discourse, in which case it is almost never translated in English. This instance of *wa* will be referred to as the "empty" *wa*. In Arabic, individual micro-sentences, or clauses, are also often linked by *wa*. Consider the following instances of *wa* and *fa* encountered in the first three paragraphs of the Risālah (ST paragraphs were numbered for easy reference):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST Paragraph</th>
<th>ST Conjunction</th>
<th>ST Function</th>
<th>ST Equivalent</th>
<th>ST Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>para. 1</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>additive</td>
<td>. (punctuation mark - period)</td>
<td>end of sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para. 2</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>empty</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para. 2</td>
<td><em>fa</em></td>
<td>temporal sequence</td>
<td><em>but</em></td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para. 2</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>additive</td>
<td><em>as well</em></td>
<td>additive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para. 2</td>
<td><em>fa</em></td>
<td>temporal sequence</td>
<td><em>then</em></td>
<td>temporal sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para. 3</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>consequence</td>
<td><em>so</em></td>
<td>consequence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47According to Halliday and Hasan (1976:234,35) when "and" has an additive function it is conjunctive. Conversely, when used in a retrospective way, it assumes a coordinating function, e.g. 'Tom, Dick *and* Harry say it' means in fact 'Tom *and* Dick *and* Harry says it.' Al-Batal (1988:245) argues that the distinction between these two functions of *wa* is not a clear one in Arabic.

48For the convenience of readers not all the occurrences of *wa* and *fa* will be presented. Examples are intended to illustrate a wide array of conjunctive functions.
Another connective that is often used in Arabic texts is the expression *ammā... fa* (as for). This usually operates as topic shift marker, particularly at the beginning of a paragraph. It is almost never translated literally in English. The following is an interlinear translation of a short passage from the Risālah showing the main adjustments required to produce an idiomatic English TT.

**Interlinear Translation of TT para. 8**

1. *wa ammā* al-kitāb alladhī ‘unwānuhu fi marātibī
   and as-for the-book which title-his in classes-of

2. *qirā’ati* kutubihī fa huwa maqālatun wahdatun wa
   reading-of books-his so he-is treatise-a one-a and

3. *gharaduhu* fihī an yuḥbirā kayfa yانbaghī an turattaba
   objective-his in-it that he-informs how it-should that s he-b e-
   classified

4. *kutubuhu* fi qirā’atīhā kitāban ba' da kitābin min
   books-his in reading-their book after book from

5. *awwalihā* ilā ākhirihā wa lam akun tarjamtu hadhihi
   start-her to end-her and not I-am translated-I this

6. *al-maqālah* ilā al-surīyāniyāh wa qad tarjamahā ibnī
   the-treatise to the-Syriac and indeed translated-it son-my

7. *Ishāq li* Bakhtīshū‘ wa ammā ilā al-‘arabiyyah fatarjamtuḥā
   for Bakhtīshū‘ and as-for to the-Arabic so-translated-I-her

8. *anā li* abī al-Hasan Āḥmad bnu Mūsā wa lá
   I for abī al-Hasan Āḥmad bnu Mūsā and not

9. *a‘lamu* anna abādān tarjamahā qabīlī
   know-I one translated-her before-me
Idiomatic Translation

The work called *The Reading Order for His Books* consists of one treatise. Galen's objective in it is to indicate the order in which his entire works should be read. While I did not translate this book into Syriac, my son Ishāq did so for Bakhtīshū'. I translated it into Arabic, however, for Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Mūsā, and I have no knowledge of whether anybody had translated it prior to me.

Adjustments Made in the TT
1. Suppression of:  
   
   *ammat* ... *fa* → topic shift marker (characteristic of Arabic); In English, a paragraph break suffices to mark this shift

2. Punctuation: 
   
   *wa* → period to signal end of sentence

3. Explicitation: 
   
   deictic *hu* → Galen

4. Lexical incorporation:  
   
   *kitāban ba'da kitābin min awwalihā ilā akhirihā* → his entire works

5. Explicitation: 
   
   *wa* → (adversative) while

6. Substitution: 
   
   *tarjamaḥa* → did (Halliday and Hasan 1976) mention that this use of a pro-verb is common in English)

7. Note that *ammat*... *fa* is translated here as "however"; and that *wa* is translated as "and" for the only time in this passage.
An analysis of the above adjustments produces the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa  → 6</td>
<td>and → 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amma → 2</td>
<td>however → 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa → 2</td>
<td>while → 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periods → 2</td>
<td>periods → 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

An analysis of the connectives used in the extract of the Risālah that we translated reveals the following: out of a total of 426 connectives, wa was used 331 times; fa, 46 times; thumma (then), 23 times; amma, 15 times; aw (or), 6 times; Other connectives were used 5 times. Compared to the ST, the TT presents the following features: more punctuation, more varied connectives, and more explicit relationships between sentences.

2. Problems Encountered

2.1. Redundancy in ST

Webster’s (1988) describes redundancy as verbosity and wordiness, unnecessary to the meaning. The problem of redundancy is dealt with in almost all translation studies. Harris (1991:2) defines it as "segments of ST which can be omitted from the target text (TT), or reduced in length, without changing the information communicated by ST (its ‘message’)." Delisle (1993:345) observes that concision is an aspect of discourse rather than of language, i.e. it is the translator’s concision, or lack thereof, that determines whether his style is redundant.
In varying degrees, redundancy is perhaps an intrinsic feature of all languages. While some redundancies are acceptable to a certain extent in English, others are often eliminated in an English TT. Arabic style is often criticized by non-native speakers for its prolixity. Arabic translators are therefore often confronted with this problem when translating into English.\(^\text{49}\) Nida (1982:168) argues that some types of reductions are required in the TT, including the following: (i) reduction of doublets; (ii) reduction of lexical repetitions; (iii) dropping of conjunctions (see above), reducing hypotactic structures to paratactic ones; and (iv) simplification of highly repetitive style. Likewise, Harris (1991) proposes four types of necessary reductions which are: (i) omission of repeated lexical items; (ii) lexical incorporation, i.e. replacing a periphrase by one word; (iii) structural conciseness; and finally (iv) reliance on implications inferred from the ST. We will not discuss again the suppression or replacement of conjunctions, but we will focus on some other types of these necessary reductions. To illustrate, here are two examples from the Risālah:

**ST - para. 3**

1. "Innaka verily-you sa‘altanī an asked-you-me that aṣifa I-describe laka min amri for-you from matter
2. kutubi books-of Jālīnūs kam Galen how-many hiya she wa bimādhā and by-what tu‘raf it-is-known
3. wa mā and what gharadhu hu fī purpose-his kulli wāḥidin each minhā wa of-her and
4. kam how-many min maqālātīn fī kulli wāḥidin minhā of-treatise each one of-her

\(^{49}\)Harris (1991) concludes that “students of Arabic to English translation should be given instruction and exercises in reducing the length of their target texts.”
5. wa mā alladhī yaṣīfu fī maqālatin maqālatin
   and what which he-describes in treatise treatise

Literal Translation

You had asked me to describe for you the books of Galen, how many they are, and what they are known by, and what his objective is in each one of them, and how many treatises there are in each one, and what he describes in each treatise.

TT - para. 3

You asked me to give you a descriptive account of Galen's works and treatises, namely their number, their titles, and his objective in each of them.

Adjustments Made

The main adjustments are signalled in italics. The first reduction, what they are known by → their titles, is a case of lexical incorporation. In this context the word "title" means the name of a book. The second instance is a suppression of a lexical repetition, "describe", because "descriptive account" covers both occurrences. Nothing of the meaning of the ST is lost by these reductions.

2.2. The Problem of Polysemy in ST

This is a problem frequently encountered by translators. It is not peculiar to any language. Pergnier (1990:20) defines polysemy as "la possibilité de faire plusieurs interprétations sémantiques différentes d'un même segment linguistique." Along the same lines, Delisle (1993:134) argues that "on ne transpose pas des mots d'une langue en une autre, mais des unités de sens intégrées dans un texte." Thus, the sense of an utterance is not communicated merely by transposing its verbal meaning, and the message conveyed in the ST is not the sum total of its corresponding lexical units in the TT. A distinction has to be made for present purposes
between the terms "sense" and "meaning". Sense is contextual, i.e. it relies on its surrounding environment for its actualization. According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:84) it is the information that is actually communicated by an expression occurring in a text. Conversely, meaning is virtual; it is the lexicalized signification, that is to say the definition of the word as it appears in the dictionary. Since the start of our commentary our focus has been on the translation as a text. Baker (1992:111) reminds us that text is "an instance of language in use rather than language as an abstract system." This reasoning is behind the interpretive approach to translation devised by Seleskovitch at the school of Paris III (ESIT). The reason we put emphasis on these two terms is because they represent the premise that when polysemous terms are placed within a specific context they cease to pose a challenge for the translator. Slama-Cazacu (1961) defines context as the total setting surrounding a word which determines its appropriate signification. She argues that it is because of the context that the relevant meaning of an utterance is understood. To illustrate this, here is an example of words in a newspaper headline translated out of context:

ST. Trouble in the West Bank

TT. La Banque occidentale en difficulté

Obviously the translator did not understand its sense; and yet at the lexical level, the meaning is correct. When this same headline is placed in the context of the events it refers to, it becomes clear that the intended sense is: "La Cisjordanie en émoi."
The table below illustrates the difference between the sense and the meaning of some terms encountered in the Risālah:  

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<th>TT Meaning</th>
<th>TT Sense</th>
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<td>al ‘urūq al-ḍawārīb wa al ‘urūq ghayr al-ḍawārīb</td>
<td>pulsating and non-pulsating veins</td>
<td>veins and arteries</td>
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<td>sābiq al-‘ilm</td>
<td>- foreknowledge</td>
<td>prognosis</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- preliminary knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>bi al-kalām al-tawīl</td>
<td>in long speech</td>
<td>at great length</td>
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<td>al-a’rād al-gharībah</td>
<td>- strange accidents</td>
<td>unusual symptoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- strange symptoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭabī’iyy</td>
<td>natural</td>
<td>congenital, conjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghayr ṭabī’iyy</td>
<td>unnatural</td>
<td>antecedent, preceding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khārij ‘an al-ṭabī’ah</td>
<td>- contrary to nature</td>
<td>initial, predisposing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- counter-natural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples clearly demonstrate how out-of-context meaning differs from the contextual sense. Dictionaries provide the translator with a number of potential meanings, but it is up to him to decide which is their most appropriate sense. We will now discuss some of the terminological choices we made when confronted with polysemous terms. For easy reference, terms will be followed by the number of the paragraph in which they occur.

*Risālah*  TT Title - Wehr (1979) gives the following translations: communication, report, missive, letter, note, epistle, dispatch, message, treatise, thesis, dissertation, etc..

Peters (1968:87,88) observes that it is a form of philosophical treatise or essay. He

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50 This table is inspired by Delisle (1993:132).
claims that "al-Kindi was the first to use it as a philosophical vehicle; indeed in some of al-Kindi's works it still has the primitive form of a letter addressed to an individual." Subsequently, it lost all its epistolary value. One of the meanings of "epistle", according to Webster's (1988), is "a letter, especially a long, formal, instructive letter." This meaning, we believe, fits the nature of Ḥunayn's Risālah, hence the equivalent "epistle." Other possible translations in English are "letter", "open letter", and "circular letter".\(^{51}\)

**Faculty (ies)** TT para. 28 - *(Qawwah- qiwā)* - Webster's (1988) defines it as "1. the power to do; the ability to perform an action; 2. any natural or specialized power of a living organism, etc." With this term we had to decide whether to use it, though it is out-of-date in this meaning, or to use a more modern term like "power." We chose to keep it for two reasons: first because the Risālah is an old text and besides Galen wrote centuries earlier; and secondly because it is the term found in almost all the literature on Galen.\(^{52}\)

**Hadda** TT para. 34 - Wehr (1979) offers the following equivalents for this term: delineate, determine, limit, delimit, restrict, etc.\(^{53}\) However, one of the meanings of *hadda*

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\(^{51}\) Lefevere (1992) includes the following titles in his compendium: (i) *Martin Luther: from the "Circular Letter on Translation"*; (ii) *Saint Jerome: from the "Letter to Pammachius."*

\(^{52}\) See Siegel (1973) and Brain (1985).

\(^{53}\) We only mention those meanings which are fairly relevant.
that is not given by Wehr is to distinguish between two things as in ḥadda al-shay'a 'ani al-shay'i (literally, delimit the thing from the thing), which is actually the sense in this case.

al-tashrīḥ TT para. 19 - Dissection, anatomy, autopsy are all potential English equivalents to this term. In the literature on Galen, we have come across both dissection and anatomy. However, we prefer to use the latter because the text refers to the branch of science. Similarly, we translated al-tashrīḥ al-qiyāṣ as comparative anatomy. This latter term was suggested by various sources, including Littré (1884).

The Elements TT para. 24 - This is actually a case of synonymy in the ST. Ḥunayn uses both the transliterated Greek term ḫṭqisār and its Arabic equivalent arkan. While it does not constitute a problem, this example illustrates the two terminological approaches mentioned in our Introduction, i.e. borrowing and neologizing. The first generation of translators approached translation in a rather literal way. But once they became familiar with the Greek medical texts, they felt more comfortable coining new terms, using the resources of their native tongue.

Temperament TT para. 26 - al-mizāj is defined by Wehr (1979) as: ‘mixture, blend, temperment, temper, nature, mood, etc. Webster’s (1988) definition of temperament is the following: 1. the act or an instance of tempering;
proportionate mixture or balance of ingredients; 2. in medieval physiology, any of the four conditions of body, and mind. Other possible meanings of this term are: character, disposition, nature, temper, inclination, etc. Though meaning 2 obviously fits the historical context of the Risālah, the problem with this term is the meaning it has for modern readers. Despite that, we chose to keep it because the Risālah is a historical text.

II. 2. Ḥunayn's Views on Translation

In Part One we outlined the general context of Arabic translation, and discussed Ḥunayn's achievements and contribution to it. In this section, we will deal with his philological approach and his method of translating. ⁵⁴

2.1. Ḥunayn's Philological Research

Before embarking on a translation, he used to search for as many mss as possible. He spent a considerable part of his life travelling to cities like Alexandria, Byzantium (Constantinople) and Damascus in quest of Greek manuscripts. Even when his search was fruitful, his problems were not over. Old mss were often corrupt or incomplete. So he would collate the various copies that he possessed in order to establish a correct recension. This critical analysis also served to determine whether a ms was authentic or apocryphal. In The Great Book on the Pulse, he reports that he came across a treatise in Greek mistakenly attributed to Galen. Ḥunayn argues that it could not have been written by Galen because it was incomplete, and it

was not well-written. Furthermore, he claims that it was Galen’s intention to write it but he never managed to do so. So some "impostors" took advantage of the situation, pretending the treatise belonged in the Galenic corpus. Perhaps the best testimonial to Ḥunayn’s approach is provided by the following passage:

"Then I translated it (The Sects) when I was a youth, in my twenties or a little older (...) from a very deficient Greek manuscript. Later when I was in my forties, my student Ḥubaysh asked me to revise it after a number of Greek manuscripts had been collected for this purpose. So I collated them and extracted one correct copy which I then compared with the Syriac and revised. Such is my custom with everything that I translate." (The Sects, 3)

Meyerhof (1926:691) observes that Ḥunayn’s research method "corresponds absolutely to the exigencies of modern philological research." On other occasions he would ask one of his disciples, a fellow translator or a patron to assist him in collating several copies of the same ms. Ḥunayn would correct a copy while the other person read the Greek or the Syriac aloud. At one point in the Risālah he mentions that he collated part of Galen’s The Method of Healing (20) with Salmuwayh. His patron was reading the Syriac while he pointed out any dissimilarities or variations. When more than one interpretation of the same passage was possible, he would use footnotes or simply indicate so in the margins. This method was used by Bergstrassner in his 1925 edition of the Risālah. Modern translators still use this approach which is referred to as annotated translation. As mentioned in Chapter One, the bulk of the Greek writings was first translated into Syriac because the first generation of translators were almost all Nestorians from Jundīšapūr. So when Ḥunayn was unable to find several copies of a Greek ms he used the Syriac translation as a basis for his Arabic version.
2.2. Ḥunayn’s Method of Translation

"The translation of a work is commensurate with the intellectual powers of the translator and the person for whom the translation is done."

(Risālah, Introduction)

This quotation sums up Ḥunayn’s views on translation: the quality of a translation depends on the abilities of the translator and also on those of the patron (or client in modern terms). As we know already, he was well-versed in medicine, being himself a physician. As such, he was able to understand, explain and hence translate the medical writings of the Greeks. This emphasis on "background knowledge" is also found in modern translation studies. The age and experience of the translator were of paramount importance to Ḥunayn. On many occasions, he mentions in the Risālah that he translated a work when he was young and retranslated it years later, after he had acquired sufficient experience:

"This treatise, i.e. The Medical Art, was translated by several people, including Sergius of Ra’s al-‘Ayn before he had mastered translation (...) At the time, I was a young man in my thirties, but I had already accumulated a sound scientific apparatus both in my mind and in the books I had acquired."

(The Medical Art, 3)

Throughout his epistle, Ḥunayn specifies the age at which he did a translation, and who commissioned it. The readership determined the quality of a translation; in other words, he believed in adapting the translation to the intellectual needs of the patron. An example of this is the following:

"I translated it recently at the request of Bakhtīshū’ in the same fashion I usually translate, using the most eloquent and fluent style and in the closest

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55The concept is referred to as "shared knowledge", "background information", "bagage cognitif", "connaissances préalables", etc.
possible way to the Greek without violating the Syriac. He asked me, however, to translate it anew in an easier (to read), smoother and freer manner, which I did." (The Plethora, 56)

Other instances are related in the following:

"I later translated it (The Medical Art) for Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib, who was an intelligent man, eager to learn." (The Medical Art, 3)

and

"I translated it for Salmuwayh after The Medical Art. In accordance with his level of natural understanding, and how widely-read he was, I took great care to be very precise in everything I translated for him."

(The Pulse: Addressed to Teuthras, 5)

Similarly when he deemed a translation unsatisfactory, Ḫunayn asked to revise it or even redo it. In The Bones, he says that the work was first translated into Syriac by Sergius, but he considered the translation awful. So he undertook to retranslate it, taking great care to clarify the book's contents. Earlier translations were almost systematically translated anew years later. Nearly all the translators were revised by their seniors, except for Ḫubaysh and a few others. This aspect of translation is rarely dealt with in recent translation research. Harris (1991:5) remarks that "it is regrettable (...) that little study has been made of translators' revising practices (...) and that they have been ignored by the theoreticians."

Another method that was used by Ḫunayn and his contemporaries is the commented translation. This approach consists in explaining certain, if not all, aspects of the ST. The purpose of this type of work is to make the translation more accessible, easier to read and understand. Ḫunayn actually distinguished between three types of commented translation: (i) compendiums (ikhtiṣar, jawāmi'), (ii) summary translations (thimār, istikhrāj), and (iii)
compendiums (*ikhtisar, jawami*), (ii) summary translations (*thimar, istikhrāf*), and (iii) commentaries proper (*shurah, tafsīr*). A case in point is related in the following remark from the Risālah: "I translated it (The Authentic Books of Hippocrates) into Syriac, appending to it explanations of the most difficult passages." Similarly, he practised what may be termed "synoptic translation", which entails producing a summary translation containing the essential information of a work. Synoptic translation was presented in the form of either a full text, or questions and answers. Ḥunayn used the latter form in the translation of several books, including *The Treatment of Acute Diseases*. Describing his method, he says: "I translated this book (...) and summarized its meaning in the form of questions and answers" (*The Treatment of Acute Diseases*).

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58See Gabrieli (1923:287).
CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq was, and will always remain, one of the greatest figures in the history of Arabic translation. His many contributions to the development of Arabic medical terminology and Arab medicine are too considerable to address exhaustively in this thesis. Through his achievements, from early life to his days as translator-in-chief at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, he paved the way for the passage of the Greek medical heritage to the West centuries later.

His Risālah to ‘Ali ibn Yahyā is certainly a remarkable testimonial to his own achievements, to the endeavours of Nestorian and Muslim Arab translators, to the value and importance of patronage, and last but not least to Galen’s writings. In sum, here are the main conclusions to be drawn from the epistle:

(1) The bulk of the Galenic corpus was translated into Syriac by earlier Nestorian translators, such as Sergius of Ra’s al-ʿAyn.

(2) The Syriac translations were stylistically poor, rather literal, word-for-word renderings of the Greek.

(3) Ḥunayn and his contemporaries of the first generation of translators translated into Syriac, then later into Arabic; the second Baghdad generation, represented by Ishāq and Ḥubaysh among others, translated chiefly into Arabic.

(4) Most of the translators at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, and earlier ones as well, were learned men, mostly physicians.
(5) The Nestorian patrons were chiefly physicians, the Muslim ones, essentially caliphs, statesmen or scholars.

(6) The teachings of the medical school of Alexandria were still taught at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah.

(7) Arab medicine was based primarily on the Galenic medical corpus.

(8) Ḥunayn practised a sort of "traduction raisonnée", viewing translation as a conscious process in which the translator takes decisions and makes choices; he believed in adapting it to the intellectual needs of the patron.

(9) Ḥunayn’s methods meet the norms of modern philological research.

In the second part of our thesis, our aim was to produce an idiomatic translation without sacrificing the historicity of the Risālah. In the Commentary we attempted to bring out the major differences between Arabic and English textuality, with a particular emphasis on cohesion. We explained as well the main adjustments that were required to produce a cohesive TT. Finally, we discussed two of the main difficulties encountered in generating the ST, namely redundancy and polysemy.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Part One: Historical Background


Part Two: Text and Translation


Part Three: Commentary


Sources of Illustrations


APPENDICES

1. Extract from the German translation by Gotthelf Bregsträsser (1925)

Ḫunain ibn Ishāq S endschreiben an 'Ali ibn Jaḥyā über die seines Wissens übersetzen Bücher Galens' und einige der nicht übersetzen

2. Extract from the literal translation by Brian Harris, Ahmed El Khamloussy and Ghassan Aris (unpublished, 1993-94)

The Letter of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq to ʿAli ibn Yahyā about which books of Galen have been translated to his knowledge, and some of those not translated

You have mentioned -- Allah honour you! -- the need for a work that would bring together an index of what we need to know from the medical books of the Ancients, expound the purpose of each one of them, enumerate the [constituent] treatises and [list] the branch of science addressed in each treatise. (That would) make it easier for seekers (after knowledge) to look up a particular (one of these) discipline(s) when necessary, and to know in which book, treatise and passage it (is found) occurs.

You asked me to undertake this for you, but I told you -- Allah grant you His support! -- that my memory is not big enough to encompass so many works now that I have lost all those (of them) I had collected. I told you too that after I lost my books a Syrian gentleman had made a similar (to this request) of me concerning particularly the works of Galen, and that he had asked me to indicate to him which (works) I and others had translated into Syriac and other (languages), and that I subsequently wrote a book for him in Syriac following up on the suggestion in his request. Then you (in turn) -- Allah honour you! -- asked me to do a translation of that book for you as soon as possible, (to serve) until such time as Allah might see fit to grant the restitution of my library with your help. Then I will (be able to) augment my citations of Galen’s works in that book with some of those that had eluded me, and mention (as well) all the other medical works of the Ancients which we have found. (In what follows) I shall proceed, Allah willing, to do what you have requested.
3. Passages from Max Meyerhof (1926)

"I was a young man of about thirty years at the time when I translated it, but I had already at my disposal a considerable amount of scientific material, some acquired by myself in the course of my private studies, and some contained in the books which I had accumulated" (689, De Constitutione Artis Medicae)

"(...) nevertheless I continued to refuse your demand (viz. to write a list of all the translations of Galen’s books) and put you off to a later time, because I had lost all the books which I had gradually collected during the course of my adult life in all the lands in which I had travelled, all of which books I lost at one blow, so that not even the above-mentioned book in which Galen enumerates his works remains to me" (689)
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ADDENDUM

At the defence of this thesis, the examiners suggested that an addition be made to the thesis regarding the Abbassid translators' compensation, including Ḥunayn's. Hence, the following.

The compensation of translators

One thing that strikes the modern reader about translators during the reign of the Abbassids is undoubtedly the way they were treated. Rightly, Salama-Carr (1990:44) remarks that in addition to the pecuniary compensation they received, translators were regarded with utmost respect. Besides, they were for the most part men of science, physicians, mathematicians, philosophers, etc., as well as translators. That alone ensured their distinguished social status.

Salama-Carr (1990:44) further distinguishes between two main methods of patronage. The first was the method used by most of the patrons, which consisted in making payments as the translation was done. This way, the patron had no long term commitment towards the translator, and vice-versa. Then, there was what might be called the Banū Mūsā (Shākir brothers) method. They reportedly hired translators on a salary basis. In other words, the translator received monthly payments for his regular services. One can infer from this latter that translation was already viewed as an independent occupation.

Another notable method of compensation is the one used in the case of Ḥunayn and other important translators. In addition to the outrageously generous payments he received, by today's standards, Ḥunayn received compensation in kind. Meyerhof (1926:689), who bases his assertion on Ibn abī Uṣaybi‘a, relates that Ḥunayn was at one time awarded three houses "completely furnished and containing books" by al-Mutawakkil. In other instances, Ḥunayn's compensation was commensurate with the physical weight of the translation. Ibn abī Usaybi‘a claims that Ḥunayn would even ask his copyist, Al-Azraq, to use thick paper to add to the weight of the translated work. That incidentally has helped preserve Ḥunayn's works to this day.