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**Commented Translation
of An Excerpt from
Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq's Epistle to His Patron 'Ali 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

 Ahmed El Khamloussy, Ottawa, Canada, 1995



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 وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ

جوامع المقالات الأولى من كتاب الجوامع الخيرية في الطب النبوي الشريف

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أفلاخوس



أبقراط



أبقراط



دياسقوريدوس



دياسقوريدوس



أبقراط



أبقراط



أبقراط



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)

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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 présente thèse consiste en une traduction commentée d'un extrait d'une lettre datant du IX^e siècle, rédigée par le célèbre traducteur arabe Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq à l'intention de l'un de ses mécènes, 'Ali ibn Yaḥyā. Il y décrit les ouvrages du médecin grec Galien, ainsi que la traduction de ceux-ci.

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 annexé 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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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

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

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|----|---|---|
| ' | ' (except when initial) | ز | z | ل | l |
| | | س | s | م | m |
| | | ش | sh | ن | n |
| ب | b | ص | ṣ | ه | h |
| ت | t | ض | ḍ | و | w |
| ث | th | ط | ṭ | ي | y |
| ج | j | ظ | ẓ | | |
| ح | ḥ | ع | gh | | |
| خ | kh | ف | f | | |
| د | d | ق | q | | |
| ذ | dh | ك | k | | |
| ر | r | | | | |

Long Vowels

| | |
|---|---|
| أ | ā |
| و | ū |
| ي | ī |

Diphtongs

| | |
|-----|----|
| أو | aw |
| أَي | ay |
| يَي | iy |

| | |
|----|---|
| ة | ah; at (construct state) |
| ال | al- (article; even when it is not pronounced in Arabic) |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

| | |
|--------|---|
| adj. | Adjective |
| b. | Ibn (son of) |
| B.C.E. | Before Current Era |
| c. | Circa |
| C.E. | Current Era |
| d. | Died |
| n. | Noun |
| n.d. | No Date |
| para. | Paragraph |
| SL | Source Language |
| ST | Source Text |
| TL | Target Language |
| TT | Target Text |
| () | Signals an addition to the ST in the TT |

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:

- Abbasid** (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 *Ibn* and becomes *abt.*
- Bayt al-Hikmah** 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-Khālfah* 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'mintn*; 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.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Fihrist (al-) | 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-Nadīm (see Bibliographical References). |
| Galen | Arabic <i>Jālmūs</i> ; 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. |
| Ḥīrah (al-) | (derived from Syriac <i>ḥerta</i> , meaning <i>camp</i>) City in the vicinity of the ancient city of Babylon, modern-day central Iraq; capital of Persian Arabia and later of the Lakhmid Kingdom. It reached its golden age in the period from 418 to 462 C.E. |
| ‘Ibād | Term used by Arab authors from around the 3rd century C.E. to refer to the inhabitants of al-Ḥīrah, who were members of the Christian Syrian (later Nestorian) Church. |
| Jundīshapūr | 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. |
| Lakhmids | Kingdom founded by ‘Amr b. ‘Adi ibn Naṣr ibn Raī‘ah ibn Lakhm in the second half of the 3rd century C.E.; capital al-Ḥīrah. |
| Nadīm (al-) | (Muḥammad b. Ishāq b.); d. in 995 C.E.; he was nicknamed <i>al-Warrāq</i> (the Stationer) because he was a bookseller; author of the invaluable al-Fihrist . |
| Nestorian | <i>adj.</i> of or pertaining to Nestorianism, a religious sect founded by Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (428-431 C.E.); <i>n.</i> member of the East Syrian Christian Church (which later became the Nestorian Church); its native language was Syriac. |
| Risālah | Epistle, missive, letter, open letter, essay, monograph; form of philosophical and scholarly expression. |
| Syriac | Arabic <i>Suriyāniyyah</i> ; a dialect derived from Aramaic; became the language of the Nestorian Church and an important literary language. |

-
- Syrian** Arabic *Suriyānī*; 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 Mu'āwiyah 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.
- Uṣaybi'a** (Aḥmad 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 '*Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Atibbā'* (Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians); often cited by Leclerc (1876).

"Honein est la plus grande figure du IX^e 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)

"Ḥunayn 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 Yaḥyā. 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 Gotthelf 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 Ishāq (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.⁴ 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.

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 Ishāq 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 Ishāq 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.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"... 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 Umayyads 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),⁵ 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 Jundīshapūr. 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

⁵See page 9 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-Nadīm (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.⁷ 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:⁸

- 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

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)⁹

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

iii) Ibn abī 'Usaybi'a (13th century C.E.), *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (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-'Ibādī,¹⁰ nicknamed by the Arabs *Shaykh al-Mutarjimīn* (The Master of Translators) and better known to the West by the Latin version of his name

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

¹⁰Al-'Ibādī 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-Ḥīrah (see Glossary).

Johannitius Oman or *Humainus*, was born in 809 C.E.,¹¹ 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'taṣim (d. 842 C.E.), al-Wāthiq (d. 847 C.E.), al-Mutawakkil (d. 861 C.E.), al-Muntaṣir (d. 862 C.E.), al-Musta'in (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

¹¹According 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.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.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

¹²According to *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.

¹³Al-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 *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 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā 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 *buṭlān 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-Ṭayfūrī, 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)

Ḥunayn 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 Ḥunayn did not think very highly of Sergius as a translator, often criticizing him. Ḥunayn'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

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 Ḥunayn.

¹⁷Book 13 on the list of books that Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq mentions in the *Risālah*.

2. Hunayn'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 Bakhtīshū', 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"

¹⁸See Hitti (1958:306).



A fourteenth century C.E. Italian MS showing Galen (right) and Hippocrates. (reproduced from Roux, 1983)

(Peters 1968:66). 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-'Ibādī. He was the son and

¹⁹*Al-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 *abraṣ* (one who has vitiligo). It eventually became synonymous with *ammash* (freckled). Meyerhof (1926:703) correctly points out that both Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a 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-Nadīm (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 Saḥdā' al-Karkhī (also spelled Ibn Shaḥdā')

i. Son of Saḥdā', known as the "Translator of Hippocrates". Ibn Saḥdā' came from al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdad. He translated from Syriac into Arabic during the early ninth century (al-Nadīm 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 Saḥdā', 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-A'ṣam 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 diligence 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 Hunayn accepted his translations without revision and many people attributed them to Hunayn because they were as perfect as though they were Hunayn's own.*" Among the famous books that he composed there is *Appendix to the Questions of Hunayn*.²² Al-Nadīm 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 *Risālah* informs us that he translated over twenty-six books from the Galenic

²²This title refers to Hunayn's *Catechism of Medicine for Students*.

²³Ra's al-'Ayn, also spelled Rish'Ayna and Resh'Ayna and known as well as 'Ayn al-Wardah, is located in NE Syria.

corpus. Among other works, he translated *The Medical Art*, *To Glaucon*, *The Muscles*, *The Elements According to Hippocrates*, *The Temperaments* and *The Natural Faculties*. Sergius translated many of Aristotle's works too, including *The Categories*.

According to Leclerc (I:173), who bases his opinion on Abī Uṣaybi'a, Sergius did not always produce translations of high quality. Ḥunayn 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 Ḥunayn'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).

‘Īsā ibn Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm (al-Dimashqī)

- i. Born in Damascus; he was the pupil of Ḥunayn. 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 Ḥunayn's Syriac versions into Arabic.
- ii. Meyerhof (1926:710) reports that Ḥunayn was very pleased with him and satisfied with his work. ‘Īsā'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.

Istifān 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 Uṣaybi'a the quality of Istifān'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-Muktafī.

- ii. In addition to being a translator, he was an author. One of his books is *The Pandect*.

Ḥunayn 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).

‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī

i. Not to be confused, as often happens, with ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā, a celebrated Arab oculist (ophthalmologist in today’s terms). He was one of the best pupils of Ḥunayn, 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 ‘Īsā 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 Ḥunayn, 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.)²⁴

- 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 Carrae in Mesopotamia) to a Ṣābian family.²⁵ 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.

²⁴The 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.

²⁵The "Ḥarrān Ṣābians" or pseudo-Ṣābians 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 "Ṣābians" during the Islamic reign to benefit from the protection granted by the Qur'ān to Jews and Christians. The real Ṣābians 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.

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.

Yaḥyā ibn al-Batrīq (Abū-Zakariyā', d. about 835 C.E.)

i. John son of the Patrician, also known as Yūḥannā. He is not to be mistaken for Abū-Yaḥyā 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*.

Thīyūfīl 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 Bakhtīshū'" (*The Preservation of Health*, 84).

Yūhannā ibn Bakhtīshū' (d. 941 C.E.)

i. He was a young contemporary of Ḥunayn and probably a member of the famous Bakhtīshū' 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. Ḥunayn 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 Bakhtīshū' 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 Ḥunayn 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).

Iṣṭifān al-Yunānī (Stephanos the Greek)

- i. Ḥunayn does not inform us about him.
- ii. He mentions him though when speaking about *Strength of the Mind Depends Upon the Disposition of the Body*. Iṣṭifān 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-'ilm* (knowledge), even from a *kāfir* (a non-Muslim).²⁶ 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 *Iqra'* (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 Bakhūshū', 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.)

i. He was nicknamed *al-Munajjim* (the astronomer) after his father Yaḥyā and his grandfather Maṣṣūr. 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

²⁷The 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.

²⁸It 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.

²⁹Meyerhof (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 *Khizānat al-Ḥikmah* (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-Mutaṭabbib³¹

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-Mutaṭabbib.

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-Mutaṭabbib (...) was an intelligent man, eager to learn" (*The Medical Art*, 4).

³⁰*Khizānah* may also be translated in English as "treasury" or "treasure house".

³¹*Mutaṭabbib* 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 Ja'far 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-Ma'mūn (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 Ja'far. 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*.³² 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 Ḥunayn 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.

Bakhtīshū' b. Jibrīl (d. 870 C.E.)

i. He belonged to the oft-cited family of Bakhtīshū'. They came from Jundīshāpūr. The patriarch of the family, Jurjis (George), was chief-physician of the Jundīshāpūr hospital and headmaster of its school of medicine. Bakhtīshū''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" (Meyerhof 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 Ḥunayn, 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;

³²This 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,³³ 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-Mutaṭabbib, 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

³³This must have taken place before the infamous episode mentioned above, says Meyerhof (1926:718).

Shirīshū', the *Risālah* mentions *The Sect*.

Salmuwayh ibn Bunān³⁴ (d. 839/40 C.E.)

i. He was a distinguished Nestorian physician who served at the courts of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim. 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'taṣim 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).

³⁴Meyerhof (718) claims that Leclerc (I:118) calls him "ibn Bayan", repeating the scribal error he found in Ibn abī Uṣaybi'a. On the other hand, Meyerhof spells his name "Salmawaih", and not "Salmuwayh".

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh³⁵ (Abū Zakariyā') (771-857 C.E.)

i. He is also known by the Latin version of his name: *Mesue Senior/Major*. Born in Jundīshāpūr, he was a celebrated Nestorian physician. His father was a chemist at the hospital of Jundīshāpūr. 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-Ḥīrah.³⁶ Ironically, he later offered Ḥunayn the position of translator at the Bayt al-Ḥikmah. Gabrieli observes that:

"Yuhanna b. Masawayhi s'affrettò, per mezzo del comune amico

³⁵*John son of Mesue*, in English; Yaḥyā, in Arabic and Yūḥannā in Syriac. Not to be confused with Māsawayh al-Māridīni, 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.

Yusuf b. Ibrahīm, 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)

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

Yūḥannā 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 Yūḥannā), *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 (Yūḥannā) likes clear speech and always insists on it" (*The Bones*, 7).

Ishāq ibn Sulaymān

i. He was Governor of Egypt during the caliphate of Hārūn 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

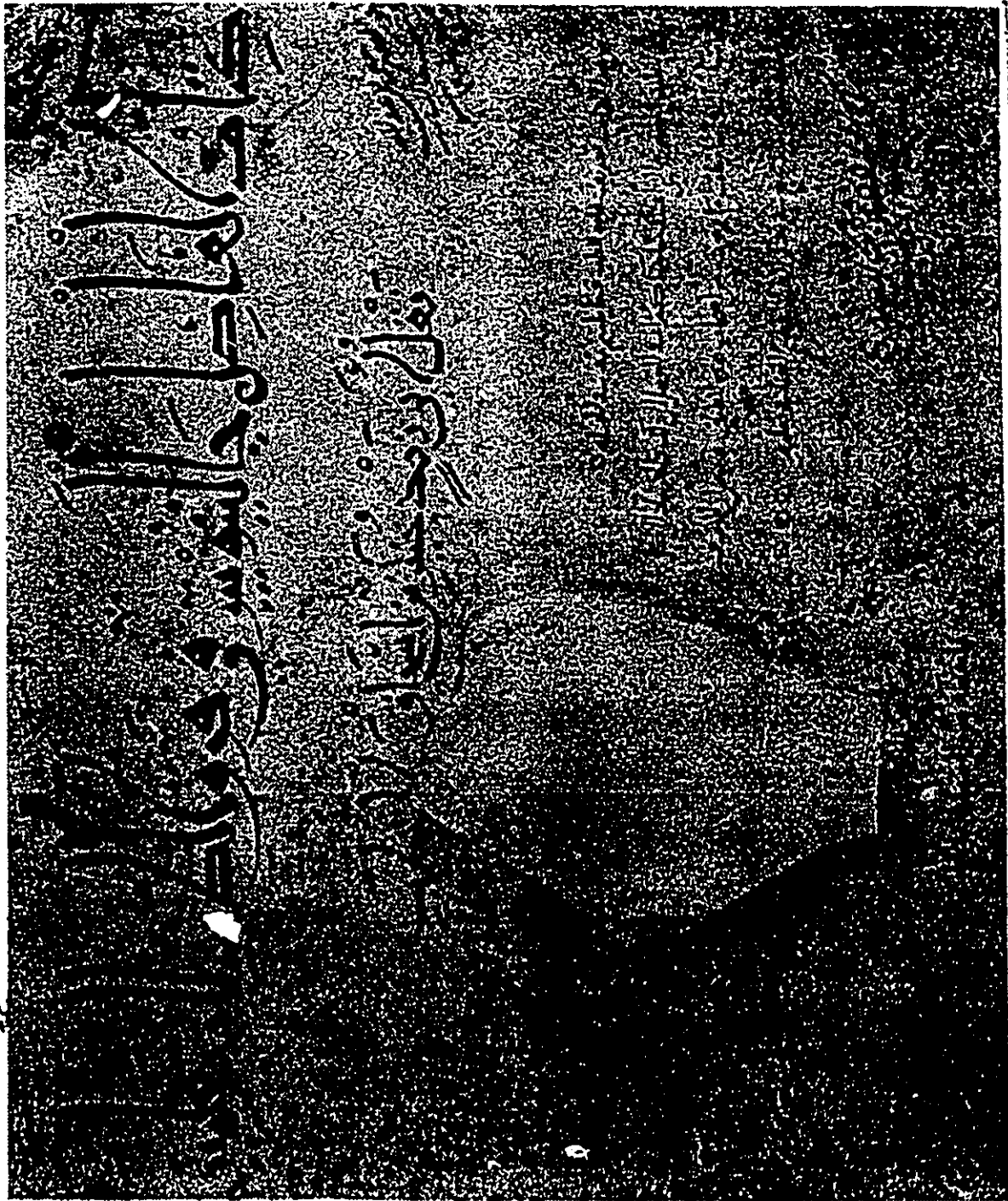
into Arabic, namely *The Temperaments*, *The Natural Faculties*, *The Application of Alleviating Medicines* and *That the Excellent Physician is a Philosopher*.

Jibrīl ibn Bakhtīshū‘

i. Another member of the distinguished Nestorian family of Bakhtīshū‘. His father, Bakhtīshū‘, 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-‘Ayn.

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 Ayyūb 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).

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 Caliphal 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 Sīnā the physician in the year 407*' (i.e. 1016-17). The second note is bottom right and reads: '*Came into the possession of Jibrā'īl ibn Bakhtīshū, the Christian physician.*' (reproduced from Lewis, 1976)

Thiyādūrī 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 abī Uṣaybi'a. He also relates that Thiyādūrī collected books and sponsored their translations. He also paid for the services of some Christian physicians.
- ii. The *Risālah* mentions that Sergius translated, at Thiyādūrī'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*.

Isrā'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-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a vizir and protégé of al-Mutawakkil. According to Meyerhof (1926:719) Isrā'īl could have been the co-instigator, along with Bakhtīshū' b. Jibrīl, of the plot that led eventually to Ḥunayn's imprisonment. This is related by Gabrieli (1923:284,85), who asserts that Isrā'īl was jealous of Ḥunayn's intellectual superiority.

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- 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

³⁸Al-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 Ḥunayn might have been at the latter’s service.

‘Ali al-Fayyūm³⁹

i. Ḥunayn 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 (I: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, Ḥunayn undertook the Syriac translation of Galen’s *The Composition of the Medical Art*, two months before the latter’s death in 877 C.E.

Ishāq 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. Ḥusayn founded the first quasi-independent Persian Muslim dynasty, the Ṭāhirids. 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).⁴⁰ He may have been a poet and a government official.⁴¹ 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.

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-Nadīm (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 Ishāq (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. Ishāq. He does, however, say that he was asked by him to correct Galen's *What One Believes as an Opinion*.

PART TWO

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

رسالة حنين بن إسماعيل إلى علي بن يحيى في ذكر ما ترجم من كتب

جالينوس بعلمه وبعض ما لم يترجم

1 ذكرت أكرمك الله العاجية إلى كتاب يجمع فيه ثبت ما يحتاج إليه من كتب القدماء في الطب¹ وتبيين الفروض في كل واحد منها وتعدد المقالات من كل كتاب وما في مقالة مقالة منها من أبواب العلم² لتعريف به المؤونة على الطالب لباب باب من تلك الأبواب عند الحاجة تعرض إلى النظر فيه وينهم في أي كتاب يوجد في أي مقالة منه وفي أي موضع من المقالة³ سألت أن أتلفت ذلك لك فأعلمتك أيديك الله أن حظي يقصر عن الإحاطة بجميع تلك الكتب إذ كنت قد فقدت جميع ما كنت جمعته منها⁴ وأن رجلاً من السريانيين قد كان سألني بعد أن فقدت كتبتي شيبابها في كتب جالينوس خاصة وطلب مني أن أبين له ما ترجمته أنا وغيري من تلك الكتب إلى السريانية وإلى غيرها⁵ فكتبت له كتاباً بالسريانية نعت فيه النعم الذي قصد إليه في مسأله إيتاي وضعه فسألت أكرمك الله أن أترجم لك ذلك الكتاب في العاجل إلى أن يتفضل الله بما هو أهله من رد⁶ تلك

**HUNAYN IBN ISHĀQ'S EPISTLE TO 'ALI IBN YAYHĀ 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

الكتب على يدك⁶ فأضيف على ما ذكرته في ذلك الكتاب من كتب جالينوس شيئاً إن كان شدّ عنّي منها ذكر سائر ما وجدناه من كتب القدماء في الطب⁷ وأنا صائر إلى ما سألت إن شاء الله.⁷

2 كان أعزك الله أول ما افتتحت به ذلك الكتاب أن سميت الرجل ووصفت ما سألت⁸ فقلت إنك سألتني أن أصف لك من أمر كتب جالينوس كم هي وبهم ذا تعرف وما غرضه في كل واحد منها وكم من مقالة في كل واحد وما الذي يصف في مقالة مقالة منها⁹ فأعلمتك أن جالينوس قد وضع كتاباً بها فيه لهذا النحو درس فيه ذكر كتبه¹⁰ وسهأه فينكس¹¹ وترجمه الفهرست وأنه قد وضع مقالة أخرى وصف فيها مراتب قراءة كتبه¹² وأن التماس تعرف أمر كتب جالينوس من جالينوس أدلى من التماس تعرفه مني¹³ فكان من جوابك في ذلك أن قلت أنه إن كان الأمر على ما وصفت فإن بنا وسائر أهل هذا الفرض معن يقرأ الكتب بالسريانية والعربية حاجة إلى أن نعلم ما ترجم من هذه الكتب إلى اللسان السرياني والعربي¹⁴ وما لم يترجم وما كنت أنا العتولى لترجمته دون غيري وما تولّى ترجمته غيري وما سبقني إلى ترجمته غيري ثم عدت فيه فترجمته أو أصلحته¹⁵ ومن تولّى ترجمت كتاب من الكتب التي تولّى ترجمتها غيري ومبلغ قوة كل واحد من أدلائك المترجمين في الترجمة ولعن ترجمت ومن الذين ترجمت أنا لهم كل واحد من تلك الكتب التي تولّيت أنا ترجمتها وفي أيّ هدّ من سنّي ترجمته¹⁶ لأنّ هذين أمرين قد يحتاج إلى معرفتهما إذ كانت الترجمة إنعما بحسب قوة المترجم للكتاب والذي تُرجم له¹⁷ وأيّ تلك الكتب معاً لم يترجم إلى هذه الغاية وجدت

the Ancients which we (Arabs) have found. In what follows I will proceed -- Allah willing -- to meet your request.⁸

- 3 At the very start of the book -- may Allah honour you! -- I named the man in question and described his request.⁹ 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.¹⁰ Then I informed you that Galen himself had written a book along the same lines, in which he outlined his own works.¹¹ He entitled it *Phoenix*, which I have translated as *Al-Fihrist* (The Catalogue).¹² He also composed another treatise describing the order in which his books should be read.¹³ Therefore, it would be better to look for information about Galen's writings in Galen rather than seek it from me.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶
- 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ Likewise, we need to point out which

سُمِّيت باليونانية وأيّها لم توجد له نسخة أو وجد البعض منه¹⁸ فإن لهذا أمر يُحتاج إليه ليُعنى بترجمته ما قد وُجد منها ويطلب ما لم يوجد¹⁹ فلماً أُدرت عليّ من هذا ما أُدرت علمت أنّك قد أصبت في قولك وأنك قد دعوتني إلى أمر يعنني وإيّاك وكثيراً من الناس منفعته²⁰ لكنني لبثت مدة طويلة أدافعك بما سألت وأمطلك بسبب فقدي جميع كتبي التي جمعتها كتاباً كتاباً في دهري كلّه منذ أقبلت أفهم من جميع ما جلتته من البلدان²¹ ثمّ فقدتها كلّها جملة حتّى لم يبق عندي دلاً للكتاب الذي ذكرته قبيل وهو الذي أثبت فيه جالينوس ذكر كتبه²² فلماً ألحجت عليّ بالمسألة اضطررت إلى أن أجيّبك إلى ما سألت مع فقدي لما كانت بي حاجة من العدة لذلك عند ما رأيتك قد رضيت وقد اقتصرت منّي على ما أمفظ من هذا الباب²³ وأنا مبتدى بذلك متوكلاً على ما أرجوه من التأييد السعادي بدعائك لي موجز القول فيه ما أمكنتي كما سألت مفيض جميع ما أمفظه من أمر تلك الكتب وأفتتق قولني بوصف ما يُحتاج إلى علمه من أمر الكتابين اللذين ذكرت قبيل.²⁴

3. 1. أمّا الكتاب الذي أسماه جالينوس فينكس وأثبت فيه ذكر كتبه فهو مقالتان²⁵ ذكر في المقالة الأولى منه كتبه في الطبّ وفي المقالة الثانية كتبه في المنطق والفلسفة والبلاغة والنحو²⁶ وقد وجدنا لهاتين المقالتين في بعض النسخ باليونانية موصولتين كأنّها مقالة واحدة²⁷ وغرضه في هذا الكتاب أن يصف الكتب التي وضع وما غرضه في كلّ واحد منها وما دعاه إلى وضعه ولعن وضعه وفي أيّ حدّ 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.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.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.²¹

5 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.²² None of them remained, not even the one I mentioned above in which Galen catalogued his own works.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.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.²⁵

6 1) The book which Galen called *Phoenix*, and in which he lists his works is composed of two treatises.²⁶ The first catalogues his medical works, and the second his writings on logic, philosophy, rhetoric and grammar.²⁷ However, we have come across these two treatises combined together as a single treatise in some Greek manuscripts.²⁸ Galen's intent in it is to describe his works, their contents, what led him to write them, for whom

سنة²⁸ وقد سبقني إلى ترجمته إلى السريانية أيّوب الرهادي المعروف بالأبرش²⁹ ثم ترجمته أنا إلى السريانية لداود المتطبّب وإلى العربي لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى³⁰ ولأنّ جالينوس لم يأت في ذلك الكتاب على ذكر جميع كتبه أضفت إلى المقالين مقالة ثالثة صغيرة بالسريانية³¹ بيّنت فيها أنّ جالينوس قد ترك كتب من كتبه في ذلك الكتاب وعددت كثيرا منها معاً رأيتُه وقرأته³² ووصفت السبب في تركه إيّاها.³³

4 ٢. وأمّا الكتاب الذي عنوانه في مراتب قراءة كتبه فهو مقالة واحدة³⁴ وغرضه فيه أن يخبر كيف ينبغي أن تُرتب كتبه في قراءتها كتاب بعد كتاب من أولّها إلى آخرها.³⁵ ولم أكن ترجمت هذه المقالة إلى السريانية وقد ترجمها إبني إسحق لبمبتيشوع³⁶ وأمّا إلى العربية فترجمتها أنا لأبي الحسن أحمد بن موسى ولا أعلم أنّ أحدا ترجمها قبلي.³⁷

5 ٣. كتابه في الفرق لهذا الكتاب مقالة واحدة كتبها إلى المتعلّمين³⁸ وغرضه فيها أن يصف ما يقوله كلُّ صنف من الفرق الثلاثة المختلفة في الجنس في تسميت ما يدعي والإحتجاج له والردّ على من مخالفه³⁹ وأنا استثنيت فقلت المختلفة في الجنس لأنّ في كلِّ واحد من هذه الثلاثة الفرق فرقا 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 3) *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

أيضا مختلفة في الشُّوع⁴⁰ يعرف مقالات أصحابها الداخل في الطبّ بأخذه بعد أن تعمّن فيه فتعلّم ما حطّب كلُّ صنف منها وكيف الوجه في الحكم على الحقّ والباطل منها⁴¹ وكان وضع جالينوس لهذه المقالة وهو شابّ من أبناء ثلثين سنة أو أكثر قليلا عند أوّل دخلة دخل رومية⁴². وقد كان ترجمه قبلي إلى السرياني رجل يُقال له ابن سهداء من أهل الكرخ وكان ضعيفا في الترجمة⁴³ ثمّ إنني ترجمته وأنا حدث من أبناء عشرين سنة أو أكثر قليلا لمتطبّب من أهل جندي سابور يُقال له شيرشوع بن قطرب من نسخة يونانية كثيرة الأسقاط⁴⁴ ثمّ سألتني بعد ذلك وأنا من أبناء أربعين سنة أو نحوها هيبش تلميذي إصلاحه بعد أن كانت قد اجتمعت له عندي عدّة نسخ يونانية⁴⁵ فقابلت تلك بعضها ببعض حتّى صمّمت منها نسخة واحدة ثمّ قابلت بتلك النسخة السرياني وصمّمت⁴⁶ وكذلك عادتني أن أفعل في جميع ما أترجمه⁴⁷ ثمّ ترجمته من بعد سنّيات إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى⁴⁸.

6. كتابه في الصناعة الطبية لهذا الكتاب أيضا مقالة⁴⁹ ولم يمنونه جالينوس إلى المتعلمين لأن المنفعة في قراءته ليست تخص المتعلمين دون المستكلمين⁵⁰ وذلك أن غرض جالينوس فيه أن يصف جميع جعل الطب بقول وجيز وذلك نافع للمتعلمين والمستكلمين⁵¹ أما العتلم فكيفما يسبق فيتصور في ذهنه جملة الطب كله على طريق الرسم ثم يعود بعد ذلك في جزء جزء منه فيتعلم شرحه وتلخيصه والبراهين

Rome.⁴²

- 10 This work was translated into Syriac before by a man from al-Karkh named Ibn Saḥdā', but he was weak in translation.⁴³ 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 Shirīshu' ibn Quṭrub; I worked from a very deficient Greek manuscript.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ So I collated them and extracted a correct copy which I then compared with the Syriac and revised.⁴⁶ That is what I do with everything I translate.⁴⁷ Finally I translated it into Arabic some years later for Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.⁴⁸
- 11 4) *The Medical Art* consists of one treatise.⁴⁹ Galen did not subtitle it "To Beginners" because it is equally useful to beginners and advanced students.⁵⁰ His purpose is to provide a concise compendium of all the different branches of medicine for both levels of students.⁵¹ 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.⁵² For the advanced student, on the other hand, it serves as a revision of everything he has read and learned at greater length.⁵³ 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 الشرح⁵² وأما المستكمل فكلم يقوم له مقام التذكرة لجملة ما قد قرأه وعرفه بالكلام الطويل⁵³ وأما المعلمون الذين كانوا يعلمون في القديم الطب بالإسكندرية فنظّموا لهذا الكتاب بعد الكتاب الفرق ثم من بعده في النبض إلى المتعلمين وبعده العقالتين في مدلاة الأمراض التي أُغلقن⁵⁴ وجعلوها كأنها كتاب واحد ذو خمس مقالات وعنونوها عنوانا واحدا عاما إلى المتعلمين.⁵⁵ وقد كان ترجم هذه المقالة أعني الصناعة الطبية عدة منهم سرجس الرأس عيني قبل أن يقوى في الترجمة ومنهم ابن سهدا ومنهم أيوب الرهاوي⁵⁶ وترجمته أنا بعد لداد العتطب وكان لداد العتطب هذا رجلا حسن الفهم حريصا على التعلم⁵⁷ وكنت في الوقت الذي ترجمته شابا من أبناء الثلاثين سنة أو نحوها وكانت قد التأمت لي عدة صالحة من العلم في نفسي وفيما ملكته من الكتب⁵⁸ ثم ترجمته إلى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى.⁵⁹

7 5. كتابه في النبض إلى طوئردن وإلى سائر المتعلمين لهذا الكتاب مقالة واحدة وغرضه فيها أن يصف ما يحتاج المتعلم إلى علمه من أمر النبض⁶⁰ ويمدّد فيه أولا أصناف النبض وليس يذكر فيه جميعا لكن ما يقوى المتعلمون على فهمه منها⁶¹ ثم يصف بعد الأسباب التي تغير النبض ما كان منها طبيعيا ما كان منها ليس بطبيعي ما كان خارجا من الطبيعة⁶² وكان وضع جالينوس لهذه المقالة في الوقت الذي وضع فيه كتابه في الفرق.⁶³ وقد كان ترجم هذه المقالة إلى السريانية ابن سهدا⁶⁴ ثم ترجمتها أنا لسعويه

addressed to Glaucon on the treatment of diseases.⁵⁴ They combined them all into one book, which they divided into five parts and to which they gave the comprehensive title "To Beginners".⁵⁵

- 12 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.⁵⁶ I later translated it for Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib, who was an intelligent man, and eager to learn.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.⁵⁸ Then I translated it into Arabic at the request of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.⁵⁹
- 13 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.⁶⁰ First Galen lists the different types of pulse; but he does not mention all of them -- only the ones beginners can understand.⁶¹ He then describes why the pulse changes: congenital, antecedent and initial causes.⁶² He wrote this treatise at the same time he wrote *The Sects*.⁶³
- 14 Ibn Saḥdā' had translated this treatise into Syriac;⁶⁴ then I translated it for Salmuwayh after I had done *The Medical Art*.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 لكتاب الصناعة⁶⁵ وبسبب ما كان عليه سلعويه من الفهم الطبيعي ومن الدرية في قراءة الكتب والمنايا بها كان فضل مرصني على استقصاء تخلص جميع ما ترجمته⁶⁶ ثم ترجمتها بعد ذلك الى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى مع كتاب الفرق وكتابه في الصناعة.⁶⁷

8 .6. كتابه الى اغلوقن لهذا الكتاب مقالتان وعنوانها جالينوس في مداواة الأمراض التي أغلوقن⁶⁸ ولم يعنونها الى المتعلمين لكن أهل إسكندرية أدخلوها كما قلت قبيل في عداد الكتب التي المتعلمين⁶⁹ وغرضه فيها أن يصف مداواة الأمراض التي تعرض كثيرا بقول وجيز⁷⁰ لرجل فيلسوف سأله عندما رأى من آثاره ما أعجبه أن يكتب له ذلك الكتاب⁷¹ ولما كان لا يصل العدادي الى مداواة الأمراض دون تعرفها قدم قبل مداداتها دلائلها التي تتعرف بها⁷² ووصف في المقالة الأولى دلائل المعيات ومداداتها⁷³ ولم يذكرها كلها لكنه اقتصر منها على ما يعرض كثيرا⁷⁴ وهذه المقالة تنقسم قسمين ويصف في القسم الأول من هذه المقالة المعيات التي تغلو من الأعراض الغربية⁷⁵ ويصف في المقالة الثانية دلائل الأورام ومداداتها⁷⁶ وكان وضع جالينوس لهذا الكتاب في الوقت الذي وضع فيه كتال الفرق.⁷⁷ وقد كان سبقني

him.⁶⁶ Later I translated it into Arabic for Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā along with *The Sects* and *The Medical Art*.⁶⁷

15 6) *To Glaucon* is made up of two treatises which Galen titled "To Glaucon On the Treatment of Diseases".⁶⁸ Although he did not use the title "To Beginners", the Alexandrians included them -- as I said before -- among the works written for beginners.⁶⁹ Galen's purpose in them is to describe briefly the frequently occurring diseases.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ Since a physician cannot successfully treat diseases without diagnosing them, he starts with their symptoms before describing the treatments.⁷² In the first treatise he describes the symptoms of fevers and their treatments.⁷³ He limits himself to the more common ones.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ In the second treatise he deals with the symptoms and treatments of swellings.⁷⁶ Galen composed this book at the same period as *The Sects*.⁷⁷

16 Sergius translated this book into Syriac prior to me.⁷⁸ Although he had by then acquired some skill in translation, he had not reached his peak yet.⁷⁹ Later I translated into Syriac for Salmuwayh, after I had also translated *The Pulse* at his request.⁸⁰ I translated it recently into Arabic for Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.⁸¹

الى ترجمة هذا الكتاب سرجس الى السريانية⁷⁸ وقد كان قوى بعض القوة في الترجمة ولم يبلغ غايته⁷⁹ ثم ترجمته بعد الى السريانية لسلمويه بعد ترجمتي له كتاب النبض⁸⁰ ثم ترجمته في هذه الأيام الى العربية لأبي جعفر محمد بن موسى.⁸¹

9 .٧. كتابه في العظام لهذا الكتاب مقالة داحدة⁸² وعنوانه جالينوس في العظام للمتعلمين ولم يعنونه الى المتعلمين لأن بين قوله عند الى المتعلمين وبين قوله للمتعلمين فرقاً⁸³ وذلك أنه إذا عنون كتابه الى المتعلمين دل على أنه ينمو في تعليقه ما يعلم نمو قوة المتعلمين وأن له تعليماً من وراء هذا التعليم وفي ذلك الفن للمستكملين⁸⁴ وإذا عنون كتابه للمتعلمين دل ذلك على أن كتابه ذلك يحيط بجميع العلم بذلك الفن الا أن تعليقه إنما هو للمتعلمين⁸⁵ وذلك أن جالينوس يريد أن يقدم المتعلم للطلب تعلم علم التشريع على جميع علوم الطب، لأنه لا يمكن عنده دون معرفة التشريع أن يتعلم شيئاً من الطب القياسي⁸⁶ وغرض جالينوس في ذلك الكتاب أن يصف كيف حال كل واحد من العظام في نفسه وكيف الحال في اتصاله بغيره⁸⁷ وكان وضع جالينوس له في وقت ما وضع مائر الكتب الى المتعلمين.⁸⁸ وقد كان ترجمه الى السريانية سرجس ترجمة رديئة⁸⁹ ثم ترجمته أنا منذ سنين ليوحنا بن عاصويه⁹⁰ وقصدت في ترجمته استقصاء معانيه على غاية الشرح والإيضاح وذلك أن هذا الرجل يحب الكلام الواضع ولا يزال يبحث عليه⁹¹ وترجمته قبل الى العربية لأبي جعفر بن موسى.⁹²

- 17 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 Sergius had done a bad translation of this work into Syriac.⁸⁹ I translated it some years ago for Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh.⁹⁰ In my translation I set myself to investigate its ideas as thoroughly and clearly as possible because Yūḥannā 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*

10 8. كتابه في العضل لهذا الكتاب مقالة⁹³ ولم يعنونه جالينوس الى المتعلمين لكن أهل ألكندرية أدخلوه في عداد كتبه التي المتعلمين⁹⁴ وذلك أنهم جمعوا الى هاتين المقالتين ثلث مقالات أهدر كتبها جالينوس الى المتعلمين واحدة في تشريح المصعب وواحدة في تشريح المرزوق الضواري⁹⁵ وجعلوه كأنه كتاب واحد ذو خمس مقالات وعنوانه في التشويح الى المتعلمين⁹⁶ وغرض جالينوس فيه أن يصف أمر جميع العضل الذي في كل واحد من الأعضاء كم هي وأي العضل هي ومن أين يتدرى كل واحد منها وما فعلها بغاية الاستقصاء.⁹⁷ وكل ما وصفته لك في كتاب العظام من أمر جالينوس وأمر سرجس وأمري فافهمه عني في هذا الكتاب خلا أنني لم أترجمه الى العربية الى هذه الغاية وقد ترجمه هيبش بن الحسن لمحمد بن موسى الى العربية.⁹⁸

11 9. كتابه في المصعب لهذا الكتاب أيضا مقالة واحدة كتبها الى المتعلمين⁹⁹ فغرضه فيها أن يصف كم زوجا من المصعب تنبت من الدماغ والنخاع وأي الأعصاب هي وكيف وأين ينقسم كل واحد منها وما فعله.¹⁰⁰ والقصة في هذا الكتاب كالقصة في كتاب العضل.¹⁰¹

12 10. كتابه في المرزوق لهذا الكتاب عند جالينوس مقالة واحدة¹⁰² يصف فيها أمر المرزوق التي تنبض والتي

and *The Anatomy of the Arteries*.⁹⁵ They combined them as though it were a single work composed of five treatises, and called it "On Anatomy: To Beginners".⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷

- 20 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.⁹⁸
- 21 9) *The Nerves* is composed of a single treatise which Galen wrote to beginners.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰ The history of (the translation of) this book is the same as that of *The Muscles*.¹⁰¹
- 22 10) *The Veins*: Galen meant this work to be one treatise.¹⁰² In it he describes the veins that pulsate and those that do not.¹⁰³ He wrote it for beginners and called it "To Antisthenes".¹⁰⁴ But the Alexandrians divided it into two treatises, one on the veins and another on the arteries.¹⁰⁵ 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.¹⁰⁶

للاتنبض¹⁰³ كتبه للتعلمين دعونه الى انطستانس¹⁰⁴ فأما أهل الإسكندرية فقسوه الى مقاليتين مقالة في المردق غير الضوارب ومقالة في عردق الضوارب¹⁰⁵ وغرضه فيه أن يصف كم عرقا تنبت من الكبد وأي المردق هي وكيف وأين ينقسم كل واحد منها كم شريانا تنبت في القلب وأي الشريانات هي وكيف وأين ينقسم كل واحد منها.¹⁰⁶ والقصة فيه كالقصة في العقالات التي تقدم ذكرها¹⁰⁷ انتزعت جعله وترجمته الى العربية لمحمد بن موسى.¹⁰⁸

13 11. كتابه في الأسطقات على رأي ابقراط هذا الكتاب أيضا مقالة واحدة¹⁰⁹ وغرضه فيه أن يبين أن جميع الأجسام التي تقبل الكون والفساد وهي أبدان الحيوان والنبات والأجسام التي تتولد في بطن الأرض إنما تركيبها من أربعة أركان وهي الأرض والعاء والهواء والنار¹¹⁰ وأن هذه هي الأركان الأول البعيدة لبدن الإنسان وأما الأركان الثواني القريبة التي منها قوام بدن الإنسان وسائر ماله دم من الحيوان. فهي الأحلاط الأربعة اعني الدم والبلغم والعرتين¹¹¹ وهذا الكتاب من الكتب التي يجب ضرورة أن تقرأ قبل قراءة كتاب هيلة البرد.¹¹² وقد كان سبقني الى ترجمته سرجس إلا أنه لم يضعه فأفسده¹¹³ ثم إنني ترجمته الى السريانية ليهتيشوع بن جبريل بعناية واستقصاء¹¹⁴ وكانت ترجمتي له وجل ما ترجمته لهذا الرجل في وقت منتهى شبابي على تلك السيل¹¹⁵ ثم ترجمته الى العربية لأبي الحسن على من يحيى.¹¹⁶

- 23 The history of this book is the same as that of the two treatises mentioned previously.¹⁰⁷ I excerpted passages of the book and translated them into Arabic for Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.¹⁰⁸
- 24 11) *The Elements According to Hippocrates* is also a single treatise.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ It is essential to read this book before reading *The Method of Healing*.¹¹²
- 25 Sergius preceded me in translating it but he failed to understand it and corrupted it as a result.¹¹³ Then I translated it into Syriac for Bakhtīshū' b. Jibrīl; I did so diligently and meticulously.¹¹⁴ Most of what I translated for this man towards the end of my youth was translated in this way.¹¹⁵ Finally I translated it into Arabic for Abū al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā.¹¹⁶
- 26 12) *The Temperaments*: Galen wrote this book in three treatises.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ He also describes the features that characterize

14 12. كتابه في المزاج لهذا الكتاب جعله جالينوس في ثلث مقالات¹¹⁷ ووصف في المقاليتين الأولتين أصناف مزاج الميوان فبين كم هي¹¹⁸ وأي الأصناف هي ووصف الدلائل التي تدل على كل واحد منها¹¹⁹ وذكر في المقالة الثالثة منه أصناف مزاج الأدوية وبيّن كيف تعتبر وكيف تعرف¹²⁰ وتلك المقالة تتصل بكتاب قوى الأدوية الذي أنا ذاكره فيما بعد¹²¹ وهذا الكتاب أيضا من الكتب التي يجب قراءتها ضروره قبل كتاب هيلة البراءة¹²² وقد كان ترجم هذا الكتاب سرجيس وترجمته الى السريانية مع كتاب الأركان¹²³ ثم ترجمته بعد الى العربية لإسحق بن سليمان.¹²⁴

15 13. كتابه في القوى الطبيعية لهذا الكتاب أيضا جعله ثلاث مقالات¹²⁵ وغرضه فيها أن يبين أن تدبير البدن يكون بثلاث قوى طبيعية هي القوة العابلة والقوة المنعية والقوة الغازية¹²⁶ وأن القوة العابلة مركبة من قوتين إحداهما تغير المعنى وتعمله حتى تجعل منه الأعضاء المتشابهة الأجزاء والأخرى تركيب الأعضاء المتشابهة الأجزاء بالهيئة والوضع والمقدار والعدد الذي يحتاج إليه في كل واحد من الأعضاء المركبة¹²⁷ وأنه يخدم القوة الغازية أربع قوى وهي القوة الجذبة والقوة المسكة والقوة العفيرة والقوة

each of them.¹¹⁹ In the third treatise he mentions the categories of temperaments of medicines, describing how they are tested and recognized.¹²⁰ This treatise is connected with *The Faculties of Medicines*, which I will refer to below.¹²¹ It is also one of those that should be read before *The Method of Healing*.¹²²

- 27 Sergius had translated this book; then I translated it into Syriac along with *The Elements*.¹²³ I subsequently translated it into Arabic for Ishāq b. Sulaymān.¹²⁴
- 28 13) *The Natural Faculties*: Galen composed this book as well in three treatises.¹²⁵ His purpose in it is to explain that bodies are regulated by three natural faculties: the faculties of reproduction, growth and nourishment.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷ The nourishment faculty is supported by four powers: attraction, seizure, conversion and expulsion.¹²⁸
- 29 Sergius did a bad translation of this book into Syriac.¹²⁹ I translated it into Syriac for Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū' when I was a young man of about seventeen, although I had only translated one book previously which I will mention later.¹³⁰ I translated it from a Greek manuscript containing errors.¹³¹ Then I re-read it, and as I was reviewing, I stopped at every error and corrected it.¹³² After I reached a more mature age, I read through it

الدافعة.¹²⁸ وقد ترجم هذا الكتاب الى السريانية سرجس ترجمة سوا¹²⁹ ثم ترجمته أنا الى السريانية وأنا غلام قد أتت على سبع عشرة سنة أو نحوها لجبريل بن بمتيشوع ولم أكن ترجمت قبله إلا كتابا واحدا سأذكره بعد¹³⁰ وترجمته من نسخة يونانية فيها أسقاط ثم¹³¹ إنني تصفحته إذا أحسنت فوقفت منه على أسقاط أصلحتها¹³² ثم إنني بعد استكمال السن تصفحته ثانية فوقفت أيضا على أسقاط أخر فأصلحتها¹³³ وأهبيت إعلامك ذلك لكيها إن وجدت لهذا الكتاب من ترجمتي نسخا مختلفة عرفت السبب في ذلك¹³⁴ وقد ترجمت من هذا الكتاب الى العربية مقالة لإسحق بن سليمان.¹³⁵

16 ١٣. كتابه في العلل والأعراض لهذا الكتاب ست مقالات مجموعة وهي من المقالات التي يحتاج الي قراتها ضرورة قبل كتاب هيلة البر¹³⁶ ولم يجعلها جالينوس في كتاب واحد ولا عنوانها بعنوان واحد ولكن أهل الإسكندرية جمعوها وعنونوها بعنوان واحد وهو كتاب العلل كأنهم ذهبوا الي أن دعسوا الكتاب بأكثر ما فيه¹³⁷ وأما السريانيون فعنونوا لهذا الكتاب بعنوان أبعد وأنقص من الواجب فوسعوه بكتاب العلل والأعراض¹³⁸ ولو كانوا تصددا للمعنوان التام لقد كان ينبغي أن يذكر ذلك مع الأسباب والأعراض الأمراض أيضا¹³⁹ فأما جالينوس فعنون المقالة الأولى من هذه الست المقالات في أصناف الأمراض¹⁴⁰ ووصف في تلك المقالة كم أجناس الأمراض وقسم كل واحد من تلك الأجناس الي أنواعه حتى انتهى في القسمة الي أقصى أنواعها¹⁴¹ وعنون المقالة الثانية منها في أسباب الأمراض وغرضه فيها موافق لعنوانها وذلك أنه يصف فيها كم أسباب كل واحد من الأمراض وأي الأسباب هي¹⁴² وأما المقالة الثالثة من هذه الست المقالات فعنونها في أصناف الأعراض ووصف فيها كم أجناس الأمراض وأنواعها وأي الأعراض هي¹⁴³ وأما المقالات الباقية فعنونها في أسباب الأعراض ووصف فيها كم

again, stopping at other errors and correcting them.¹³³ 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.¹³⁴ I also translated a treatise from this work into Arabic for Ishāq b. Sulaymān.¹³⁵

30 14) *The Causes and Symptoms (of Diseases)* consists of a collection of six treatises that should be read prior to *The Treatment of Diseases*.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷ On the other hand, the Syrians gave this book a title which was more generic, though not generic enough, "The Causes and the Symptoms".¹³⁸ Had they sought a full title they would have added "of Diseases".¹³⁹ Galen himself called the first of these six treatises "On the Kinds of Diseases".¹⁴⁰ In this work he describes the different categories of diseases and divides each category into subcategories right down to the finest subdivision.¹⁴¹ In the second treatise, "On the Causes of Diseases", he sets out, as the title suggests, to describe the various causes of diseases.¹⁴² He called the third treatise "On the Categories of Symptoms", and in it he describes the types and sub-types of symptoms.¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴

31 Sergius translated this book into Syriac twice, once before he studied at the school of Alexandria and once afterwards.¹⁴⁵ Then I translated it into Syriac for Bakhtīshū' b. Jibrīl while I was still in the flower of my youth.¹⁴⁶ Ḥubaysh translated these six treatises into

الأسباب الفاعلة لكل واحد من الأعراض وأي الأسباب هي.¹⁴⁴ وقد كان ترجم هذا الكتاب سرجس إلى السريانية مرتين مرة قبل أن يترجم في كتاب الإسكندرية و مرة بعد أن يترجم فيه¹⁴⁵ ثم ترجمته أنا ليهنوش بن جبريل إلى السريانية في وقت منتهى شبابي¹⁴⁶ وقد ترجم هيبس هذه الست المقالات لأبي الحسن علي بن يحيى إلى العربية.¹⁴⁷

17 10. كتابه في تعرف علل الأعضاء الباطنة لهذا الكتاب جعله جالينوس في ست مقالات¹⁴⁸ وغرضه فيه أن يصف دلائل يستدل بها على أهوال الأعضاء الباطنية إذا حدثت بها الأمراض وعلى تلك الأمراض التي تحدث بها أي الأمراض هي¹⁴⁹ ووصف في المقالة الأولى وبعض الثانية منه السبل العامة التي تتصرف بها الأمراض¹⁵⁰ وكشف في المقالة الثانية خطأ ارجيجانس في الطرق التي سلكها في طلب هذا الغرض¹⁵¹ ثم أخذ في باقي المقالة الثانية وفي المقالات الأربع التالية لها في ذكر الأعضاء الباطنية وأمراضها عضوا عضوا وابتدأ من الدماغ وقلبه جراً على الولاء يصف الدلائل التي يستدل بها على واحد واحد منها إذا اعتل كيف تتصرف علته التي أن انتهى إلى أقصاها.¹⁵² وقد كان سرجس ترجم هذا الكتاب مرتين لثيادوري أسقف الكرخ و مرة لرجل يقال له السبع¹⁵³ وقد كان بهنوش بن جبريل سألتني تصفحه واصلاح أسقاطه فنمليت بعد أن أعلمته أن ترجمته أجود وأسهل¹⁵⁴ فلم يقف النايف على تخلص المواضع التي أصلحتها فيه وتخلص لك واحد من تلك المواضع بقدر قوته¹⁵⁵ فبقى الكتاب غير

تام

Arabic for Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali b. Yaḥyā.¹⁴⁷

- 32 15) *Diagnosing the Diseases of the Internal Organs* was written in six treatises.¹⁴⁸ Galen’s purpose here is to describe the signs that indicate the states of the internal organs when they are affected by illnesses.¹⁴⁹ In the first treatise and part of the second he discusses the common ways of diagnosing these illnesses.¹⁵⁰ In the second treatise he shows the error of Archigenes’s methods for doing the same.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.¹⁵²
- 33 Sergius had translated this book twice: once for Theodoris, Bishop of al-Karkh, and once for a man named Al-Yasa‘.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.¹⁵⁴ But the copyist did not transcribe all my corrections; he only corrected what he understood.¹⁵⁵ So the book remained incorrect and inaccurate until present times.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.¹⁵⁷ Later Ḥubaysh translated it into Arabic for Aḥmad b. Mūsā.¹⁵⁸
- 34 16) *The Pulse* was written in sixteen treatises, divided into four parts, each in turn comprising four treatises.¹⁵⁹ Galen called the first part "The Categories of Pulse", and

الإستقامة والصحة¹⁵⁶ إلا أن كانت أيماننا هذه دكنت للأزال ألهم بإعادة ترجمته فشفلني عنه غيره
الى أن سألني إسرائيل بن زكريا المعروف بالطيفوري إعادة ترجمته¹⁵⁷ فترجمته وترجمه الى العربية
حيش لأحمد بن موسى.¹⁵⁸

18 71. كتابه في النبض لهذا الكتاب جعله جالينوس في ست عشرة مقالة وقسمها بأربعة أجزاء: في كل
واحد من الأجزاء أربع مقالات¹⁵⁹ وعنون الجزء الأول منها في أصناف النبض وغرضه فيه أن يبين
كم أجناس النبض الأول وأي الأجناس هي وكيف ينقسم كل واحد منها الى أنواعه التي أن يتتهي
الى أقصاتها¹⁶⁰ وعمد في المقالة الأولى من هذا الجزء الى جملة ما يحتاج اليه من صفة أجناس النبض
وأنواعها يجمعها فيها عن آخره¹⁶¹ وأورد الثلث المقالات الباقية من ذلك الجزء للاحتجاج والبحث عن
أجناس النبض وأنواعه وعن هذه¹⁶² ولذلك قد يحتاج الى قراءة تلك المقالة الأولى من هذا الجزء
حاجة ضرورية أما الثلث المقالات الباقية من هذا الجزء¹⁶³ فليس يحتاج الى قراءتها حاجة ضرورية
ولذلك قد يجوز للقارىء إذا قرأ المقالة الأولى من الجزء الأول، يقتصر عليها من جملة ذلك الجزء
ويأخذ بعدها في قراءة الجزء الثاني من هذا الكتاب¹⁶⁴ وقد بين جالينوس هذا وأنه إنما قصد ليجمع
كل ما يحتاج إليه من علم أجناس النبض وأنواعه في تلك المقالة الأولى لهذا السبب الذي وصفت¹⁶⁵
وعنون الجزء الثاني في تعرف النبض¹⁶⁶ وغرضه فيه أن يصف كيف يتعرف المتعرف كل واحد من
أصناف النبض في مجسة المردق أعني كيف يتعرف مثلا النبض العظيم والصغير وكيف يتعرف
النبض السريع والبطي، وكذلك على هذا القياس يعتبر عن سائر الأصناف¹⁶⁷ وعنون الجزء الثالث في
أسباب النبض¹⁶⁸ وغرضه فيه أن يصف من أي الأسباب مثلا يكون النبض العظيم ومن أيها يكون النبض
السريع ومن أي الأسباب يكون كل واحد من سائر أصناف النبض الباقية¹⁶⁹ وعنون الجزء الرابع في
تقدمة المعرفة من النبض وغرضه فيه أن يصف كيف يستخرج سابق العلم من كل واحد من أصناف
النبض أعني من العظيم والصغير والسريع والبطي، وسائر أصناف النبض.¹⁷⁰ وقد كان سرجس ترجم

his objective is to describe exhaustively the basic types of pulse and how they are divided into subtypes.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.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.¹⁶² Therefore it is essential to read the first treatise of this part but not the three remaining ones.¹⁶³ The reader may have enough with the first one, and then proceed directly to the second part of the book.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.¹⁶⁵ He called the second part "Diagnosing the Pulse".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.¹⁶⁷ He called the third part "The Causes of the Pulse".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.¹⁶⁹ He called the fourth part "Prognosis from the Pulse", describing how to prognosticate from the different categories of pulse.¹⁷⁰

- 35 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.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 هذا الكتاب الى السريانية سبع مقالات من كل واحد من الثلاثة الأجزاء الأول مقالة مقالة وهي المقالة الأولى من كل واحد من الأجزاء الثلاثة وأربع مقالات الجزء الأخير¹⁷¹ وظن كما ظن أهل الإسكندرية الذين عندهم أنه كما تهرى من الجزء الأول أن يقرأ منه المقالة الأولى ويقتصر عليها كما قال جالينوس لأنها تعبط بجميع العلم لما قصده في ذلك الجزء، كذلك الحال في سائر الأجزاء¹⁷² وقد عظم خطأهم في ذلك¹⁷³ إلا أن أهل الإسكندرية كما اقتصدوا من كل واحد من الأجزاء الثلاثة الأول من مقالة مقالة كذلك اقتصدوا من الجزء الرابع أيضا على المقالة الأولى منه¹⁷⁴ ولذلك قد نجد مصاهف كثيرة باليونانية إنما فيها هذه الأربع المقالات فقط وقد انتحبت من كل واحد من تلك الأجزاء الأربعة ونسخت متوالية¹⁷⁵ ونجد أيضا العنصرين من الذين قصدوا لشرح كتاب النبض إنما شرحوا منه هذه المقالات الأربعة وفضحوا أنفسهم بذلك¹⁷⁶ فأما الراسي فكان أقرب الى الإحسان منهم وذلك أنه كان اتبه من يومه وأحسن أنه قد يحتاج حاجة ضرورية الى قراءة سائر مقالات الجزء الرابع فترجمها عن آخرها¹⁷⁷ ثم ان أيوب الرهاوي ترجم لجبريل بن بختيشوع المقالات السبع الباقية¹⁷⁸ وقد ترجمت أنا هذا الكتاب كله الى السريانية منذ سنين ليوهنا بن ماسويه وبالغت في العناية بتلخيصه وحسن العبارة¹⁷⁹ وترجمت أيضا المقالة الأولى من هذا الكتاب الى العربية لمحمد بن موسى¹⁸⁰ وأما باقي هذا الكتاب فتولى ترجمته حبيش من النسخة السريانية التي ترجمتها¹⁸¹ حبيش رجل مطبوع على الفهم ويروم أن يقتدي بطريقتي في الترجمة غالا أنني لا أحسب عناية بهسب طبيعته¹⁸² وهذا الكتاب يعد من سابق العلم.¹⁸³

in that part, that the same applies to the remaining parts.¹⁷² However, that was a blatant error.¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵ Some commentators who attempted to explain "The Pulse" confined themselves to these four treatises and tarnished their reputation in the process.¹⁷⁶ 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.¹⁷⁷ Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī translated the seven remaining treatises for Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū'.¹⁷⁸ 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.¹⁷⁹ I also translated the first treatise of the book into Arabic for Muḥammad b. Mūsā.¹⁸⁰ As for the rest, Ḥubaysh undertook its Arabic translation from the Greek manuscripts I had translated from.¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸² This book may be considered as one of the works on prognosis.¹⁸³

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 Ishâk 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 Ḥunayn 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*.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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:

| ST Sentence | Paragraphs in TT | Number of Sentences in TT |
|--------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1st Sentence | 2 | 7 |
| 2nd Sentence | 3 | 17 |
| 3rd Sentence | 1 | 4 |

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.

⁴⁵While 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 *wa* (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

⁴⁶See Halliday and Hasan (1976:238,271) for a more comprehensive study of conjunctions.

functions: either *conjunctive* or *coordinating*.⁴⁷ 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):⁴⁸

| ST Paragraph | ST Conjunction | ST Function | ST Equivalent | ST Function |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| para. 1 | wa | additive | . (punctuation mark - period) | end of sentence marker |
| para. 2 | wa | empty | nil | nil |
| para. 2 | fa | temporal sequence | but | adversative |
| para. 2 | wa | additive | as well | additive |
| para. 2 | fa | temporal sequence | then | temporal sequence |
| para. 3 | wa | consequence | so | consequence |

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.

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: *wa* → empty

ammā ... 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. Explication: deictic *hu* → Galen

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

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

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

7. Note that *ammā... 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:

| <u>ST</u> | <u>TT</u> |
|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>wa</i> → 6 | and → 1 |
| <i>amma</i> → 2 | however → 1 |
| <i>fa</i> → 2 | while → 1 |
| periods → 2 | periods → 4 |

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; *ammā*, 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.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 asked-you-me | an that | ašifa I-describe | laka for-you | min from | amri matter |
| 2. | kutubi books-of | Jālinūs Galen | kam how-many | hiya she | wa and | bimādhā by-what | tu'raf it-is-known |
| 3. | wa mā and what | gharaduhu purpose-his | fī in | kulli each | wāhidin one | minhā of-her | wa and |
| 4. | kam how-many | min of | maqālatin treatise | fī in | kulli each | wāhidin one | minhā of-her |

⁴⁹Harris (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 | yaṣifu | 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*:⁵⁰

| ST Term | TT Meaning | TT Sense |
|--|--|-------------------------|
| al 'urūq al-ḍawārib wa al 'urūq ghayr al-ḍawārib | pulsating and non-pulsating veins | veins and arteries |
| sābiq al-'ilm | - foreknowledge - preliminary knowledge | prognosis |
| bi al-kalām al-ṭawīl | in long speech | at great length |
| al-a'rāḍ al-gharībah | - strange accidents - strange symptoms | unusual symptoms |
| ṭabī'iy | natural | congenital, conjunctive |
| ghayr ṭabī'iy | unnatural | antecedent, preceding |
| khārij 'an al-ṭabī'ah | - contrary to nature - counter-natural | initial, predisposing |

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

⁵⁰This 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 - (*Quwwah- 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

Ḥadda 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 *ḥadda*

⁵¹Lefevere (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."*

⁵²See Siegel (1973) and Brain (1985).

⁵³We 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-qiyāsī* 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 *istaqīsāt* and its Arabic equivalent *arkān*. 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, temperament, 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

⁵⁴See Salama-Carr (1982), ch. 4 and Aris (1985), ch. 1.

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 Bergträsser 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 Jundīshapūr. 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.⁵⁵ 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

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-Mutatabbib, 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, Ḥunayn 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 Ḥubaysh 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 Ḥunayn 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. Ḥunayn actually distinguished between three types of commented translation: (i) compendiums (*ikhtiṣar*, *jawāmi'*), (ii) summary translations (*thimār*, *istikhrāj*), and (iii)

compendiums (*ikhtiṣar, jawāmiʿ*), (ii) summary translations (*thimār, istikhrāf*), and (iii) commentaries proper (*shurūh, tafāṣṣir*).⁵⁶ 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*).

⁵⁶See 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 Yaḥyā 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-'Ayn.
- (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-Hikmah.
- (7) Arab medicine was based primarily on the Galenic medical corpus.
- (8) Hunayn 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) Hunayn'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.

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APPENDICES

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

Ḥunain ibn Ishāq Sendschreiben an 'Ali ibn Jahyā über die seines Wissens übersetzten Bücher Galen's und einige der nicht übersetzten

Du hast -- Allah gebe Dir Ehre! -- von dem Bedürfnis nach einem Buch gesprochen, in dem die Bücher der Alten über die Medizin zusammengestellt würden, die man (heutzutage noch) braucht, und in dem das in einem jeden von ihnen verfolgte Ziel dargelegt würde und die Aufzählung der Teile jedes Buches und der in dem einzelnen Teilen enthaltenen Kapitel der Wissenschaft, damit es dadurch dem bequem gemacht werde, der ein einzelnes von diesen Kapiteln sucht, wenn das Bedürfnis suftritt, es einzusehen, und er (daraus) feststellen könne, in welchem Buch es sich findet, in welchem Teil davon und an welcher Stelle des Teils; und Du hast mich gebeten, diese Aufgabe für Dich zu übernehmen. Da habe ich Dir -- Allah helfe Dir! -- mitgeteilt, daß mein Gedächtnis nicht ausreicht, diese sämtlichen Bücher zu umfassen, nachdem ich sämtliche, die ich gesammelt hatte, verloren habe, und das ein Mann von der Syrern, nachdem ich meine Bücher verloren hatte, eine dieser ähnliche Bitte an mich gerichtet hatte speziell die Bücher Galen's betreffend, und mich gebeten hatte, ihm daraufhin auf syrisch ein Buch geschrieben hatte, in dem ich auf das ausging, worauf er es bei seiner Bitte an mich, es zu verfassen, abgesehen hatte. Da batest du mich -- Allah gebe Dir Ehre! --, Dir vorläufig dieses Buch zu übersetzen, bis Allah das seiner Güte Entsprechende gewähre, nämlich die Rückerstattung dieser Bücher durch Deine Hilfe, und (Du batest,) daß ich zu den in diesem Buch aufgeführten Büchern Galen's hinzufügte, was mir von ihnen etwa entgangen war, sowie die Aufführung der übrigen Bücher der Alten über die Medizin, die wir aufgefunden haben. Ich wende mich nun, so Allah will, der Ausführung dieser Deiner Bitte zu.

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 ‘Ali ibn Yaḥyā 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 Uṣaybi'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.