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TRANSLATING AND TEACHING

From the Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna* to the Byzantine *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*

LILLI HÖLZLHAMMER

UPPSALA
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Distribution:
Uppsala University Library
Box 510, 751 20
Uppsala, Sweden
www.ub.uu.se
acta@ub.uu.se
ISSN 0283-1244 (print)
ISSN 3035-8515 (online)
ISBN 978-91-513-2865-2 (print)
ISBN 978-91-513-2866-9 (electronic)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.33063/cwid9339

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Preface

This book is based on my doctoral thesis, defended at Uppsala University in April 2025. It was written within the frame of and in collaboration with three research projects: the Uppsala-based "Rectracing Connections: Byzantine Storyworlds in Greek, Arabic, Georgian, and Old Slavonic, c. 950–1100" (M19-0430:1) and the Berlin-based AnonymClassic (ERC Advanced Grant, 2018-2023) and Arabic Literature Cosmopolitan (ALC, funded via DFG Leibniz Prize 2020-2027).

I am grateful to these projects for offering fruitful research environments and I would like to thank my supervisors: my main supervisor Ingela Nilsson and my team of external supervisors consisting of Beatrice Gründler, Christian Høgel and Miriam L. Hjälm. I also wish to thank the external examiner at my mock defence, Panagiotis Agapitos, and the faculty examiner at my real defence, Stavroula Constantinou, for offering constructive criticism and advice. My sincere thanks go to Michael Fishbein, who kindly provided me with his research notes on the London 4044 manuscript, which saved me weeks of going through the text. Last but not least, I thank the anonymous readers of my revised manuscript for *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* and Viktoria Tasoula for proof-reading the Greek and the bibliography. Their comments have been very helpful for finalizing this book; needless to say, I am responsible for any remaining errors.

LH, October 2025

Introduction

> Because such a book combined entertainment with wisdom, the wise would study it for its wisdom, and the simple for its value as entertainment; young pupils and others would be delighted to read it and it would be easy for them to memorize.[1]

In the preface to the Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna*, the translator Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (c. 102/720–139/757) emphasizes its combination of wisdom and entertainment. Although his preface then turns to and focuses on the wisdom part, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ nevertheless realizes that entertainment is the hook by which the text captures its students and spreads its wisdom.[2] Finding the text in need of a more educational introduction, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ also provides in his preface a guide on how to efficiently study *Kalila wa-Dimna*.[3] In contrast, Symeon Seth (c. 1035–1110), the Greek translator of the Arabic version, removes the preface entirely.[4] Instead, he expresses his concern for the text's accessibility in a different way: on the one hand, by making it as concise as possible; on the other, by altering it in a manner that makes it familiar to its target audience.

These two very different approaches to the same text have led to the twofold aim of this book. First, I wish to reconstruct the missing link between *Kalila wa-Dimna* (hereafter *KwD*) and its eleventh-century Greek translation *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* (hereafter *SkI*) and to reconsider how we think about medieval translation practices. Second, with *SkI* as primary source, I wish to analyze the didactic techniques by which this text sets out to teach its readers.

This first aim is not mentioned by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in his introduction, despite his most influential participation in the process: the creative dissemination of the text into another language. *KwD* is an Arabic translation of the Pahlavi *Karirag ud Damanag* by a certain Burzoy, who compiled and translated the text from the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* and other Indian sources.[5] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was a prolific translator from Pahlavi into Arabic. He translated a great number of

[1] Tr. Fishbein 2021, §2.1.
[2] Cf. Alphonso-Karkala 1975, 74.
[3] Fishbein 2021, §2.2–2.4; see also Mazid 2009, 2522; Pellecchia 2011, 171–172; Mahassine 2016, 474–477; Gründler 2024, 30–37.
[4] Sjöberg 1962, 79–85.
[5] For the detailed history of the text, see below 1.1.

texts, with *KwD* being the most renowned.[6] Notably, the way in which Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ translates is imperative for the way in which *KwD* spread from its Sanskrit origin as *Panchatantra*. As the comparison with a nearly contemporary translation from Pahlavi into Old Syriac shows, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ not only adds the new preface quoted above, he also writes a completely new book (*The Trial of Dimna*) that continues the story of the first book (*Lion and Bull*) and narrates the downfall of Dimna, the first book's main character. Most likely, he also changed passages within the other prefaces and books; this is, however, impossible to reconstruct, given that neither the Pahlavi nor Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's original translation survives.

This implies the main problem one is facing when trying to reconstruct the text's history. With each translation and, as it will be shown in the following, each copy, the *Panchatantra* inspired the creativity of its disseminators. The people who disseminated it both expanded the text with smaller and larger additions and reduced it for various reasons elsewhere.[7] Accordingly, it is difficult to establish the missing link between the Arabic *KwD* and its eleventh-century Greek translation *SkI*. The many creative variants of the Arabic text, all of them younger than the oldest Greek manuscript, make it challenging to find an Arabic version closely related to the Greek.[8] Even more so, the Greek translator treats the text with the same creativity, making it hard to reconstruct what his source might have said. Nevertheless, the comparison of *SkI* with extant Arabic manuscripts shows that, despite these difficulties, many alterations made by the Greek translator are traceable. Beyond that, many of these alterations can be explained through an analysis of Symeon Seth's overall translation strategies and the historical circumstances of his work.

As for the second aim, I wish to develop a more general way of analyzing didactic narrative strategies. This may seem disconnected from the first aim, but in order to see whether the didactic preferences change with the translation, one first needs to clarify what makes the Greek text different. As we will see below, these preferences are in constant change, especially when it concerns the moral part. Furthermore, understanding the fluidity and complexity of the transmission prevents the impression of working with static material. In this sense, the first aim demonstrates that the didactic content, whether it appears in the shape of a list, a wisdom saying, or an inserted narrative, was perceived as a series of text units that can be moved, added and removed. This supports the argument that the didactic quality of the text is essential when analyzing how and why the text changes.

[6] D'Anna & Benkato 2023, 8. For other translations by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, see Fishbein 2021, xiv.
[7] Gründler et al. 2020, 243–264.
[8] D'Anna & Benkato 2023, 9.

As a didactic text *par excellence*, the *Panchatantra/Kalila wa-Dimna/Stephanites kai Ichnelates* provides a large toolkit of possible narrative methods that can be used to teach a willing student. In his preface, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ advises the students of *KwD* not only on how to read and study the text, but also how to act upon it and gain from it.[9] I, on the other hand, focus not on the behavior and development of the reader-student but instead on the didactic strategies within the text.[10] In other words, it is not of much interest whether telling the story of the boy who cried wolf is supposed to change the reader's behavior towards a certain outcome. Instead, I am interested in the fact that a story is told with the intent to teach and how characters, narrator, and plot are deployed to enhance its didactic effect. Medieval translators and copyists of *KwD* and *SkI* heavily interfere with the text; however, they usually change only the content of its stories by, for instance, presenting an evil character as remorseful. The didactic method, such as using characters to exemplify good and bad behavior, tends to remain the same. In this respect, an analysis of *SkI*'s didactic strategies will be relevant to any language and version.

I pursue this approach following McComas Taylor's observation on the *Panchatantra*, which seems accurate for all its versions and translations:

> The foregoing attempts to reduce the *Pañcatantra* to a single "meaning" — to define it as a political "how-to" handbook, a practical guide for everyday life, whether it is moral, immoral, amoral, or unmoral—are all reductionist approaches that tend to essentialism [sic] the text. [...] essentialization of the texts hides the fact that there are multiple possible meanings, and tends to stifle their chaotic, sprawling, joyous, and mutually contradictory nature. It seems preferable to remain open to a variety of readings, which permit, validate, and encourage the fact that texts mean different things to different people.[11]

Taylor's statement agrees with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's observation quoted above, that the text is both educating and entertaining at the same time. From this point of view, the reading of the text's didactic strategies should be understood as only one of its facets; it would be equally possible to analyze it, for example, as social criticism or animal epic.[12] The goal is to identify the making of one of the two reasons that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ gives for its popularity: its didactic strategies.

In the analysis of both *KwD* and *SkI*, I come to the same conclusion as Taylor and Regula Forster, namely that they can be categorized neither as 'Fürstenspiegel' nor a 'Mirror for Magistrates' nor a 'collection of fables,' even if they

[9] Fishbein 2021, §2.2–§2.18.

[10] On the intended reader of *KwD*, see Mahassine 2016, 476.

[11] Taylor 2007, 35. Ghazoul 1983, 16–17, agrees with this observation.

[12] On the many (didactic) uses of a text, see Nilsson 2021a, 138–139. For a perspective focusing on the political aspect of the text, see Ruymbeke 2016, 549–551.

have been treated as such.[13] Taylor argues, correctly, I believe, that there is no central message in the *Panchatantra*.[14] Within the lost Pahlavi version that compiles the *Panchatantra* together with further stories from different sources and with even more material being added in subsequent translations and copies, [15] a central message becomes unthinkable.[16] The most common denominator of all the stories within the texts, if one still desires to imagine a redactor with a principle of collection, would be that foolishness leads to suffering.[17] This is true for the *Panchatantra* as analyzed by Taylor and it remains true for my analysis of *SkI*.

THE STRUCTURE AND METHOD OF THIS STUDY

Given that the *Panchatantra* and its versions are traditionally subjugated to an excavating approach, seeking to find one meaning and one 'Urtext,'[18] it is important to access the text from a different angle. Instead of applying given assumptions to *SkI* and *KwD*, the analysis will here proceed inductively. When establishing the missing link between Greek and Arabic, the aim is not to recreate the lost Arabic manuscript(s) Symeon Seth used for his translation. Instead, I want to understand how, where, and why Symeon Seth's translation differs from the closest Arabic manuscripts I have been able to identify. This should not be perceived as a one-way street, in the sense that Arabic will help to understand the differences in the Greek text; on the contrary, the comparison with the Greek text is also supposed to help in understanding the peculiarities of the Arabic manuscripts and to reveal the individuality of each copy.

I begin the reconstruction of the missing link by giving a detailed overview of the textual history until Symeon Seth's *SkI* (1.1). I then proceed to an overview of the Arabic manuscript situation (1.2). Among these manuscripts, I select the two that are closest to Symeon Seth's translation – British Library MS Or. 8751 (799/1369; hereafter L8751) and MS Or. 4044 (15th c.; hereafter L4044) – and explain their peculiarities in order to extract the main characteristics of the Greek

[13] Taylor 2007, 31–34, Forster 2009, 195–198. Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 112, notes that the audience addressed in the Arabic prefaces is more general than princes or courtiers. For a traditional perspective, see Hertel 1908, xiii; Hertel 1909, 8; Edgerton 1924, 4; Alphonso-Karkala 1975, 74–76; Olivelle 2006, 18, 36–341; Marroum 2011, 514; Baba 2023, 234–235.

[14] Taylor 2007, 35. Christine van Ruymbeke (2016, 553) agrees with this observation.

[15] The Pahlavi version is the basis of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s *KwD* (see below, 1.1).

[16] This agrees with the often-contradictory advice within *KwD*; see Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 113–119.

[17] On other common topics in *KwD*, see Audebert 1999, 304–310.

[18] On excavative scholarship that assumes an extant text to be the terrain from which the older and therefore truer text can be excavated, see Hiltebeitel 2001, 2–3, and Taylor 2007, 35. For typical comments that devalue any but the imagined and thus idealized original version, see Edgerton 1924, 10; Audebert 1999, 287; Olivelle 2006, 45.

text. At certain points of the analysis, there will also be references to a third manuscript from Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 4095 (1221; hereafter A4095), not as close as L4044 and L8751. The comparison with A4095 helps demonstrating the number of changes found even within the closest Arabic witnesses (1.3). This is followed by a discussion of the major alterations and their influence on different layers of the stories exhaustively (1.4). Based on these findings, I create profiles of the two Arabic scribes of L8751 and L4044 and subsequently do the same for Symeon Seth's translator profile (Ch. 2). Here, it is also important to thoroughly consider the political, cultural, and historical circumstances of his translation and the way it corresponds to further known facts about Symeon Seth's life and other writings. This leads me to reconsider how medieval translations have been defined and consider their closeness to some modern translation strategies (Ch. 3).

For the second aim, *SkI* is approached in a similar manner, not by presuming that it is a mirror for princes or a collection of fables. Instead, the narrative didactic strategies of one of the older prefaces not found in *SkI* is examined first in order to develop an approach that stems from the text itself (Ch. 4). This approach considers how the text teaches by explicit and implicit means, but also who is teaching and what they are teaching. After developing and explaining this method, it is applied to Symeon Seth's *SkI* as a whole in order to grasp its full didactic potential (Ch. 5).

For the description of how *SkI* translates *KwD*, I draw on Gérard Genette's terminology as developed in his *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*.[19] Some terms introduced by Genette have simply been omitted here, since they are not relevant to the analysis. Instead, some terms are added for cases not covered by Genette. The first new term, 'alteration/change,' is a general term describing any sort of difference between a source text/hypotext and a hypertext[20] and stems mainly from practicality. When analyzing the relationship between texts, not every change can necessarily be clearly defined with a single term by Genette. For example, an excision[21] that removes a brief sentence about a character's reasoning is at the same time a demotivation[22] and even a reduction of the quantitative amount of text, depending on the perspective. In cases like this, it can be helpful to address the issue more generally and to only use more specific terms for the sake of the argument. Similarly, when having to address multiple

[19] Genette 1997.

[20] A text that derives from a source text/hypotext.

[21] I understand excision as taking away a small, dependent part of the hypotext.

[22] I understand demotivation as less (psychological) motivation of a character, as opposed to motivation which adds more (psychological) motivation to a character.

passages with different types of alterations at once – just as in this very sentence – an overarching term is essential.

The other three terms derive from changes observed in the text. First, 'moving' often happens with smaller units, for example a proverb, that can be used in the same argument but at a different position. However, in the case of 'semantic movement,' the same unit is suddenly used in a different context, thus causing a semantic transformation.[23] For instance, a proverb that is used to educate a character in one context could be used ironically in another. Finally, one of the most common changes I find between manuscripts copying the same source text are 'variations' that simply phrase a passage with different words but without causing semantic changes. I decided not to use 'paraphrase' for this, since to me a paraphrase depends on a preceding source text that is being paraphrased. In many cases, however, the chronological order of these 'variations' cannot be determined.

I also reconsidered four of Genette's terms. The first, 'transmetrification' appears to me unnecessarily complicated when describing that prose is turned into verse. 'Versification' is probably more easily understood and pairs better with the opposing 'prosification.' The second, 'amputation' for removing large parts of the hypotext, seems semantically difficult as it projects a negative image of the hypertext. In my opinion, an 'amputated' hypertext creates the impression that the missing part is immediately visible in comparison to the assumed 'complete' able-bodied hypotext. Accordingly, 'removing' will be used instead. In the third case, 'trimming/pruning' to describe the erasure of a certain type of discourse, the horticultural aspects appear somewhat confusing, thus the term is substituted with a more neutral 'erasing.' Finally, my understanding of transvaluation is different from Genette's who uses it to describe how a character's importance and morals increase or decrease. In the following analysis, transvaluation is not limited to characters but also includes the plot and especially its outcome, which usually creates the moral of the text by punishing evil and rewarding good.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

This research is based on various editions of both the Arabic and the Greek text. The Arabic text is based on the translation by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (c. 102/720–139/757), a well-educated Persian official at the Umayyad and Abbasid courts, who was executed by the caliph al-Mansur in 757. Symeon Seth translated a non-surviving version of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's text in the late eleventh century. Prob-

[23] I understand semantic transformation as changes that either affect the hypotext on the level of its spatiotemporal structure, which would be a transdiegetization, or on the level of events, actions, and plot, which would be a pragmatic disposition.

ably a native Greek speaker with a mixed Arab-Greek background from Antioch, Symeon tried to establish himself at the court of Alexios I Komnenos in Constantinople, but the emperor exiled him with a pension to Raidestos.[24] He translated only eight books of *KwD*, modern scholarship assumes that the others were added in a thirteenth-century translation commissioned by Eugenios of Palermo, a scholar and court official in Norman Sicily.[25]

For Symeon Seth's Greek translation of *SkI*, Lars-Olof Sjöberg's edition from the 1960s is essential.[26] Sjöberg discovered that Symeon Seth had created a reduced version with fewer chapters, which was later extended. His discovery has provided the basis for all future research on *SkI* and its variations, and therefore also influences the recent translation of the Eugenian version by Alison Noble.[27] Although the text that Noble edits and translates is usually too far removed from Sjöberg's edition for me to use her translation, her insights of intertextual references in particular are relevant for the present analysis.[28] In cases where I refer to passages not found in Symeon Seth's *SkI*, both Vittorio Puntoni's edition (1889) and that of Noble are being used, depending on case-specific criteria. I have not used Kai Brodersen's German translation (2021) of Symeon Seth, since I focus on making the relationship between Greek and Arabic more traceable through my translation.

For the Arabic text, my work owes much to the Berlin AnonymClassic project, which is preparing a synoptic edition of *KwD*.[29] Whenever possible, this analysis refers to their edition of the *KwD* chapters that have already been edited by the time of my writing. Equally important is Michael Fishbein's edition and translation (2021) of the *KwD* manuscript L4044, made in collaboration with the AnonymClassic project. Finally, in instances where a comparison with the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* is necessary, it relies on the translation by Patrick Olivelle (2006).

To sum up, when not otherwise indicated, translations are my own, with translation choices motivated by the relation between the Arabic and the Greek texts, rather than by any stylistic ambition.

[24] On Symeon Seth, see below 2.2.

[25] Noble 2022, xi–xiv. Although this is not part of this study, my preliminary observations on later Greek and Arabic manuscripts indicate that the Eugenian translation did not cover all the missing content. In fact, we have to assume the existence of at least two other nameless translators after Eugenios of Palermo.

[26] Sjöberg 1962.

[27] Noble 2022.

[28] I understand intertext as the presence of a text in another (e.g., quotes and allusions).

[29] <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/kalila-wa-dimna/index.html> (last visited 2025-10-08). While Condylis-Bassoukos 1997 offers many interesting thoughts on *SkI*, her lack of access to the Arabic tradition makes her study difficult for me to use.

RELEVANT ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

Many of the Arabic manuscripts can be grouped inside so-called continua. These continua, as explained in more detail below, are groups in which the texts agree in the order of events and wording and share unique passages. However, no actual stemma can be concluded from them due to *KwD*'s complex and only partly surviving transmission history. The following is an overview of the manuscripts that are relevant for my analysis, sorted by the continua they belong to and with the abbreviations that refer to them.

Early manuscripts falling outside the continua:

P400 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pococke 400 (dated 755/1354)
CCCP 578 = Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library 578 (dated 14th c.)

Paris continuum (Wetzstein subgroup):

P3473 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 3473 (dated 1110/1699)
BWII672 = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Wetzstein II 672 (dated 1246/1830)

London continuum:

A4095 = Istanbul, Ayasofya, 4095 (dated 618/1221)
L4044 = London, British Library MS Or. 4044 (dated 15th c.)
L8751 = London, British Library MS Or. 8751 (dated 799/1369)

Iberian continuum:

R2536 = Riyadh, King Faisal Center 2536 (dated 747/1346)

Cross-copied versions:

P3466 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 3466 (before 854/1450)
P3471 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 3471 (dated 1053/1643)
P5881 = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 5881 (dated 1092/1681)
near verbatim copy of A4214 = Istanbul, Ayasofya, 4214 (before 761/1360)

THE CHAPTERS OF *KALILA WA-DIMNA* AND *STEPHANITES KAI ICHNELATES*

In order to facilitate the reading of this book to those who are not already familiar with the chapters included in *KwD* and *SkI*, the following table offers brief descriptions of their respective stories. The abbreviations here and in the following are based on the system developed by François de Blois and agree with the use of abbreviations in the AnonymClassic project.[30]

[30] Blois 1990, 62.

Abbrev. KwD	Name	SkI Book	Content
Lv	Burzoy's Voyage (long version)	not translated	The physician Burzoy describes his quest for wisdom in a first-person narrative with various embedded tales.
Lo	Lion and Bull	I	The crafty jackal Dimna / Ichnelates attempts to gain the lion king's favor by helping him overcome his fear of the bull. However, as the lion and the bull become close friends and Dimna is ignored by the king, he devises a plot to drive them apart and make the lion kill the bull. He succeeds but is criticized by his friend Kalila/Stephanites.
Di	Trial of Dimna / Ichnelates	II	The lion's mother convinces her son to put Dimna / Ichnelates on trial for the bull's murder. In the end, Dimna/Ichnelates is killed.
Rd	Ringdove	III	A crow watches a flock of ringdoves being saved from a hunter by a mouse. The crow convinces the mouse to become its friend and they also bond with a turtle and an antelope. Together, they overcome a hunter by combining their individual strengths.
Oc	Owls and Crows	IV	The crows are raided by their ancient enemy, the owls. After listening to the advice of his five ministers, the crow king sends the fifth minister as a spy to the owls, who welcome him warmly. Since the owl king ignores his minister's advice to kill the crow, the spy successfully helps the crow king kill all owls. In the end, the spy crow and the crow king ridicule the dead enemy.
At	Monkey and Turtle	V	A dethroned, elderly monkey becomes very close to a turtle he feeds with figs. The turtle's partner at home becomes sad and convinces the turtle that they are terribly ill and can only be cured by a monkey's heart. The turtle then convinces the monkey to visit its home, offering to carry the monkey across the lake where it actually plans to drown it. Yet, a moment of moral hesitation on the turtle's side and cleverness on the monkey's side save the monkey but end their friendship for good.

Abbrev. KwD	Name	SkI Book	Content
Aw	Ascetic and Weasel	VI	A hasty ascetic kills his trusted weasel/wife because he believes it/she ate his baby son before ascertaining the facts. He regrets his hastiness after discovering that the weasel/wife in fact protected the baby from a vicious snake.
Mc	Mouse and Cat	not trans-lated	A mouse and a cat agree on a temporary pact between them to help each other in an emergency. As the cat afterwards wants to become genuine friends, the mouse refuses.
Kd	King and Dreams	VII	A king has eight scary dreams and only escapes a plot by the Brahmins with the help of his wife and minister. When he later orders his wife to be executed out of anger, the minister cleverly saves her and reunites them.
Kb	King and Bird	VIII	A king has a beloved pet bird, whose chick grows up together with the king's son. Whenthe king's son kills the chick in a fit of rage, the pet bird pecks out his eyes and flees. The king, planning revenge, tries to lure the bird back but the bird refuses, leaving for good.
Lj	Lion and Jackal	not trans-lated	A vegan jackal becomes the lion king's most trusted advisor and entices the envy of the other courtiers. They plot against him and succeed in charging the jackal with treason. Before the lion is able to kill him, his mother intervenes and saves the jackal. Depending on the version, he is either reinstated or leaves for good.

1. The Arabic predecessor(s)

Scholars have generally avoided the identification of the Arabic predecessor(s) of *SkI* due to the challenging number and variations of *KwD*. In order to understand the difficulties and limitations that have to be faced when trying to reconstruct the relationship between Symeon Seth's text and the Arabic manuscripts, a thorough understanding of the text's westward journey is needed.[1] Despite other existing branches of translation, only the Indian branch that leads into the West is of importance for *SkI* and *KwD*. And yet, depicting this journey is difficult, as the older stages up to the Old Syriac and Arabic translations of the Pahlavi version are lost.[2]

What I will attempt, therefore, is to describe the text's development up to Symeon Seth and the current state of the Arabic tradition in as much detail as necessary.[3] Through this method, it will be possible to argue for this selection of closely related Arabic manuscripts: L8751, L4044 and A4095. Using L4044 as main source, the analysis will show why these three manuscripts need to complement each other to create a link to Symeon Seth's translation. On this basis, the changes between Greek and Arabic can be researched and at least partially explained. Although Symeon Seth's source is regrettably lost, the comparison still provides ample opportunity to reflect on the translation choices and strategies for *SkI*.

[1] On further translations and uses in other European and Arabic cultures: Brown 1922, 215–217; Alphonso-Karkala 1975, 80–82; Hamdani 1999, 2–3; Funes 2000, 103–121; Monroe 2011, 31, 59–70; Gautam 2014, 65–66; Al Safi Hind Rafea Abalrasul 2020, 10–12, 14–15; Bellino 2021, 106. On illustrations: Ross 1924, 609, 638–643; Buchthal 1941, 317–328; Kuroyanagi 1969, 1–4; Corrao 2004, 237; Pellecchia 2011, 141, 170–177, 181–193; Marlow 2013, 7–15; Ruymbeke 2013, 85–96; Ruymbeke 2016, 553–580; Cohen & Shehada 2017, 11–68; Vernay-Nouri 2020, 28–39; Jarouche & Gracia 2022, 1–11; Beers & Khalfallah 2022, 73, 80–83. Khalil Baba's research on the influence of La Fontaine's fables would have profited from engagement with the text's history and relevant research (2023, 234–240). He also claims to use de Sacy's very problematic copy from 1816 as main source. Yet, he appears not to have read the text, since he considers Kalila and Dimna the narrators of all chapters and gives a summary that does not agree with de Sacy's version of the text (Baba 2023, 235–236). On the eastward journey, see Auer 2018, 30–44, and Farsani 2022, 40–71.

[2] Alphonso-Karkala 1975, 74, 79–80; Monroe 2011, 59. For more details on the Syriac versions, see Ginkel 2024, 153.

[3] Mallette 2022, 315–327, compares the dissemination of the text convincingly to a game of *Raumschach*.

I.I. A JOURNEY TO THE WEST

تجهّز فإنّي مسرّحك إلى أرض الهند فالطف بعقلك وحسن أدبك لاستخراج ذلك الكتاب من خزائنهم ومن قبل كلّ علمائهم وفقهائهم وحكمائهم تامًّا مكتوبًا بالفارسيّة فتستفيده أنت وتفيدنا إيّاه من الكتب التي عندهم التي ليست في خزائننا ولا في مملكتنا

> Prepare to travel, for I am sending you to India. Use your intelligence and astuteness to extract the book from their libraries and get it away from their scholars, jurists, and sages. Transcribe it into Persian in its entirety, for your benefit and for ours, as there is no copy of this book in any of our libraries or anywhere in the kingdom. (*Burzoy's Voyage*, Fishbein §1.5)

Burzoy's Voyage, one of the introductions commonly accompanying *KwD*,[4] recounts the events that led to the *Panchatantra's* westward journey.[5] In the sixth century, the Persian king orders the doctor and scholar Burzoy to commit an act of literary robbery by sending him to India to copy and translate their book of wisdom.[6] Burzoy successfully gains access to the book and returns with what later became known as *Kalila wa-Dimna*. Yet, what text Burzoy actually translated and how he translated it remains a mystery, as neither the Sanskrit nor the Pahlavi texts have survived.[7] Furthermore, Burzoy did not simply translate the *Panchatantra* (Sanskrit) or the *Tantrākhyāyika* (Kashmiri); he also added further material from the *Mahābhārata* and the Buddhist legend of the Canda king Pradyōta.[8] The extant Sanskrit and Kashmiri versions, however, are younger than the surviving Old Syriac and Arabic manuscripts.[9] Additionally, they differ so much that even the titles are different; there is thus no chance of reconstructing which might be older or closer to an 'Urtext'.[10]

Accordingly, the westward branch possibly displays an earlier stage than what is preserved in India, but it shares similar problems. The first known translation of the Pahlavi text was into Old Syriac by a man named Būd in the sixth century, of which a copy was made in 1564 in Northern Iraq.[11] This copy, however, was lost in Paris in 1911. Currently, four copies of this lost manuscript have been

[4] The quoted passage is part of the long version of *Burzoy's Voyage*, Lv in Blois' system. On both, see Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 108, 124–126, 130, 132–133.

[5] On Burzoy, see Ross 1927, 441–442; Montada 2007, 94; Monroe 2011, 59; Al Safi Hind Rafea Abalrasul 2020, 13–14.

[6] Cf. Mallette 2022, 313–314.

[7] Gründler et al. 2020, 266; see also Blois 1990, 1; Wagner 1996, 481; Kristó-Nagy 2020, 148, 152–154.

[8] Edgerton 1924, 3; Alphonso-Karkala 1975, 75–76; Olivelle 1999, xii–xiii; Olivelle 2006, 17–20; Hiltebeitel 2011a, 132–135; Gründler & Toral 2024, 6–7; Khalfallah 2024, 70. Olivelle 2006, 22, also discusses the possible title of the original Sanskrit text. Hiltebeitel 2011a, 149, demonstrates that, like the *Panchatantra*, the *Mahābhārata* consists largely of embedded narratives.

[9] Blois 1990, 1; Olivelle 2006, 20.

[10] Müller 1870, 573; Hertel 1906, 81; Blois 1990, 1; Olivelle 2006, 20. We cannot even be sure that there was a prosification of Sanskrit verses into Pahlavi prose.

[11] Ed. by Schulthess 1911.

preserved, although some of them show heavy alterations. The Old Syriac version contains ten chapters and is sometimes assumed to be fairly close to its lost source, but also abridges several passages.[12]

While the Old Syriac transmission struggles with a lack of witnesses and information about its translator, the Arabic situation is entirely different. Much is known about the translator of *KwD*.[13] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was an eighth-century court official of Sasanid origin in the Umayyad and later Abbasid empires who converted to Islam in his late twenties.[14] Well educated in both Arabic and Middle Persian, he worked as private secretary for one of caliph al-Manṣūr's uncles. His close relationship to the royal family and his literary proficiency seems to have brought about his downfall. After enraging the Abbasid caliph with a too-eloquently written letter, al-Manṣūr ordered the governor of Basra (whom Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ had previously offended with satirical verses) to secretly execute Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in a gruesome way.[15]

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's fate strangely echoes in the first two books of *KwD* that describe the tragic ends of similarly clever but daring animals at the court of the lion king. As mentioned above in the introduction, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ wrote the second book of *KwD* himself.[16] While he might have taken some inspiration from other sources, as explained below, the end of how Dimna is secretly put to a gruesome death by order of the lion king bears an uncanny resemblance to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's execution. In this respect, it seems plausible that the ending reflected Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's grasp of contemporary political reality of the court in the guise of a fable. This appears even more likely since Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ praises the Indian ingenuity of finding "a way to speak indirectly and to communicate through implication".[17] Thus, an accomplished writer such as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ might well have used that "way of speaking" to criticize the cruel and lawless conduct of the rulers.[18]

[12] Gründler et al. 2020, 245–247; Schleifer 1915, 399–419; Marroum 2011, 513. For the edition: Schulthess 1911.

[13] For sources on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: Kuroyanagi 1969, 4–5.

[14] Fishbein 2021, xiii–xvi; Al Safi Hind Rafea Abalrasul 2020, 14; Hassan 2017, 223; Montada 2007, 92–94; Shamma 2009, 72–74.

[15] Mazid 2009, 2521–2522; Marroum 2011, 514–516. Shamma 2009, 74 assumes that *KwD* and other works might have also offended al-Manṣūr.

[16] Annie Vernay-Nouri 2020, 28–32, speaks of five new fables but does not explain how she comes to that conclusion. The comparison with the Old Syriac version, however, clearly shows that only Di was added by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, while it is impossible reconstruct when especially the later chapters not found in Old Syriac were added to the text. For a more detailed explanation: Kuroyanagi 1969, 6.

[17] Tr. Fishbein 2021, §2.1.

[18] Mahassine 2016, 472–473. On his importance for Arabic prose literature and influence on writers of political guides, see Irwin 1992, 39–50; Leder 1998, 38; Gründler 2013, 390–396; Bellino 2015, 113–116; Hassan 2017, 223–228; Bellino 2021, 112–115; Stephan 2022, 10, 18–20; Baba 2023, 234. On the influence of Pahlavi on Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's Arabic, see D'Anna & Benkato 2023, 2, 7–30.

The situation of the Arabic manuscripts also differs from that of the Old Syriac. More than 190 Arabic manuscripts have survived from the thirteenth century onwards.[19] Yet, we have no witnesses between the actual translation by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 756/759) and the oldest preserved manuscript A4095 (1221). During these 500 years, the text was copied, extended, changed, and shortened by generations of scribes and scholars.[20] This source material for *KwD* could even be extended by the massive reception in Arabic literature that quoted, excerpted, paraphrased, and imitated *KwD* and, accordingly, added information about its content and perception during the period from which no manuscripts survive.[21] From the perspective of the extant manuscripts, the continuous redaction of *KwD* is presently preserved in vastly different manuscripts that are impossible to reunite to an 'Urtext' of what Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ produced.[22]

These groups have been identified and analyzed by the AnonymClassic project, preparing a panoptic edition of *KwD*.[23] The aim of the panoptic edition is not to reconstruct an 'Urtext' but to showcase the broad variety of versions in Arabic. Up to November 2024, they had analyzed 119 out of 190 manuscripts and concluded that the texts can be placed in either a continuum or a cross-copy, though some early manuscripts do not fit either category. Continua are groups of manuscripts that share the same macrostructure: they contain the same semantic plot units and display them in the same sequence, and they also agree on a microstructure with similar phrasing and wording.[24] A cross-copy is a manuscript that displays what is traditionally termed 'contamination'.[25] I will return to the latter below, but let us start by considering the continua.

The following example from the preview edition of AnonymClassic shows how the units in various manuscripts correspond to each other.[26] In *Mouse and Cat* (Mc), the mouse decides to help the cat for their mutual benefit. The cat encourages the mouse to keep their promise with a *ḥikma* (pl. *ḥikam* – wisdom,

[19] Gründler & Toral 2024, 3–4; the number of manuscripts is the most recent according to the AnonymClassic project by the time of my writing but will surely increase.

[20] Kuroyanagi 1969, 5; Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 106–107. The gap probably stems from a lack of museal practices with manuscripts. After a copyist created a new version, the old manuscript text was discarded and substituted with the new manuscript.

[21] Keegan & Gründler 2023, 2–3, and Gründler & Toral 2024, 3–6.

[22] On previous attempts to create an edition of *KwD*, see Gründler 2024, 19–20.

[23] Keegan & Gründler 2023, 3–4. For a detailed explanation of the edition's technicalities, see Kozae 2024, 265–266, 276–285.

[24] For a more detailed description, see Gründler 2024, 22–24.

[25] Gründler et al. 2020, 259–262, and Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 107.

[26] The quotes follow the online *KwD* Edition and its counting of units: https://kalila-and-dimna.fu-berlin.de/ (last consulted for the present analysis 2024-11-07). For a detailed comparison of the book, see Gründler 2024, 27–40.

aphorism)[27] resulting in a semantic unit (Mc 46) that takes very different shapes in the selected manuscripts:

P3465:	[absent]
P3466:	[Unit found in a different context within the manuscript] The noble person is always grateful, free of grudge, one good quality makes him forget many harmful qualities.
CCCP578:	The noble person will always be found grateful, free of grudge, one good quality sticks with him [outweighing] many harmful qualities;
A4095:	The noble person is always grateful, free of grudge, one good quality makes him forget many harmful qualities;
R2536:	for the righteous do not hold grudges, rather, they are people of gratitude; one good deed effaces many of their wrongs!
P400:	one good deed rights many wrongs!
P3471:	the righteous are not men of grudges! The noble person will always be found grateful, free of grudge, one good quality makes him forget and erases ***, for them, many wrongs.

There are various observations to be made in this example of one semantic unit. First, the unit can be entirely excised as in P3465 or placed in a different, suitable context as in P3466. Second, the microstructure can be an exact copy of another manuscript like P3466 and A4095 or show various types of changes. It can have a slight expansion,[28] like CCCP578, which expands A4095 with an additional comment on good qualities. Alternatively, it can present a variation that still transports the same meaning as A4095 compared to R2536. On the more extreme side, P3471 prefers to augment[29] the wisdom saying by amplifying the focus on grudges and how to remove them, whereas P400 does the opposite by reducing the wisdom saying into a short phrase.

By looking at this single semantic unit in various manuscripts, especially at the position in the text and the exact wording, relations between them can be established. These units become especially important in early collections of quotes from *KwD* that document the presence of now lost manuscripts. By comparing these collections to extant manuscripts, it is possible to reconstruct which versions of *KwD* existed before the thirteenth century. For later stages, following these units makes it possible to understand how different versions are merged into one, creating a new, combined text tradition for *KwD*.

Based on these insights, the AnonymClassic project have so far reconstructed and roughly dated four continua: the London continuum (4th/10th century)

[27] *A Dictionary of Arabic Literary Terms and Devices*, "ḥikma."

[28] I understand expansions as adding material on a sentence level.

[29] I understand this Genettian term as adding more quantitative text as in opposition to the term reduction.

based on quote collections predating any full version of *KwD*, the Iberian continuum (7th/13th century), the Paris continuum (7th/13th century), and the Queen continuum (9th/15th century).[30] These continua are important when trying to place Symeon Seth's *SkI* within the Arabic tradition, especially since his source text is lost.

The London continuum is named after two representatives found in the British Library, L8751 and L4044; however, the third representative is found in Istanbul, A4095. The London continuum is assumed to be the oldest recension. This conclusion is based on the age of the manuscripts themselves, the above-mentioned quote collections from the tenth century, and the comparison with other manuscripts from the fourteenth century that do not belong to any continuum. However, in passages where these unrelated manuscripts show similarities, they always follow the London continuum in both the presence and the positioning of their units.[31]

The Paris continuum is named after its representatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and consists of the MSS arabes 3465 and 3473 (above P3465 and P3473). As the Paris continuum consists of a higher number of manuscripts than the London continuum and continues to be copied up to the nineteenth century, it also generates its own subcontinua, meaning smaller manuscript groups within the same continuum.[32]

The Queen continuum consists of manuscripts that follow the London continuum up to the *Ringdove* (Rd) book and then switch to the Paris continuum. The MS arabe 3466 (above P3466) dated before 854/1450 appears to be a close copy of the Queen continuum's origin.[33] The main indicator for the Queen continuum is the *King and Dreams* (Kd) book. Generally speaking, *King and Dreams* (Kd) is the only Buddhist tale in *KwD* and has no fixed position between the Hinduist blocks from the *Panchatantra* and the *Mahābhārata*.[34] This offers a possibility for grouping Arabic manuscripts.[35] The Queen continuum is mainly identified by a prominent passage in the *King and Dreams* (Kd) that praises the merits of a queen.[36] The presence and absence of the queen's praise also reflect the editor's opinion about women in politics. Additionally, L4044,

[30] Gründler et al. 2020, 259–262; Gründler & Toral 2024, 10–14; Gründler 2024, 22–24.
[31] Gründler & Toral 2024, 3–6.
[32] Gründler et al. 2020, 260.
[33] Khalfallah 2024, 86–87.
[34] The *Mahābhārata*'s complete lack of references to Buddhism has been the source of many scholarly debates: Hiltebeitel 2011b, 513–519.
[35] Khalfallah 2024, 81–83.
[36] Gründler 2024, 25.

A4095, and other manuscripts from the London continuum praise the queen, but not as effusively as the manuscripts belonging to the Queen continuum.[37]

Besides several Arabic manuscripts, among them Riyadh 2536 (above R2356), the Iberian continuum covers several languages such as Old Castilian from 1251, Older Hebrew, and Latin translations from the thirteenth century. The Iberian continuum can be recognized by its preface containing only the short version of *Burzoy's Voyage*. Elsewhere in Arabic manuscripts, the long version is standard.[38]

The main differences between the continua are found in the text's continuous extension,[39] showing that *KwD* tends to inspire copyists to extend and expand the material with additional remarks, explanations, additional tales, and other suitable material.[40] This willingness to actively engage with the text while writing it down is also proven by the numerous cross-copied manuscripts. As noted above, cross-copying is a term that can be used to describe what is traditionally called contamination, but instead of trying to reconstruct an 'Urtext' this term focuses on the scholarly work of the copyist.[41] As the reconstruction of an 'Urtext' is impossible in the case of *KwD* (as in many other cases), it is more fruitful to focus on the copyists' voices, manifested through their editorial choices. Of the manuscripts quoted in the example above, Riyadh 2536 from the Iberian continuum and MS arabe 3471 (P3471) represent cross-copied versions. Pococke 400 (P400) and the cross-copied CCC Parker 578 (CCCP 578) fall outside the continua.[42] The tendencies in these cross-copies show that the newly created texts were products of careful compilation that required a deep understanding of the text as well as cautious handling of multiple sources. It is in many cases possible to trace the relationship between a cross-copied manuscript and its sources and also to point out the parts in which a copyist added their own words.

Taking into account all these creative and deliberate changes of *KwD* helps us reconsider the perception of copyists: they clearly did not simply reproduce literature like ancient, somewhat unreliable printers. Instead, they appear as redactors and writers in their own right, since their interventions, albeit silent, change the text just as much as those of a translator.[43] From a modern perspective, their work can often be understood as a translation, where they rephrase and reshape

[37] Khalfallah 2024, 85. For the manuscripts of the Queen continuum, see Gründler 2024, 25.
[38] Gründler 2024, 26.
[39] I understand extension as adding material that does not affect the overall outcome of the plot too much; it can include new characters and events.
[40] Gründler et al. 2020, 260–262.
[41] Gründler et al. 2020, 263.
[42] Gründler et al. 2020, 263–264. On the limits of continuum classifications, see Gründler 2024, 27–29, 42–43.
[43] Nichols 1990, 8; Gründler et al. 2020, 263; Gründler 2024a, 340.

the source text; where they add new content, the process is even bordering on authorship.[44] Such a reconsideration of the significant role of copyists means that the importance of an assumed 'Urtext' should be questioned.[45] While it might be worthwhile to imagine an 'original translation', one must accept the fact that the various copies of *KwD* are what actually spread the text among its readers. Although some near verbatim copies exist, the larger number of *KwD* copies show great variation. In this respect, manuscripts seem closer to an oral tradition than they appear to be at first glance.[46] Much like oral storytelling, they often tend to treat their sources with a certain freedom, embellishing some parts while reducing others.[47]

If this is the case for copyists who are at least expected to recreate a similar text, one can expect even more deviations when looking at the translation and its source.[48] For Symeon Seth, who translates *KwD* not only into a new language but also for a different culture, a verbatim translation would have proven difficult in many instances. Instead, he used translation strategies that would make the text more accessible for his target audience. For example, a Quran quote might be translated with a suitable Bible quote for the passage to have the same religious effect on a Byzantine reader. In cases like these – and we will see many in what follows – the translator is not concerned with a verbatim reproduction in another language.

Similar things can be observed when looking at other translations besides Greek. Although the Pahlavi text has been lost, the comparison between Old Syriac and Arabic is already telling. One of the most noticeable differences is the new chapter *Trial of Dimna* (Di) in *KwD*, which continues the story of *Lion and Bull* (Lo). Since it is not found in the Old Syriac translation of the Pahlavi or in any other branch of the *Panchatantra* that is not connected to the westward tradition, the commonly accepted logical conclusion is that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ added the story himself.[49] Since the characters are the same as the

[44] On the craftsmanship of copyists, see Gründler 2024, 41–42.

[45] The usefulness of an 'Urtext' when researching medieval text production has been doubted for some time: Gründler & Toral 2024, 2.

[46] On orality and *KwD*, see Hassan 2017, 227–228, 239–242, and Al Safi Hind Rafea Abalrasul 2020, 12. On performed orality in *KwD*, see Wacks 2003, 178–179, 181–188. For the fluidity between oral and textual traditions, see: Bastert 2018, 336–340; Ballesteros et al. 2023, 1–10; Dokter-Mersch 2023, 202–204.

[47] This would also agree with the observations on orality and textuality by Messis & Papaioannou 2021, 247–248, who argue that stories travelled and changed rapidly in oral contexts. *SkI* certainly fits among these entertaining and popular tales and how its content was deliberately changed by copyists and translators indicates a mentality similar to the oral approach. Gründler 2024, 30–31, also explains the use of manuscripts for oral retellings of *KwD* content. For other examples on orality and manuscript traditions, see Charlesworth 2014, 331–355, and Palomo 2016, 511.

[48] Gründler 2024a, 338–341.

[49] Wagner 1996, 480.

ones in the first chapter, it is obviously not a story from a different source but a new creation.

At first glance, the punished villain of the first story reminds of a 'fanfictional' rewriting by someone who is not happy with the nihilistic ending.[50] Yet, when looking at the sequence of chapters found in the Old Syriac, the successful destruction of an unlikely friendship between a carnivore and an herbivore in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) is mirrored by the following story about the successful companionship and teamwork of four equally unlikely friends in *Ringdove* (Rd). In *Ringdove*, the animals' bonds of friendship and their very lives are threatened multiple times by nameless hunter characters; however, they overcome each danger by relying on each other's species-specific skills. This order of stories contrasts the portrait of a dysfunctional friendship (Lo) with a functional friendship (Rd). The contrasting stories of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and *Ringdove* (Rd) are supposed to have the same consoling effect as the new chapter *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di). While *Lion and Bull* (Lo) shows that friendship might end badly, *Ringdove* (Rd) consoles the reader by showing that it also might end well. Similarly, *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) consoles by killing the villain of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and avenging the innocent bull.

Yet, what exactly is the new content that was added by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and how new is it really? When looking at chapters one and two of *KwD*, the plot skeleton could be described as follows:

1. An herbivore is made head advisor of a carnivorous king.
2. Out of jealousy, a carnivore plots against the herbivorous character.
3. Instigated by the carnivore and without calm thinking, the king turns against the herbivore and punishes them.
4. King's mother warns king against hasty judgement.
5. The evil scheme is uncovered.
6. Attempt to reestablish justice.[51]

In the story of *KwD*, the herbivore character is killed, and justice is restored by sentencing the scheming carnivore to death. However, not too much attention should be given to these details, as the only important aspect is that the king punishes rashly and has to make up for this mistake. *Lion and Bull* (Lo) in the *Panchatantra* would have lasted until step three; the second chapter (Di) of *KwD* narrates the remaining three steps. This observation is important, since a story titled *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) uses exactly the same plot skeleton and covers all six

[50] On reasons for 'fanfiction' extensions and rewritings, see Kelly A. M. 2021, 48–49, and Kelly B. 2021, 1–2.

[51] Wagner 1996, 483–484, 488, provides a similar but less abstract structure. For another way of structuring *Lion and Jackal* (Lj), see Gründler 2024a, 343–353.

steps.[52] Additionally, this story is found in the Arabic manuscripts and the Old Syriac translation. This means that it belongs to the chapters of the Pahlavi version that were taken from the *Mahābhārata,* in this case the tale of the tiger and the jackal.[53]

The main differences between the first two chapters and *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) are the mentioned characters' deaths and the herbivore character being a bull in one version and a vegan jackal in the other. Additionally, *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) is shorter and lacks the elaborate conversation between the scheming carnivore and his closest companion, who are substituted[54] by a multitude of jealous carnivore characters. Yet, these differences do not affect the proposed story skeleton. It can be assumed that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ recognized the similarities and used *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) as a hypotext[55] for his continuation, since even more similarities exist.[56] It could even be assumed that *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) in the *Mahābhārata* and *Lion and Bull* (Lo) in the *Panchatantra* are related to each other, considering their similarities, although this remains to be researched. One of the similarities between *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) and *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) is the character of the king's mother, who vouches for the innocence of the herbivore character (bull or vegan jackal) and manages to make her son reestablish justice.[57] Another is the similarity in structure: the king's mother first encourages her son to doubt the accusations, then evidence of the herbivore's innocence is produced and, based on that, the mother convinces her son to seek justice.

Realizing the connection between the first two chapters of *KwD* and *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) is important, because it shows the potential of *KwD*'s storytelling to inspire subsequent authors and the extent to which copyists and translators intervened in the text, as still happens today.[58] There was apparently a desire to expand and extend the original *Panchatantra* in one way or another, expressed in the adding of sayings, explanations, additional material and even further books.[59] Another significant aspect is that retelling a story with slight variations or moving a passage to a different context created doubling within the text that could be recognized by an attentive translator like Symeon Seth.

[52] Blois 1990, 62, and Gründler 2024a, 341–342. Audebert 1999, 295–296, also notes the similarities.

[53] The version of the *Mahābhārata* Burzoy translated was very close to the *Mahābhārata* that is found today; see Blois, 1990, 13, and Wagner 1996, 482–483.

[54] I understand substitution as a part of the hypotext being exchanged with something different, thus creating a new meaning.

[55] I use this Genettian term synonymously with source text.

[56] Gründler 2024a, 372.

[57] Kristó-Nagy 2020, 184.

[58] Kristó-Nagy 2020, 148; Wagner 1994, 941; Condylis-Bassoukos 1997, XXXI. For modern day examples, see Blois 1990, 3–4.

[59] Wagner 1996; 480–489, also identifies an anonymously written story about a lion and a jackal fighting off an evil bull as being inspired by *KwD*.

These doubled sections could in turn have different effects: on the one hand, they would establish similarities, emphasize their importance through repetition, and show, for example, how a quote can be used in varying contexts. On the other hand, they could be seen as repetitive and therefore unnecessary and dispensable. The latter is essential for my own analysis of Symeon Seth's Greek translation of *KwD*.

In order to try to establish a connection between Symeon Seth's Greek translation and *KwD*, the Arabic manuscripts need to be studied closely. For the reconstruction of what Symeon Seth translated, Sjöberg used the oldest Greek manuscript, dated to the late eleventh century, Codex Laurentianus plut. XI, 14 (ff. 165r-219v), which is supposed to be a very close copy to what Symeon Seth presented to Alexios I Komnenos. In the case of the Greek text, the differentiation between what Symeon Seth originally translated and how the text was significantly extended by the Eugenian translation of 1190–1194 is of great importance.[60] Since Seth's version is older than the oldest Arabic manuscript (A4095, dated to 1221), his translation provides an important witness of an earlier stage in the Arabic tradition.

Accordingly, it is crucial in the present study to understand how Symeon Seth translated his Arabic source and what influenced his translation choices. Seth's translation should be seen as an act that is partially underwriting, partially counterwriting *KwD*.[61] The alterations of the text found in Symeon Seth's *SkI* sometimes amplify the model text and its ideologies, but also substitute them in other cases. In this respect, the most noticeable feature of Symeon Seth's translation is the untranslated chapters. Since he removes seven books as well as many embedded tales in the translated books, the overall size of the hypertext is reduced by a quarter of the hypotext.[62] As for the excisions of shorter passages within each chapter, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis provides a convincing explanation: the excisions are rarely religiously motivated and follow rather the expectation of a Byzantine reader around 1100.[63] Accordingly, *SkI* contains fewer embedded

[60] The discovery of the Arabic manuscripts that Eugenios of Palermo used for his additions to Symeon Seth's translation is not part of my research. For the most recent research on the Eugenian translation, see Lauxtermann 2019 and Huig 2022. However, a brief comparison I conducted based on the embedded tales in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) that were added by the Eugenian translation shows that the Eugenian *SkI*'s source text might be harder to identify than the one Symeon Seth used. There are some instances where motifs belonging only to the London continuum are found but also other instances where the Eugenian *SkI* is close to manuscripts like P400 and CCCP578 that are not part of a continuum. For more details on the complexity of *SkI* beyond Symeon Seth's translation, see Huig 2022, 249–257.

[61] See below, Ch. 3.

[62] Sjöberg 1962, 70.

[63] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 117–120; Condylis-Bassoukos 1997, 208–209.

stories, fewer dialogues, and is an overall quicker read, suitable for someone interested only in the main content and used to Aesopian fables.[64]

Considering the systematic revisions in the translation, it is unlikely that Symeon Seth had a fragmentary model text for his translation. It is possible that he was working with several manuscripts, such as the cross-copying versions of *KwD* mentioned above. However, as the analysis below shows, he most likely used a single manuscript of the London continuum.[65] Unconvincing from this perspective is Sjöberg's hypothesis that Symeon Seth died while translating and therefore left his work unfinished and the later books untranslated. This seems unlikely, as Symeon Seth completed the translation of book VII *King and Dreams* (Kd), skipped book VIII *Mouse and Cat* (Mc), and made an abbreviated but undoubtedly finished version of book IX *King and Bird* (Kb) with a clear closure. This means that *SkI* in itself is coherent and complete, especially if one has no knowledge of *KwD*, which makes it doubtful that Symeon Seth died before finishing his work. Instead, one should rather assume a carefully crafted translation, whose reduction of text is best explained from the perspective of content along the following lines.

Book VIII *Mouse and Cat* (Mc) contains only a short story about mortal enemies, who become friends for a short time in an emergency situation. The content is reminiscent of book III *Ringdove* (Rd), in which a crow and a mouse become friends and overcome dangers through the power of their friendship. It may have been judged not worthy of a translation because Symeon Seth wanted to avoid repeating the same story. The same applies to other books not included in *SkI*. As has been shown above, book X *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) with its story of an herbivore jackal at the court of the lion king, corresponds well in content and structure with the first two books about Ichnelates. The remaining books also deal with issues discussed in earlier books: rewarding the right subjects (XI), as in book I *Lion and Bull* (Lo), and the characteristics of a wise minister of state (XIV), as shown in book IV *Owls and Crows* (Oc).[66] The question of insult and revenge in book XIII is addressed in the translated book IX *King and Bird* (Kb), while the question of how one achieves happiness was already explained by the merchant in book I *Lion and Bull* (Lo) – with an eschatological reasoning that might appeal more to a Byzantine readership (*SkI* I,151,7–153,4). Finally, the question in book XV of whether one may strive beyond one's own limita-

[64] *SkI* displays structural approximations to the then-popular fables of Aesop, which were far more linear and written with fewer diegetic levels: Gutas 1981, 49; Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 120–124; Krönung 2017, 452. On the structure and tradition of Aesop's fables, see Paul 1910, 383–421, and Holzberg 1992, 33–65.

[65] See below, 1.3.

[66] Books XI and XVI switch position in some later Greek manuscripts; see Sjöberg 1962, 66–69.

tions is also found in terms of content in the conversations between Stephanites and Ichnelates (*SkI* I,154,7–157,3). Although it could be said that the missing books also focus on new or different aspects, the rough parallels in issue, plot, and sometimes also characters can hardly be overlooked.

Accordingly, from the perspective of the text's content, I argue that Symeon Seth's reductions are trying to avoid duplication. However, the new quotations inserted from the Bible, Homer, and the Church Fathers show that he, at times, would also expand the text. Symeon Seth apparently aimed to create a version that was easily accessible to his Byzantine audience. Thus, he avoided the complex diegetic intricacies of his predecessors and turned the wordy *KwD* into a quick read suited to contemporary Byzantine reading habits.

1.2. SIMILAR TO SYMEON SETH'S SOURCE: A4095, L8751, L4044

The Arabic manuscripts which, thanks to the AnonymClassic project, I have identified as the ones most closely related to Symeon Seth's translation all belong to the London continuum. Additionally, the cross-copied versions also share similarities where they use the London continuum as a model text. For comparison the manuscripts L4044, A4095 and L8751 will be used to display and analyze the relationship between the Arabic source and the Greek translation. At some instances in the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di), the passages will also refer to the edition of MS Dayr al-Shīr made by Cheikho.[67] Since all of them are younger than the oldest witness of Symeon Seth's translation, they only provide an approximation of what might have been the source text he translated. Nevertheless, they offer the important link to the past that has so far been missing in Sjöberg's edition, which looked only at the reception of Symeon Seth's translation.[68]

The comparison shows that the Greek translation is in most cases closest to L8751 in wording but sometimes has units only found in L4044. Thus, both manuscripts are essential for the reconstruction. Additionally, A4095 remains part of the selection because it is the oldest witness of the London continuum and therefore closest in time to Symeon Seth's source. Furthermore, it provides a useful impression of the variations that are possible even within the same continuum.[69]

The aim is not to provide a detailed overview of every single difference between Arabic and Greek, especially since it can never be excluded that a differ-

[67] Since MS Dayr al-Shīr has not resurfaced yet, I can only refer to Cheikho's edition that appears to be faithful to its source.

[68] Sjöberg 1962, 112–135.

[69] For an example of the variations found within the Arabic tradition, see Gründler 2024a, 346–353.

ence might stem from the actual source text. Instead, the main aspects of the relationship will be demonstrated by looking at book IV, *Owls and Crows* (Oc).[70] This particular story has been picked for three reasons: 1) at the time I began my analysis, it had progressed furthest in the AnonymClassic edition; 2) it was translated by Symeon Seth; and 3) it is one of the original *Panchatantra* narratives. The latter means that *Owls and Crows* (Oc) is comparable to any translation of the *Panchatantra* that might be of interest beyond the focus of this research.

As a point of departure, I will provide a table presenting the first third of the semantic units in the owl-crows chapter as found in the current version of the AnonymClassic project.[71] Since Symeon Seth removed all embedded tales from the story except one and also fused two characters, the second part of the narrative becomes more difficult to compare.[72] However, this is not a special case, as many other books show the exact same development: sharing many similarities at first, but then showing major changes from the second half onwards with great excisions and removals of the original text.

The table contains the units from the beginning of the story up to the point where the spy crow and the crow king talk in private about how to defeat the owls. As *Owls and Crows* (Oc) is the third longest story in Symeon Seth's translation and would originally have been longer even than the *Ringdove* (Rd), a comparison of units up to this point is more than sufficient to understand the relationship between the Greek translation and the London continuum.

Following the method proposed by the AnonymClassic project, the table uses descriptive unit titles and counts the units that are present in each manuscript with an ascending numbering that follows the numbering in the *KwD* edition.[73] Units that are found neither in the London continuum nor in Symeon Seth's translation are included in the table to give a sense of the overall manuscript situation. This will also help to visualize the three Arabic manuscripts as belonging to the same London continuum. There are three further units not found in the AnonymClassic edition where Symeon Seth's translation has additional material or differs too much in content from the corresponding Arabic unit. These units are marked with letters instead. The units marked in bold are the ones that I consider most relevant for comparison.

[70] Blois 1990, 62.

[71] https://kalila-editions.kozae.de/630a4f54344c39d5cb5f203a (password protected). It is possible that these units might be changed in the future edition as the edited texts tend to become even more segmented in order to enhance their comparability with each other.

[72] This revision technique is also found in Byzantine saints' lives and the redaction of Palaiologan romances; see Agapitos 2004, 105–106, 113–114, 129.

[73] https://kalila-and-dimna.fu-berlin.de/collations/Oc_Main_Edition.

Table 1.1: Comparison of Oc (Owls and Crows) units between A4095, L8751, L4044

Unit no. KwD	Unit content	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
1	Title	1	1	1	
2	Abstract			2	
3	The King Understood Previous Chapter	2	2	3	1
4	The King Asks if Foes Can Become Friends	3			
5	The King Asks about Fawning Foes	4	3	4	2
6	The Philosopher Answers, Foes Cannot be Trusted	5			
7	Foes May Take Advantage	6			
8	The Parable of the Owls and the Crows	7	4	5	3
9	The King Requests the Parable	8	5	6	
10	The Crow Kingdom and the Owl Kingdom	9	6	7	4
11	The Owls Attack the Crows	10	7	8	5
12	The Morning in the Battle Aftermath	11	8	9	6
13	The Crow King Evaluates the Damage	12	9	10	7
14	The Crow King Fears Recurring Aggression	13	10	11	8
15	Input from the Five Wise Crows is Sought	14	11	12	9
16	The Crow King Asks the First Crow	15	12	13	
17	Escape Should Be the Recourse	16	13	14	10
18	The Crow Kings Asks the Second Crow	17	14	15	
19	Escape is No Recourse	18	15	16	11
20	The Downsides of Escape are Explained	19	16	17	12
21	Recourse Should be Made to Planning and Preparing	20	17	18	13

Table 1.1: Comparison of Oc (Owls and Crows) units between A4095, L8751, L4044

Unit no. KwD	Unit content	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
22	The Crows Should Fight Back the Owls		18	19	
23	There Is Hope for Victory				
24	Escape Should Not Be the First Choice		19	20	14
25	**Escape is to Be Sought Only at Defeat**	**21**	**20**	**21**	**15**
26	The Crow King Asks the Third Crow	22	21	22	
27	The Crow Rejects Prior Input	23	22	23	16
28	Recourse Should be Made to Reconnaissance	24	23	24	17
29	The Information Shall Determine a Truce or Tribute	25	24	25	18
30	Truce for a Tribute Should Be Sought	26	25	26	19
31	Peace Is Worth the Tribute	27	26	27	20
32	Peace Should Come Sooner than Later				
33	Recourse Is in Finding Allies and Fighting				
34	The Crow King Asks the Fourth Crow	28	27	28	
35	Recourse Is in Abandoning Home	29	28	29	21
36	Paying Tributes Is Debasing				
37	Recourse Is in Going to the Desert				
38	Accepting Oppression Aids Foes				
39	The Owls Would Overdemand	30	29	30	22
a	**Right Amount of Gifts for Enemy**				**23**
40	**Foes Should Be Kept at the Right Distance**	**31**	**30**	**31**	

Table 1.1: Comparison of Oc (Owls and Crows) units between A4095, L8751, L4044

Unit no. KwD	Unit content	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
41	**Gauging Distances Is Like Maximizing Shadows**	**32**	**31**	**32**	**24**
42	The Owls Will Not Accept the Pact	33	32	33	
43	The Crows Should Be Wary and Prepared				
44	**Recourse Is in Fighting the War and Enduring**	**34**	**33**	**34**	**25**
45	The Crow King Asks the Fifth Crow, a Spy	35	34	35	
46	The Crow Should Scheme				
47	The Spy Rejects Fighting	36	35	36	26
48	The Crows Should Not Overestimate Themselves				
49	**The Foolish Underestimate Their Foes**		**36**	**37**	**27**
50	The Intelligent Never Underestimate Their Foes	37	37	38	28
51	The Spy Expresses Fear	38	38	39	29
52	The Crows Should Not Belittle the Enemy				
53	The Spy Makes a Suggestion				
54	Diplomacy Supersedes Force				
55	Fighting the Owls Is Fatal				
56	The Crows Should Prepare for War				
57	The Intelligent Weighs the Past and Future				
58	Ways to Avoid the Battle				
59	The Owls Are Expected to Fight				
60	The Intelligent Is Never Free from Worry	39	39	40	30
61	War Shoud be the Last Resort	40	40	41	31
62	War Brings Loss	41	41	42	32

Table 1.1: Comparison of Oc (Owls and Crows) units between A4095, L8751, L4044

Unit no. KwD	Unit content	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
63	One Should Never Fight the Stronger		42		
64	An Elephant Should Not Be Kicked	42		43	
65	The End of the Spy's Speech				
66	The Crow King Asks for Alternatives	43	43	44	33
67	Opinion Counseling	44	44	45	34
68	Advice Outweighs Armies	45	45	46	35
69	Advice Empowers King				
70	Causes For Losing Good Fortune				
71	Advice to King Like Rivers to Sea	46	46	47	36
72	Resolute King Keeps Reflecting	47	47	48	37
73	Disinterested Vizier				
74	Chance Is Lost Without Advice	48	48	49	
75	Chances Favor Intelligent	49	49	50	
76	Spy Praises Crow King	50	50	51	
77	Spies Advice Partially Secret	51	51	52	38
78	Some Matters Need Secrecy				
79	Spies Open Advice	52	52	53	39
80	Spy Advises Resolute Action				
81	The Learned Never Defers				
82	Dignity Over Life	53	53	54	40
83	Spy Advises Quick Action				
84	Glory of Life Over Span				
85	**Indecision Is Impotence**	**54**	**54**		
86	Indecision Leads to Evil				
87	Head Of Impotence				
b	**The Lazy Are Punished by Fate (Hes.Op.413)**				**41**
88	Spy Moves to Secret Advice	55	55	55	42

Table 1.1: Comparison of Oc (Owls and Crows) units between A4095, L8751, L4044

Unit no. KwD	Unit content	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
89	Only Two Can Keep Secret				
90	Victory Requires Guarding Secrets	56	56	56	43
91	**Who May Discover Secret**	**57**	**57**		**44**
92	Two Benefits of Guarding Secrets	58	58	57	45
93	Guarding Secret Beneficial				
94	Kind Needs Confidant	59	59	58	46
95	**Advice to King Like Fuel to Fire**	**60**	**60**	**59**	
c	**Advice Makes Speech More Precise**				**47**
96	How to Give Advice	61	61	60	
97	Bad Advice Like Misdirected Curse	62	62	61	
98	Secretive Wise King Prospers	63	63	62	48
99	Ranks of Secrets	64	64	63	49
100	Only King C and Spy to Know Secret	65	65	64	50

An examination of Table 1 leads to two major observations. First, Symeon Seth follows the order of units found in the London continuum. This is important since the cross-copied versions and the Paris continuum sometimes move units or extend the existing units. For example, from the beginning of *Owls and Crows* (Oc) up to the end of Table 1, there are 28 more units found in other manuscripts that are not part of the London continuum. Second, Symeon Seth is missing a great number of units. As noted in the table, the total number of units in these versions that are part of the London continuum reaches 72. Of these, the Arabic manuscripts include 65 (A4095, L8751) or 64 (L4044), while the Greek translation includes only 50.

Furthermore, the observed units show that Symeon Seth's structure for *Owls and Crows* (Oc) seems to be closest to L8751. In the nine cases (units 2, 4, 6, 7, 22, 24, 49, 85, 91) where not all Arabic manuscripts reflect a certain unit, Greek includes or substitutes the unit when it also exists in L8751. The only exception is

unit 22 that remains untranslated despite its inclusion in L8751. However, considering that the content in L8751 (فقاتلناهم مزاحفةً– "Then we fought them increasingly") compared to L4044 (فقاتلناهم قتالا غير مستسلم ولا متوغّل– "Then we fought them fiercely without surrendering or getting infiltrated")[74] is very short, it might have simply fallen out of Symeon Seth's translation, which already translates the preceding and the following units more concisely. Another possibility would be that the unit was missing, as the oldest witness of the London continuum, A4095, does not include it either.

Looking at the units excised in the Greek text, the first observation must be that the king is silenced. In the Arabic version, he presides in a prominent fashion over the crow court and asks each crow councilor for their opinion. Compared to this, the councilors appear to speak unsolicited to a silent king. The Greek crow king only raises his voice once when he asks the spy crow for alternative solutions after it refuted all the other counsels. The logical assumption for the excised units would be to reduce unnecessary parts of the story. It is obvious that all the councilors have to address the issue the king proposed at the beginning of their meeting and therefore it would be redundant to have him repeat the same question every single time.

The same observation can be made for every other king in *SkI*. Neither king Abushalem of the frame narrative nor the lion king of the first two books (Lo, Di) nor the kings of the last two books (*King and Dreams* [Kd] , *King and Bird* [Kb]) ever ask questions when they would originally do so in the Arabic text. Although this might be the result of an attempt by the translator to save time and effort and turn the text into a quicker read, the fact that the silenced character is the one that corresponds with the very person the translation was dedicated to – the Byzantine emperor – still deserves some attention. Excising dialogue parts of the kings indicates that their conversation guiding skills (which are prominent in *KwD*) were considered of little importance in *SkI*. Instead, *SkI* focuses mainly on the councilors' advice.[75]

Assuming that Symeon Seth's translation should have contained at least 14 more units, were he to translate all units, the deleted king dialogues account for only 6 of them. The other 8 units are missing for different reasons. Units 6 and 7, 42, 74 and 75, as well as 96 and 97 contain content that repeats nearby units. Units 6 and 7 summarize what the tale advises and are only found in A4095. It might therefore simply not have been a part of Symeon Seth's version at hand, which might have looked more like L8751 and L4044 in this section. In the case of unit 42, the owls' greed is already mentioned in unit 34 and therefore a repe-

[74] Fishbein 2022, §7.4.

[75] On the importance of the king in the Arabic versions, see Audebert 1999, 294–298.

tition that can be removed. Units 74 and 75 emphasize the positive influence of advice, similar to units 67, 68, 71, and 72. Equally, units 96 and 97 explain how to give advice and warn about bad advice, showing similarities to the mentioned units 67, 68, 71, and 72 as well as to 95 and c. It can again be assumed that they were removed because Seth aimed for a more concise text.

Needless to say, all these excised units might never have been part of Symeon Seth's source text. However, considering that the king's questions appear in every manuscript and thus may be the most stable units, it is unlikely that Symeon Seth consulted the one Arabic manuscript that was already lacking the king's dialogue units. Although units 42, 74, 75, 96 and 97 are not contained in other manuscripts belonging to the Paris continuum or the cross-copied version, this does not necessarily mean that the Greek translation is closer to them, since the relevant manuscripts from the Paris continuum (P3473, BWII672, P3465, P5881, P400, R3655) are lacking further units that are found in *SkI*. Another possible explanation is that the units missing in *SkI* were simply not present in the version Symeon Seth had access to. Instead, they could have been later extensions in the Arabic manuscript traditions, which would explain why they do not appear in many Arabic manuscripts. This notion is strengthened by the fact that these added units contain repetitive content. Accordingly, it is as likely that Symeon Seth excised them because of their repetitiveness, as it is that they were not part of his source manuscript and only added later.

1.3. THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK TRANSLATION

Symeon Seth's role as a translator who handles his source text freely yet thoughtfully in his editorial choices becomes even more obvious when one analyzes not only the deletions, but also the changes. These can be observed in units a and 40–41, b and 85, as well as c and 95. Interestingly, all of these units are either a *ḥikma* (abstract wisdom) or a *mathal* (pl. *amthāl* – proverb, saying),[76] an analogical image that aims to explain an abstract idea by creating a likeness between them. To understand the translation process behind them, each of them deserves a closer look. For the example of the *Owls and Crows* (Oc) chapter, I have used Fishbein's translation for L4044 and adjusted the translation of the other versions to it in order to make it more comparable.

[76] *Oxford Dictionary of Islam* 2003, "mathal." A *mathal* can also refer to parables or longer, exemplary narratives. For an example translated and reinterpreted in Christian, Rabbinic and Islamic tradition, see Speight 2004, 91–98.

Table 1.2: Comparison of readings between A4905, L8751, L4044, and Symeon Seth

A4905	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
وقد يُقال قارب عدوّك بعض المقاربة تنل منه حاجتك ولا تقاربه كلّ المقاربة فيجترئ عليك بها ويضعف ويذلّ لها جندك	وقد كان يُقال باكر عدوّك وقاربه بعض المقاربة قبل حاجتك ولا تقاربه فيجترئ عليك عدوّك ويضعف جندك وتذلّ نفسك	وقد يُقال قارب عدوّك بعض المقاربة تنل منه حاجتك ولا تقاربه كلّ المقاربة فتذلّ نفسك وترعب جندك ويجترئ عليك عدوّك	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς δεῖ πρὸ τῆς χρείας τὸν ἐχθρὸν διὰ μετρίων δώρων ἐφέλκεσθαι πρὸς φιλίαν, μὴ μέντοι διὰ πολλῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἐπιτείνει, τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν συστέλλει.
They say: Concede an inch to your enemy and you'll get what you want; concede everything, and you'll embolden him and weaken and humiliate your army. (unit 40)	They say: be prepared to concede an inch to your enemy and you'll receive what you want; concede everything and you'll embolden your enemy, weaken your army, and humiliate yourself. (unit 40)	They say: Concede an inch to your enemy and you'll get what you want; concede everything, and you'll humiliate yourself, demoralize your army, and embolden your enemy. (unit 40)	They say: In need draw the enemy to friendship with rightly measured gifts, yet not with many; for this will expand their power and contract our own. (unit a)
ومثل ذلك مثل الخشبة القائمة في الشمس فإن أملتها قليلًا زاد ظلّها وإن جاوزت الحدّ في إمالتها ذهب الظلّ	ومثل ذلك مثل الخشبة المنصوبة في الشمس إن أملتها قليلًا زاد ظلّها وإن جاوزت الحدّ في إمالتها نقص الظلّ	ومثل ذلك مثل الخشبة المنصوبة في الشمس إن كان ميلها قليلا ازداد ظلّها طولا وإن جاوزت الحدّ في إمالتها قصر ظلّها	τοῖς γὰρ ἐν ἡλίῳ ἱσταμένοις ἡ μετρία κλίσις τὴν σκιὰν ἐπιτείνει, ἡ δὲ ἄμετρος ταύτην συστέλλει.
It is like a stick standing in the sun: bend it a little and its shadow lengthens; bend it beyond a certain point and its shadow vanishes. (unit 41)	It is like a stick set up in the sun: bend it a little and its shadow lengthens; bend it beyond a certain point and its shadow shortens. (unit 41)	It is like a stick set up in the sun: bend it a little and its shadow lengthens; bend it beyond a certain point and its shadow shortens. (unit 41)	For those standing in the sun, moderate bowing expands the shadow but immoderate bowing contracts it. (unit 41)
فإنّ التهاون رأس العجز	فإنّ من التثبّط والتهاون رأس العجز		αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀμβολίεργος ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν.

A4905	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
Complacency is the root of failure. (unit 85)	Frustration and complacency are the root of failure. (unit 85)		As the poet says, the lazy man always has to wrestle with strokes of fate. (unit b)
فإنّه يزداد بالمشورة رأيًا وعقلًا كما تزداد النار بالودك ضوءًا	فإنّه يزداد به رأيًا كما تزداد النار بالودك ضوءً	فإنه يزداد برأيه رأيًا كما تزداد النار بالودك ضوءً	βεβαιοῦται γὰρ καὶ προστίθεται διὰ τούτων ἡ τοῦ λογισμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκρίβεια.
By advice, his (the king's) judiciousness and understanding will increase, just as adding grease to a fire makes it brighter. (unit 95)	The latter's (the advisor's judgement) will increase his (the king's) judiciousness, just as adding grease to a fire makes it brighter. (unit 95)	The latter's (the advisor's) judgement will increase his (the king's) judiciousness, just as adding grease to a fire makes it brighter. (unit 95)	And the accuracy of his speech is confirmed and made clear by these. (unit c)

The *mathal* units in the selected part of *Owls and Crows* (Oc) show that the Greek translation hardly ever simply rendered them literally. The only exception is the *mathal* in which good advice for the king is compared with rivers bringing water into the sea, which remains unchanged (unit 52). The *mathal* in unit 63 (One Should Never Fight the Stronger) and unit 64 (An Elephant Should Not Be Kicked) are completely missing from the Greek.

The translated *amthāl* and *ḥikam* have been substituted like the *ḥikma* in unit 85 with a quote (unit b) or amplified in a way that enables the Greek version to better capture the essence of the story. In unit 40, the fourth crow compares the unsuccessful attempt to pay tribute to the owls by approaching an enemy, which only leads to humiliation and weakness. The Greek substitution in unit a instead gives an abstract explanation of moving the enemy towards friendship with the right amount of gifts but considers this disadvantageous for the crows. Here, instead of a more abstract concept of approaching the enemy, the Greek translation creates an image of a metaphorical enemy's hand that can be steered for a high price. In this case, the Greek provides a more metaphorical *mathal*. A

possible interpretation would be that the Greek translation refers to the Byzantine strategy of paying for good relations with other states around them.[77]

The opposite can be observed for unit 41, which continues the train of thought in unit a or unit 40. Again, the Arabic version creates the image of a tilting stick in the sun, likened to the crows bowing before their enemy. If the crow-stick tilts too much, its shadow, and therefore the crows' power, decreases. The Greek version excises the stick and simply talks about how bowing too deeply will diminish the shadow, bringing the image closer to the actual situation of the crows having to bow to the owls for the sake of peace. In units c and 95 the difference becomes more pronounced. The Arabic image of advice to a king being like grease added to a fire to increase its light is substituted with a statement that advice helps the accuracy of speech. The Greek unit c cannot be considered a *mathal* since it plainly describes the positive effect of good advice, whereas the Arabic *mathal* is open to interpretation about what kind of positive effects good advice has. Finally, unit 85, which takes the shape of a *ḥikma* in Arabic, is substituted by a quote from Hesiod's *Works and Days* 413 in unit b. Although both the proverb and the quote fulfill their task of encouraging the king to act, the use of a Greek poet like Hesiod in a Byzantine setting is a matter of elegance and *paideia*.[78] Furthermore, as Symeon Seth only inserts quotes on special occasions,[79] it enhances the character of the spy crow who ends its official advice with Hesiod and subsequently offers the advice that the king crow will follow.

Overall, the Greek translation of the *amthāl* and *ḥikam* strives towards one aim: to clarify the picture painted by the Arabic text by bringing it closer to the argument made by the speaker who is using the *mathal*. This shows that all of them were reconsidered carefully in their translation. In a way, the content of unit c appears as programmatic for the translation as a whole: compared to *KwD*, "the accuracy of [...] speech is confirmed and made clear by" (unit c) Symeon Seth's rewriting.

Whereas the *amthāl* and *ḥikam* are rather eye-catching units within the text, other less prominent units too should be examined in order to get a full understanding of how Symeon Seth handled his translation. In the set-up of the war between the owls and crows, the units in the Arabic manuscripts and the Greek translation appear stable and provide a good sample of Symeon Seth's translation strategies when not introducing changes like the ones found in the *amthal*.

[77] Luttwak 2011, 57–82, and Chaliand 2014, 55–103.

[78] Rhoby 2018. On the early development and performance of *paideia*, see Lauwers 2011, 232–237. On content of Byzantine education, see Walker 2001, 6–7; Markopulos 2013, 29–30, 35–40; Vilimonović 2015, 208–209.

[79] See below, 2.2.

Table 1.3: Comparison of A4095, L8751, L4044, and Symeon Seth readings

Unit	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
Oc 10	قال الفيلسوف زعموا أنّ أرضًا تُسمّى كذا وكذا وكان حولها جبلٌ عظيمٌ محيطٌ بها وكان فيها شجرةٌ عظيمةٌ كثيرة الغصون شديدة الالتفاف يُقال لها يبرود وكان فيها وكر ألف غرابٍ ولهنّ مَلكٌ مَلك[ ]فخرج [منهم وكان في]البوم [ ] ذلك الجبل وكر ألفٍ من البوم	قال الفيلسوف إنّه كان في جبل من الجبال شجرةٌ عظيمةٌ كأعظم ما يكون من الدوح وأشده إلتفافًا وكان فيها ألف غراب عليهم ملك وكان في ذلك الجبل أيضًا مكان فيه ألف بومة عليهم ملك منهم	قال العالم زعموا أنّه كان في جبل من الجبال شجرة عظيمة من الدوح وكان فيها وكر ألف غراب عليها ملك منها وكان في ذلك الجبل أيضًا مكان فيه ألف بومة عليها ملك منها	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἔν τινι ὄρει δένδρον ἦν ὑπερμέγεθές τε καὶ ὑψιπέτηλον, ἐν ᾧ κόρακες διῆγον χίλιοι, ὧν ἦρχε κόραξ εἷς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ πλησίον βοῦφοι χίλιοι παρ’ ἑνὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ κυριευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κόρακας ἀεὶ ἐχθρωδῶς διακείμενοι.
	The philosopher told the following tale: Around a land called so-and-so there was a great mountain on which stood an enormous tree with many very entangled branches, called Yabrud, that harbored the nests of a thousand crows ruled by a king. [Then the owl king came out] and there was also on that mountain a nest of a thousand owls.	The philosopher said: On a mountain, so they say, there stood an enormous tree with widespread and very entangled branches that harbored a thousand crows ruled by a king. A thousand owls also lived on the mountain; they too were governed by a king.	The philosopher [lit. knowledgeable man] told the following tale: On a mountain, so they say, there stood an enormous tree with widespread branches that harbored the nests of a thousand crows ruled by a king. A thousand owls also lived on the mountain; they too were governed by a king.	It is said that on a certain mountain there was an overly tall and towering tree, in which a thousand crows were living who were governed by one crow. Nearby in another place there were a thousand owls and they too were ruled by one and always felt hostile towards the crows.

Table 1.3: Comparison of A4095, L8751, L4044, and Symeon Seth readings

Unit	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
Oc 11	فخرج مَلك البوم ذات ليلةٍ لعداوةٍ بين *البوم والغربان ووقعن البوم على الغربان فأكثرن فيهنّ القتل والجراح	فخرج ملك البوم ليلة لعداوة لم تزل بين البوم وبين الغربان بمن معه من البوم فقتل منهنّ كثيرًا وجرح كثيرًا	فخرج ملك البوم ذات يوم لعداوة قديمة بين الغربان والبوم فأغار على الغربان بمن معه فقتل منهم كثيرًا وجرح كثيرًا	*καὶ μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπῆλθον τούτοις καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐτραυμάτισαν.*
	One night, because of the long-standing enmity between owls and crows, the owl king and his followers ambushed the crows, so most of them were killed or wounded.	One night, because of the enmity which had not ceased between owls and crows, the owl king and his followers killed and wounded many of them.	One night [lit. day], because of the long-standing enmity between owls and crows, the owl king and his followers ambushed the crows, killing and wounding many.	And one night they attacked them and killed many of them and wounded many.
Oc 12	ولم يعلم مَلك الغربان بذلك حتّى أصبح فلمّا كان الغد ورأى ما لقي جنده اهتمّ وحزن	فلمّا أصبح ملك الغربان جمع الغربان	فلمّا أصبح ملك الغربان جمع الغربان	*ἕωθεν δὲ ὁ τῶν κοράκων βασιλεὺς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισυνάξας καὶ συνέδριον ποιήσας εἶπεν·*
	And the king of the crows did not know about this until dawn, so when the morning came, and he saw what had happened to his soldiers he became worried and sad.	The next morning, the king of the crows called a meeting of his followers.	The next morning, the king of the crows called a meeting of his followers.	In the morning the king of the crows assembled his subjects and making a council he said:

Table 1.3: Comparison of A4095, L8751, L4044, and Symeon Seth readings

Unit	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
Oc 13	وقال يا معشر الغربان قد ترون ما لقينا من البوم وما أصابنا منهنّ	فقال لهنّ لقد رأيتنّ ما لقيتنّ من بنات البوم ووقوعهنّ بكنّ وكم أصبح فيكم من قتيل وجريح ومنتوف الريش والجناح والذنب	فقال قد رأيتم ما لقيتم من بنات البوم وكم أصبح فيكم من قتيل وجريح وكسير ومنتوف الريش والجناح والذنب	ἴδετε, ἃ τὸ τῶν βούφων γένος εἰς ἡμᾶς διεπράξατο, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν κατετροπώσατο, καὶ ὅσους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐτραυμάτισε καὶ τὰ πτερὰ ἀνέτιλε.
	And he said: "Oh community of crows, have you seen what has happened to us because of the owls and what they have done to us.	Then he said to them: "See what you've suffered because of the owls! Many have been slain, broken, and wounded; many have lost feathers from their heads, their wings, and their tails.	Then he said: "You have seen what you've suffered because of the owls! Many have been slain and many wounded and broken; many have lost feathers from their heads, their wings, and their tails.	"See what the race of the owls committed against us! How they put our forces to flight, and how many they killed or wounded, and how they tore out their feathers.
Oc 14	وأشدّ ممّا أصابكنّ *جرأتهنّ عليكنّ وتعرّفهنّ بمكانكنّ وأنا متخوّفٌ من كرّتهنّ بمثلها وأشدّ منها عليكنّ	وأشدّ من ذلك كلّه ضراوتهنّ عليكنّ بمثل ما قد ذقتموه منهنّ وهنّ غير مغفّلات عنكنّ فانظرن في أمركنّ على مهلٍ	وأشدّ من ذلك في نفسي ضرًّا عليكم علمهن بمكانكم وجرائتهن عليكنّ وضراوتهن بكم ولا أظنّهن إلّا عائدات لمثلها وغير مقلعات عنكم فانظروا في أموركم في مهل	καὶ τούτων πάντων ἐστὶ χείριστον τὸ κατατολμῆσαι τούτους ἡμῶν καὶ διὰ πείρας καταφρονῆσαι. ἴδετε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα.

Table 1.3: Comparison of A4095, L8751, L4044, and Symeon Seth readings

Unit	A4095	L8751	L4044	Symeon Seth
	What's worse than what happened to you is their audacity against you and that they know where you live. I fear they'll return in a similar fashion and that it will be even worse for you."	What's worse than all that, is that they are savage against you similar to what you have tasted. They are not unaware of you. So consider carefully what you want to do."	What's worse [than that], I think, is that the owls know where you live; they're bold and savage. I fear they'll return and won't leave you alone. So consider carefully what you want to do."	The worst of all this is that they dared attack us and, through this experience, despise (us). See what to do next."
Oc 15	كان في الغربان خمسةٌ ذو رفقٍ وعلمٍ ونظرٍ في الأمور ومعرفةٍ بحسن الرأي والحيل وكان المَلك يشاورهم وينتهي إلى رأيهم	وكان فيهنّ خمس غربان لمعروف لهن فضيلة الرأي فكانت الغربان تسند إليهن أمورهنّ وتفزع إليهن فيما نزل بهنّ وكان الملك يشاورهنّ في أموره ويأخذ برأيهن	وكان فيهم خمسة غربان معترفين لهم بفضيلة الرأي وكمال العقل وبعد النظر وحسن التدبير وكان الملك لا يكاد يخرج من مشورتهم	*ἦσαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ βασιλεῖ πρωτοσύμβουλοι πέντε*
	And among the crows were five who were gentle, knowledgeable, insightful, and knew good advice and tricks. The king consulted with them and listened to their advice.	Five crows were recognized for their superior judgement. So, the crows entrusted them with their affairs, and they were terrified of what happened to them. The king consulted with them in his affairs and listened to their advice.	Five crows were recognized for their superior judgement, mature intelligence, penetrating insight, and skill at managing affairs. The king rarely disregarded their advice.	This king had five chief councilors.

Studying the units in order of appearance allows us to see if and how changes affect the following units. The main difference between the Greek and the Arabic versions in unit 10 is that the Greek text already mentions the enmity between

owls and crows in this unit and excises the descriptive detail about the tree having entangled branches. In its brevity, the Greek translation resembles L8751 and L4044 equally and does not follow the additional details given by A4095. This results in differences in length for unit 11, where the Arabic manuscripts mention the enmity; however, this is only an indication that part of the information has been moved in the Greek translation with a slight semantic impact. By giving the information about the hostility between the bird folks in advance, the attack by the owls is less surprising in the Greek text. Yet, the Arabic version presents the motivation of the owls as a belated explanation, presenting the attack in the text as a surprise much like it is felt by the crows. In that sense, both variations have their own logic in progressing the plot.

In unit 12, A4095 and *SkI* contain additional information whereas L8751 and L4044 use the exact same phrasing stating that the crow king assembled the crows. In A4095, the king only discovers the attack in the morning and his emotional reactions are described. The Greek translation specifies that the king gathers his subjects and also opens the council, which might be a nod to practices at the Byzantine court. In no other unit do L8751 and L4044 share as many similarities as in unit 13, where nearly every word is reproduced. A4095 gives no detailed description of the injuries suffered by the crows and is therefore the shortest. *SkI* follows L8751 and L4044 in describing injuries but also adds a detail about the crow forces fleeing from the attack.

In unit 14, the content differs in focus between all four versions. None of them agree on what is actually the worst part of the attack on the crows. For A4095, it is the owl's audacity (جرأة) and the information on the crow soldiers' positioning; for L8751 it is their ferocity; for L4044 it is everything the other two manuscripts mention. *SkI* has something akin to audacity like in A4095, a rare case in which these two are closest. This sense of superiority also connects logically to the flight of the crow soldiers in unit 13, boosting the owls' confidence and showing a case of transmotivation.[80] L8751 is the only version without a notion about another attack, whereas A4095 lacks the kings asking the crows to consider the situation carefully. This unit, despite its similarities in wording, gives different reasonings by minor changes. Accordingly, units 13 and 14 are good examples of the fact that even minor changes can lead to transmotivation or semantic transformation. Moreover, it shows that these changes which seem to have been introduced by Symeon Seth (as in unit 13), have been made deliberately, since they consider the way in which they affect the character motivation of the owls even in the subsequent unit 14.

[80] I understand transmotivation as substitution of a motive for the same outcome in the plot.

Last but not least, unit 15 is another case where the Greek translation excises the content: the talent of the crow councilors, which is amply described in the Arabic version, has been completely excised, leaving only the basic information about the number of councilors.

These observations are indicative of Symeon Seth's translation style. Although his translation follows the structure of the London continuum, it never slavishly repeats the model text. Instead, the translation carefully considers each unit resulting in the transformation, excision, extension, and expansion of content. As the examples above show, these changes are applied in full understanding of their effect on subsequent units and the overall plot logic. In other words, Symeon Seth's translation aims to retell *KwD* in its own manner, even in the smallest units. With that in mind, we shall now look at the differences in the major structures of the chapters, noting the major changes that the Greek translation displays.

1.4. MAJOR CHANGES BETWEEN *SKI* AND THE LONDON CONTINUUM

Since the *KwD* edition has not been finished at the time of writing, I cannot rely on its unit system for the same kind of comparability between the Greek and all the Arabic continua as I could for the beginning of the *Owls and Crows* (Oc) chapter. Accordingly, the subsequent units will be different from the ones that will at some point be presented in the *KwD* edition. However, by including the transcribed Arabic text, it will be possible to navigate between the analysis and the upcoming edition. Thus, the approach for the rest of *SkI* will be different. As noted above, A4095 is only in rare cases closest to the Greek translation and will therefore mostly be excluded from further analysis. L8751 and L4044 share the greatest similarities with the Greek version, with L8751 being slightly closer concerning the presence of units, with a few exceptions in which Greek and L4044 share units that are missing in L8751. Regarding the exact phrasing within the units, it is hard to relate *SkI* to either Arabic manuscript, since Symeon Seth's translation usually aims to be more concise.

In the following, the analysis will use L4044 as the main source because the presence or absence of units in relation to the Greek is the main difference between the two manuscripts and because an official transcription and translation by Fishbein, in collaboration with the AnonymClassic project, exists for L4044.[81] I will refer to the manuscript L8751 in cases where comparison is necessary in order to understand whether the differences stem from the Greek translation or are due to Symeon Seth's source being closer to L8751. As noted above, relevant cases for comparison will be what I consider major changes that result

[81] Fishbein 2021, xi.

in the plot's pragmatic transposition or character transmotivations affecting the stories and their morals. The comparisons are always made under the assumption that Symeon Seth's actual source bears strong resemblances to L8751 and L4044.

These major changes can be categorized on the one hand as changes in the sense of the plot's pragmatic transpositions or character transmotivations, on the other as removals, where the Greek text is missing tales or even entire books. The major removals of entire heterodiegetic stories normally do not affect the overall plot of the story in which they are embedded, since they are not related to the world of the frame narrative.[82] For example, it does not matter whether the successful spy crow tells the king the tale of how the old snake became the mount of the frog ruler for the sake of survival or not. The embedded tale emphasizes how pretense can yield substantial success, but it could have been substituted with just the words "pretense can yield substantial success." One might, in fact, assume that the disappearance of the tale and even an entire book is not noticed by a reader who only knows Symeon Seth's *SkI*. As long as the text displays a consistent plot, it would be hard to suspect that the translator removed something. Furthermore, the only thing that differs is the amount of information the text offers, since missing books and embedded heterodiegetic stories do not affect the framing. Since the embedded stories in *SkI* and *KwD* usually prove the argument of which they are part, their removal should not change the overall morals and ethics of the text.[83]

The plot's pragmatic transpositions or character transmotivations are what affect the morals and ethics the text is teaching. In a way, major differences are caused by minor changes, sometimes accomplished by simply adding a small detail like age, which leads to a major transmotivation. For example, in the abovementioned tale of the snake and the frog king, two versions exist in Arabic. In the first, a snake mistakenly kills a holy man's son and is cursed so that it is unable to hunt. In order to survive, the snake offers itself as a mount for the frog ruler and is fed with frogs in return. In the second version, the snake cannot hunt because of its old age and invents the story of the curse to hide its real affliction, while pretending to be a youthful and tamed snake for the frog ruler. Both stories end the same way; however, the transmotivational shift from a cursed snake to a cunning old snake teaches two vastly different moral lessons. The first is to change one's habits in order to survive strokes of fate; the second is to use cunning where strength fails.

[82] On embedding in the Sanskrit version, see Olivelle 2006, 23–24.
[83] See below, Ch. 4 and 5.

In the case of the snake and the frog, L4044 and L8751 both follow the second version, as does *SkI*. With the phrasing being similar,[84] it can be safely assumed that Symeon Seth did *not* alter this part and rewrite it on his own, as I have argued in an article written before I had access to L4044 and L8751.[85] This demonstrates the importance of looking at the whole text to figure out exactly where the plot and characters change and start teaching different morals.

In order to establish where Symeon Seth's *SkI* displays such pragmatic transpositions of the plot or character transmotivations, I will look at each chapter independently. In each case, I will first summarize the main content of the frame narrative in a way that agrees with both *KwD* and *SkI*, before pointing out the differences. The focus is on units where textual changes result in pragmatic disposition of the plot, character transmotivations, expanded or excised religious content, or where the Greek substitutes an Arabic unit with something new and different. We will see how some changes happen because of translation mistakes or cultural differences; they might originate in single words but influence the overall text in unforeseen ways. By comparing *SkI* to both L4044 and L8751, I wish to pinpoint the alterations made by the Greek text that go beyond the scope of reformulating phrases and sentences.

1.4.1. Stephanites and Ichnelates / Lion and Bull (Lo)

> *After a merchant entices his lazy sons to work hard, the oldest son embarks on a journey during which he loses one of his bulls. The bull continues to live alone in the wilderness. In the meantime, the lion king and his court are residing nearby. Among them are two jackals, Kalila/Stephanites and Dimna/Ichnelates, who are working as guards. Dimna/Ichnelates wants to rise in honor at the lion's court and seizes his chance when the lion appears to be afraid of the bull's roaring. He introduces the lion and the bull who quickly become friends, while Dimna/Ichnelates is ignored for his efforts. To get rid of the bull, Dimna/Ichnelates convinces both the lion and the bull that the other is planning to kill them. Both lion and bull believe Dimna/Ichnelates and the lion ends up killing the bull. Although Dimna/Ichnelates is reprimanded by Kalila/Stephanites, he successfully becomes the lion's close advisor.*

Overall, *SkI's Lion and Bull* (Lo) remains similar in structure and diegetic layers when compared to L4044 and L8751. Although some embedded tales have not been translated and conversations between characters are sometimes shorter in *SkI*, the Greek text appears to have remained rather faithful to its source. However, even small changes can influence the perception of characters and events, and place a different weight on what is narrated.

[84] As in the exemplary units shown above, 1.3.
[85] Hölzlhammer 2022, 99–107.

Concerning the plot of the frame story as well as the embedded tales, there are four instances that I consider impactful. The first is found in the embedded story about the fool and the wicked man. Despite being the second last story told in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), it is a useful start to see how Symeon Seth makes both subtle and more forceful changes that affect the text. In this story, as told by Kalila in L4044 and L8751,[86] a fool and a wicked man discover a treasure that they decide to split evenly. But the wicked man tries to cheat the fool out of his money. At the end of the story, the wicked man's evil plans end up killing his father. However, in *SkI* the fool is a scholar (*SkI* I,187,2) and the father survives and is punished together with his evil son. Moreover, only in *SkI* does the scholar receive the entire treasure in the end (*SkI* I,188,6–8).

A comparison of the Arabic and Greek versions brings forth a similar but different story. For the reader of L4044 and L8751 the character named "the fool" is defined by their name, marking them as a gullible person who is supposed to fall for evil schemes. By renaming the character as "scholar" or "advocate" (σχολαστικὸς), the impression becomes different. Although the character is still tricked by the evil man, the text more likely creates an impression of an innocent victim, which is then affirmed by the scholar winning the treasure. While the Arabic texts focus on punishing the wicked man harshly with the fool disappearing from the narrative, *SkI* is more lenient and interested in reestablishing justice for the betrayed scholar. Since the changed ending is found in neither of the manuscripts, it can be assumed that Symeon Seth rewrote the story by changing the character and the outcome.

The second instance is found in the story of the two ducks and the turtle, more specifically in the way the turtle dies.[87] In each version, a turtle lives with two ducks in a pond; when the pond dries out, the ducks agree to carry the turtle to the next pond. For the turtle to be transported, it must bite a branch that the ducks carry up together. When the strange sight is seen by humans, the turtle in L4044 and L8751 curses the onlookers, thus opening its mouth and crashing into the ground. The implicit moral then would be to not curse others as the curse will return to you. In *SkI*, however, the turtle is overwhelmed by a feeling of superiority and declares loudly to be high above the people admiring it. Accordingly, the turtle's hybris makes it break its oath, thus promptly falling to its death. The substitution of cursing with hybris in the Greek version creates, in my opinion, an allusion to the Greek concept of hybris already found in Homer and legendary characters such as Tantalos or Sisyphos.[88] While the plot changes

[86] Fishbein 2021, §4.102–4.107; L8751 fol. 32v–33v.

[87] Fishbein 2021, §4.87; L8751 fol. 30v; *SkI* I,184,3–16.

[88] Boschung 2015, 215–218. I assume that the concept would also be familiar to a Byzantine Christian audience.

insofar as the turtle dies due to different reasons for speaking, the character of the turtle itself remains steady in the sense that it will always commit a sort of mortal sin.

The third instance is the embedded story that narrates the fate of a camel that becomes part of a lion's entourage after being promised friendship and protection by the lion.[89] However, when the lion is injured and starving, carnivores of the lion's entourage send the crow to suggest he eat the camel. There is a slight difference between the three versions since only L4044 explains that the other carnivores are starving too and therefore actively approach the lion, thus motivating their characters.[90] Yet, this additional motivation is implied in L8751 and *SkI* as well, since the other carnivores eagerly join the lion when eating the camel. The main difference between the Arabic and the Greek versions is instead found in the importance of the promise the lion has given to the camel. In L8751 and even more in L4044 the lion angrily refuses to break his promise.

Table 1.4: Comparison of L4044, L8751, and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
فغضب الأسد وقال أفّ لك ما أخطأ مقالتك وأعجز رأيك وأبعدك من الوفاء والرحمة. ما كنت حقيقًا أن تجترئ على استقبالي بهذه المقولة. ألم تعلم أنّي قد أمّنت الجمل وأنّي قد جعلت له ذمّتي وموثقي وعهدي أولم يبلغك أنّه لن يتصدّق المتصدّق بصدقة وإن عظمت هي أعظم أجرًا من أن يجير نفسًا خائفة أو يحقن دمًا وقد أجرت الجمل ولست غادرًا به.	فغضب الأسد وقال أفّ لك ما أخطل رايك واقل رحمتك وأبعدك من الوفاء. وما كنت حقيقًا أن تستقبلني بمثل هذا. ألم تعلم أنّي قد أمّنته وقد جعلت له ذمّتي وان أحدا لم يصدق بسي وإن عظم لم يكن بافضل من أن يجير نفسًا خائفة و يحقن دمًا كاد ان يهراق ولست غادرًا بالمجل ولا ناقضاً ما اعطيته من العهد والميثاق fol. 29v	ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς εἶπε· βαβαὶ τῆς ἀπηνείας καὶ τῆς τραχύτητός σου. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὡς συνθήκας καὶ φιλικὰ σύμφωνα πρὸς αὐτὴν πεποίηκα; οὐκ ἔδει σε τοιούτοις μοι προσομιλῆσαι ῥήμασιν. ἀδύνατόν μοι τὸ τοιοῦτον καθέστηκεν. (*SkI* I, 182,2–4)

[89] Fishbein 2021, §4.76–4.83; L8751 fol. 29r–30v; *SkI* I,180,5–183,10.
[90] Fishbein 2021, §4.77.

Table 1.4: Comparison of L4044, L8751, and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
This made the lion angry. "Shame on you! What a sinful thing to say! What a terrible idea! What happened to loyalty and mercy? How dare you confront me with such a proposal! Don't you know that I solemnly promised the camel safety and protection? Haven't you heard that a benefactor can bestow no gift, however great, more meritorious than to extend protection to a fearful soul and save its life? I have granted the camel my protection; I will not betray him".[91]	This made the lion angry. "Shame on you! What a sinful thing to say! What a terrible idea! What happened to loyalty and mercy? How dare you confront me with such a proposal! Don't you know that I solemnly promised the camel safety and protection? Haven't you heard that a benefactor can bestow no gift, however great, more meritorious than to extend protection to a fearful soul and preventing blood from being shed? I am not a traitor on the battlefield, nor one to break the promise and pact I made."	Becoming angry he said: "Fie, with your cruelty and harshness. Do you not know that I have made an agreement and harmonious friendship with it? You should not speak to me with such words. It is impossible for me to do such a thing."
قال الغراب إنّي لأعرف ما قال الملك ولكنّ النفس الواحدة يُفتدى بها أهل البيت وأهل البيت يُفتدى بها القبيلة والقبيلة يُفتدى بها أهل المصر وإنّ أهل المصر فدى للملك وقد نزلت بالملك وبنا الحاجة والنازلة وأنا جاعل للملك منه مخرجًا فلا يتكلّف الملك غدرًا إن يكن ذلك من الجمل ولا يأمر به أحد ولكنّا محتالون حيلة فيها وفاء للملك في ذمّته وظفرنا بحاجتنا.	قال الغراب قد صدقت ايها الملك ولكنّ النفس الواحدة يُفدا بها أهل البيت وأهل البيت يُفدا بهم القبيلة والقبيلة يُفداها المصر والمصر يفدا بها للملك وقد نزلت بناوبك الحاجة المضطره وأنا جاعل من امرك مخرجًا لا يلحقك فيه ملامه fol. 29r	ὁ δὲ κόραξ εἶπε· καλῶς ἔκρινας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ μία ψυχὴ ὑπὲρ ὅλου οἴκου προδίδοται, καὶ οἶκος ὅλος ὑπὲρ πόλεως, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ κλίματος, καὶ κλίμα ὑπὲρ βασιλέως. καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ σὺ κατατρυχόμεθα νῦν τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ, ἀλλ' εὑρήσομέν σοι πόρον, δι' οὗ διατηρηθήσῃ πάσης ὑπέρτερος μέμψεως. (*SkI* I, 182,5–8)

[91] Fishbein 2021, §4.80.

Table 1.4: Comparison of L4044, L8751, and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
The crow said, "I understand what Your Majesty is saying, but a single life is sacrificed to save a family, a family to save a tribe, a tribe to save a city's inhabitants, and a city's inhabitants to ransom a king. Now that need and disaster have descended on both king and us, I will give the king a way out. Your Majesty will not be personally responsible for any betrayal of the camel, nor for commanding it. We will devise a way for the king to keep his promise and for us to obtain what we need".[92]	The crow said, "you are right, Your Majesty, but a single life is sacrificed to save a family, a family to save a tribe, a tribe to save a city, and a city to ransom a king. Now that dire need has befallen you, I will give you a way out, for which no blame will befall you."	The crow said: "I understand what Your Majesty is saying, but a single life is sacrificed for a whole family, a whole family for a city, a city for a region, and a region for a king. Now that dire need has befallen us and you, we will give you a way out, for which no blame will befall you."
فسكت الأسد. وانصرف الغراب حين رأى إقرار الأسد فأتى أصحابه	فسكت الأسد. وانصرف الغراب الي صاحبيه fol. 29r	καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπανέζευξε πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ (*SkI* I, 182,8–9)
The lion kept silent. When he saw the lion's agreement, the crow returned to his friends.[93]	The lion kept silent. The crow returned to his two friends.	And having said these things it returned to its comrades

The horror of the lion breaking his promise seems to have less importance in *SkI*. The lion's refusal is comparatively short in comparison to L4044 and L8751. Breaking a promise in the Arabic text is sinful, disloyal, shameful, and terrible, while *SkI* only considers it harsh and cruel, reducing the moral component.

However, when the crow offers to find a way in which the lion can save his honor, the lion remains silent in both Arabic manuscripts. In L4044, the silence is depicted as a silent agreement. The explicit silence of the lion in L8751 in opposition to his angry refusal earlier can be understood in a similar way, but

[92] Fishbein 2021, §4.80.
[93] Fishbein 2021, §4.81.

the text offers no explicit interpretation as in L4044. In *SkI*, the lion's reaction is missing. Accordingly, it becomes increasingly vague whether the lion agrees with the crow's plan and his character becomes somewhat devaluated.[94] While he still kills and eats the camel after it is goaded into offering itself as food, the lion nevertheless loses most of his influence over the events, while the other carnivores are revaluated[95] as main villains. This change agrees perhaps more with the impression that the Greek bull has of the lion: his kindness is actively prevented by the evil people surrounding him. In comparison to this, the lion in L4044 retains more agency, since the villains around him are only enticing him instead of actively preventing him from being good. Since the story of the camel mirrors the bull's fate, the emphasis on promises or lack thereof is also reflected in the frame narrative.

Accordingly, the way in which the importance of promises influences the plot also becomes the main difference between *SkI* and L4044 and L8751 in the fourth instance. In L8751 and even more so in L4044, the promise between the bull Shanzabah and the jackal Dimna becomes the main reason for Shanzabah's demise. By constantly remembering that Dimna promised him friendship and protection, he is unable to perceive the jackal's evil intentions.[96] The promise is not found in *SkI*. Instead, it is transvaluated in the sense that Ichnelates' clever words and the pretense of good intentions convince the nameless bull.

Table 1.5: Comparison of L4044, L8751, and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
قال دمنة قد علمت حقّك عليّ وودّ ما بيني وبينك وما كنت جعلت لك من ذمّتي أيّام أرسلني إليك الأسد	فقال دمنه ان ذلك لكذلك وليس في امر نفسي وقد تعرف حقك علي والموده بيني وبينك وما كنت جعلت لك من ذمتي أيام الأسد ارسلني اليك fol. 27v	κἀν τούτῳ πάνυ ἄχθομαι τῷ αἴτιόν με γενέσθαι σοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἀφίξεως, ὅ με καὶ πείθει εὐνοϊκώτατά σοι προσομιλῆσαι. (*SkI* I,178,8–10)

[94] I understand devaluation as having a character lose importance, thus becoming less 'attractive' in the text's value system.

[95] I understand revaluation as having a character gain more importance, thus becoming more 'attractive' in the text's value system.

[96] Fishbein 2021, §4.67.

Table 1.5: Comparison of L4044, L8751, and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
"You know the claim you have on me," said Dimna, "and the affection between us, and the promise of protection I gave you when the lion sent me to you".[97]	Dimna said: "This is about your matter and not about me. You know the claim you have on me, and the affection between me and you, and the promise of protection I gave you when the lion sent me to you."	And I am completely vexed because I was the reason for you to come to the lion. This is the reason that persuaded me to speak to you in a favorable way.

The erased sacredness of promises agrees with the camel story described above, where the crucial act of betrayal is not committed by the carnivores suggesting the murder of the camel, but by the lion agreeing to it. Dimna's betrayal in *KwD* appears especially wicked since he is also breaking a sacred promise to Shanzabah, unlike in *SkI* where Ichnelates is only someone who should be trusted since he recommended the bull to the lion king in the past. While Shanzabah is betrayed by the character he trusts the most, the bull in *SkI* falls for a less personal scheme that does not attempt to shake the foundations of friendship. In that sense, much like the tale of the fool and the wicked man or the tale of the camel, the story in *SkI* is less dark.

While these cases show how small changes may influence the overall plot or at least the perception of the plot, there are many further differences in character depictions. Concerning the personalities of various characters, *SkI* and sometimes also L4044 provide alternative descriptions that should be taken into account when considering the different impressions each version creates.

In the beginning, the merchant's three sons are described as dumb and lazy in Greek, but wasteful and lazy in Arabic,[98] implying that in the Greek narrative, stupidity is more condemnable than wasting money (*SkI* I,151,5–6). When the bull is living alone in the wilderness, only in L4044 is he revaluated as afraid and by expressing his fear through telling himself a tale about a man suffering various misfortunes until being killed by chance.[99] The additional story in L4044 demonstrates how easily the text can be extended with further material and how this can result in a character's revaluation. Another varying factor is the depic-

[97] Fishbein 2021, §4.66.

[98] Fishbein 2021, §4.2; L8751 fol. 17v–18r.

[99] Fishbein 2021, §4.3. The presence or absence of this tale can serve as a marker for different branches of Di within the Arabic versions.

tion of the lion king. In L4044 and L8751, the lion king's court consists of soldiers,[100] implying the importance of the military, while *SkI* has him reign over subjects of unspecified occupation (*SkI* I,153,12–15). Additionally, the lion's unfavorable description in L4044 and L8751 is even worse in *SkI*, making him an unsuitable leader.

As regards Dimna/Ichnelates, in addition to the erasing of broken promises in *SkI* in comparison to L4044 and L8751, the first meeting with the lion king has changed in the Greek translation, leading to the characters' transmotivation. In both Arabic manuscripts, Dimna's father is already known to the lion; Dimna, however, makes a point of being recognized for his own merits.[101] In *SkI*, the passage is entirely different (*SkI* I,160,4–161,10). There is no mention of a father; instead, Ichnelates utters a unique passage about why a king needs to include not only nobility, but also knowledgeable foreign personnel at court. He is therefore a complete stranger to the lion king and has to earn his place as much as the bull. Interestingly, this change of Ichnelates into someone without ties to the king better suits the subsequent *amthāl* found in every version.[102] Both *amthāl* provide examples of why things brought from afar are better than things one has at hand. Accordingly, the changed background story for Ichnelates fits better with his overall speech.

The other jackal, Kalila/Stephanites, remains stable in his characterization, except for one instance in L8751. After discussing with Dimna/Ichnelates the risks and gains of becoming close to the king, he wishes Dimna/Ichnelates good luck. Only in L8751 does he add that he is still opposed to Dimna's plan.[103] In this sense, L8751's Kalila appears more assertive than in the other versions, foreshadowing his harsh criticism of Dimna's devices at the end of the story.

Finally, there are some noteworthy differences which hardly have any impact on the overall story but are still interesting for the sake of contextual versions. The passage quoted above in which the crow tries to convince the king to eat the camel provides the king with a list of things that are supposed to be sacrificed for the sake of another. Interestingly, *SkI* excluded tribes from this list. This is probably because the Byzantine Empire did not have tribal structures. Another instance is the *mathal* about competence and insight:

وإنّما يستخرج ما عند الرجال ولاتهم وما عند الجند قادتهم وما في الدين من تأويل علماؤه

[100] Fishbein 2021, §4.4; L8751 fol. 18r.
[101] Fishbein 2021, §4.14; §4.19; L8751 fol. 20r–20v.
[102] Fishbein 2021, §4.19; L8751 fol. 20v; *SkI* I,161,4–6.
[103] L8751, fol. 25r.

> Only a ruler can know a man's true potential, only a general can know a soldier's, and in religion it comes from the interpretation of the learned.[104]
>
> δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα διακρίνειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα τοὺς λογικοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ σπουδαίους. (*SkI* I,161,11–13)
>
> The ruler must assess his subjects, the general the soldiers, and the high priest the intellectual and diligent men.

The different occupations in the last part of the corresponding sentence are somewhat curious. The Arabic seems to refer to an occupation similar to a theologian. In the Greek translation, however, not the knowledge but rather the power within the religious institution is emphasized by the word ἀρχιερέα. The term could be translated as bishop or high priest, referring either to the biblical high priest or a rank in the orthodox church. This seems to imply that for *SkI* not only knowledge but also actual power matter when deciding on the intellectual and moral qualities of someone. Additionally, if one understands the "intellectual and diligent men" as scholars, it positions the church in the highest authority over learned matters. This might refer to an ongoing struggle between classical (pagan) learning and Christian faith that is prominent in other parts of *SkI*.[105]

Another instance is a sudden religious emphasis in the Greek translation of the following passage, in which Ichnelates/Dimna reminds the king of the bonds between subjects and ruler:

> ولكنّي إذا تذكّرت أنّ أنفسنا معاشر السباع معلّقة بنفسك
>
> I call to mind how ourselves as animals are bound up with yourself[106]
>
> ἀλλὰ διαλογίζομαι, ὡς αἱ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ τῆς σῆς ἀνήρτηνται ψυχῆς
>
> but I consider how our souls are attached to your soul (*SkI* I,172,5)

A more literal translation of the Arabic pronouns "ourself" (أنفسنا *'anfusuna*) and "yourself" (بنفسك *nafsak*) is "our souls" and "your soul." *SkI* chooses a literal translation by using the word "soul" (ψυχή). Accordingly, the Greek translation emphasizes a ruler's absolute power.

Comparing these instances in which the three versions differ, it becomes clear that the Greek version normally stays closer to L8751, but generally tends to streamline the narration with editorial choices. Furthermore, the main character, Ichnelates, appears a little less evil due to the missing importance of promises.

[104] Fishbein 2021, §4.18; with changes in the translation made by me.
[105] See below, 2.2.
[106] Fishbein 2021, §4.52.

1.4.2. Trial of Ichnelates (Di)

Kalila/Stephanites' continuous rants are overheard by another court member and reported to the lion king's mother. She approaches her son, who is devastated by the bull's death and hints that she has information about Dimna/Ichnelates instigating the whole incident. Dimna/Ichnelates is then put on trial but his guilt remains unproven in the first session. Waiting in prison, he is visited by Kalila/Stephanites who urges him to confess to save his soul and ends their relationship for good. Dimna/Ichnelates ignores Kalila/Stephanites' final advice and successfully defends himself against the allegations until a decisive intervention of the lion's mother results in his death.

Among all chapters, the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) is perhaps the one that contains the most plot-related differences for L4044 in comparison to L8751 and *SkI*. Yet, it is also the one in which *SkI* shows extensive use of Christian and Classical Greek quotations that have no corresponding quotations in the Arabic manuscripts.[107] Furthermore, there are some changes to be found in the embedded tales, as well as some minor and independent differences between versions. There is, however, a problem in comparing L8751 to L4044 and *SkI*, because it misses one passage at the beginning of the trial. The copyist was aware of it, leaving an empty space on fol. 36r where the passage should have been. Accordingly, it is unclear whether the lack of pious content about asceticism in *SkI* (*SkI* II,193,7–8) as compared to L4044 can be attributed to the common source of *SkI* and L8751.[108] As stated above, I will include the edition made by Louis Cheikho of MS Dayr al-Shīr (749/1348) at some instances, since it is curiously close to L4044 as well as A4095.

Despite this, a comparison to the rest of the chapter shows that *SkI* provides a rather faithful translation, staying close to the original wording and showing the same order of units as in L8751 at the beginning and end of the text. After the final conversation between Kalila/Stephanites and Dimna/Ichnelates, the order of units and arguments in court is different in each version. Since this has no real impact on plot or characterization, I will not focus on it here.

Looking first at minor changes, one of them belongs to a few occurrences in which *SkI* has units not found in L8751. The *amthāl* units Di 110–112, however, exist with variations in A4095, Cheikho, and L4044:

[107] See below, 2.2.1.
[108] Fishbein 2021, §5.9.

Table 1.6: Comparison of A4095, Cheikho (ed.), L4044 and SkI

A4095	Cheikho (ed)	L4044	SkI
فإنّ النار التي تكون في الحجر والعود إنما تُستخرج بالحيل وليس هذا ⟨هذا⟩ يخفى مثل	وقد علمت أيّها الملك أنّ النار تكون مستكمنة في الشجر والحجارة فلا تخرج ولا تصاب منفعتها إلّا بالعمل والطلب	وقد علمت أيّها الملك أنّ النار يكون مسكنها الشجر والحجر ثمّ لا تُخرج ولا يُوصل إلى منافعها إلّا بالعمل والطلب	τὸ γὰρ οἰκουρὸν πῦρ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ μεθόδῳ τινὶ φανεροῦται (*SkI* II,193,11–12)
The fire that is in stone and wood is only extracted by skill and like this it stays not hidden (Di 110)	As Your Majesty knows, fire dwells in trees and rocks, only through labor and effort can it be brought out and made use of. (Di 110)	As Your Majesty knows, fire dwells in trees and rocks; only through labor and effort can it be brought out and put to use. (Di 110)	The in-dwelling fire reveals wood and things made from wood;
فإنّ جُرم المرء إذا فُحص عنه وفُتّش ازداد استنارة واستبانة	ولو كنت مجرمًا لتخوّفت التكشّف عن جرمي كلا قد أصبحت لعلمي ببراءتي أرجو أن يستخرج الفحص والتكشف صحّة أمري	ولو كنت مجرمًا لتخوّفت التكشّف عن أمري ولما أصبحت ببراءتي عالمًا أرجو أن يستخرج الفحص صحّة أمري	καὶ ἐρευνώμενα μᾶλλον ἀποκαλύπτεται (*SkI* II,193,12–13)
If a person's crime is examined and investigated, it becomes more enlightened and clear (Di 111)	If I were a criminal, I would be fearful of my crime being exposed, but knowing my innocence, I am now hopeful that the investigation and revelation will bring out the truth (Di 111)	If I were a criminal, I would be as fearful of exposure as, knowing my innocence, I am now hopeful that the investigation will bring out the truth (Di 111)	and proven and thoroughly investigated accusations are uncovered.
كما أنّ كلّ نتنٍ من حمأة وغيرها إذا ثُوّرت ظهر ريحها وقذرها	وكذلك كلّ شيءٍ طابت رائحته أو نتنت فاليوم يزيده فوحًا وظهورًا	وكذلك كلّ شيء طابت ريحه بالتثوير يزيده فوحًا وظهورًا	παραπλησίως τῇ δυσώδει ὕλῃ ταραττομένῃ. (*SkI* II,193, 13)

Table 1.6: Comparison of A4095, Cheikho (ed.), L4044 and SkI

A4095	Cheikho (ed)	L4044	SkI
just as every stench of mud and other things, whose smell and filth appear when stirred. (Di 112)	just as perfumes diffuse their sweetness or stink more widely the moment they are stirred. (Di 112)	just as perfumes diffuse their sweetness more widely when stirred. (Di 112)[109]	similarly to how foul matter/wood is stirred up.

With these *mathal*, Dimna/Ichnelates pretends not to be guilty, emphasizing that an investigation of his participation in the bull's death could only prove his innocence. In A4095, L4044 and Cheikho, fire is the positive result that can be brought forward through effort, like Dimna's innocence will shine forward if investigated. Therefore, he welcomes the investigation. This is followed by a second *mathal* in L4044 which compares an investigation that uncovers Dimna's innocence to stirring perfume that then smells sweetly. Cheikho has the addition that the perfume could also stink, depending on what an investigation will uncover. A4095 has no perfume and only stench, thus emphasizing the lies that will surface. In this sense, each Arabic version focuses on a different perspective. L4044 enhances the deception of Dimna, who emphasizes his innocence even within the *mathal* since an investigation can only leads to the fragrance of innocence. Cheikho leaves the outcome open, presenting both stench and sweet smell, while A4095 only focuses on stench and the lies that will surface.

In *SkI*, however, these three units are merged into one close-knit sentence. The beginning (Di 110) is somewhat strangely phrased, but apparently describes the idea that fire is 'dwelling in' (οἰκουρὸν) wood and can reveal the wooden quality of something. Calling it forth would then prove that something is made from wood, similar to the Arabic. Additionally, the Greek translation of the second *mathal* can be understood in two ways, depending on the understanding of ὕλη. If ὕλη is translated as 'wood' as in unit Di 110, the *SkI* unit Di 112 would be a continuation of the first *mathal*. Burning wood would uncover foul wood by its smell. Following this analogy, the fire of investigation would be able to prove wrong accusations. Ichnelates' guilt can thus be discovered like the smell giving away foul wood. This would also mean that *SkI* is continuing the first *mathal* and fusing it with the second.

On the other hand, ὕλη can also have the meaning 'matter' or even 'mud,' which would align with A4095's version of Di 112. In this case, it would mean

[109] Fishbein 2021, §5.12.

that *SkI* is following a version of the London continuum that at this occasion is close to A4095. Furthermore, the general phrasing of investigation revealing innocence in A4095 that does not mention Dimna/Ichnelates in Di 111 also links A4095 to the equally general *SkI*. From this perspective, I consider the passage to be closest to A4095. This demonstrates once more that differences between *SkI* and the two closest manuscripts L4044 and L8751 can require careful comparison with other variants of the text.

From an argumentative perspective, both versions of Di 112 fulfill the same purpose, yet their focus differs. In A4095 and *SkI* Dimna/Ichnelates indirectly warns his accusers that their lies will be revealed, while Dimna in L4044 and Cheikho focus more on his innocence. In another unit where Dimna/Ichnelates verbally assaults one of his accusers, the final insult is different in each version (Di 160). In *SkI*, the accuser is not suited to approach the king, in L8751 he should stay by the door and belongs with the animals,[110] and in L4044, the accuser is, curiously, not even suitable for tending to the lion king's riding animals.[111]

Concerning the two embedded tales of the good blind doctor and the quack as well as the man and the two women, each of them shows their peculiarities. Both of them are told by Dimna/Ichnelates to silence his accusers, who are compared to the sanctioned characters in each story. In the story about the blind doctor and the quack, the sick princess they are supposed to cure is pregnant in Arabic but ill in Greek.

Table 1.7: Comparison of L4044, L8751 and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
وكان لملك تلك الناحية بنت فزوّجها ابن أخ له فحملت فعرض لها بعض ما يعرض للحوامل من الأوجاع	وكانت لملكهم ابنة كريمه عليه حبيبه اليه وكانت حاملاً فاصابها بطن فجعلت fol. 38v	ἔτυχε δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως νόσῳ περιπεσεῖν (*SkI* II, 197,4–5)
The king of that city had a daughter whom he married to a nephew. She became pregnant and began to feel some of the pains that women experience in pregnancy, (Di 236)	Their king had a daughter who was dear to and beloved by him, and she was pregnant. She had a stomach ache. (Di 236)	It happened that the daughter of the one ruling over the city was down with a sickness

[110] L8751 fol. 36v.
[111] Fishbein 2021, §5.17.

Table 1.7: Comparison of L4044, L8751 and Symeon Seth

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
فبعث الملك إلى الطبيب الأعمى فلمّا جاءه سأل أهل الجارية عن وجعها فأعلموه فوصف لهم دواء معروفًا وسمّاه لهم	فبعث في طلب الاطب فاتت رسله رجلاً منهم كان له علم علي راس فرسح فوجدوه قد عمي فوصفوا له وجع ابنه الملك فامرهم ان يسقوها دوا يقال له زامهران	καὶ διωρίσατο σοφός τις ἰατρὸς τυφλὸς χρήσασθαι ταύτην ἀδιάντῳ. (*SkI* II, 197,5–6)
so the king sent for the blind physician. He arrived and questioned the young woman's family about her pains. They told him, and he prescribed a well-known medicine, which he named.[112] (Di 237)	So, he sent for doctors, and his messengers brought a man from among them who had knowledge on the head of the Persians [sic]. So they found him – and he was blind – and they described the pain of the king's daughter for him. Then he ordered them to give her a medicine called Zāmharān (Di 237)	and a certain wise and blind doctor had determined to use Adiantum [maidenhair fern] for her.

Interestingly, the medicine has a name both in L8751 and *SkI*, but not in L4044, although the manuscript repeatedly says that it has a name. Since the doctor is Persian in L8751, the medicine 'Zāmharān' (زامهران) is also Persian, meaning 'antidote'.[113] Maidenhair fern would be a plant that could be used to induce an abortion.[114] However, it is not clear why *SkI* substitutes pregnancy by an unspecified sickness. Both Arabic sources then inform us that the medicine badly mixed by the quack turns into poison that kills the princess, whereas the medicine in *SkI* causes deadly diarrhea.

Considering Symeon Seth's sufficient medical knowledge, he might have wanted to take the opportunity to use it here. It is rather unlikely that it was an attempt to avoid pregnancy as a topic, since it is an important plot element in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw). Furthermore, the change from pregnancy to diarrhea also adds a new layer of crudeness to the story that might cater to the audience's entertainment. It could also be understood as a more blatant insult

[112] Fishbein 2021, §5.29.

[113] Steingass 1892, 607. In Arabic, the same root relates to something with extremely hot or cold properties: Hava 1899, 288, and Wehr 1993, 444.

[114] Noble 2022, 472–473.

by Ichnelates, who is telling the story, towards his attackers, whom he likens to the quack. Accordingly, he is telling them in a refined manner that they literally 'know shit' and that they, after being fed their own medicine, will show the world that they are 'full of shit'.[115]

In the second case, the story about the two naked women and the naked man has changed significantly between the Arabic manuscripts and *SkI*. The story is used by Dimna/Ichnelates to defend himself against an accuser who argues that Dimna/Ichnelates must be guilty according to physiognomic traits that mark him as evil.

L4044	**L8751**	**Symeon Seth**
كانت مدينة تُدعى بردجرد فأغار عليها العدوّ فقتل فيها وسبى وانطلق بمن سبى إلى بلادهم فأصاب رجل منهم في قسمة السبي حرّاثًا وامرأتين له فكان صاحبهم ذلك يضيّق عليهم في الطعام والشراب والكسوة	زعموا ان مدينه تدعي المحدثه اغار عليها عدواً لها فقتلوا الرجال وسبوا الدربه فاصاب رجلا منهم في القسمه رجلا حراث وامراتان له فكان يسي اليهم ويجيعهم ويعريهم	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς δύο γυναῖκες μετὰ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔκ τινος αἰχμαλωσίας (*SkI* II,198,9–13)
A city called Burdjird was raided by an enemy that killed some of its inhabitants and led others away as captives. As his share of the spoils, one of the victors received a plowman and his two wives. As their master, he gave them little to eat and drink and little to wear. (Di 255)	They say a city called Muhadith raided by an enemy that killed [some] of its men and led others away as captives. As his share of the spoils, one of the victors received a plowman and his two wives and he offended them, starved them, and stripped them naked (Di 255)	It is said that two women and a man after they had escaped from a certain captivity
فانطلق الحرّاث ذات يوم يحتطب ومعه امرأتاه عريانتان فأصابت إحداهما خرقة بالية في الصحراء فأخذتها فغطت بها عورتها وقالت الأخرى لزوجها ألا تنظر إلى هذه الفاعلة التي تمشي عريانة	فانطلق هو وامراتاه يحتطبون فوجدت احداهن خرقه باليه فسرت به عورتها فابصرتها الاخري فقالت لزوجها الا تنظر الي هذه الزانيه عريانه	διαδράσαντες γυμνοὶ ξύλα συνῆγον. μία δὲ αὐτῶν ῥάκει τινὶ προστυχοῦσα τὴν ἰδίαν αἰσχύνην τούτῳ περιεκάλυψεν. ἐπιστραφεῖσα δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν εἶπεν· οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ γυμνὴ βαδίζουσα, (*SkI* II,198,9–13)

[115] On *Fäkalhumor* in medieval literature, see Smith 2012, 1–7. On personal insults involving feces in Byzantine literature, see Opstall 2015, 777, 780–781.

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
One day, the plowman and his naked wives went out to gather firewood. One of the wives found an old rag in the field and covered her private parts. The other wife said to her husband, "Look at that hussy walking around naked!" (Di 256)	Then he and the two women went out to gather firewood. One of them found an old rag and covered her private parts. The other wife saw it and said to her husband, "Don't you see this adultress being naked?" (Di 256)	were gathering pieces of wood naked. One of them, having obtained some rag, hid her nakedness with it. Turning around she said to the other one: "Do you not have any sense of shame walking around naked?"
فقال لها زوجها ويلك ألا تنظرين أنت إلى نفسك فإنّ جسمك عارٍ كلّه وأنت تطعنين على التي قد غطت عورتها وتعيّبينها بهذا وإليك العجب	فقال لها تركت نفسك وانت عريانه وتعيبين علي صاحبتك حين غطت عورتها بما قدرت عليه	πρὸς ἣν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔφη· κατέλιπες, ὦ ἀσύνετε, τὸ τὴν ἰδίαν ὁρᾶν γύμνωσιν καὶ ὀνειδίζεις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ. (*SkI* II,198,9–13)
And her husband replied, "A plague on you! Look at yourself! You are completely naked, yet you find fault and speak evil of someone who has covered her own nakedness. Unbelievable!" (Di 257)[116]	He said: "Have you lost your mind! You criticize and blame your friend when she covered her private parts as much as she could." (Di 257)	To her, the man said: "Did you forget, o senseless one, that we saw your own nakedness and you reproach her for this."

The initial setting of the Arabic manuscripts and *SkI* differ from each other. Although it does not impact the overall story, the three characters in the Arabic versions are still slaves, while the Greek characters have escaped captivity. Since it seems probable that the change was made by Symeon Seth, the reason could be that keeping naked slaves might have appeared nonsensical in the climate of Constantinople, where clothing was necessary for survival or nakedness was simply considered uncivilized. More important is the cultural difference in marriage. In a polygamous society, the man and the two women are married, while for the monogamous Greek society they are substituted with three escapees united by chance. The main difference, however, lies in the ending and the reproached character. In both Arabic manuscripts, the still naked woman insults the one who is barely clothed. In L4044 she is criticized for forgetting her own worse state, and in L8751 for not recognizing the decency behind the other woman's attempt to appear as covered as possible. Yet, in *SkI*, the barely clothed woman

[116] Fishbein 2021, §5.33.

attacks the other one instead and is therefore reproached for forgetting about her having been just as naked.

In my interpretation, the difference between the Arabic and the Greek outcome of the story lies in the hierarchy between the clothed and therefore superior woman and the inferior, naked woman. In Arabic, the woman with the lower position attacks the one above her, who manages to cover up at least some part of her body. If one links this to the frame narrative, the accuser is then blamed for being even worse than Dimna and unable to recognize that fact or appreciate the actions through which Dimna distinguishes himself as superior, despite coming from the same naked and humble origin. However, in *SkI*, the hierarchy is turned around and the woman in a superior position attacks the one in a humble state, despite having just recently been in the same position. Therefore, it can be argued that the Arabic version warns against attacking superiors while *SkI* warns against lashing out against inferiors. A possible reason for this change might be that the Greek translator preferred a more religious subtext, wanting to emphasize the notion that all humans share one equally humble origin of being nothing more than dust, something that they should never forget even if fate treats them better than others. This aligns with Ichnelates' overall pious bearing in the trial.[117]

Regarding the characters in the frame narrative, the main change is found in the lion's mother and in the way she is depicted in L4044. While she comes to doubt Dimna/Ichnelates' guilt in L8751[118] and *SkI* (II,195,12–15), she stays firm in her conviction in L4044 and repeatedly orders her son to kill Dimna because she is rightfully weary of Dimna's rhetoric. In L4044 and L8751, it is the lion king who orders a trial despite his mother's warnings. In the subsequent trial, the lion king is not physically present in the Arabic version, handing over the responsibility from the very beginning to the judge in L4044, A4095, and Cheikho but only on the second day in L8751 and *SkI*. [119] Although the lion listens to the proceeding at court in *SkI*, he never interrupts. L4044, however, not only turns the lion's mother into a fiercer attacker of Dimna/Ichnelates, but also shows mercy for Kalila/Stephanites. Instead of drinking poison out of fear of being tortured and betraying Dimna/Ichnelates, Kalila/Stephanites in L4044 breaks up with Dimna/Ichnelates and leaves the court for good.[120]

Comparing the subsequent plot, L4044 and Cheikho belong to the few versions in which Dimna is rightfully sentenced. Instead of ending up having only one witness, the court can procure a second one who heard Dimna confessing

[117] See below, 2.2.1.1.
[118] L8751 fol. 37r.
[119] Fishbein 2021, §5.11; L8751 fol 37r; *SkI* II,196,12–14.
[120] Fishbein 2021, §5.24; L8751 fol 38r; *SkI* II,196,11–12.

his crimes to Kalila. Their independent testimonies suffice to sentence Dimna to death. Yet, in L8751 (Di 348) and *SkI*, [121] the court remains unable to convict Dimna/Ichnelates, despite being convinced of his guilt. In this instance, the lion's mother steps up and warns her son of letting Dimna/Ichnelates go free because the fact that he is not punishable by law would undermine the state and encourage others to do the same. Therefore, the lion orders Dimna/Ichnelates to be killed.

It seems that the different outcome in L4044 shows the preference of the copyist, who makes similar changes in many other chapters. This is made visible by the copyist's comment at the end of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) stating that Dimna will be rightfully punished. While the outcome of the story – Dimna's punishment and death – do not change, the new character transvaluates the plot in the following manner. The new version shows a strong need for not only a functioning, regular trial but also a desire for the state's integrity. While Dimna/Ichnelates' death might appear as justice in each version at first glance, it is, legally speaking, only lawless vengeance enacted by the king who places himself above the law.[122] Although the reasoning of the lion's mother is sound, it nevertheless asks for a solution that turns the lion from a king abiding by the law into a tyrant ruling through his power. Dimna/Ichnelates' destabilizing effect is still felt, since it creates a precedent case for the king to kill despite acquittal due to lack of evidence. In this sense, the lion in L8751 and *SkI* is still the same character as in the first chapter. Instead of being convinced to kill the bull without questioning him by Dimna/Ichnelates, he is convinced by his mother to kill Dimna/Ichnelates despite lacking sufficient evidence. In this sense, the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) tells a story of collapse in which the ideal ruler who only acts upon evidence is sacrificed for the sake of protecting the state. This contradicts the common opinion that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ desired a more moral ending, as it clearly paints a picture of a court official's powerlessness in the face of royal arbitrariness.[123] Considering Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's execution, which was more or less the consequence of his eloquence,[124] the lawless ending of Dimna/Ichnelates certainly appears like a premonition and may be intended to criticize contemporary practices in the guise of translation.

[121] L8751 fol. 41v–42r; *SkI* II,200,13–18.

[122] Foster 2009, 194, for example, understands it as moral victory.

[123] For example, Shamma 2009, 74, understands Di as a more moral ending of *Lion and Bull* (Lo). However, my understanding of the trial agrees with that of Ruymbeke 2016, 549.

[124] Chokr 1993, 187–209.

1.4.3. Ringdove (Rd)

> *A crow watches a flock of doves being captured by a hunter with a net. Yet the doves, led by their mistress, manage to fly away together with the trap. The intrigued crow follows them to a mouse*[125] *den where the mouse, an old friend of the mistress, frees them from the net. Impressed by the mouse's loyalty, the crow befriends the mouse as well and convinces her to move in together with the turtle, another friend of the crow. Here, the mouse finally confesses its troubled past of losing all its wealth and power and thus living as an outcast from the other mice. The turtle consoles the mouse and they become friends. The three then meet a gazelle who joins their unlikely friendship. One day, the gazelle is caught by a hunter, but by working together with their individual strengths they successfully get rid of the hunter.*

Unlike the other chapters, *Ringdove* (Rd) proves to have only a few noticeable changes despite its length. There are mainly three instances that alter the plot and characters or substitute a unit, and even these alterations are rather minor. First, as a character, the crow is more pious in both Arabic manuscripts than in *SkI*.[126] While the Greek crow simply aspires to become friends with the mouse because it observes the mouse being kind to the dove, the Arabic crow perceives the action of the mouse to be an act of God. In this sense, the mouse's friendship becomes desirable on an additional religious level in the Arabic version. The fact that both manuscripts share this trait makes it likely that the Greek translator deliberately decided not to translate it, keeping the friendship on a more practical, worldly level.

Second, in the mouse's background story, the mouse in the Arabic text explains its motivation for attempting to regain its lost wealth: it is convinced that this would partially restore its powers and make some of its friends return.[127] The mouse in *SkI*, however, is demotivated as it provides no internal motivation and instead explains its plan (*SkI* III,208,11–14). In the end, no matter the plan or motivation, the mouse fails its attempt in every version. Third, the mouse in all versions has a long lament about the importance of wealth. While *SkI* customarily shortens the speech at various points without changing the overall content, there is one instance where shame is emphasized as being the worst part of poverty. It has no corresponding unit in L8751 and rewrites the one in L4044 by substituting it partly with a quote:

> فالموت أهون من الفاقة التي تضطرّ صاحبها إلى مسألة الناس ثمّ لا سيّما مسألة الأشحّاء اللؤماء

[125] In Arabic, the mouse is a rat.
[126] Fishbein 2021, §6.6; L8751 fol 42v; *SkI* II,204,3–5.
[127] Fishbein 2021, §6.24; L8751 fol 46r.

> Death is easier to bear than poverty, which forces its victim to beg – especially if he must beg from those who are mean and miserly.[128]
>
> καὶ ἄμεινον τοῦ βίου προαπελθεῖν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα αἰσχύνης κτήσασθαι μάρτυρα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ πρός τινας τῶν φειδωλῶν ποιεῖται τὴν αἴτησιν. (*SkI* III,208,9--11)
>
> And as it was said, *it is better to depart from life than to bring upon oneself the sun as a witness of shame*;[129] especially if one has to make a request from someone miserable.

Both versions conclude that death is easier to bear than poverty, because a poor person has to beg from people normally considered to be below one's own status. While the meaning does not change, *SkI* emphasizes it through a suitable quote from Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, quoting Hesiod on a related topic.[130] This becomes meaningful since it indirectly points out the speaker's superior knowledge, which would make it hard to beg from less educated people who are "miserable" (τῶν φειδωλῶν) despite being richer. In this sense, the superiority of the one who has to beg in L4044 is not specified.

There are few differences between these versions on the level that would impact the overall impression of the chapter. *Ringdove* (Rd) is therefore overall more stable than other chapters. As the only story that has a genuinely happy ending in that it demonstrates true friendship between vastly different animals, it appears to find agreement among copyists and translators. With joined cleverness and kindness, the power of their friendship overcomes external danger in the shape of two hunters and internal dangers as depicted by the mouse's depression. This positive message in *Ringdove* (Rd) seems to have been accepted by all versions, showing that the concept of true friendship was not seen as needing adjustments.

1.4.4. Owls and Crows (Oc)

> *Due to a crow preventing an owl from becoming king of all birds, both bird species are mortal enemies. In a nightly ambush, the owls deal a devastating blow to the crows. The crow king then assembles his five wise ministers to discuss their means of survival. In the end, he obeys the advice of the fifth crow who opts for being sent as a spy to the owls to learn their weakness. The owls fall for the spy's lies, except for one owl minister whose advice to kill the crow is ignored. After gathering the needed information, the spy returns, and the crows successfully kill all the owls. In a conversation between the spy and the crow king, they ridicule the owls and only praise the one who wanted the spy dead.*

[128] Fishbein 2021, §6.23.
[129] Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* 8,22.
[130] See below, 2.2.1.

The most noticeable change in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) concerns the overall complexity of diegetic layers in comparison to the Arabic manuscripts. *SkI* removes all inserted tales except for the one about the snake and the frogs. Otherwise, the plot and the outcome of the story remain the same in each version. There is, however, a rather impactful character change and *SkI* provides several pious remarks and quotes which neither L4044 nor L8751 have. Furthermore, there are various instances where wisdom sayings and advice are substituted with new content in *SkI*.

Since all the substitutions in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) found in the council of crows have been discussed above, here I would just like to note that *SkI* shows the tendency to choose different images for comparison as a means of enhancing understanding. There are only two further changes within the chapter that have an impact on the story and the characters, but without changing the outcome. The first main substitution leads to a significant character change that I will discuss in detail along with its cultural implications below.[131] In that instance, the two owl ministers recommending sparing the spy crow in L8751 and L4044 are fused into a single owl.[132] This new, fused character then uses a new sort of argument with an inserted quote from the New Testament based on Christian morals and beliefs to convince the owl king to employ Christian mercy (*SkI* IV,223,1–3). Whereas the Arabic versions imply that greed for benefits that might be gained from a deserter causes the downfall of the owls, the new owl in *SkI* gives bad advice based on religious conviction. The appearance of a Christian advisor owl could be the reason why *SkI* includes pious remarks like "with the grace of God" (*SkI* IV,216,6) whereas the Arabic manuscripts have none. Yet, it is also plausible that Symeon Seth's source text already contained every remark but the Bible quote; while the first are easily inserted and removed, the latter is clearly an intervention of a Christian translator like Symeon Seth.

The other substitution occurs at the end of the story, when the king has a conversation about the owls with the spy crow. As noted above, the king rarely talks in *SkI* and is mostly silent in this scene as well. Accordingly, it is the spy crow in *SkI* that concludes that the owls died because of their arrogance and not because of the king. Furthermore, both L4044 and L8751 state the bad judgement of the owl ministers as the second reason,[133] which has no correspondence in the Greek version. Overall, the final conversation between king and spy is greatly shortened in *SkI*. Neither the spy crow nor the king continuously praises each other for their cleverness, nor does the spy crow elaborate on why the owl who

[131] See below, 2.2.1.

[132] https://kalila-and-dimna.fu-berlin.de/collations/Oc_Main_Edition, units 104–171 (last visited 2025-10-08).

[133] Fishbein 2021, §7.44, 7.53; L8751 57v, 58r.

suggested killing the crow was behaving wisely. To conclude, the Greek version once again streamlines the chapter and reduces the conversation to its essential parts.

1.4.5. Monkey and Turtle (At)

> *Having become old, the monkey king finds himself exiled from the monkey kingdom. Living in loneliness in a fig tree, one day he encounters a turtle that he starts feeding figs, creating a close bond between two very different species. The turtle, however, has a companion who feels abandoned. Trying to win back the turtle, it pretends to have fallen terminally ill with a monkey heart being the only cure. Devastated, the turtle decides to betray and kill the monkey, who only realizes the betrayal at the last moment. Convincing the turtle that he left his heart at home owing to cultural differences between monkeys and turtles, he manages to escape from the turtle's trap, ending their relationship for good.*

As in several other chapters described above, the inserted tale about a donkey, a fox, and a lion is omitted in the Greek version of *Monkey and Turtle* (At). What remains is only the frame narrative about the relationship between a monkey and a turtle. The other points at which the Greek and the Arabic versions differ are the gender of the turtle and its companion, the depiction of the relationship between the turtle and the monkey, the existence of the companion's female ally, and the way in which the story ends.[134] Concerning all these aspects, there are also great differences between L4044 and L8751 despite belonging to the same Arabic continuum.

As regards the turtle's gender and the relationships between the characters in L4044, L8751 and *SkI*, the differences become apparent when placing the same units next to each other.

[134] On a side note, it appears that the turtle's species also changed probably in the Pahlavi version from a crocodile (Sanskrit) to a turtle. The change might be related to a strange depiction of a crocodile, as happened to the elephant in another tale. See Olivelle 2006, 473–502, and Zin 2008, 33–93.

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
فأعجبه صوت وقعها في الماء فجعل يطرح من ذلك التين في الماء متلذّذًا بما يسمع من وقعه في الماء فجعل السلحفاة يأكل ولا يشكّ أنّ القرد إنّما يطرح التين من أجله فرغب في مؤاخاة القرد وكلّمه بكلام لطيف وأعلمه رغبته في مؤاخاته فأجابه القرد بمثل ذلك وسكن كلّ واحد منهما إلى صاحبه وسُرّ به واغتبط السلحفاة بجوار القرد ومؤاخاته واستغنى كلّ واحد منهما بصاحبه ومكانه عمّا وراءه من أهله وأصحابه	ولما سمع القرد وقع التين في الماء اعجبه ذلك فاولع بالقا التين في الماء وجعل الغيلم ياخذه فيأكل ولا يشكّ في أنّ القرد يطرح ذلك من أجله فخرج الغيلم الي القرد فتاصاجا وتصافيا والف كل واحد بصاحبه fol. 59r	*πέπτωκε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ μία συκῆ, ἣν ἅρασα ἡ χελώνη ἔφαγεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ πίθηξ γελάσας οὐ διέλιπε τὴν χελώνην συκίζων* (*SkI* V,228,7–8)
he was so pleased by the sound it made as it fell into the water that he began throwing them down for his sake, the turtle began to eat them. Eager, therefore, to make friends with the monkey, he addressed him politely and told him of his desire for brotherhood. The monkey agreed, and each came to trust the other and enjoy his company. The turtle rejoiced to have the monkey as neighbor and friend, and each devoted himself exclusively to the other, to the neglect of family and friends.[135]	When the monkey heard the figs falling into the water, he was amazed and pleased by [the sound of] the figs as they fell into the water and the turtle began to take them and eat them and he had no doubt that the monkey tossed them for his sake. So, the turtle went out to the monkey and they were true and sincere to one another and each became the other's intimate companion.	one of the figs fell out of the [monkey's] hand. Picking it up, a turtle ate it, which made the monkey laugh and he did not cease providing the turtle with figs.

[135] Fishbein 2021, §8.2.

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
فطالت غيبة السلحفاة عن امرأته ولم يكن عوّدها ذلك فاشتدّ حزنها فشكت ما داخلها من همّ زوجها إلى صديقة لها فقالت لها صديقتها لا يخزيك الله ولا يسوءك ولا تهتمّي بأمر زوجك فإنّه قد بلغني أنّه بمكان كذا وكذا قد جاور قردًا هنالك وصادقه وسكن إليه ورضي به خلفًا منك ومن غيرك من أهله وأحبابه فلا تحزني عليه ولكن هلمّي فلننظر الحيلة لهلكة القرد الذي جلب عليك الحرارة فإنّه لو قد هلك رجع إليك زوجك وإلى ما كنت تعهدين من المعاشرة واللطف.	فلبثا زمانا لا ينصرف الغليم الي اهله و زوجه الغيلم شكت ذلك الي جارة لها وحزنها لغيبة زوجها وقالت قد خفت ان يكون عرض له عارض شر قالت لها جارتها لا تحزبي فانه قد بلغني ان زوجك بالساحل مع قرد قد الغه فهما ياكلان ويشربان جميعا قد الهاهما ذلك فلذلك طالت غيتبه عنك فانسيه اذ نسيك وليهن عليك اذ هنت عليه وان استطعت ان تحتالي للقرد فتهلكيه فافعلي فان القرد ان هلك اقام زوجك عندك fol. 59r	ἡ δὲ ἡδυτάτην εὑροῦσα τροφὴν τῆς οἰκίας ἐπελάθετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ σύζυγος αὐτῆς ἀθυμοῦσα ἦν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πόρον ἐζήτει, δι’ οὗ τὸν πίθηκα ἀπολέσει καὶ τὸν σύζυγον ἀπολήψεται (*SkI* V,338,9–11)

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
The turtle stayed away so long and it was so out of character that his wife became sad and complained to a friend of hers of her anxiety about her husband. "May God not bring you shame or cause you sadness," replied the friend. "Don't be grieved, and don't worry about your husband. I've heard that he is living as the neighbor of a monkey. He likes his new friend so much that the friend has replaced you and his other kinfolk and friends in his affections. Don't be sad, but let's devise a way to destroy the monkey who has brought you so much heartache. If the monkey perishes, your husband will come home and resume his intimacy and kindness".[136]	They stayed for a long time, [and] the turtle did not go back to his family and the turtle's wife complained about this to a neighbor of hers, and she was saddened by her husband's absence, and she said, "I fear that some evil had happened to him." Her neighbor said to her, "Do not be sad, for I have been informed that your husband is on the coast with a monkey who caused him to be absent. They are eating and drinking together, and this has distracted them. That is why he has been away from you, so forget him when he has forgotten you, and if he has treated you with indifference, treat him with indifference. And if you can deceive the monkey and destroy him, then do so, for if the monkey is destroyed, your husband will stay with you."	Having found very sweet food she forgot about home and because of this her wife was greatly saddened and searched for a way through which the monkey might be destroyed, and she would get back her husband.

At first glance, *KwD* seems to be quite clear in the distribution of gender roles: the male turtle interacts with the male monkey, while the turtle's wife is grieving at home, supported by her female friend of an unknown species.[137] However, when comparing both Arabic manuscripts, L4044 chooses the Arabic term *sulaḥfāh* (سلحفاة) for the husband, which is sometimes used specifically for a turtle of female sex. Yet, the apparent grammatical female gender of *sulaḥfāh* is suppressed in the case of the male turtle by masculine verb conjugation, pronouns,

[136] Fishbein 2021, §8.2–8.3.
[137] For an analysis of this story, see Hölzlhammer & Vukašinović 2023.

and adjectives, and by him being called 'husband.' In this way, the turtle's male gender can be identified without additional explanation, turning the *sulaḥfāh* into a sort of character's name rather than a common noun.

L8751, however, uses the word specific for a male turtle (غليم– *ġalīm*) with an explanation that *ġalīm* is the same animal as *sulaḥfāh*. This suggests that the scribe of L8751 did not understand *sulaḥfāh* and *ġalīm* as female turtle and male turtle. For the scribe, both are interchangeable words, albeit with *sulaḥfāh* being more common. Yet, with *ġalīm* being a male noun, the subsequent conjugations, pronouns, and adjectives agree with the perceived gender of the husband turtle. The turtle's wife is referred to as female in both manuscripts, in agreement with the grammatical gender but never as a turtle. As we will see below, the tension between the social (that is, marital) and grammatical gender of the turtle apparently causes confusion for the Greek translator. In any event, the way in which the friendship between the monkey and the turtle is narrated also implies a potentially erotic or romantic relationship in the Arabic text. This relationship transcends differences between species and endangers the heterosexual relationship with the wife, since the monkey, as her friend puts it in L8751, causes the turtle to be absent.

Looking at the Greek translation, the finer nuances of the relationships between characters have been suppressed in different ways. Most visibly, the character of the wife's friend or neighbor has been completely removed and the wife now comes up with the plan on her own. Furthermore, the turtle eating figs shows only concern for the fruits and pays little attention to the monkey. However, the most confusing aspect of the quoted passages is how both turtles switch their gender even within the same sentence. This makes it hard to follow the story if one relies on their gender to distinguish between the characters. The fig turtle starts as a female and has a wife at home. The Greek term σύζυγος (partner) is gender-neutral but becomes gendered with masculine or feminine articles. In this first instance, this might be attributed to the grammatically feminine gender of χελώνη (turtle) in Greek. However, this article changes mid-sentence for the fig turtle, turning 'her' into a 'husband'. This gender mix-up continues in the subsequent passages:

> μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡ χελώνη οἴκαδε ἀπιοῦσα καὶ περίλυπον τὸν σύζυγον ἰδοῦσα εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· τί ὅτι σκυθρωπὸν ὁρῶ σε καὶ νοσερόν; ἡ δὲ εἶπε· νόσῳ δεινῇ περιέπεσον καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασιν εὑρεῖν, εἰ μή γε καρδίᾳ πίθηκος χρήσομαι. ὁ δὲ ἀπορήσας καθ' ἑαυτὸν διελογίζετο τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου δυσχέρειαν καὶ ὡς οὐχ ἑτέραν καρδίαν εὑρήσει εἰ μή γε τὴν τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτῆς. (*SkI* V,228,11–229,5)
>
> One day, the turtle went home and seeing the husband very sad she said to him: "Why do I see you so gloomy and sick?" She said: "I have become terribly sick

> and there is no other cure but a monkey's heart." Confused, he reasoned with himself about the difficulty he found himself in and how there was no other heart to be found but her companion's.

In the following, the fig turtle reverts to being female, asking the now male turtle at home about his well-being. The turtle at home turns female again when she replies. After the dialogue, the fig turtle has become male yet again but switches to female by the end of the sentence. *SkI* varies significantly from the distinctive gender roles taken on in *KwD*. Despite this, *KwD* is probably the source of *SkI's* gender fluidity. Although L4044 is only a variant of the manuscript used for Symeon Seth's translation, it can be assumed that the source text must have used a similar strategy in depicting the male turtle. It combined the word for turtle with a typically female ending with masculine pronouns and verbs in Arabic. With *SkI's* translational cuts and edits, it was probably even harder to trace the gender of each turtle. The lack of the female friend/neighbor in *SkI* provides the chance for even more ambiguity since no turtle is distinctively female, making the Arabic female vs male characters setting impossible. Additionally, Greek manuscript variations of *SkI* offer different gender discrepancies but in an equally genderfluid manner, implying that this could not have been a mistake of a single manuscript or a branch of them.[138]

As regards the end of *Monkey and Turtle* (At), one of the main differences is the tale that the monkey tells the turtle after his successful escape, which is removed in *SkI*. It is substituted by a short reply after the turtle urges the monkey to bring his heart: "If I were to do that, I really would not have a perfect heart." (εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσω, καρδίαν τέλεον ὄντως οὐκ εὐπορήσω, *SkI* V,232,7–8). The moral of the story is then left for the monkey to say, whereas the turtle has the last word in L4044, L8751.

[138] Noble 2022, 393–396, 444.

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
قال السلحفاة صدقت وقد قيل إنّ ذا العقل يقلّ من الكلام ويبالغ في العمل ويعترف بالزلّة إذا كانت منه ويتبيّن الأمور قبل الإقدام عليها ويستقيل عثرة عقله بعقله كالرجل الذي يعثر بالأرض وينتعش بها وينهض. وأنا بما سلف منّي إليك معترف ولك بالذنب مقرّ وأنّ الحجّة لا تقرّبني من غدر ولا تخرجني من إساءة. وقد أحببت أن أعلمك معرفتي بإساءتي وإن كنت عارفًا بأنّك غير عائد إلى مثل الذي كنت لي عليه من المؤاخاة لما اختبرت منّي من الغدر فنفسي جلبت عليّ الحرارة ومثل هواي قطع عنّي مثلك من الأصدقاء	قال الغيلم انت صادق الباو وقد علمت إنّ ذا العقل يقلّ الكلام ويبالغ في العمل ويعترف بالزلّة ويتبيّن الأمور قبل التقدم عليها ويستقيل عشرة غيله بعقله كالرجل الذي يعثر علي fol. 61v	οὕτως οἱ καιροῦ εὐθέτου δραξάμενοι καὶ μὴ τὸ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκπληροῦντες, τούτου παραδραμόντος, πάντῃ τοῦ ἔργου ἀποτυγχάνουσιν. (*SkI* V,232,8–10)

L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
The turtle said, "You're right. As they say, a wise man is sparing of words, unsparing of deeds; he acknowledges a mistake when he makes one; he ascertains the facts before embarking on anything; and by his intelligence he seeks to undo any lapse of his intelligence – like a man who stumbles on the ground, but uses the ground to right himself and stand up. I confess my deed and acknowledge my guilt, though my plea cannot undo my treachery or excuse my wrongdoing. I want you to know that I recognize my wrongdoing, though I know that because of my treachery you aren't going to resume our former brotherhood. This pain has been brought upon me by my own soul, and I have lost a friend because of my own evil inclination".[139]	The turtle said, "You're right.[140] As you know, a wise man is sparing of words, unsparing of deeds; he acknowledges a mistake; he ascertains the facts before embarking on anything; and he corrects ten mistakes with his intelligence, like a man who stumbles over something.	Thus they who snatch a timely opportunity and do not carry it out according to plan, once the opportunity has passed, they completely fail in their design.

As the comparison shows, the moral of each version is quite different. L4044 and L8751 both have the same wisdom saying followed by the image of a stumbling man, whereas *SkI* has a moral about seizing an opportunity. L4044, however, continues with the turtle lamenting the loss of their relationship that he defines as brotherhood (مؤاخاة – *mu'āḫāh*). The implications of brotherhood in this text have a religious subtext in addition to the erotic/romantic connota-

[139] Fishbein 2021, §8.22.

[140] I could not discover the meaning of الباو (al-baw), but the sentence remains understandable without it.

tions noted above.[141] *Mu'āḫāh* refers to the brotherhood that the prophet Mohammed established after the Hijra, Mohammed's move from Mecca to Medina. The goal of the *mu'āḫāh* was to integrate the followers of Mohammed, the *Muhājirūn*, into Medinan society by pairing them up with the locals, the *Anṣāri*.[142] The *mu'āḫāh* meant that everything would be shared equally between the *Anṣār* and the *Muhājir*, including property and wives, and that they would live together forming a loving bond between them.[143]

Against this historical background, the issues in the *mu'āḫāh* between monkey and turtle become visible. While the exiled monkey can be considered similar to a *Muhājir*, the turtle befriends him for personal gain. While they share the fruits from the monkey's tree, the turtle does not reciprocate by uniting the monkey with its household. Instead, they become exclusive to each other, which forces the turtle's wife to act in order to regain her husband. Through her and her neighbor's schemes, the turtle's offer to have the monkey join his family actually turns into a deadly trap. In this way, the *mu'āḫāh* between them is shown as defective and relying only on personal gain.

By contrast, the relationship between the turtle's wife and her neighbor can be seen as an example of female friendship that is able to overturn the false *mu'āḫāh*. The wife is not a villain, but a character who reestablishes social order by the means accessible to her. Unlike her husband, her bond with her neighbor appears to be based on mutual trust, while their plan to break the friendship between monkey and turtle is enacted within the social limits for their gender. Similar to the crows in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) or other, weaker characters in other tales, they reach their goals through indirect means. Yet, it is apparent that the perception of gender influences her character, turning something that might have been perceived as a virtue in the crows in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) into a vice for a female character. However, the only character within the story to think so is the very turtle whose behavior caused his wife to put an end to his codependency with the monkey.

This re-reading of the female characters in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) is especially important from the perspective of modern researchers. For example, Olivelle's understanding of the same story in the *Panchatantra* (where all the turtles are still crocodiles) as a misogynist warning against women's evil schemes ignores the fact that the husband is equally scheming.[144] Furthermore, the story

[141] The analysis of friendship terminology in *KwD* in Dubost 2015, 12, confirms that *mu'āḫāh* is a peculiar choice in L4044.

[142] Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* Vol I, 2, p. ١.

[143] Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Buchārī, *Sahīh al-Buchārī* 3780–3782; Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* Vol I, 2, p. ١.

[144] Olivelle 2006, 32–34.

in the *Panchatantra* is not titled "beware of scheming women" but "losing what has been gained," showing that the main point is that the monkey tricked the crocodile/turtle. Consider the female characters as keepers of the social order who rightfully act to prevent the male crocodile/turtle from abandoning its duties would explain why no version narrates any repercussions for the scheming females. Olivelle's reading thus exaggerates the misogynist potential of the text and propagates a male-centric reading, focusing on the male main characters as undisputed heroes. It ignores the possibility that a female reader might feel inclined more towards the wife who struggles to keep the family together. Instead of being blamed, she even enjoys the help of her female friends when manipulating her unfaithful husband. Considering that the *Panchatantra* has no chapter that punishes Ichnelates/Dimna for his schemes, the female crocodiles are on the same level as the jackal: clever schemes, although harmful for others, are in the end rewarded with success, no matter the gender.

To conclude, *SkI*'s predecessor might have had a story much like L8751, but with confusing gender constructions like in L4044 which result in *SkI*'s gender fluidity. *SkI* changed the story by removing the female ally and concluding the story with a different, practical moral. Furthermore, L4044 turned *Monkey and Turtle* (At) into a reflection about *mu'āḫāh*, probably unique for this manuscript.

1.4.6. Hasty Man and Wife (Aw)

> *A man who is trying to come up with male names for his wife's unborn child is scolded by her for his hastiness. She tells him a tale about a similarly hasty man to warn him about the bad outcome for hasty people. The man corrects his ways until after his son is born, yet when he returns home one day and discovers blood traces, he assumes his son was killed and eaten and murders the character (animal or human) he takes to be the killer. Entering his house, however, he discovers that the blood belongs to a snake that the presumed murderer had killed before it could harm the baby and he is left to regret his hasty action.*

Albeit short, *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) contains two instances in which the Arabic manuscripts and *SkI* differ greatly. One of the main differences is the revaluation of the wife after her son is born in L4044. Only in L4044 does the woman explain why she is leaving her husband and baby alone. Additionally, her motivation is emphasized by saying that she wants to do the ritual purifications after giving birth, so that she can be intimate with her husband again.[145] Neither L8751 nor *SkI* contains these details. In L8751 and *SkI*, she leaves for an unspecified reason.[146]

[145] Fishbein 2021, §9.6.
[146] L8751 fol. 62r; *SkI* VI,234,6–8.

Yet the most noticeable change is the mistakenly substituted weasel in *SkI*. In both Arabic manuscripts, the husband has a pet weasel (probably fulfilling the work of a cat or a dog) which is left to protect the baby. However, since the words for weasel (عرسة *ʿirsah*) and wife/husband (عرس *ʿirs*) are similar and sometimes even written in the same way, Symeon Seth probably failed to notice the appearance of a new character. *SkI* thus lacks the introduction of a weasel and instead the wife magically reappears within the same sentence right after having left the house: "It happened that both had departed and a snake moved to the boy, the wife saw it and leapt upon it" (ἔτυχε δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἀμφοῖν ἀποδημεῖν καὶ ὄφιν ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἑρπύσαι, ὃν ἐπεισπηδήσασα νύμφη κατέκοψεν. *SkI* VI,234,9–10). The woman apparently rips the snake to shreds since she covers the doorsteps with enough blood to make it appear like the scene of a murder. The man then appears to have quite an imagination, since the scene makes him conclude "that she had devoured the child" (ἔδοξε τὸν παῖδα ταύτην λαφύξαι *SkI* VI,234,12). Thus, he kills his wife by smashing her head in (*SkI* VI,234,13).

The unexpected extremes of *SkI* make the original story even more dramatic and turn the man into an even greater fool, suspecting cannibalism upon seeing blood. The killing of an animal is turned into a homicide that reflects domestic violence and the abuse of an innocent and wise woman. It should be noted that this change, which began as a translation mistake, creates a huge impact on the story, modifying its intensity and ending. Furthermore, it shows that although translators and copyists have their own intentions, their mistakes can sometimes have a similar effect. Without consulting the Arabic source text, it would not have been possible to explain the disappearance of a weasel and the murder of a wife.

1.4.7. King and Dreams (Kd)

> *A king has eight strange dreams.*[147] *He decides to ask the survivors of a group of people he recently persecuted brutally for advice about the dreams. The group seizes the opportunity to plot revenge by telling the king that the dreams order him to kill his eight most precious beings, among them his queen and his minister, and bathe in their blood, or else he will perish. Since the despairing king is unwilling to talk to his minister, the minister asks the queen for help. Finally, the king confesses the message of the dreams to her. She suggests asking a wise ascetic for a second interpretation and warns him of possible evil intentions from the persecuted group. The ascetic explains that the eight dreams actually signify great gifts. An overjoyed king decides to share the gifts with his entourage. To prevent a misunderstanding between her jealous husband and the minister, the queen is forced to pick a less impressive crown over a dress. As a result, she is insulted by*

[147] The number of dreams is only found in *SkI*.

> *the king for which she retaliates violently. An enraged king orders the minister to execute her, but the minister hides the queen away until the king is overcome with regret. After lecturing the king, he reunites the couple. The grateful king once again hands out gifts.*

As could be expected by the length of this story, *King and Dreams* (Kd) has several instances in which the content changes. There seem to be certain moments in the story that inspire subtle changes, which in turn transvaluate the depiction of characters and even alter the ending of the tale. In some instances, all three versions vary; in others, it seems that the change happened in *SkI*. Scenes that tend to differ from each other are the conversation between the king and the Brahmins; the relationship between the king and the queen in the beginning; the scene in which the queen is insulted; the person the king bestows on a gift to in the end; and the gifts themselves.

Additionally, there is a substantial decrease concerning the conversations between the characters. In *SkI*, the characters generally tend to speak less; for example, when the dreams are explained. In another case, the minister deliberates on what to do with the queen whom he is ordered to kill. In both Arabic manuscripts, the minister holds a long inner monologue praising the wisdom of the queen and wondering whether the king might revoke his order and come to regret his anger.[148] However, in *SkI*, this long passage is summed up in a single sentence: "He took her, went away, and thought to himself whether the king would change his mind about her execution" (ὁ δὲ ταύτην παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξελθὼν διελογίσατο καθ' ἑαυτόν, μήποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταμεληθῇ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτῆς· *SkI* VII,240,5–6).

Similarly, before bringing back the queen, the minister uses his chance to instruct the king on his behavior by telling a story about two doves. However, the extensive continuation of his sermon in question-and-answer form, as well as another story about a monkey and lentils in the Arabic version, is removed in *SkI*. This exceedingly long passage in L8751 and especially L4044 is reduced to two short remarks by the minister and the king, which do not correspond to anything found in the Arabic version but suit the situation:

> ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὁ τοῦ νουνεχοῦς εἷς λόγος ἀμετάτρεπτος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναμάρτητος. καὶ τὸ τέλειον παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί. (*SkI* VI,241,10–12)

> He said: 'One remains unchanged by the words of a wise person.' The king said: 'No one is free from sin in everything. And no human is perfect.'

[148] Fishbein 2021, §13.30–§13.76; L8751 fol.66v–71v.

By quickly acknowledging his imperfection, the king provides the minister with the chance to correct the king's mistake. Since the king in *SkI* quickly yields to the criticism, the minister's long sermon in *KwD* can be removed in *SkI*.

Among the changes that affect character depiction and plot, the first instance is the king's reaction to his dreams. Only in *SkI* are the dreams called scary, while they are not commented upon in any of the Arabic manuscripts. In this way, the king who had nightmares in *SkI* is an emotionally more easily influenceable character, since his opponents can exploit his fear. Furthermore, the Brahmins in Arabic are substituted with philosophers in Greek (*SkI* VII,235,8).[149] While this looks like a choice of simplification for the translator in order to avoid involving a not too well-known culture, it remains strange. By turning the Brahmins into philosophers, the Brahmin genocide ordered by the king now turns against a profession. This has a certain layer of absurdity since a profession can in many cases be given up in a matter of life and death, unlike a caste one is tied to by birth.[150] However, as I shall argue below, the reason why Symeon Seth decided to translate Brahmins with philosophers might have been due rather to personal and political reasons.[151]

The second noticeable difference is the relationship between the king and his queen. In L4044 and L8751, the king and the queen are for unknown reasons not on speaking terms. The queen therefore refuses to meet up with her husband, but after a conversation with the minister she decides to put her anger aside for the sake of the crisis. In *SkI*, their relationship is not discussed, and the queen simply listens to the minister and approaches the king. Although this aspect was probably omitted for the usual aim to streamline the story, it nevertheless leaves a different impression. Without it, the minister's advice appears like an order that is not questioned by the other characters, thus revaluating his character. In that sense, it reminds us of the silent king in *Owls and Crows* (Oc), who only listens and follows his ministers' advice.

When the queen learns about the plan to kill her and the others, L8751 and *SkI* only show her resolve to sacrifice herself for king and country in the beginning.[152] L4044, however, provides instead a passage about her superior judgement of the situation.

فلمّا سمعت إيراخت ذلك منعها عقلها وحلمها أن تريه أنّها تجزع من ذلك أو يشقّ على نفسها منه شيء

[149] Brahmins are found in every Arabic version of the text; see Khalfallah 2024, 71.

[150] Even Psellos became a monk for a while when his philosopher position at court endangered his life: Fisher 2014, 7–8; Jeffreys 2016, 44–47.

[151] See below, 2.2.2.

[152] L8751 fol. 63r; *SkI* VII,237,7–8.

> When Irakht heard this, her intelligence and judiciousness prevented her from displaying any fear of death or concern for her own life.[153]

This description adds depth to her character and turns her reply into a cleverly calculated answer in order to survive the Brahmins' evil plan. Although it can be argued that L8751 and *SkI* both reveal her cleverness and counter plan through her speech, only L4044 makes it explicit from the very beginning. Furthermore, the passage emphasizes her wish to survive by pretending to be ready to die for the king before providing an alternative solution.

Another small difference is in the scene where the queen is forced to pick the crown instead of the dress. In this scene, the queen has difficulty choosing between the dress and the crown and asks the minister for help with her eyes. The minister then winks at the dress. However, the king notices the glances exchanged between the minister and the queen, so the minister pretends to have a chronic eye disease that makes him wink while the queen picks the crown. In L8751 and L4044 both do so as not to be killed by the king.[154] In *SkI*, however, only the minister's life is in danger.[155] This may hint at the fact that a Byzantine emperor would not have been able to kill his wife for being unfaithful.[156]

In addition to the queen, a concubine is also revaluated as a character in L4044. In both L8751 and *SkI*, the concubine sees the queen wearing the crown and therefore puts on the purple dress.[157] Her motivation to do so remains open to the interpreter; L4044, however, specifies that she is motivated by jealousy:

فلمّا رأت جورفنه ذلك غارت على إيراخت فلبست تلك الكسوة ثمّ مرّت بين يدي الملك

> When Gulpanah (the concubine) saw this, she became jealous of Irakht and she put on the robe and came before the king.[158]

Probably the most remarkable change is the ending of the story. After being reunited with his queen, the king provides gifts for the person he is most grateful to. The identity of the receiver, however, is different in each version. In L4044, the minister receives presents; but more importantly, the king hands over the rule and many estates to his wife, gifts her the purple dress and turns the concubine and all his other wives into her servants. Finally, he executes all the Brahmins.[159] In L8751, the king first kills or banishes the Brahmins before thanking

[153] Fishbein 2021, §13.14.
[154] Fishbein 2021, §13.22.
[155] *SkI* VII,239,11–17.
[156] Female adultery was not punishable by death but fined in the Byzantine Empire. However, killing the male adulterer went unpunished by law; see Youni 2001, 282–283, 296–297.
[157] *SkI* VII,239,19–20.
[158] Fishbein 2021, §13.23.
[159] Fishbein 2021, §13.82.

the wise ascetic who showed him the correct meaning of the dreams.[160] In *SkI*, the king honors the minister with gifts and pledges him friendship.[161]

These differences show the emphasis each version places on certain characters. In *SkI*, the philosophers are forgotten and remain unpunished, whereas they are punished in the Arabic manuscripts. Furthermore, each manuscript rewards a different character in the end with different things. It is interesting to see that L4044, which tends to reevaluate female characters, creates a happy ending for the queen, in which she becomes the ruler of the land, and the female competitors are put in their places as well as made her servants. Equally, the praise for the wise ascetic at the end of L8751 seems to amplify the religious guidance the king had received before, making it more important than the contributions by the queen and minister. In *SkI*, the minister is the only one to receive rewards for his wise decisions. As I shall argue below, this revaluation of the court official is a wishful self-insert by Symeon Seth.[162]

Considering all the differences between the three versions, it is once again clear that Symeon Seth followed a manuscript that was closer to L8751 than to L4044. However, the method in which Symeon Seth and L4044 treat their source texts are rather similar.

1.4.8. King and Bird (Kb)

> *A king has a dearly beloved and loyal pet jay. Both the king's son and the pet jay's chick grow up together: however, the son kills the chick in a fit of rage. Heartbroken, the jay retaliates by pecking out the prince's eyes and then escaping. To make the jay return and punish it for blinding the prince, the king attempts to trick the jay with kind words. This results in a discussion, but the jay is not fooled and leaves for good.*

The two main differences in this last short story concern the jay and its chick. First, while the jay is male in both Arabic manuscripts, it is female in *SkI*. This is most likely due to the grammatical gender in each language. The second difference is the substitution of the offence that motivates the prince to kill the chick. In L4044, the chick jumps into the nurse's lap; in L8751, the chick jumps into the prince's lap; in *SkI*, the prince simply becomes angry without any specific reason being stated.[163]

Each version then portrays another type of offense that someone of lower status could commit to offend a member of the royal family. L4044 depicts jealousy, as the nurse is apparently the exclusive property of the prince, extending

[160] L8751 fol. 72v.
[161] *SkI* VII,241,14–15.
[162] See below, 2.2.2.
[163] Fishbein 2021, §11.2; L8751 fol. 94r; *SkI* II,242,8–10.

the story with an additional character. At the same time, the nurse portrays an important female position within the nobility, taking care of noble or royal children. The chick's offense was touching someone it had no right to touch, and the story thus exemplifies what would happen if one were to intimately touch a woman who was considered to belong to a royal man. L8751 describes a direct offense of intimately touching royalty. By jumping on the prince's lap, the chick oversteps its boundary and is punished violently. Finally, *SkI* attributes the chick's death to unexplainable anger, with the chick being killed apparently for no reason, re-evaluating the prince as an unrestrained tyrant. Royal arbitrariness leads to harm, with the chick being subjected to brutal violence and unable to defend itself.

In this sense, all versions portray the dangers of associating with royalty, showing that the slightest offense or even a mood swing might end in death. Compared to the naïve chick, the king's jay understands the nature of kings and escapes from the court for good in each version. Finally, the *SkI* version cuts short the long discussion between jay and king in L8751 and L4044, much like the minister's sermon in *King and Dreams* (Kd).

Overall, the complex manuscript situation in Arabic, which may have appeared overwhelming at first, can nevertheless be linked to Symeon Seth's translation. Despite being younger than the Greek tradition, the surviving Arabic manuscripts still help us understand the characteristics of Symeon Seth's translation. By comparing it to the closest variants of the London continuum, we understand where Symeon Seth preserved his source text, where he abbreviated it skillfully, where he changed and inserted new content, and even where he made one of his rare translation mistakes. In this way, the approach proves that we do not necessarily need the source text to reconstruct translation practices. By simply reading horizontally and comparing texts unit by unit we understand the specific traits of Symeon Seth's translation. In the next chapter, I will look more closely at these traits and how they can deepen our understanding of the circumstances in which translations and manuscripts are created.

2. The writing persona in-between

My comparison of *SkI* with the Arabic manuscripts L4044 and L8751 demonstrates that the Greek text fluctuates between very close or verbatim translations and free-spirited rewriting. As we have seen, this is true not only for the Greek translation but also for the Arabic manuscripts. Each source by itself hardly unveils its particularities and distinctive qualities; rather, they give the impression of representing the norm of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s original work with maybe some small differences. Only through comparison is it possible to understand how different even these most closely related texts are. In the previous chapter, I noted only the instances where the three texts deviate from each other. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the passages I left out of the analysis are the ones in which the texts are either semantically close or even word-by-word copies and/or translations.

Accordingly, the distinctive differences between the Arabic manuscripts cannot be attributed to the copyists' or translators' general unwillingness or inability to create a verbatim copy of their source. Instead, as I have stressed above, the changes should be considered as conscious interventions, turning the copyist or translator into redactors as well. Depending on the definition of authorship, it might even be possible to regard them as authors, since they are not simply reproducing text but creating new content.[1] Only in rare cases, such as the wife-weasel translation error in *SkI*, does the story changes due to a lexical mistake that turns the weasel into a wife – which nevertheless creates a new story.[2]

While these insights about the creative aspect of copyists and redactors are important in and of themselves, the subsequent question should be why it matters. Since translators and copyists of medieval manuscripts are long dead, information on them is usually scarce. In addition to that, there are many factors that place them beyond our reach. They lived in a different time and society, foreign places and cultures, of which only a fragmented impression survives today, and often not even a name or a date remains. Furthermore, doubts about the authenticity of a text can paralyze any further hypothesizing. Accordingly, a different approach towards the material would be helpful. Since I agree with Ida

[1] Nichols 1990, 8.
[2] See above, 1.4.6.

Toth that copyists and translators should be seen as authors, such an approach should be inspired by how we deal with medieval authors.[3]

Stratis Papaioannou's approach to the authorship of Michael Psellos is in this regard particularly useful. Papaioannou proposes several questions relating to Psellos that are also relevant for translators and scribes. Papaioannou asks the following questions to describe how Psellos inserts himself into his texts:

> What is his own conception of rhetorical authorship? How does he treat the relationship between text and authorial self? In what ways does he construct his own self-portrait? What does he choose to bring to the foreground and what to silence? More generally, what is the social function and status of a Byzantine rhetor like Psellos? Who is his primary audience and what are its expectations? What is indeed Byzantine rhetoric? What were the possibilities that it opened up to an author for self-expression? Ultimately, what were the Byzantine parameters of what we might call textual subjectivity? That is, what were those varied elements, concepts and narratives, discursive practices, and social relations, that defined an author like Psellos in his communication and construction of himself?[4]

The key questions are "In what way does he construct his own self-portrait? What does he choose to bring to the foreground and what to silence?"[5] Especially for texts whose author is unknown or about whom not much is known, we can still ask questions about the physical manuscript and its content. Additionally, even without cultural context, date, identity, and other writings by the same person, it remains possible to inquire about the self-portrait and the way it is constructed. In cases like *SkI* and the two Arabic manuscripts, it is furthermore possible to investigate, through comparison, what these texts bring to the fore and what they leave out.[6]

Accordingly, I wish to understand the changes as well as the lack of changes within a single copy or translation of a source text as part of what Papaioannou considers a self-portrait. However, since "self-portrait" in my view implies intentional brushstrokes, it would then exclude translation mistakes like the wife who is killed instead of the pet weasel. These mistakes might not be intentional but they still add distinct features to the portrait. This is not limited to the text but includes paleographic evidence that emphasizes a manuscript's individual characteristics, such as the choice of writing material or the color of the ink. Furthermore, as soon as a text's materiality and production come into play, modern

[3] Toth 2014, 88–90, 399–401. On medieval authorship, see also e.g. Pizzone 2014 and Nilsson 2021a, 86–91.

[4] Papaioannou 2013, 3–4.

[5] On Psellos' self-depiction in the *Chronographia*, see also Pietsch 2005, 6–20, and Jeffreys 2010, 73–91.

[6] Cf. Wenzel 1990, 13–18.

categories such as 'empirical' and 'model' author increasingly unusable.[7] An 'empirical author' is the historical human writing the text, the 'model author' is the author that can be constructed from the text and who might differ significantly from the 'empirical author.' These instances are where the traditional concepts of 'self-portrait,' 'model author' and 'empirical author' dissolve into a choir of voices including the copyist, the translator, and extratextual circumstance. To clarify this point, let us look at two folios from L8751 that contain the beginning of the *Trial of Dimna* (Di) and consider whose 'self-portrait' we are looking at. There is a certain amount of blank space that interrupts the con-

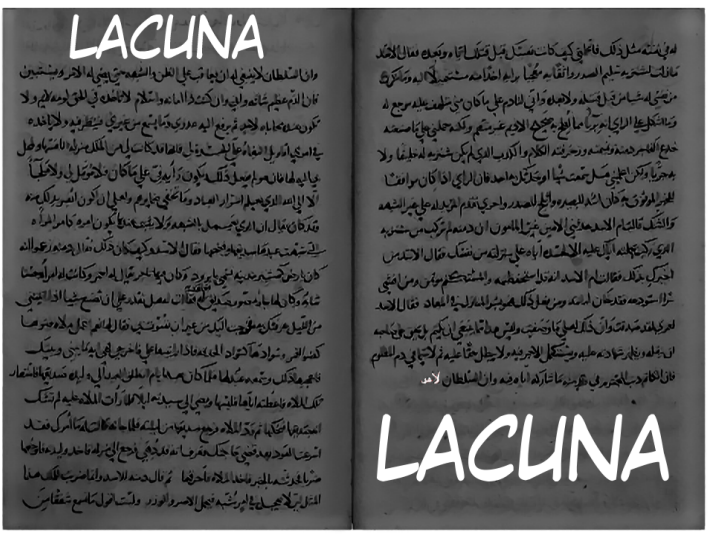

Figure 2.1: Representation of the lacuna in L8751 (British Library MS Or. 8751, dated to 799/1369) on ff. 35v–36r (Ch. 2.1), drawing by Lilli Hölzlhammer.

versation between the lion's mother and her son, breaking off at السلطان الاس ("the sultan lio") in fol. 35v, in the middle of the word "lion" (Di 65). In fol. 36r the plot jumps to unit Di 71 about the integrity of the king, a passage that exists in L4044 but not in *SkI*.[8] It jumps, however, in the second line from the first few words of unit Di 72 (وإنّي وإن كنت ذا — "and even if I am *da*"[9]) to unit

[7] For the use of Eco's 'model author,' but also the difficulty of defining what a Byzantine author is, see Nilsson 2021a, 86–91.

[8] Fishbein 2021, §5.12.

[9] I was not able to reconstruct the missing word even with comparison of the other manuscripts containing Di 72.

Di 122 (أمانةٍ وإسلامٍ — "trust and peace"). In other words, the lacuna indicating the missing portion is positioned too early. Furthermore, the missing text is too long to fit into the blank space. There is also no folio missing, since the missing text is also too short to cover an additional folio, as one can deduct from the edition of *The Trial of Dimna* (Di).[10] This shows that the scribe of L8751 noticed that a section was missing and decided to indicate that with the possibility of filling in the missing content later. However, it also proves that they only had one damaged source text and did not know how much content was missing since they incorrectly guessed the amount of space.

Let us use this lacuna to reconsider the model author. If we had only the text and not the manuscript of L8751 and knew no other version of *KwD* we would probably use the model author to explain the scene. For example, we could assume that the model author stages the philosopher as an unreliable narrator who abruptly switches scenes and leaves out important content.[11] However, as we have the manuscript, we can see the lacuna between fol. 35r and fol. 36v, indicating that the state of the material is interfering with the text. The empirical creator probably produced a straightforward narrative, regrettably lost, but at least two further players shaping the text. One, not necessarily human, destroyed the manuscript, and the other, the scribe of L8751, noticed and indicated the lacuna, but at the wrong place. The model author then dissolves between these three – are they the creator, the one causing the damage, or the one dealing with the aftermath?

I have no final answer for this, yet it leads back to my initial question: who are we looking at? Much like an archaeological topography, there are layers upon layers of authors, copyists, and translators: Visnu Sharma as empirical/model author who created the characters that this passage draws upon, Burzoy as empirical/model translator, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ as empirical/model author who created the continuation of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and introduced the intertwined relationship of the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) and *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) from the *Mahābhārata*,[12] and an unknown number of anonymous copyists who interfered with the text leading up to L8751. Additionally, the lacuna between fol. 35v and fol. 36r suggests that something – a person or something like water, fire, or bookworms – destroyed a passage and thus changed the content.

[10] https://kalila-and-dimna.fu-berlin.de/collations/Di.

[11] Wirth 2008, 180–186, explains that the appearance of an unreliable narrator enhances the visibility of the model author. Furthermore, this is what happens with the mistranslation of wife and weasel in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw). From Symeon Seth onwards, the hasty husband murders his wife because he apparently thinks she is a cannibal; see above, 1.4.6.

[12] See above, 1.1.

All in all, it is impossible to untangle this polyphonic choir of voices that, taken together, comprise the model author and to relate the voices to their empirical counterparts. One would need at least the material evidence of each manuscript up to L8751 and the textual transmission of the *Mahābhārata* to even try. Yet, this does not mean that there is nothing to be identified. We know that the copyist of L8751 is the latest voice to join the choir and whose actions are visible in this kind of passage, where a manuscript shows its uniqueness. We can see that the copyist of L8751 noticed the missing passage and intended to indicate it to the manuscript's users or maybe even to fix it later. This intervention, however, has little to do with the intentional construction of the model author; it only signals how the copyist treated their source. Such unique passages show information about an otherwise inaudible voice that interfered with the text. The aim is thus to combine the material evidence of such involuntary and technical instances with other unique passages that show the active intervention of a copyist or translator.

For this, I will use the term 'profiling.' Profiling, from a forensic point of view, is concerned with studying trace evidence to uncover correlations between the findings and identifying the human being behind it. For forensic purposes, profiling is rather problematic as the profile and human might have no overlapping criteria and will instead cause tunnel vision when trying to catch the individual suited for the profile.[13] These problems, however, do not apply to the study of trace evidence of copyists and translators in manuscripts, where no attempt can be made to find the human behind it: they are already deceased with little to no other traces remaining. Furthermore, in cases where additional information on the writer of the manuscript exists, it can help to solidify, contradict, or broaden the existing assumptions about their life and possible personality traits.

The usefulness of profiling for the study of copyists and translators lies in its emphasis on not truthfully depicting the human being behind the text. What is uncovered instead would be a so-called 'writing persona,' which might or might not agree with the historical human creating the text.[14] As in the case of Psellos, we cannot know for sure whether the self-aggrandizing behavior in his writings reflects his personality, an attempt to hide his insecurities, or simply a rhetorical tool for survival.[15] However, what we can know is the writing persona that was created within the text and the perspective it provides on the topics it focuses on

[13] See e.g. Alison & Rainbow 2011, xv–xviii, on the case of Colin Stagg as being wrongly made the main suspect in a murder investigation based on the offender profile.

[14] Just as an offender profile cannot be used as evidence for the offender's identity; see Alison & Rainbow 2011, 21, 228–29.

[15] For further studies on Psellos' writing style and his self-construction, see Kaldellis 2008, 191–192; Agapitos 2008, 558–607; Bernard 2014b, 281–290; Polemis 2015, 292–293; Lauxtermann 2016, 5–8.

or avoids. On the one hand, in cases like Symeon Seth or Psellos, where multiple, comparable texts and even extratextual sources exist, it is then possible to get an impression of the historical person and to understand why a certain writing persona might have been employed. On the other hand, when looking at copyists where no other information is available, we still can profile the writing persona that is reflected within the material.

This also prevents overthinking how a manuscript was created. The changes made by a copyist might derive from annotations found in their source text. Considering the lacuna of L8751 above, the copyist of L8751 might have been following instructions such as "indicate the missing passage." This would make L8751 the product of at least two historical human beings who are impossible to separate based on the material evidence. Yet, this is of little importance for a profile that is not concerned with the singular human identity of a historical person. A writing persona of people collaborating in the creation of a manuscript would nevertheless be a profile of their collective consensus of what to write. While this profile cannot be equated to the historical person, it still shows what kind of perspective and position were possible.

With these deliberations in mind, I will attempt to first create such profiles for the copyists of L4044 and L8751 solely based on the respective manuscript. I will focus on the trace evidence found in these texts, or rather on the noticeable changes, the individual focus on certain topics, and the avoidance of others. Next, I will create an even more detailed profile of Symeon Seth's writing persona and how it might be linked to the scarce historical information about him that is available.

2.1. PROFILING SCRIBES: L4044 AND L8751

A writing persona can be traced within each manuscript through comparison with other, similar versions of the same text. The similarities and differences between manuscripts create a profile of how an Arabic manuscript copyist or a Byzantine translator could portray themselves. It is to be expected that there will be differences in the amount of trace evidence for each text, thus resulting in more or less detailed profiles. In this respect, L8751 (799/1369) has been identified above as being closer to *SkI* than L4044 (15th c.). Since L8751 is younger than *SkI* (12th c.), it cannot be *SkI*'s source, but it is plausible to argue that both share the same source text with not too many intermediate manuscripts in between. As the comparison of the manuscripts above has shown, the instances in which L8751 and *SkI* differ are mostly changes made by the translator of *SkI*.[16]

[16] See above, 1.4.

Taking this into account, the profile of L8751 copyist's persona might not be as distinctive as in the other two texts, considering that L8751 does not possess many unique units or expressions that are not found in other manuscripts. Still, it provides an example of a conscious and diligent writing persona as the following observations show. In the one instance in *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) where L8751 is missing a piece of text,[17] the space left by the copyist indicates that they were aware of the missing part and provided an opportunity to add the section later.[18] Additionally, L8751 also contains a table of contents in the shape of a running text where the titles are separated with red dots, providing an overview over the content.[19] This proves that they were not just mindlessly copying what was present, but also followed the text consciously while taking actions to improve the source text when necessary.

There are only three instances in the chapters covered by *SkI* at which L8751 has unique differences that can be considered traces. The first is found in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) when the jackal Kalila more energetically opposes Dimna's desire to rise at the lion's court than in other versions.[20] Secondly, the copyist comments in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) on the two different words for turtle to make sure that the reader recognizes the animal.[21] Finally, the character receiving the greatest reward from the king in *King and Dreams* (Kd) is the hermit that explained the dreams, leading to a very pious ending.[22] Looking at these scarce traces, it can be argued that the writing personas were concerned with the moral implications as well as the reader's understanding of the text. They were less concerned with creative changes than with faithfully retelling the text, with only minor changes expressing a personal stance.

L4044, on the other hand, intervenes as heavily as *SkI*. The copyist made a large number of intentional changes that help profile their writing persona. In general, L4044 is more extensive than *SkI* and L8751, providing longer speeches, more character motivation and overall more guidance for the reader.[23] As for reader friendliness, L4044 is similar to L8751, albeit in a different manner since it introduces each chapter with a short abstract and sums up the central message at the end.[24] It appears that the writing persona actively engages with the source material and explores certain argumentations with their own, further thoughts. As I show below, they often create introspective moments for characters. For

[17] L8751, fol. 35v–36r.
[18] See above, 1.4.2 and the beginning of this chapter.
[19] Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 126; L8751 fol. 93v–94r.
[20] See above, 1.4.1.
[21] See above, 1.4.5.
[22] See above, 1.4.7.
[23] Gründler 2021, 9, 18–19, 24, 27–29.
[24] Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 122.

example, only L4044 has an inner monologue for the bull in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) that reflects his worries for the future and predicts his unlucky ending.[25]

In the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) in particular, L4044 shows a decisive intervention by introducing a second witness rarely found in other manuscripts, all of them from the younger Paris continuum.[26] Instead of creating a story in which the lion king finally executes Dimna unlawfully, the trial in L4044 ends with Dimna's lawful conviction. This demonstrates a desire for justice that is also expressed at the end of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) in a unit unique to L4044:

ثمّ إنّ الأسد فحص عن أمر الثور وأمر دمنة وبغيه عليه فاستبان له الأمر فقتل دمنة شرّ قتلة.

> Later, however, he investigated the matter of the ox and how Dimna had wronged him. Everything became clear to him, and he put Dimna to a most horrible death.[27]

This shows that the change of Dimna being rightfully convicted was planned even before writing the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di). In L4044, the lion's investigation of Dimna yields a satisfactory result in which the villain is brought to justice and punished for his crimes. Of course, this cannot prove that L4044 'invented' the second witness, but it shows that they considered the appearance of the second witness to be crucial for the enactment of justice.

The copyist's decision to seek justice for the bull is also reflected in the changed character of the lion's mother. Unlike the other two texts, she is not swayed by Dimna's rhetoric but rebukes her son for not acting decisively enough; she remains firm in her conviction that he is guilty and deserves capital punishment.[28] This turns her into a beacon of righteousness and good judgment that cannot be dimmed by evil lies.

Another instance in which L4044 shows distinctive characteristics is the inserted discussion of brotherhood.[29] Based on wrong assumptions, the brotherhood between monkey and turtle becomes a distorted version of the original concept created by the prophet Muhammed, threatening preexisting family structures. The successful intervention by the turtle's wife and her friend demonstrates the fickleness of the bond between monkey and turtle. While it indeed ends tragically for monkey and turtle, the implied good ending for the wife suggests her resourcefulness to rescue her family. In this sense, L4044 uses *KwD* to

[25] Fishbein 2021, §4.3.

[26] These other manuscripts are: Cheikho from the London continuum and manuscripts from the later Paris continuum P3465, P3466, P3473, and Riyadh 2467 in the edition. On the younger Paris continuum, see above, 1.4.2.

[27] Fishbein 2021, §4.115.

[28] Fishbein 2021, §5.20–§5.21; Di 184, 190.

[29] See above, 1.4.5.

show that a brotherhood that deserts a wife in favor of a stranger cannot prevail against schemes and is a sign of selfishness in abandoning family duties. Michael Fishbein notes further instances that enhance the religiousness of the text and its sophisticated philosophical ideas.[30]

As these two examples show, there is a noticeable focus on female characters in L4044, just as with the lion's mother. For example, if one compares the princess in the story of the blind doctor and the quack between L4044 and L8751, the traces of L4044's scribe can easily be seen.[31] In L8751, the passage about the princess' sickness is as follows: "Their king had a daughter who was dear to him, and she was pregnant. She had a stomachache and was sick.[32] So, he sent for doctors".[33] According to the text, the princess is pregnant *and* has a stomachache. There is no correlation between sickness and pregnancy and the only effect of the pregnancy on the story would be that the quack not only kills the princess but also her unborn child. However, L4044 presents the same matter with a correlation: "The king of that city had a daughter whom he married to a nephew. She became pregnant and began to feel some of the pains that women experience in pregnancy, so the king sent for the blind physician".[34] L4044 tells not only the princess' background story, but also puts everything into a logical sequence. She marries within the royal family, becomes pregnant, and, due to the pregnancy, she feels some common painful symptoms.

This passage implies not only knowledge about the female body and medically categorized knowledge about difficulties during pregnancy, it also turns the story into a warning for pregnant women to be watchful of their doctors. Pregnancy, which is dangerous enough as is, becomes even more dangerous due to wrongly mixed cures that kill both mother and child. Unlike in L8751, where the pregnancy is just a tragic element that can be left out like in *SkI*, in L4044 pregnancy becomes the driving force. Thus, the danger of the wrongly mixed medicine becomes exclusive to women in L4044.

Similarly, the wife in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) in L4044 is the only one who is given a detailed explanation of female customs after birth as well as her desire to sleep with her husband.

> ثمّ لم تلبث المرأة أن نفست فولدت غلامًا فاشتدّ فرح الناسك به فلمّا مضت أيّام نفاسها وأرادت المرأة الطهر لزوجها قالت إنّي أريد أن أتطهّر فاقعد عند الصبيّ فاحفظه حتّى أرجع إليك. فجلس الناسك عند الصبيّ يحفظه وخرجت المرأة لحاجتها

[30] Fishbein 2021, xxvii–xxxi.
[31] See above, 1.4.2.
[32] The stomachache is only found in L8751 and in P5881 but with a different phrasing.
[33] L8751 fol. 38v. For the Arabic, see above 1.4.2.
[34] For the Arabic, see above 1.4.2.

> It wasn't long before the woman gave birth to a son, and his father was overjoyed. When the days of her confinement were over, the woman wanted to purify herself for her husband, so she said, "I am going to do my ablutions. Sit by the child and take care of him until I come back." The wife left and the husband sat by the boy, to care for him, while his wife was busy.[35]

From this perspective, the wife appears as the active force in the story. Giving birth appears as an action among others and not as her life goal. She readily leaves her baby in her husband's care while tending to her own needs and goals. In this sense, she is not reduced to a mother-figure caring for her baby but appears as a female person with a full set of skills and desires and even acts as the voice of reason and knowledge for her husband. As long as she is present, her husband is prevented from acting upon his rash nature and obediently listens to her reasoning, which she presents cleverly in the form of an educating tale. Only in her absence does her husband fall victim to his rashness. While the wife remains a positive character in each version, L4044 turns her into an even more distinctive character.

In *King and Bird* (Kb), only L4044 includes the character of a female wet-nurse who takes care of the prince and the chick. This shows an important female servant to nobility who would exist in a contemporary reader's worldview even without being mentioned. A young noble child has to have a nursemaid, but the fact that she is not only mentioned in L4044 but is the cause of the conflict between prince and chick reflects her importance to the royal family. It also provides a glimpse into the positions women could have in society.

Finally, the queen in L4044's *King and Dreams* (Kd) already shows her self-control and wisdom when saving her husband from the Brahmins in another introspective instance unique to L4044.[36] Equally, only in L4044 is the concubine explicitly motivated by jealousy.[37] The most noticeable difference, however, is that in the end the queen is not only given the purple dress as in L8751, but additional land and even the rulership over the whole kingdom:

> ثمّ إنّ الملك أعطى إيراخت تلك الثياب وأراضي كثيرة وسلّطها على جميع ملكه وأخدمها جورفناه وجميع نسائه وأعطى بيلار أمورًا كثيرة ثمّ قام الملك إلى دار نسائه فرحًا مسرورًا.

> The king gave Irakht the robe, bestowed many estates on her, gave her authority over his entire kingdom, and made Gulpanah and all his other wives her servants. He gave many gifts to Baylar, then went into his harem happy and joyfully.[38]

[35] Fishbein 2021, §9.6, with slight adjustments to the translation.
[36] Fishbein 2021, §13.14.
[37] Fishbein 2021, §13.23.
[38] Fishbein 2021, §13.81.

The other interesting detail is that the tension within the harem is resolved by her assuming the same power as a man and the other women becoming her slaves. The king apparently is content to retire into his harem, which the queen now governs along with the rest of the kingdom. Since the story is meant to answer what the most important thing for a king is, the implied answer at this point would be that a wise queen is the most important. Indeed, so important is a wise queen that she should be in charge of the government instead of her naïve, jealous, and emotionally unstable husband.

As I only look at examples that I can compare to the shortened version of *SkI*, there might be further 'improved' female characters in L4044. Nevertheless, the examples concerned with female interests found in the text selection should already be sufficient to conclude that the profile of the L4044 persona appears to be female. While there is no way of proving or disproving this assumption with hard external facts, the focus on female characters is undeniably present. They can be newly invented or receive explicit character motivation, their medical issues are discussed and moved into the narrative focus of the story, and their (successful) struggles against social structures like the distorted brotherhood in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) are narrated. The queen in *King and Dreams* (Kd) is even used to construct an argument for why a woman is more suited to rule than a man. From this perspective, although the gender of the actual scribe cannot be confirmed by external findings, the gender of the writing persona should be seen as female due to the interest in female characters, the emphasis on their positive traits and competences, and the overall focus on the internal motivation of female characters.

There are many reasons for the scribe to employ a female writing persona, but the possibility of L4044 being written by a woman deserves further consideration. A significant number of female poets and writers exists in the Arab medieval world, so it is not unthinkable to find female scribes copying a famous text like *KwD*.[39] The existence of misogynist remarks or descriptions within L4044 cannot be seen as an argument against such a theory, since these remarks reflect common teachings about the inferiority of women at the time. As in many other contemporary cultures, such content was surely taught to women in order to suppress them. It is plausible that such misogynist comments were internalized to a level where they had become commonplaces that hardly anyone would reflect on. Generally, competition between women, assertions of incompetence, the construction of women as objects, and the invalidation of women are prac-

[39] Hartman 2012, 26–27, 29; Myrne 2020, 91–113; Myrne 2023a; Myrne 2023b. For a modern anthology of several female Arabic poets until the twelfth century, see al-Udhari 1999.

tices of internalized misogyny which are found amongst women even today.[40] It should therefore come as no surprise that a female writer in the thirteenth century would express misogynist views in commonplace utterances in passing.[41] However, singular, unsystematic occurrences like specific characters in a story would inspire the need to reflect on the capabilities and possibilities of a woman, especially if a woman was copying a manuscript.

Based on these profiles, I argue that there is a writing persona to be found in each manuscript. L8751's profile paints a persona who is carefully and attentively handling their source, has knowledge of the language and is concerned about the reader's understanding of the text. L4044 enables a more detailed profile due to more active intervention. The instances provide a surprising pattern, identifying a female writing persona based on their interest in female characters and their way of creating new introspective moments within the stories. In this sense, it would be the first instance of a female telling of the story of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, which is traditionally connected to male writing. This surprising discovery alone should be reason enough to use profiling on writer personas. Doing so can only improve our perception of the individuals who created the sources that form our understanding of the past.

2.2. PROFILING THE TRANSLATOR OF *STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES*: SYMEON SETH'S WRITING PERSONA

The little we know about Symeon Seth can be summed up as follows: Symeon Seth (c. 1035–c. 1110) was probably from Antioch, where he received education in both Greek and Arabic. As a polymath, he wrote about a great number of subjects, but was most known for his astrological and astronomical knowledge. These enabled him to make a career at the court of Alexios I Komnenos, who also tasked him with translating *KwD*. At some point, however, he fell out of favor and was exiled to Raidestos, a popular vacation town for the Byzantine elite, where he probably died. This limited knowledge about his life can, however, be filled in with the information gained from profiling Symeon Seth's own texts and contemporary descriptions of him.

As demonstrated above, *SkI* fluctuates between word-by-word translation and free rewriting. In this sense, Symeon Seth's writing persona is comparable to

[40] Bearman, Korobov & Thorne 2009, 11–17.

[41] Fishbein 2021, §4.13, §4.65, §8.8. In the misogynist *mathal* found in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) the misogyny is also a plot device. It shows the double standard of the male turtle who is just as fickle and treacherous as any woman he is villainizing in his mind. Considering that every character in *Monkey and Turtle* commits an act of betrayal, only the two female characters are truthful to each other and are thus able to overcome the opposing relationship between monkey and turtle, emphasizing solidarity between non-related women in a male-dominated society; see above, 1.4.5.

the writing persona of L4044 while also demonstrating a good grasp of Arabic. However, the fact that Symeon Seth translated for an audience with little or no access to Arabic texts might have allowed him to take even more liberties under the guise of translation. In this sense, it would have been easy for him to change *KwD* the way he preferred while answering any complaints by pointing out that it is only a translation. From this perspective, his free-spirited handling of the source text and his willingness to leave out whole stories and chapters is not so much a sign of lacking respect for Arabic literature, but rather guided by his political ambition. While Symeon Seth certainly took pride in his Arabic learning, as his other writings show, this did not prevent him from instrumentalizing it for professional advancement.

However, *SkI* is not only about secretly inserting opinions; it also includes unmarked quotes from ancient Greek literature, Christian texts, and the Bible. By using these quotes, the text is adapted to Byzantine taste, or 'made Greek,' as the introduction has it.[42] There are also further, minor changes, as in the *paradeigma* in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), where the bigamous husband with two wives in Arabic is turned into three unrelated characters in Greek, two women and one man.[43] This shows that Symeon Seth's writing persona is attentive to the target culture and its expectations.

The instances where traces of the writing persona become recognizable can also unveil an overarching intention behind the translation. Such intentions might often aim to make a text more suitable for the target audience, improve style or content, or follow some planned reshaping of the source text. However, when considering the time, effort, and cost spent on translating, a translation also turns into a commercial commodity for which the translator expects some sort of compensation. This is especially true of a text such as *SkI*, which had political importance in many cultures and thus carried intentions beyond textual improvements.[44]

At this point, it is important to investigate whether and how the writing persona found in *SkI* corresponds with the little information we have about Symeon Seth. Additionally, it is necessary to see whether *SkI*'s writing persona is consistent with the writing persona in Symeon Seth's other texts in order to create an overarching profile. *SkI* was translated by Symeon Seth, a Greek-speaking but foreign scholar from Antioch, who successfully established himself at the imperial court of Constantinople. The dedication to Alexios I Komnenos in Cod. Lau. Plut. XI,14 can be seen as an indicator of this ambition. This political ambition of the historical Symeon Seth should consequently be reflected in *SkI*'s

[42] *SkI* pr.,3–4; see below, 2.2.1.
[43] See above, 1.4.2.
[44] Kinoshita 2008, 371–372, 380.

writing persona. *SkI* is thus not only a translated text, but also a political tool, an aspect which will explain the motivation for some of the changes described above.

Accordingly, three points need to be considered: a) the position of Christian faith within the text, b) several passages that might refer to Symeon Seth's contemporary political circumstances, and c) the difference between the oldest preserved manuscript Cod. Laur. Plut. XI,14 and all subsequent manuscripts. All these aspects will turn out to be crucial from a didactic point of view, as they not only change what is taught but also provide a clear example of how didactics can be used to influence the target audience.

2.2.1. Beware of Christians

There are not many instances in *SkI* that refer to matters of the Christian faith. If one considers only instances that are not already found in Arabic, for example Islamic formulas, they become even fewer. Since they are so scarce, they deserve special attention, especially considering their context and effect on the story. The books affected are books I–IV and book VII, where references and quotations have been actively inserted.[45] In other cases, pious utterances in L4044 and L8751 are not found in *SkI* and have therefore either not been translated or were not part of the source text, since pious phrases are easily added and deleted in *KwD*.[46] I will closely observe these instances that are not found in the Arabic text and where Christian content has been added, in order to understand its effect on the characters and the plot.

Furthermore, the use of Christian quotations and references needs to be contrasted with the use of pre-Christian quotes from Classical Greek literature within the same stories, since their insertion is likely to follow an underlying principle. Exploring this will be the main objective of the following analysis. In this respect, it is important to keep the meaning of the quotations in mind when analyzing them in a text of Byzantine literature. Generally speaking, quoting is a matter of literary self-portrayal. A Byzantine writer usually cites a few writers with conspicuous frequency, with certain writers being used more frequently depending on the work.[47] This is not just a sign of appreciation for older literature or a matter of taste; it also expresses a writer's self-image. Anna Komnene or Theodore Prodromos, for instance, quote Homer excessively: like Homer, they are writing an impressive literary composition; like Homer, the most powerful

[45] As noted by Sjöberg 1962, passim; Noble 2022, 157–183.

[46] See above, 1.4.

[47] Papaioannou 2013, 51–87, and Zagklas 2016, 223, 229–242. Quotes could also come from florilegia; see e.g. Searby 2012, 197–198, and Crostini 2011, 213–214.

men and women listen to them; and, like Homer, they will be unforgettable in their posthumous fame.[48]

Yet, the establishing of a writer's fame and skill is rather an aftereffect of such use. As quotes, they are embedded in a new text, guiding the understanding of their framing. At times, they enhance or characterize the speaker who is using them, be it a character or a narrator. At other times, they conjure their original context of the hypotext in the hypertext, relating two passages to one another. Even if Symeon Seth is not actively pursuing such effects in his translation, his choice and placement of quotes is still telling, as I will show below. In this respect, what does it mean when, in the translated *SkI*, fictional characters start quoting various other famous sources?

2.2.1.1. The use of quotes in *SkI*

Compared to the size of book I, the quotes are few and placed far apart. Since all of them belong to very different settings, I will look at them in order of appearance.

The first quote is the only quote in the whole text not to be part of direct speech, and it is found at the beginning of *Lion and Bull* (Lo). It quotes a phrase found both in Hesiod (*Op.* 31) and Pindar (*Nem.* VI, 10) and is used to describe a merchant:

> λέγεταί ποτε, ὡς ἔμπορός τις πολύολβος ὢν καὶ **βίου ἐπηετανοῦ** κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν εὐπορῶν καὶ παῖδας ἔχων νωχελεῖς (*SkI* I,151,4–5).[49]
>
> It is said that a merchant, who was very rich and enjoyed a **self-sufficient lifestyle**, as poetry says, in keeping with his trade, also had lazy children (Hes. *Op.* 31; Pindar. *Nem.* VI, 10).

As shown above, the quote amounts only to two words that are not exactly faithful to either source. In comparison to Hesiod and Pindar, the grammatical case in *SkI* has been adjusted to fit the sentence structure. Hesiod uses the phrase in connection with Demeter, while Pindar praises the winner Alcimidas. Both texts praise a self-sufficient and rich rural lifestyle. This could be seen as vaguely related to the merchant's wealth, but otherwise the context of the quote seems to be of little relevance for *SkI*. It is more likely that the quote serves as a recognizable phrase and thus as a sort of mood setter at the very beginning, signaling the subsequent insertion of learned quotes throughout the text.

I find this confirmed by the fact that the quote is marked by the phrase κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν (as poetry says), which still leaves the reader to decide on the poet's

[48] Papaioannou 2013, 43, 137, and Vilimonović 2019, 81–103.

[49] Symeon Seth's *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* will be quoted in the following as Seth with book, page, and line number.

identity. Yet, it more likely refers to Hesiod since Seth quotes *Works and Days* also at another instance (*SkI* IV,218,5).[50]

The second quote is used by Ichnelates attempting to gain the lion's favor. Humbling himself, he quotes Gregory of Nazianzus:

> τὸ γὰρ μικρὸν οὐ μικρόν, ὅταν ἐκφέρῃ μέγα (*SkI* I,161,2)
>
> A small thing is not small when it produces something great. (Greg. Naz., *CM*, PG 37,910A)

Unsurprisingly, this self-deprecation is only a farce to please the king. Ichnelates' usual opinion about himself is rather the opposite, since he perceives himself as a clever jackal destined for greatness (*SkI* 1,155,4–159,9). Accordingly, the quote is meant to convince the lion that Ichnelates is a meek but useful servant without much ambition deserving the king's attention. The quote contains an additional layer of irony if recognized as belonging to the *Carmina Moralia* by the Church Father Gregory of Nazianzus. In contrast to this quote, Ichnelates proves to be the most immoral main character in *SkI*. Thus, the quote helps to characterize Ichnelates on multiple layers. His shrewdness, eloquence, and determination to use everything at his disposal are already apparent in this passage. Furthermore, Ichnelates' use of the quote is typical for a Byzantine scholar who evokes authorities like Homer or Gregory to strengthen their own works.[51] Similarly, his display of humility is reminiscent of the *captatio benevolentiae* sometimes found at the beginning of Byzantine texts, in which the writer confesses their lack of ability.[52] In this way, Ichnelates appears in the manner of a Byzantine courtier hoping to impress the Byzantine emperor.

The third quote is found at the core of the passage with the most diegetic layers in *SkI*. Considering these diegetic layers, the philosopher is telling the king how Ichnelates is telling Stephanites the story of a crow, who is being told a story by her friend, the wolf-panther, about an old swan. In the story of the swan, the swan tricks a fish swarm and a crab to voluntarily become his food. However, when the crab realizes it is about to be eaten, it reaches the following conclusion in an indirect inner monologue:

> καὶ δεῖν ἔγνω μὴ ἄδοξον θάνατον ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλ' **ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι** (*SkI* I,168,10--11)
>
> and he thought that he should not suffer an inglorious death, but **either live well or die well** (S., *Aj.* 479)

[50] The most common poet a Byzantine text would refer to in this manner is, of course, Homer; see Papaioannou 2014, 23.

[51] Papaioannou 2014, 23–27.

[52] Bernard 2014a, 42–44.

The crab then kills the swan and survives to tell the tale to its fish friends. The scene enhances the heroic killing of a much larger animal with a quote from Sophocles' *Ajax*. In the source text, the lines belong to the end of Ajax' monologue, in which he deliberates his options after dishonorably killing a herd of cattle in a frenzy. For Ajax, the verse expresses an option that is now impossible for him. Yet, the crab can still choose to die fighting. From this point of view, the quote heightens the heroic decision of the crab, in comparison to Ajax who chooses a dishonorable death. This use of *Ajax* is similar to Anna Komnene's use in her nearly contemporary *Alexiad*, indicating the popularity of Sophocles' drama in the Komnenian period.[53]

Furthermore, in the frame narrative, the wolf-panther warns the crow not to act like the swan in order to avoid a similar ending. Equally, the quote could be understood as Ichnelates exemplifying his plot against the bull with both stories. In contrast to the swan, he will not directly kill the bull and risk failing due to some heroic last resistance. Instead, just as the crow who uses humans to kill her foe, he will succeed by convincing the lion to kill the bull. Following this plan, Ichnelates prevents the bull from acting heroically like the crab and instead diverts the bull's heroics towards the lion. His goal is to blind the bull just as Ajax was blinded by Athena, thus attacking an imaginary enemy leading to dishonor and death. This perspective turns Ichnelates' plot against the bull into a reenactment of *Ajax*. Just like Ajax, who loses his honor by slaughtering cattle, the bull suffers a shameful death as an ungrateful traitor who attempts regicide. The quote from *Ajax* is a prime example of how much the story gains from a single quote that invites an intertextual reading of both Ichnelates' stories and the events set in motion by him.

The last quote in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) aligns with the tragic Ajax-bull narrative. In the related scene, the bull expresses his suspicion that the lion has been manipulated by the bull's enemies. Tragically, he reveals this to the very enemy he should be worrying about – Ichnelates. The bull describes the lion (who is slowly tricked into killing the bull) with the following saying:

> ῥανὶς γὰρ ἐνδελεχοῦσα κοιλαίνει πέτραν (*SkI* I,183,12)
>
> constant dripping wears away the stone

Noble notes that this appears to be an ancient saying found in a number of Byzantine sources and florilegia, showing that it was widely used.[54] It is some-

[53] Vilimonović 2019, 73–74; see also Marciniak 2004, on ancient drama in Byzantium. The scene also resonates in later receptions of the fable, for example in the Late Medieval paintings in the Gondi palace in Florence: Pellecchia 2011, 173–177.

[54] Noble 2022, 470–471.

times attributed to fifth-century poet Choirilos of Samos and preserved in a fragment of his works as πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ.[55] Thus, it cannot be attributed to an exact source, but it nevertheless moves the bull into a Greek sphere. Like the quote from the *Ajax*, it reflects the events in the story, where Ichnelates' constant scheming and deceptions have worn away the friendship between lion and bull. This is confirmed by the fact that, after the saying, the bull declares that he will go and fight the lion since life only offers rewards for the brave (*SkI* 1,183,12–15).[56]

Stephanites also uses the sentence ἡ γὰρ φρόνησις **τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ** (Intelligence conquers many hands), which is fairly similar to a quote found in Polybius' *Histories* and attributed to Euripides: ἓν σοφὸν βούλευμα **τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ** (One wise council conquers many hands).[57] The version used by Symeon Seth is only found in *SkI*. Since it has no equivalent in Arabic, Symeon Seth likely inserted the quote as a commonplace from his memory to suit the story's context. The difference can probably be related to having learned an alternate version or a deliberate change, since Stephanites gives not one piece advice but many.

Finally, the philosopher concludes the story with an equally paraphrased quote from Proverbs 26:27 (ὁ ὀρύσσων βόθρον τῷ πλησίον ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς αὐτόν – 'the one digging the pit for his neighbor shall fall into it').

> πᾶς τις ἀνὴρ δόλον καθ' ἑτέρου συρράπτων **ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς βόθρον, ὃν εἰργάσατο** (*SkI* II,200,19–20)

[55] Huxley 1969, 25.

[56] Noble 2022, 468, also considers the wisdom saying below as a reference to Luke 16:19–31. However, the same wisdom saying is found with nearly the same phrasing in the Arabic manuscript L4044 (Fishbein 2021, §4.11). Although it might have alluded to the New Testament for some readers, I do not consider it a quote but a vague reference to Luke at best:

> λέγεται γάρ, ὡς πᾶς ὁ προσανέχων τῇ βασιλικῇ πύλῃ καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν ἀπορρίψας, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δυναμώσας καὶ τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένων καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπείκων οἰκειοῦται τάχιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ. (*SkI* I,157,13--158,1)
>
> It is said that everyone who wants to rise in the royal court throws away their pride, overcomes their anger, endures harm, and yields everything they own to the king.
>
> وقد كان يُقال لا يواظب على باب السلطان أحد فيلقي عنه الأنفة ويحتمل الأذى ويكظم الغيظ ويرفق بالناس إلّا خلص إلى حاجته من السلطان
>
> They say that no one can fail to obtain what he wants from the ruler if he perseveres at the ruler's gate, swallows his pride, bears insults, controls his anger, and treats important people with skill; (Fishbein 2021, §4.11)

[57] Polybius, *Historiae* 1,35.

> any man who stitches together a deceit against someone else **falls into the pit he made**

Similar to the quotation above, the wording is not exact, showing that it was either adjusted or rephrased from memory, as often found in contemporary Patristic texts. This indicates that the quotes were most likely inserted from memory, without consulting florilegia or other books.

Despite containing only a few identifiable quotations, *Lion and Bull* (Lo) demonstrates some general tendencies in their use. The one connected to the merchant is an exception in the sense that it is the only one that is not part of direct speech. Additionally, all other quotations are part of direct speech and inserted at narrative turning points. For Ichnelates, they mark the instances in which he sets his plans into motion. The Christian quote aims to deceive others about his personality and to promote him as a qualified courtier. The Classical Greek quote demonstrates what endangers his plans the most – a heroic resistance against him – but also Ichnelates' plan to strike the bull with madness like Ajax and turn him into a dishonorable traitor. For the bull, the quote is equally used at the turning point right before he falls for Ichnelates' trap. Thus, despite the limited number of quotes, it becomes apparent that their use is skillfully timed within the story, enhancing its turning points.

In the second book (Di), only the two main characters use quotations: Ichnelates and the lion king's mother. There are only seven quotations in total out of which two quote the *Iliad* and three quote the Bible. The lion king's mother uses a single quotation, which roughly reflects the amount of direct speech attributed to her in comparison to Ichnelates.

Looking at the actual passages, however, it becomes clear that the lion king's mother sets the whole trial in motion with a single Homeric quotation that substitutes the question uttered in Arabic:

L4044	**Symeon Seth**
فقالت ما يحزنك.	ἀλλ' ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόῳ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν ἄμφω. (*SkI* II,191,11–12)
"What is making you sad?" she asked.[58]	"But speak; do not conceal your mind so we both may see." Hom. *Il*. I,363

It is surely no coincidence that this quotation was originally spoken by Thetis, encouraging her son Achilles to disclose the reason for his distress to her. As

[58] Fishbein 2021, §5.4.

a mother in a similar situation – her son mourns the death of the bull much like Achilles the loss of Briseis – she acts in a Byzantine manner and employs the voice of a famous mother-character composed by a most respected poet to achieve the uttermost authority for her action.[59] The quotation in this passage is not simply an exercise by Symeon Seth to place some suitable learned quotations for the enjoyment of his audience or to promote himself as the next Homer; it is a way to translate and amplify[60] the character. From this perspective, the lion king's mother does not simply ask her son about his well-being as she does in *KwD*, but she addresses him as the Homeric goddess and mother Thetis would have addressed her son. Accordingly, her whole demeanor and character attain a much greater force. Her Thetis-characterization also foreshadows that the upcoming events will be just as dramatic as the *Iliad*. Considering the intensity of this beginning, it should not come as a surprise that she successfully convinces her son to avenge the bull.

This also agrees with the content of the quote that orders the son to stop concealing his mind "so we both may see." Seeing what the lion feels about the death of the bull and also seeing the truth of why the bull was killed, explains why Ichnelates in *SkI* is still killed despite a lack of witnesses in court. In *KwD*, Ichnelates/Dimna is at least in some versions rightfully convicted for instigating the murder of the bull.[61] Yet, in *SkI*, seeing the truth is enough for the lion king's mother to persuade her son to murder the dangerous jackal. Accordingly, the force unleashed by a single Homeric quotation overtakes a whole legal system that would have released a guilty party due to lack of evidence.

If this is the result of the lion king's mother's quoting Homer, by Ichnelates' quotations are apparently not strong enough to prevent his doom. Yet, they still are powerful enough to help him trick his way out of being legally sentenced. Ichnelates quotes an ancient source each time he refutes his attackers in the trial. The following quotations are listed in their order of appearance and numbered for clarity.

[59] Papaioannou 2014, 23–25, and Vilimonović 2019, 73–74. Furthermore, Homer was a standard Byzantine school text.

[60] I understand amplification as a strengthening of a motif found in the hypotext. In this case, the motif is the lion's mother's ability to make her son confide in her.

[61] See above, 1.4.2 and 2.1.

	L4044	Symeon Seth
(1)	ولو كنت عرفت لنفسي ذنبًا لوجدت في الأرض مذهبًا ولما لزمت باب الملك أنتظر ثواب عمل	εἰ μὲν οὖν συνεγίνωσκον ἐμαυτὸν ἁμαρτήσαντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προσανειχόμην, ἀλλ' ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς **εὐρείας χθονὸς** τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἐποιησάμην. (*SkI* II,193,13-15)
	I would have found somewhere else to go on earth if I were conscious of any crime or guilt; I wouldn't have stayed at the king's gate waiting for a reward.	If I were aware of being at fault in this, I would not have come here but would have made a life for myself somewhere on the **wide earth**.[62]
(2)	فإنّه لا وزير لي ولا ملجأ إلّا الذي يعلم سرائر عباده وخفيّات ضمائرهم	εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐκ ἔχω τινά, πρὸς ὃν καταφεύξομαι ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν τοῦ **καρδίας καὶ νέφρους ἐξετάζοντος**. (*SkI* II,194,1–3)
	then I have no helper or refuge but the One who knows the hidden thoughts and hearts of His servants.[63]	I have nothing to which I will flee for protection, but to the mercy of God **trying hearts and livers**. (Ps. 7,10)

The next quote is another case in which Symeon Seth is closer to L8751 while L4044 expands and reinterprets the passage:

	L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
(3)	وينبغي للحقير مثلي من عبيد الملك الموسوم بالعبوديّة أن يسلم نفسه فيما يصلح للملك العظيم التقيّ مثلك	ولو كانت لي مايه نفس اعلم ان هوي الملك	καὶ εἰ **μυρίας εἶχον ψυχάς**, οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἂν τούτων ἐφεισάμην πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀρέσκειαν. (*SkI* II,194,4–5)

[62] Noble 2022, 472, notes here a great number of possible sources. Therefore, I would consider this to be more of a common phrase, like the first quote from Pindar/Hesiod in Lo above.

[63] Fishbein 2021, §5.12.

	L4044	L8751	Symeon Seth
	Someone as contemptible as I, marked with the stigma of servitude, ought to give up his life for the benefit of a great, God-fearing king like you.[64]	And if I had a hundred souls, each would recognize him as king. fol. 36r	And if **I had a thousand souls**, I would not refrain one of them from desiring to please you. John Chrys., *PA*, PG 49,173.44, *DS*, PG 54,690.20[65]

	L4044	Symeon Seth
(4)	هذا موضع العظة إن قُبلت وموضع الأمثال إن سُمعت	οὐχ οἶσθα, **ὡς στρεπταὶ αἱ τῶν ἐσθλῶν φρένες εἰσὶ** κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν; ἀλλ' ὁρῶ, ὡς **πάντες κατὰ τὸν προφήτην ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν**. (*SkI* II,194,17–19)
	This is the place for preaching, if people would only accept it, and for parables, if people would only heed them.[66]	Do you not know that **the thinking of the good is easily twisted** according to poetry (Hom. Il. XV, 203)? But I see, as the prophet said, **all are bent out of line and at the same time have become worthless** (Ps. 13:3).
(5)	فمثلك مثل رجل قال لامرأته استري عورتك ثمّ التمسي بتستير عورة غيرك	ἔοικάς μοι, ὦ ἄφρον, **τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν μὴ ὁρᾶν, τὸ δὲ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ πλησίον διακρίνειν** ταὐτόν τι πεπονθὼς τῇ ἄφρονι ἐκείνῃ γυναικί. (*SkI* II,198,2–4)
	What the man said to his wife applies to you: 'First cover your own nakedness, then ask others to cover theirs'.[67]	It seems to me, o foolish one, that **you do not see the beam in your eye, but you judge the splinter in the eye of your neighbor**, (Mt. 7:3/Lc. 6:41) suffering that what the foolish woman did.

Quotes (1) and (3) are similar in the sense that they seem to be literary phrases found in the texts of various authors and poets.[68] Yet, the first quote serves as

[64] Fishbein 2021, §5.16.
[65] This phrase is used in many variations by John Chrysostom; I am only referencing the two verbatim texts.
[66] Fishbein 2021, §5.18, with small adjustments.
[67] Fishbein 2021, §5.32.
[68] Noble 2022, 472.

a mood setter for the abundance of quotes found in Ichnelates' speeches. The page and line numbers of the passages above make the close proximity of the quotations apparent, showing that Ichnelates' verbal attacks are spiked with Christian and Classical Greek quotes. They overwhelm his attackers with the combined forces of a Church Father (3), the Bible (2, 4, 5) and Homer (4), easily outmaneuvering his rhetorically less accomplished opponents.

In this final quote (5), Ichnelates defends himself from an assessment of his character based on his facial features using an additional quote from the Bible that precedes the inserted tale of the two naked women. The tale, albeit without details about who is naked and why, narrates the story of a naked woman shaming another, equally naked woman for her nakedness.[69] The third character, a naked man, then criticizes her for shaming someone despite having the same flaw. This creates an analogy to Ichnelates and his accuser by implying that a physiognomic reading of his face would lead to equally bad results.

While the tale itself is a sufficiently harsh rebuke for calling out Ichnelates' apparently villainous physiognomy, the biblical quote adds another layer to the defense, since it describes a situation in which the accuser is, in fact, worse than the accused. Additionally, the passage comes from the Sermon on the Mount, placing Ichnelates on equal footing with Christ by speaking the same words. From this perspective, Ichnelates uses a similar strategy as the lion's mother does, but instead of imitating a pagan goddess, he conjures an image of Ichnelates-Christ being wrongfully accused. The quote can therefore be seen as the instance where Ichnelates turns the trial into martyrdom, subconsciously manipulating the court with his pious utterances into perceiving him as a wrongfully accused martyr. This view is already prepared by the preceding quote (2) from Psalter 7:10, which corresponds to the pious wish in *KwD*. Ichnelates gives up on worldly justice, much like Jesus on the cross, and turns instead to God whose mercy he can rely on, since God recognizes his innocence. Next, he conjures both Homer and Ps 13:3 (4) lamenting how the good have become twisted, wherefore he cannot expect salvation.

Grouped as above, the quotations follow the structure of his overall argument. In the beginning, Ichnelates is unwilling to flee since he is innocent (1), knowing God to be his refuge (2). However, he does not miss the chance to flatter the lion who is the one to decide his fate (3). Afterwards, he undermines his attackers by casting doubt on their moral integrity (4, 5). Throughout his speech, Ichnelates gives up on worldly justice, styling himself a martyr. Instead, he places his hope in the mercy of God, the only one to recognize his innocence, and equally shames his attackers. Showing off both his Christian and Classical

[69] See above, 1.4.2.

learning, he equals the lion's mother in terms of erudition. However, instead of posing as a Homeric goddess, he tends towards the image of a pious martyr, maybe even styling himself as Christ by reciting his last quote from the Sermon of the Mount (5). Overall, Ichnelates sounds not just like a Christian abusing his faith for personal gain, he could even be perceived as the devil himself. His way of twisting the most pious utterances into a defense of the very evil they are warning against presents him as a typical medieval devil in disguise.[70]

It is tempting to locate irony in this set-up. There is no doubt that Ichnelates has little fear of God as he cries for justice while being guilty of the crimes for which he is charged. Yet, godly justice is actually enacted since the lion's mother succeeds in making her son kill Ichnelates. Ichnelates' pretentious and fake Christian quotes that only serve his personal gain are enough to help him escape the trial but cannot prevent him from suffering the consequences of his deed beyond the confines of the court.

The content of *Ringdove* (Rd) sets a positive tone compared to the two preceding books by narrating a successful friendship between different animal species. By making up for each other's weaknesses and by combining their strengths, they overcome all dangers. This is also supported by the quotations from earlier sources, which here are not used for aggression or trickery as in *Trial of Ichnelates* (Di). Instead, they emphasize their speakers' honest feelings and care for each other. This is already signaled by the only quote ever spoken by the philosopher in the frame story:

> ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος εἶπε· φίλου πιστοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν. (*SkI* III,201,3)
>
> The philosopher said: There is nothing in existence that is a substitute for a faithful friend (Greg. Naz. PG 35,832.21–22, quoting Eccl./Sirach 6:15.1 Septuagint)

The quote from the Ecclesiast is used as the beginning of a speech on Gregory of Nyssa by Gregory of Nazianzus. Unlike the other Christian quotes found in *Trial of Ichnelates* (Di) and *Lion and Bull* (Lo), this quote is not used for deception. Instead, it summarizes the overall message of *Ringdove* (Rd) about the value of true friends.

The other five quotes in *Ringdove* (Rd) can be divided by character and educational context. The quotes used by the mouse are related to classical Greek education and the crow quotes the Bible. The turtle, interestingly, quotes a late antique Greek philosopher popular in Arabic speaking philosophical circles in

[70] Michel 2021, 368–371.

the twelfth century. These quotes turn *Ringdove* into an analogy for a friendship between different philosophical schools.

The first three quotes all belong to the same speech of the mouse. A comparison with L4044 and L8751 shows that the part containing the quotes is most likely original to *SkI*. Only L4044 has a comparable passage; it is, however, far from Symeon Seth's elaborations. Furthermore, Noble notes that Symeon Seth probably had a specific passage in Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata* in mind when composing the mouse's lament about poverty (*SkI* III,207,13–208,11).[71] Aphthonios was one of the central authors of Byzantine education,[72] making it very likely that Symeon Seth knew the text well. Noble also argues convincingly for this, since Aphthonios' passage uses the same quote from Theognis as Symeon Seth (14).

> καλῶς ἔφη ὁ εἰπών, ὅτι **δεῖ χρημάτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων** καὶ ὡς **χρὴ πενίην φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον ῥιπτεῖν καὶ πετρῶν, Κύρνε, κατ' ἠλιβάτων**. (*SkI* 3,207,13–15)
>
> He spoke well who said that **money is necessary and without it, nothing may be done that ought to be** (D., *Olynthiaca* 1,20), and that **someone fleeing poverty should throw himself into the yawning depths of the sea, Cyrnos, or from precipitous rocks** (Thgn, *Eleg*. I.175–176).
>
> καὶ **ἄμεινον τοῦ βίου προαπελθεῖν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον** κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα **αἰσχύνης κτήσασθαι μάρτυρα**, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ πρός τινας τῶν φειδωλῶν ποιεῖται τὴν αἴτησιν. (*SkI* III,208,9–11)
>
> And as it was said, **it is better to depart from life than to bring upon oneself the sun as a witness of shame** (Aphth., *Progymnasmata* 10,9,1 quoting Anach. 779); especially if one has to make a request from someone miserable.

From the perspective of character, the quotes mark the mouse as someone with a solid, classical education, fitting for its past as a city mouse. With this, the mouse becomes a mirror of the educated but impoverished scholar who learns that true friends are more valuable than gold. This realization is then spelled out by the turtle, a character with few physical abilities but substantial empathy. When comforting the mouse, the turtle shows a similar education as the mouse but with a positive outlook on life:

> τὰ γὰρ **ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ ἐν ῥοῇ ἐστι καὶ ἀπορροῇ**, καθάπερ εἴ τις σφαῖρα, τάχιστα μετακυβευόμενα καὶ μεταρριπτόμενα. (*SkI* III,210,10–11)

[71] Noble 2022, 474–475.

[72] MacDougall 2017, 723, 726–744. Aphthonius continued to be prominent even in later times; see Constantinides 1982, 1–13, 45, 80, 152.

> **For things that are born and die are always in a state of ebb and flow**, just like a ball, being moved about and turned upside down very swiftly. (Phlp., *Apo.*, 13,3,439,8–9)

John Philoponos, the late antique Christian philosopher whom the turtle quotes, was especially popular with Arabic scholars in the twelfth century for his commentaries on Aristotle. This could connect the quote to Symeon Seth's Arabic education, since it derives from one of these commentaries.[73] Furthermore, it characterizes the turtle as having a contemporary Arabic education and shows how this education might be used to help the classically educated mouse.

Finally, the crow represents Christian faith with its quote from Luke (8:13):

> λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖος ἐν καιρῷ δοκιμάζεται συμπλοκῆς, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἐν ταῖς δόσεσι καὶ λήψεσι, καὶ οἱ φίλοι **ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ**. (*SkI* III,213,16–18)

> For it is said that the brave person is put to the test in trying circumstances, the trustworthy one in their receipts and payments, and friends **in a time of trial**. (Lc 8:13)

In the context of the story, the crow uses the quote to interrupt the mouse in another long lament and urges it to devise a plan to save the turtle. Similar to the philosopher's quotation in the frame narrative, it is used in an honest way and accomplishes its aim: the mouse starts devising a plan and they manage to free the turtle.

The use of quotations once more underlines each character's personality. Additionally, they represent a dialogue between different traditions of knowledge. A successful collaboration between different species also implies that a collaboration between different traditions could be fruitful. The classical knowledge of the mouse devises the best plans but tends to indulge too much in rhetorical display. The turtle with her contemporary Arabic knowledge is capable of understanding and uniting the traditions, but in need of their support. Finally, the Christian faith provides the emotional encouragement for the others to act upon their knowledge.

From this point of view, *Ringdove* (Rd) agrees with the differences between faith and classical education, but also devises a model in which they can support each other – maybe with the additional help of knowledge promoted by scholars like Symeon Seth who were trained in an Arabic environment.

Owls and Crows (Oc) too employs both Christian and Classical Greek sources with a similar effect as the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di). There are only two

[73] See below, 2.2.2.

quotes found in Owls and Crows, yet both of them can be understood as marking turning points in the narrative.[74] The first instance happens when the spy crow convinces the crow king to follow his advice, which subsequently leads to the crow's victory.

L4044	Symeon Seth
وأرى أن لا نؤخّر النظر في أمرنا ولا يكوننّ من شأنك التثبّط والتهاون	αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀμβολίεργος ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν. (*SkI* IV,218,5)
and I see that you should not delay this matter and not enter frustration and complacency in it.[75]	As the poet says, the lazy man always has to wrestle with strokes of fate. Hes. *Op.* 413

This passage was analyzed above because of the recognizable intervention by Symeon Seth and the way in which the *mathal* is replaced with a fitting quote from Hesiod's *Work and Days*.[76] As regards the characterization of the spy crow and the circumstances of its quote, the quote is placed at the very end of the spy's official advice, before moving on to the secret advice only meant for the king. As the only crow and only character in *Owls and Crows* (Oc), he demonstrates his *paideia* and wins the argument; or, I would argue, he wins the argument because of his *paideia*.

However, the opposite happens amongst the owl ministers. The Greek text not only merges the two owl advisors arguing in favor of letting the spy crow stay, it also changes their argument entirely. The following comparison presents how the characters change from *KwD* to *SkI*.

L4044	Symeon Seth
2nd Owl Minister:	οὐ δεῖ τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι. γέγραπται γάρ, **ὡς κάλαμον συντετριμμένον μὴ κατεάξῃς**. μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτον ἐλεεῖν καὶ κατοικτείρειν δικαιότατον, ὃς τοιαύτας ὑπέστη συμφορὰς καὶ τοιαῦτα ῥαπίσματα. (*SkI* IV,223,1–3)

[74] Noble 2022, 475, also interprets another passage (*SkI* IV,217,4–6) as an echo of Hesiod. However, the comparison with L4044 shows that it is a very close translation of the corresponding Arabic passage: Fishbein, 2021, §7.9.

[75] Fishbein 2021, §7.9, with small adjustments.

[76] See above, 1.3.

L4044	Symeon Seth
قال أرى ألّا تقتله فإنّ العدوّ الذليل الذي لا شوكة له أهل أن يُرحم ويُصفح عنه والمستجير الخائف أهل أن يُؤمّن ويُجار مع أنّ الرجل ربّما عطّفه على عدوّه الأمر اليسير I think you shouldn't kill him. A humiliated enemy with no fight left in him deserves mercy and forgiveness; a frightened asylum seeker deserves safety and protection. Furthermore, a trivial matter will sometimes bring a person to show affection for his enemy	He must not be destroyed. It is written that **you should not break the bruised reed** (Mt 12:20). It is better to have mercy on him and to have very justified pity for him who resisted such unfortunate events and such blows.
3rd Owl Minister: أرى أن نبقيه ونحسن إليه فإنّه خليق أن يناصحك فإنّ ذي العقل يرى معاداة بعض أعداءه بعضًا من حسن الظنّ في استعمال بعضهم ببعض واختلافهم I think we should keep him and be good to him, for he is likely to give you good advice. A wise man considers it a victory when his enemies fall out among themselves and are busy quarreling among themselves.[77]	

In this case, the two characters are completely rewritten, even though the outcome of their actions does not change. The Arabic owl ministers both propose a pragmatic, opportunistic view of the spy crow and believe his story about being driven out of the crow community. Based on the facts they believe in, they offer sound advice: under certain circumstances, enemies can turn into allies or their internal struggles can be used against them. Yet, because the first owl already pointed out the danger of accepting the crow into their midst, they appear somewhat greedy and to be gambling with every owl's safety.

The Greek translation removes the more pragmatic parts of their argument and turns towards Christian mercy. By quoting Mt 12:20, the owl minister points out the apparently Christian foundations of the owl nation. As good Christian owls, the badly hurt spy crow is deserving of mercy and pity and is supposed to be treated well. The quote then marks the Greek owl minister's pi-

[77] Fishbein, 2021, §7.25; §7.27.

ous naivete that endangers the whole owl nation. Furthermore, the owl minister arguing against mercy fails to use any sort of learned quote and is subsequently ignored despite speaking up twice.

Accordingly, the lack of *paideia* and the pious naivete of the owl ministers make them less qualified advisors. Their king's willingness to listen to bad advice results in their defeat.

The final quote is found in *King and Dreams* (Kd). This seems to imply that Symeon Seth was more focused on the earlier chapters than the later ones. The single quote from Gregory of Nazianzus is used when the minister punishes the king by making him believe that the queen is dead. He orders the grieving king, who ordered her execution, to accept the results of his rashness with the following quote:

> ὥς τις ἔφησε τῶν σοφῶν· **νοῦς ἐμμέριμνος σὴς βιβρώσκων ὀστέα**. (*SkI* VII, 240,11–12)
>
> As one of the wise men said, **an anxious mind gnaws away your bones**. (Greg. Naz., *CM*, PG 37,924,2)

Although the quote is used with educational intentions to make the king stop acting rashly, it is still noteworthy that once more Christian sources are used to trick another character. While the outcome is positive and the minister is rewarded, the quote still appears to follow the common pattern of secret intentions hidden behind a pious Christian cloak. This is similar to the previous use of Christian quotes in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di), although the minister uses it to help another character improve as a person.

Overall, the quotes in *SkI* paint a surprisingly consistent picture of Christian faith and classical learning.[78] There is a clear bias for classical education, which usually can achieve its goals. Quotations from Christian sources, however, are in most cases used to distort reality or used in a harmful way. From that perspective, Christian hypocrites and dangerously naïve Christians try or even successfully manage to disrupt politics. In rare cases, as in *King and Dreams* (Kd), the disruption is beneficial; in the worst case, as in *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) and *Owls and Crows* (Oc), they enable a criminal or even annihilate an entire society. The only exception is the harmonious friendship in *Ringdove* (Rd) where the characters' combined strength conquers both external danger and personal worries. *SkI* appears to favor classical knowledge, while people abusing Christianity need to be handled carefully and with suspicion.

[78] On the clashes between Christian faith and Classical Greek learning around 1080, see Duffy 2002, 139, 152–155; Jaworska-Woloszyn 2014, 285–286; Trizio 2017, 462–475; Robinson 2021, 57–88. On attempts to reconcile the two, see Podaru 2015, 273–278; Lauritzen 2021, 19–31; Ewing 2022, 90–93.

2.2.1.2. The name Ichnelates and its implications

In addition to the citations, there is another translation instance that reflects Christian content in *SkI*, although this case is less obvious at first glance: the translation of the title and its possible connection to the translator's stance on Christianity.

Starting with Burzoy's translation from Sanskrit to Pahlavi, the text has never been called *Panchatantra*, probably because Burzoy incorporated not only the original five stories of the *Panchatantra* but also material from the *Mahābhārata* and the legend of *Caṇḍapradyota*.[79] Instead, it is known by the names of the two jackals of the first book (Lo). Their names preserve a resemblance to their Indian roots in the Pahlavi and Arabic versions. Karataka (Sanskrit) turns into Karirak (Pahlavi) and then into Kalila (Arabic); Damanaka (Sanskrit) into Damanak (Pahlavi) and then into Dimna (Arabic).[80] Only in Greek are the names translated into Stephanites and Ichnelates.

The riddle of why Karataka turns into Stephanites was solved by Frithiof Rundgren, who linked the name to an epithet of Indra meaning 'crown'.[81] This corresponds to the meaning of the Arabic name, which has been translated into Stephanites, 'crown-wearing'. The choice of name is likely connected to the complacent nature of the character who, unlike his ambition-driven friend, enjoys his station in life. Olivelle connects Karataka to the meaning of 'the decent one'; the translation choices in Pahlavi and Arabic, however, agree with Rundgren's interpretation.[82]

Ichnelates, on the other hand, remains a mystery in his Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic versions, and Rundgren fails to come up with any solution. Damanak seems to derive from a certain type of tree that offers no semantic explanation of why the character would be named after it.[83] Rundgren notes that at least Symeon Seth's choice of name is a speaking name meaning 'tracker'.[84] 'Ichnelates' bears no phonetic resemblance to 'Damanaka,' or to other possible roots mentioned by Rundgren meaning 'victor' and 'tamer.' Olivelle translates Damanaka as 'the audacious one,' which seems more fitting for the character who successfully schemes to become the king's closest aide.[85] Nevertheless, it remains a far shot from 'tracker.' It is, however, connected to the character in the story: a jackal striving to gain a better position in life with no qualms about

[79] Rundgren 1996, 169–172; Taylor 2007, 11.
[80] Blois 1990, 11.
[81] Rundgren 1996, 170–171.
[82] Olivelle 2006, 65.
[83] Rundgren 1996, 171–172.
[84] Rundgren 1996, 172.
[85] Olivelle 2006, 65.

using any means possible to achieve the rank he considers to be fitting for himself. To hunt for a higher rank, he hunts for both the support of the king and the destruction of the bull minister.

'Ichnelates' is also a rather exotic Greek name: not only because it is made-up, but also because the verb it derives from – ἰχνηλατέω (to track) – is not very common. It therefore seems relevant to explore the use of ἰχνηλατέω up until the end of the eleventh century when *SkI* was translated to understand where a Byzantine writer might have encountered the word and why he might have taken inspiration from it. This may also give an impression of the associations a Byzantine reader might have had when encountering a story called 'The Crowned and the Tracker.' Based on searches in the TLG, I asked two main questions. Can the use of the verb ἰχνηλατέω be connected to certain types of texts or contexts? And if so, which of these groups can be considered to be the most influential, providing the semantic background for the character?

The search provided a list of 199 hits in the TLG of forms of ἰχνηλατέω up until the twelfth century, excluding the hits in SkI itself. Since the TLG Canon is by no means complete, the presented results are not final. However, they should still offer a preliminary an account of the use of a word and its implications.

There are a few remarkable things to notice about the hits in total. First, the verb appears mainly in Christian contexts, the only exceptions being pre-Christian texts. These pre-Christian texts account for a total of three writers: Philo Judaeus (16 hits), Theophrastus (1 hit), and Posidonius (1 hit). Out of these three, Philo Judaeus wrote mainly about the Torah and the five books of Moses. This leaves the impression that ἰχνηλατέω is a verb strongly connected to Christian beliefs. Looking at the results, it appears that ἰχνηλατέω is a favorite of certain writers or collections, the most notable being listed here:

Cyril of Alexandria (4–5th c.) — 28 hits

Theodore Studites (8–9th c.) — 17 hits

Philo Judaeus (1st c. B.C.–1st c.) — 16 hits

Concilia Oecumenica 431, 536, 680–681 — 12 hits

Analecta Hymnica Graeca (A.D. var.) — 9 hits

Photios (9th c.) — 8 hits

Of the four writers listed here, Philo Judaeus of Alexandria is the oldest with a more frequent use of ἰχνηλατέω. His work, a fusion of Platonic philosophy and the Torah, is the first of its kind and laid the foundation for later exegetic traditions. Although his work was not written for a Christian audience, Christian writers came to be his main recipients.[86] Considering Philos' "innovative" style,

[86] Runia 2006, IV.

as David Runia phrases it, it is not surprising that the new and creative use of ἰχνηλατέω might have originated here.[87]

In light of Philo's popularity in the 3rd and 4th centuries, I would assume that not only his ideas but also his style left their mark on Cyril of Alexandria. As Patriarch of Alexandria, he had been the main character in various riots within Alexandria, most notably with Orestes and the murder of the philosopher Hypatia.[88] Cyril also had a long conflict about the term 'Theotokos' with Nestorios of Antioch, continuing even after his death and causing a rift in the early Christian church. At the Council of Ephesos (431), he managed to exclude Nestorius' supporters and became the main leader of the council.[89]

Interestingly, Cyril's influence can be traced by the frequency of the verb ἰχνηλατέω in the Acts of the Council of Ephesos (431), where it is used 9 times, but only 2 times in the Acts of the Council of 536 and once in the Acts of the Council of 680–681. Furthermore, the Council of 536 uses the verb in a quote of Cyril's writings (οἶδας τοὺς ἀποστόλους μὴ καθηγησαμένους ἐν καινοτομίαις, ἀλλ' **ἰχνηλατήσαντας** τὸν μόνον καθηγητὴν καὶ νομοθέτην Χριστόν – You know that the apostles were not taught in innovations but by **tracking** the only teacher and lawgiver Christ).[90] Considering Cyril's dominance in the Council of 431 and how he managed to prevent his political opponents from attending, it is hard to deny the impression that it is left on the accounts of the Council in 431 like Cyril's personal stamp.[91] Cyril, therefore, seems to be the main user of the verb in comparison to all other accessible writers in the TLG.

Photios and Theodore the Studite are, like Cyril, known for their strong, even radical opinion and influence. Despite not being from Alexandria, their characters seem to have certain similarities with Cyril in their reckless and relentless pursuit of their goals, which might or might not have caused a certain attachment to the verb ἰχνηλατέω. Runia also notes that Photios had been a great admirer of Philo's style and perceived him as the one who introduced allegorical interpretations of the Bible into the church.[92] Theodore Studites seems not to have mentioned Philo in his writings, so it could be assumed that his use of the verb rather originated from other Church Fathers, such as Cyril or John of Damascus.

This evidence indicates Cyril of Alexandria as the Christian trendsetter for the verb and the one to introduce it into Christian texts. It is, however, not very

[87] Runia 2016, 276.
[88] Belenkiy 2016, 374–399; Ronchey 2021, 87–88; Crawford 2023, 2–21.
[89] Russell 2000, vii, 3–11, 31–56.
[90] *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536* 3.9,1–2 and 3.227,1–2.
[91] On Cyril's style, see Crawford 2023; 2–21.
[92] Runia 2016, 268.

likely that he influenced Symeon Seth directly. It would indeed make for a compelling case if Symeon Seth of Antioch had chosen a word associated with the enemy of Nestorius, the patriarch of Antioch, to name the evil main character in his translation. Considering the mixed reception of Cyril among even his fellow orthodox Christians, despite becoming a saint, it is not implausible but still unlikely.[93] The word ἰχνηλατέω could have been encountered also in the writings of other Church Fathers or found in a lexicon. As the most likely encounter, I would consider a liturgical setting, since it is found nine times in the canons and also once in another liturgical song. It is thus likely that Seth's inspiration originated from liturgy and also that the majority of his contemporary readers encountered the verb there.

The next question is in which context ἰχνηλατέω was used. To answer this, I will focus my discussion on a few passages. I will first focus on the Philo–Cyril–Studites–Photios group to understand the verb's attraction. I will then compare their usage to the examples found in other writers considered relevant and analyze how they relate to the verb's appearance in hymns.

The analysis of the content is best reduced to the question of what is tracking what. In the case of Philo Judaeus, it is remarkable that ἰχνηλατέω marks the pursuit of higher moral goals, namely truth or hidden meanings,[94] customs or behaviors,[95] and virtue.[96] The pursuer is either a (biblical) character providing commendable behavior[97] or the recipient of Philo's text who pursues the truth together with him.[98] Seven of Philo's sixteen examples pursue the truth,[99] which after the 7th century is still found once in Photios' texts and twice in John of Damascus.[100] Interestingly, it appears also in fragments of Posidonius and Theophrastus, which predate Philo.[101] The full phrase – φυσιολογίας γὰρ ἀντίπαλον φιλονεικία τριπόθητον ἡγουμένης ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν (For natural phi-

[93] Russell 2000, 3, 63.

[94] Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 28,1; Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 106.1, 138.5; Philo, *De confusione linguarum* 143.3; Philo, *De opificio mundi* 56.3; Philo, *De Josepho* 7.2, 104.2; Philo, *De praemiis et poenis et De exsecrationibus* 36.5; Philo, *De somniis* ii, 259.1; Philo, *Quaestiones in Exodum* 7.6.

[95] Philo, *De migratione Abrahami* 218.5; Philo *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* 81.4; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 114.2.

[96] Philo, *De somniis* i, 49.1; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 114.2.

[97] Philo, *De somniis* i, 49.1; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 114.2.

[98] Philo, *De migratione Abrahami* 218.5; Philo *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* 81.4; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 114.2; Philo, *De providentia* 2, 52.4; Philo, *Quaestiones in Exodum* 7.6.

[99] Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 106.1, 138.5; Philo, *Quaestiones in Exodum* 7.6; Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 28,1; Philo, *De opificio mundi* 56.3; Philo, *De Josepho* 104.2; Philo, *De praemiis et poenis et De exsecrationibus* 36.5.

[100] Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia* 249.70; John of Damascus, *Contra Jacobitas* 4.5; John of Damascus, *Sacra parallela* 96, 512.27.

[101] Posidonius, *Fragmenta* 310.128; Theophrastus, *Physicorum opiniones* 12.110; Philo, *De aeternitate mundi* 138.5.

losophy is a dispute, guided by tracking the nearly balanced, threefold truth) – is found in the same form in each of the three writers' text. This implies that Philo adopted his use of ἰχνηλατέω either from Posidonios or Theophrastos or maybe another lost source that they quoted. It refutes the assumption that Philo's use of the verb was innovative, but definitely marks the turning point for its subsequent use.

The 'pursuit of truth' remains a strong interest of Cyril of Alexandria. It is found seven times in Cyril.[102] Especially influential is the use in *De incarnatione unigeniti*: Πανταχόθεν οὖν ἄρα συνωθούμενοι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἱεροῖς Γράμμασι δοκοῦν ἰχνηλατεῖν εὖ μάλα σπουδάζοντες, καὶ ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ἑπόμενοι δόξαις (Everywhere they are, therefore, gathering for the truth, and they try to trace the meaning of the Holy Scripture well and following the opinions of the fathers).[103] The exact quote is also found in the Council of Ephesos,[104] which supports the above-mentioned idea of Cyril dictating his thoughts at the Council. It is more reasonable to suppose that *De incarnatione unigeniti* was written before the Council, since it is unlikely that Cyril participated without preparing sufficient material. It is also repeated in the later collection of Cyril's writings, the *Florilegium Cyrillianum*.[105] In addition to truth, Cyril's texts also 'pursue' virtue,[106] reason,[107] faith,[108] the good,[109] the Scripture,[110] explain what should not be followed,[111] or recommend concrete role models.[112] Important is also the 'path' as an allegory of faith, which can be found in Cyril's writings and the Acts of the Council of Ephesos. [113]

[102] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 1, 368.14, 595.25 and 2, 67.24, 171.18, 589.8; Cyril of Alexandria, *De incarnatione unigeniti* 713.19; Cyril of Alexandria, *De sancta trinitate dialogi* 609.1; Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* 68, 534.5, 653.47.

[103] Cyril of Alexandria, *De incarnatione unigeniti* 713.19.

[104] *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1 72.16

[105] Cyril of Alexandria, *Florilegium Cyrillianum* 178.5.

[106] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, 79.3, 454.8; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* 2 438.23; Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* 68, 480.28.

[107] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 1, 683.14 and 2 539.21.

[108] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, 609.1; Cyril of Alexandria, *Quod unus sit Christus* 778.2.

[109] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, 387.11.

[110] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* 69, 493.1; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* 70, 1333.30.

[111] Cyril of Alexandria, *De sancta trinitate dialogi* 445.16.

[112] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 2, 589.8; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Lucam* 72, 801.11; Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate* 68, 829.9; Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* 69, 113.32; Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales* 77 665.52.

[113] Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Joannem* 1, 193.9 and 2, 589.8; *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431* 1,1,1 35.13, 1,1,6 52.35.

With this, Cyril shapes the use of ἰχνηλατέω for later Christian texts. It has turned into a verb used in the pursuit of goals that are connected to Christianity. It is hardly found in a negative context and rarely used in warnings not to pursue sin.[114] Accordingly, Photios and Theodore Studites agree with the use of the verb. Although probably a coincidence, there is one instance in which Theodore Studites mentions the roots for Stephanites and Ichnelates together in one of his letters: ὑμνικὸς ἐκ ῥοδωνίας θεοπλόκου **στέφανος** τῷ **ἰχνηλάτῃ** τοῦ Προδρόμου (a hymnical canon made of divinely woven rose **crown** for the **tracker** of the Forerunner).[115] However, since I could not identify the hymn Studites is referring to, it is difficult to measure the influence it might have had on Symeon Seth.

Some exceptions to the idea that the verb is used only in Christian contexts must be made for historiographical writings without explicit Christological context. These are mainly found in the writings of Michael Psellos,[116] Theophylact Simocatta,[117] and lexica. However, in Psellos' case, the use might also be connected to his admiration for Philo and therefore still part of the greater tradition of ἰχνηλατέω as a Christian verb.[118]

The last relevant group consists of the Orthodox hymns,[119] assuming that they were the most recognizable source for the verb. Hymns containing ἰχνηλατέω were sung at nine instances on the 28th and 31st of March, 11th of April, 21st of June, 12th of September, 1st, 20th, and 30th of November, and 16th of December, with the verb appearing often in the first position of a new verse. The same positioning is also found in another liturgical song.[120] Usually, Christ or the suffering of Christ are pursued, with three exceptions that refer to other biblical characters.[121] This shows that the church songs tend to provide concrete examples instead of abstract goals, maybe to appeal to the broader masses. Yet, what is pursued remains positive and leads, therefore, to interesting answers to the questions asked above.

First of all, the verb ἰχνηλατέω, in opposition to the more widely used noun ἴχνος (trace) (2461 hits), seems to have its roots in the philosophical tradition of the pursuit of truth. This use is then generalized into the pursuit of some-

[114] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 2 241.15; John Mauropus, *Epistulae* 17.69.
[115] Theodoros Studites, *Epistulae* 274.23.
[116] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 6 102.19; Michael Psellos, *Epistulae* 29 110.37, 31 142.60, 100 391.30.
[117] Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae* 4 1.8.4, 4 3.14.2, 7 12.4.2.
[118] For Psellos' use of Philo, see Runia 2016: 272–273.
[119] *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Junii* 21 13.5; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Aprilis* 11 15.1; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Septembris* 12 20.1.3; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Martii* 28 31.9.10, 31 36.2.18; *Hymnographica Byzantina. Menaea Junii* 7.121; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Novembris* 20 40.3.20, 30 45.7.13; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Decembris* 16 25.7.14.
[120] *Liturgica Varia* 8 346.16.
[121] *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Novembris* 30 45.7.13; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Martii* 28 31.9.10; *Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Canones Decembris* 16 25.7.14.

thing positive connected to the Bible and finally turns into a word almost exclusively found in theological orthodox writings. The repeated use in various hymns might have been the most influential, although Symeon Seth likely encountered the word in various Christian writings. Even so, the name Ichnelates remains a curious choice as it must have projected a misleading Christian halo over a character who proves to be anything but Christian in his behavior. At most, his death ordered by the king appears like a parody of a saint's life: instead of striving for faith, Christ, and the truth, Ichnelates pursues falsehood, betrayal, and murder for his worldly goal of becoming the king's most trusted advisor and finally reaches martyrdom for it. In this sense, the choice of a name that twists a word specifically used in a Christian context enhances Ichnelates' devilish features of deception and mockery of Christianity with its own words.[122]

Both the name Ichnelates and the use of learned and biblical quotes seem to indicate a hidden but rather fierce skepticism of the possibility of or usefulness in implementing Christianity in real life. *Ringdove* (Rd) is the only exception, and it is in a setting far removed from politics. The other cases describe two types of dangerous Christians that were most likely found among the emperor's advisors, endangering the state and its well-being: the criminally naïve Christian and the selfish pretender who could not care less about Christian values. While the owl minister is well-meaning but fails to separate piety from politics, Ichnelates has no scruples about feigning piety and martyrdom as long as it suits his goals.

Yet, both characters fail due to another character who only deploys quotations from ancient Greek literature. As the plot shows, neither real nor fake piety can overrule the learned quotations from Homer and Hesiod that each time convince the king to act according to the will of the person who deploys them. Although Ichnelates, who is probably the most ingenious character in the story, also quotes Homer once between biblical quotes, he is unable to outsmart the single, cleverly deployed quotation used by the lion's mother. Additionally, both the lion's mother and the spy crow use their quotes in crucial moments of their speech, unlike Ichnelates who maybe overuses his quotes in a more dramatic fashion.[123]

In the case of Ichnelates and the owl minister, neither can escape death, showing that God has mercy neither for the fake Christian nor with the naïve believer. By inserting a limited number of quotations in strategic positions throughout the text, Symeon Seth manages to indirectly criticize the abuse of the Christian faith and demonstrates the dire consequences of such abuse. However, since *SkI*

[122] Michel 2021, 368–371.
[123] See above, 1.4.2.

is a translation, the translator's opinions on Christians can only be discovered by comparison with the Arabic source text.

2.2.2. Symeon Seth's Self-Promotion

Unlike the copyists of L4044 and L8751, the historical Symeon Seth wrote additional texts that have been preserved and he is mentioned by other sources. This leads me to the difficult task of uniting a writing persona with historical evidence. As I consider it impossible to faithfully reconstruct a historical human being from their traces, I nevertheless deem it possible to construct a coherent narrative. This narrative aims to unite the writing personas of different texts by the same person with historical and archaeological evidence. The approach to this aim owns much to microarcheology, which aims to create smaller narratives around single objects or persons instead of the grand scale narratives of history writing.[124] In this sense, I strive to create a narrative around and about the historical Symeon Seth that connects the surviving evidence as convincingly as possible without ever assuming that this represents some lost or indisputable truth of his life. For this, I will use his other writings, contemporary sources that mention him, and the Cod. Lau. Plut. XI,14 in addition to relevant passages from *SkI*.

The scepticism in *SkI* has a counterpart in the self-promotion of Symeon Seth as superior to other officials flocking to the court of Alexios I Komnenos.[125] There are several instances where a comparison to *KwD* shows changes that display a man in Symeon Seth's position in a favorable light. Looking at the text and its manuscript tradition from the perspective of self-promotion, the selection of translated chapters in *SkI* can reveal additional reasons. In order to understand how these differences between *KwD* and *SkI* correlate with the historical Symeon Seth's life and whether they align with the translator's profile found in the text, a short overview of the known facts is needed.[126] Since there is no biography, the details of his life have to be collected from various sources and remain hypothetical.[127] Perhaps the most important source is a passage in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*:

[124] Narrative microarchaeology has been developed in various studies: Praetzellis 1998, 1–3; Pluciennik 1999, 654–668; Cornell & Fahlander 2002, 21, 29–36; Mytum 2010, 237–254; Mímisson & Magnússon 2014, 131–156; Cornell 2015, 38–40.

[125] On the importance and variety of self-promotion in the Byzantine empire, with examples of various writers, see Cullhed 2014, 52–67; Bourbouhakis 2014, 201–204, 209, 214–222; Pizzone 2014, 225–243; Xenophontos 2014, 188–204; Neville 2014, 264–268, 273–274; Agapitos 2017, 4–7; Pizzone 2018, 287–304; Nilsson 2021a, 88.

[126] For a similar attempt to relate a Spanish translation to the contemporary socio-cultural structures, see Funes 2000, 107–120.

[127] Gutas et al. 2017, 93–94.

> τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου τελευτὴν μαθηματικός τις Σὴθ καλούμενος μεγάλα ἐπ' ἀστρολογίᾳ αὐχῶν μετὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν αὐτοῦ διαπεραίωσιν προειρήκει διὰ χρησμοῦ [...] οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο αὐχμός τις ἦν ἀστρολόγων τὸ τηνικάδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ εἰρημένος Σὴθ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐξήνθει καὶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐκεῖνος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς πολὺς ἦν τὰ τῆς ἀστρολογίας ἐμφαίνων ὄργια· [...] ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὴν νεότητα συρρέουσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὥσπέρ τινα προφήτην τὸν ἄνδρα λογιζομένην δὶς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτον ἐπερωτήκει, καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εὐστοχήκει τῆς ἐπερωτήσεως. δειλιάσας δὲ ἵνα μὴ πολλῶν βλάβη γένηται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ματαιότητα τῆς ἀστρολογίας ἀποκλίνωσιν ἅπαντες, κατὰ τὴν Ῥαιδεστὸν τούτῳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἀφώρισε τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσας, πολλὴν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προμήθειαν ἐνδειξάμενος ὥστε δαψιλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς χρῆσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ταμιείων ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι.[128]

> A certain scholar called Seth, who boasted loudly of his knowledge of astrology, had foretold Robert's death, after his crossing to Illyricum [...] Seth, whom I have already mentioned, flourished then, that Egyptian from Alexandria who devoted much of his time to the revelation of the mysteries of astrology. [...] When the emperor saw young people flocking to consult him as though he were a prophet, he himself put questions to him on two occasions and each time received a correct reply. Afraid that Seth might do harm to many and that the public might turn to the unprofitable pursuit of astrology, he banished him from the city and made him live at Rhaidestos, but took great care that his needs should be generously provided for at the expense of the imperial treasury.[129]

According to Anna, Seth was successfully promoting well at court because of his knowledge of astrology, but he apparently did a bit too well for the emperor's liking. Considering that, according to Anna, astrology was an uncommon science in Constantinople, he probably earned much distrust for it, which can also be felt in Anna's elaborations on astrology.[130] The detail about the younger generation showing intense interest in Seth's accomplishments in particular appears to have been a source of worry. Additionally, his reliance on Arabic sources, regardless of how downplayed they are in his texts, might have been frowned upon.[131] In combination with his apparent skill in astrology, his profession must have seemed uncanny and dangerous, which led to his exile. This is even more likely

[128] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.7,1,4.

[129] Translation in Sewter/Frankopan 2009, 164–165.

[130] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.7, 2–3; Magdalino 2003, 15–31. On Anna Komnene's historiographical method, see Inoue 2015, 197–203. On Anna Komnene's authorial voice and self-depiction: Connor 2004, 238–262; Stanković 2007, 173–175; Cooper 2013, 274–276, 280–281, 289; Neville 2014, 264–268, 273–274; Buckley 2014, passim, esp. 1–11, 24–32; Vilimonović 2015, 209–229; Magdalino 2017, 201; Vilimonović 2019, 22–23, 71–103, 121–162.

[131] Gutas et al. 2017, 95–98.

if one looks at the other astrologers Anna mentions, who are not removed but seem to enjoy less popularity or are less skilled than Seth.[132]

It is commonly agreed that Symeon Seth lived c. 1035–1110 and originated from Antioch, based on the dating of a solar eclipse that he predicted.[133] Anna's remark that he was an Egyptian from Antioch is commonly understood in two ways. A biographical reading suggests that Symeon Seth studied there before coming to Constantinople. A reading considering contemporary style reads the passage as an archaization that places astrologists in Egypt, as would be found in the Bible. His unusual name Seth causes some difficulties for Sjöberg, who tries to decide whether it should be considered a family name or a father's name.[134] Considering that the biblical Seth, son of Adam, was also considered the father of astronomy and astrology, it is also thinkable that Symeon chose 'Seth' as a sort of artist name.[135] On the one hand, it would have made his proficiency easily recognizable in Constantinople where he entered as a foreigner and tried to establish himself at court. On the other, it would have also shown his ambition to be on par with the biblical patriarch and his intention to renew the Byzantine knowledge of the stars. This understanding would agree well with the possible archaization of his origin in Anna's *Alexiad*.

Seth probably served at the Byzantine court of Constantinople from the reign of Emperor Michael VII Doukas until the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, when at some point he fell out of favor and was exiled to Raidestos.[136] In manuscripts, he is normally referred to as *magistros*, *vestes*, and *philosophos*, making it likely that he held a title and an office at the imperial court.[137] As a scholar, he belongs to the same group of Arabic intellectuals as Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī and Ibn Buṭlān from Antioch, whose works he quotes anonymously while proudly referring to them as, from his perspective, 'modern' scholars.[138] The works attributed to him in addition to *SkI* all concern astronomy and the natural sciences in Περὶ χρείας τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων (*On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies*) and

[132] Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.7, 4–5. On astrology and connected beliefs in Byzantium, see Pingree 2001, 17–22, and Freni 2023, 333–341.

[133] Cooper 2013, 266; Bouras-Valienatos & Xenophontos 2015, 440–441; Glynias 2022, 188; Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 284–286. On the identification of Symeon Seth, see Magdalino 2002, 46–49, 51–54. On Antioch as a center of astronomy, see Roberts 2020, 252–287.

[134] Sjöberg 1962, 89–91.

[135] Adler 2006, 245–263, and Glynias 2022, 191.

[136] Gutas et al. 2017, 89, 92–98, and Pietrobelli &

Cronier 2022, 289.

[137] Bouras-Valienatos & Xenophontos 2015, 437–438.

[138] Bouras-Valienatos & Xenophontos 2015, 441; Glynias 2022, 188, 195; Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 282. Pietrobelli &

Cronier 2022, 282–300, argue that he might have been Ibn Buṭlān's student. Ibn Buṭlān also refers appreciatively to *KwD* in his works; see Oltean 2021, 361–362.

Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν (*Synopsis of Inquiries on Nature*), medicine in Ἀντιρρητικὸς πρὸς Γαληνόν (*Refutation of Galen*), and nutritional science in Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχεῖον περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεων (*Treatise on the Properties of Foodstuffs*),[139] although Anna Komnene considered his abilities as an astrologer as his most remarkable talent. Joe Glynias also recently discovered a quotation about nine star coordinates excerpted from another lost work of Symeon Seth that provided a list of stars with astrological relevancy.[140] To judge from the number of preserved manuscripts, *SkI* and *Treatise on the Properties of Foodstuffs* appear to be the most widely read.[141]

In more recent discussions on Symeon Seth, Antoine Pietrobelli and Marie Cronier argue that his criticism of Galen in particular should be considered a remnant of a scholarly dispute between Psellos' circle with its Neoplatonist tendencies and Symeon Seth's Arabic Aristotelianism.[142] Symeon Seth attacks Galen in the *Treatise on the Properties of Foodstuffs* twice, especially in his *Refutation of Galen*, revealing an aggressive writing style combined with viciously formulated criticism that targets Galen as much as his supporters in the eleventh century:

> Πρὶν μὲν ὁμιλῆσαι, Γαληνέ, τοῖς θεῖόν τί σε χρῆμα λογιζομένοις, ὑπελάμβανον ὡς καὶ οἱ μετρίως μετασχόντες λογισμοῦ διακρίνουσιν, ὅσον τὸ διάφορον τοῦ προφορικοῦ σου λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν συγγραμμάτων σεαυτοῦ ἐναντιουμένου καὶ χρωμένου οἷς χρᾶσθαι ἀποτρέπεις τοὺς ἀντικειμένους σοι. [...] Ἐπεὶ δέ σε ἀρτίως παρὰ πολλῶν δοξαζόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ γλώττης σχεδὸν πάντων κείμενον καὶ ἄπτωτον πάντῃ λογιζόμενον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον εὐφημούμενον, ἐδέησέ μοι τοῖς σοῖς προσδιαλεχθῆναι ὀπαδοῖς[143]
>
> Before joining battle, Galen, with the people who consider you a divine creature, I believe that even those with mediocre intelligence can distinguish how much what you put forward differs from the thinking in many of your own writings, when you oppose and use whatever is useful in refuting your enemies. [...] But since you are greatly extolled by many people and you are on almost everyone's lips, considered faultless in every respect and praised as superhuman, I feel the need to respond to your supporters.[144]

This statement criticizes the uncritical admiration of Galen by Byzantine scholars, noted by Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Sophia Xenophontos.[145] The harsh-

[139] Tihon 2017, 186, 190; Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 282, 303.

[140] Glynias 2022, 189.

[141] Bouras-Valienatos & Xenophontos 2015, 438; Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 300–302.

[142] Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 290–291; Gutas et al. 2017, 94, however, see less interaction with Psellos' circles, while Oltean 2021, 365, even suspects a master-disciple relationship between Psellos and Symeon Seth that turned sour at some point.

[143] Symeon Seth, *Refutation of Galen* 1.3--8,11--14.

[144] Bouras-Vallianatos & Xenophontos 2015, 464.

[145] Bouras-Vallianatos & Xenophontos 2015, 434–435; Bouras-Vallianatos 2017, 180–197; Stathakopoulos 2019, 140.

ness of his criticism becomes even more prominent in the contemporary context of the work, since a critical attitude towards Galen was highly uncommon.[146]

Symeon Seth's treatises, however, are not the only places in which he expresses his distaste for Galen. Even in *SkI*, there is an instance at which Galen is quoted and subsequently refuted. In *Trial of Ichnelates* (Di), Ichnelates is accused of having the face of a wicked man and therefore being guilty as charged. This passage is found in the Arabic version, but the reply including Galen is inserted by Symeon Seth. To refute his attacker, Ichnelates argues:

> Πάντες ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ὑπεραναβαίνει τοῦτον, καὶ οὗτος ὁ ταῦτα λέγων δοκησισώφρων ἐστίν. εἰ οὖν, ὥς φησιν, αἱ ψυχικαὶ δυνάμεις ἕπονται ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσι, τί δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς βίᾳ παρανομοῦντας ἢ βραβεῖα χορηγεῖν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένοις; (*SkI* II,197,16--198,2)
>
> We are all under the heaven and none of us rises above it and he who says such things is only seemingly clever. For if, as they say, *the powers of the souls follow the combinations of the body* (Galen *QAM*[147] 4,767,11), why should one punish those who violently break the law, or bestow prizes to those who behave correctly?

The topic of physiognomics is used to introduce Galen's theory that the soul is shaped according to the body, which means that what is considered ugly and sick would reflect an equally ugly and sick personality. This idea is then refuted by the fact that punishment and rewards exist, which would not be necessary if good and evil could simply be distinguished by looking at someone's body.[148] Although Ichnelates obviously proves that his soul is just as evil as his appearance indicates, the argument nevertheless remains convincing. In this sense, his harsh rebuttal of Galen that makes the accuser leave in tears seems to correspond with the historical Symeon Seth's overall attitude towards the followers of Galen.

A further investigation of criticisms found in Symeon Seth's works would be useful to understand his writing persona, since it will shed light on his treatment of sources and his willingness to insert opinions, critical thinking, and even sarcasm into his writings.

Besides what is found in Symeon Seth's own writings, Anna Komnene offers a few important facts about Symeon Seth. The prediction of the solstice in 1085 helps to place Symeon Seth's activity in Constantinople, but it also shows that he arrived at a time when he had to constantly fight for his recognition.[149]

[146] Bouras-Vallianatos & Xenophontos 2015, 443; Gutas et al. 2017, 92, 95; Stathakopoulos 2019, 141, 153. On Byzantine scholars praising Galen, see Bouras-Vallianatos 2017, 188–197.

[147] *Quod animi mores corporis temperatura sequantur*.

[148] Discussing medical knowledge in literary texts is not uncommon; see e.g. Volk 2006, 145–155.

[149] Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 303–308.

Accordingly, strategies of self-promotion were essential for him to survive as a foreigner at the court in Constantinople. In a sense, just as Psellos, he can be considered a pioneer of a new sort of polymath scholar well-versed in disciplines like astronomy, medicine, literature, and philosophy, which would become the norm in later periods.[150]

These instances of self-promotion are to be found in *SkI* when characters in a similar position to Symeon Seth appear, namely advisors of a king. The first instance is to be found in Ichnelates' first conversation with the lion king which differs vastly from the Arabic version:

L4044	Symeon Seth
إنّ السلطان لا يقرّب الرجال على قرب آبائهم ولا يبعدهم لبعدهم ولكنّه ينزلهم على قدر كلّ امرئ منهم ما ينتفع به	δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν μὴ τοὺς κατὰ γένος περιφανεῖς προσάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξιολόγους καὶ λυσιτελεῖν δυναμένους· μήτε μὴν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μόνοις ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ τούτοις προσανέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρωθεν τοὺς συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ κεκοσμημένους προσκαλεῖσθαι. (*SkI* I,161,2–6)
A ruler doesn't bring men near or keep them at a distance because of the respective positions of their fathers; he employs them according to the benefits each can bring.[151]	A ruler should not only bring the exalted ones among the nobility to his side but also the talented and those capable of helping. Not only should he not be content only with those around him and trust in them, but also invite the distant ones who have adorned themselves with intelligence and education.

Comparing L4044 to Symeon Seth's translation, the argument about what a ruler's court should look like changes. On the one hand, L4044 is concerned with nepotism, not being recognized for one's own merits, or being shunned because of the demerits of other family members. These worries reveal a court culture that relies heavily on family structure and inheritable merit.[152]

Symeon Seth's translation, on the other hand, first starts similarly by advising against only using members of nobility as close advisors. The argument has a slight build-up, with the next recommendation being "anyone remarkable and

[150] Tihon 2002, 292–293; Kaldellis 2008, 192–227; Jenkins 2017, 447–461; Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 308. Two generations later, the emperor Manuel Komnenos personally defended astrology; see Cooper 2013, 278–279.

[151] Fishbein 2021, §4.19.

[152] Magdalino 1993, 180–217.

capable." The actual intention behind the change from the Arabic version, however, becomes visible only in the following sentence and has no counterpart in *KwD*. Here, the ruler is advised to not only include wise people "around him" but to also "call the distant ones [...] who have adorned themselves in intelligence and education (*paideia*)." It seems rather clear that the distant one who excels in *paideia* offers another correlation between the translator's profile and Symeon Seth, who is trying to establish himself as a foreign scholar at the court of Alexios I Komnenos. However, it remains a curious choice by Symeon Seth to pick the villain of the story for this sort of self-promotion.

Further observations can be made when looking at the earliest manuscript transmission of *SkI*. Unlike with L4044 and L8751 above, I will not discuss the writing persona of the manuscripts but focus on the traces related to Symeon Seth. This is possible since I consider the Codex Laurentianus Plut. XI,14 to be a direct copy of Symeon Seth's translation and due to his rather distinct writing persona I have established above.

Sjöberg noted that the oldest manuscript, Codex Laurentianus Plut. XI,14, on which he based his edition, ends with the *King and Dreams* (Kd) book. Every subsequent manuscript, however, also contains *King and Bird* (Kb). There are, however, a few noteworthy aspects to be found about the codex Laurentianus Plut. XI,14 besides it being the oldest.[153] First, it is one of the only two manuscripts written on parchment and the only parchment version of Symeon Seth's *SkI*; the other, Codex Messanensis 161, is part of the Eugenian version.[154] Second, it is a very clean and professional copy of high quality with no marginal notes. Third, considering that the preceding *florilegium* was written by a different hand and *SkI* starts at a new quire,[155] it can be assumed that the *Florilegium* was later combined with *SkI* to form the codex. Last, as stated above, the version of *SkI* in this codex is the only one that ends with *King and Dreams* (Kd) and does not contain the last book *King and Bird* (Kb) that is found in all subsequent, younger manuscripts.

Sjöberg noticed the lack of *King and Bird* (Kb) but argued that the translation found in all other manuscripts was still made by Symeon Seth, without offering any argument. I would agree with Sjöberg that, based on the style of Greek in *King and Bird* (Kb), it does not seem to differ from the preceding chapters.[156] Furthermore, judging from the manuscript evidence, *King and Bird* (Kb) remains the only book that was added to the text for a long time. This indicates

[153] For a similar approach to another manuscript (Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8) that contains *SkI*, see Nyström 2013, 70–74.

[154] Sjöberg 1962, 32.

[155] Codex Laurentianus Plut. XI,14 fol. 164r–165v.

[156] Sjöberg 1962, 61.

that there was no one with the capability and interest to translate the missing chapters after Symeon Seth. However, the question remains as to why the oldest manuscript does not contain all the chapters and why *King and Bird* (Kb) was added later. I will attempt a plausible narrative that connects the addition of *King and Bird* (Kb) to Symeon Seth's historical circumstances as depicted above.

Ending *SkI* with *King and Dreams* (Kd), as found in Laurentianus Plut. XI,14, expresses an intention beyond the text that, once more, links the writing profile with the historical person. Already the frame narrative about the king and the philosopher is somewhat different. Unlike the other books where the king asks the philosopher for a story that explains how certain things come to pass, the king wants to know what the most important thing for a good reign is. The philosopher gives a lengthy reply that concludes that a competent minister and a clever wife are the most essential parts and offers a story to solidify his argument. From the perspective of a court official like himself, a story that emphasizes the importance of competent officials like Symeon Seth, would have been the perfect choice to conclude a text dedicated to the emperor.

This becomes even more apparent when looking at the story within the frame narrative. Similar to *Lion and Bull* (Lo), *King and Dreams* (Kd) takes place at court and narrates the story of a king who is repeatedly saved from his gullibility and rash decisions by the intervention of his wife and his clever minister. As noted above, this story has a different ending in L4044 and L8751; here it is essential to look at the variation found in *SkI*.

One day, the king wakes up worried after a night with eight confusing dreams. He then asks the philosophers at court to interpret them for him, but they, still furious about a recent mass killing of philosophers ordered by the king, lie to him. Being told that the dreams represent great calamities that can only be appeased by the king bathing in the blood of everyone he dearly loves, he falls into depression. This is noticed by his minister, who urges the queen to talk to her husband. The queen quickly realizes the philosophers' scheme and convinces her husband to ask for a second opinion from a pious ascetic, who explains to the king that all the dreams signify gifts that the king will receive in due time. The ascetic turns out to be right and a grateful king rewards his minister and lets his wife choose between a precious dress and a crown. The queen, having a hard time deciding, asks the minister for help with a glance and he winks at the dress. However, the king notices the exchange between the two and to prevent her jealous and emotional husband from overreacting, the queen picks the crown and leaves the dress to the king's mistress.[157] Later, the king ridicules his

[157] See above, 1.4.7.

wife for choosing poorly, which makes her empty a bowl of hot rice on his head in a fit of anger. Outraged, the king orders his minister to execute the queen, but the minister hides her and waits for the king's anger to subside. He then returns the queen to the overjoyed king and is rewarded with presents and friendship.

While the story shows the use of a clever minister, it also indicates how to treat such a person: friendship and gifts for the helpful official are the final lines of *SkI* in the oldest manuscript, cleverly aligning the meaning of the story with the goal its author might have had in offering his translation to Alexios I Komnenos. From this perspective, finishing the translation with *King and Dreams* (Kd) is an elegant way of asking for the emperor's favor that was probably well received at the emperor's educated court. The profile for Laurentianus Plut. XI,14 can only suggest that the translation was discontinued after *King and Dreams* (Kd) for unstated reasons. If the historical circumstances of the known translator are considered, the way in which the writing profile is connected to them becomes visible.

In addition to these embedded pleas for favor, another jab towards political enemies at court can be found in *SkI*. Interestingly, the king's enemies (who nearly manage to trick the king into murdering all his loved ones) are recast from Brahmins to philosophers. At first glance, this change mainly adds some absurdity to the story. For a translation that intends to adapt its source to the target culture, it would have been more fitting to translate Brahmins as nobles, Jews, or any sort of social group a person can be persecuted for belonging to by birth. Instead, the translator chooses the occupation "philosopher", leaving us to wonder why a king would order a mass killing of an occupational group that would have probably preferred to change occupation or go to a monastery to save their lives.[158]

However, assuming the enmity between Symeon Seth and established groups of Byzantine "philosophers", the translation choice appears as an attack against his competitors.[159] While casting himself as the hero of *King and Dreams* (Kd), Seth's enemies are turned into the vindictive group of foes the minister defeats with his intimate knowledge of the royal family. Additionally, by labeling *SkI* as a translation in the introduction, Symeon Seth can use someone else's words to elevate himself and drag down his opponents.

A logical conclusion would therefore be to present Alexios I Komnenos with only seven chapters, ending with *King and Dreams* (Kd). Considering the age of the manuscript and its quality, Plut. XI,14 may be a copy of the seven-chapter

[158] For example, Michael Psellos chose to retire to a monastery temporarily to avoid prosecution; see Fisher 2014, 7–8, and Jeffreys 2016, 44–47. For philosophers put on trial in the Komnenian period, see Trizio 2017, 462–475.

[159] Pietrobelli & Cronier 2022, 290–291.

version that Symeon Seth presented to the emperor. It is furthermore the only version that mentions the dedication to Alexios I Komnenos and does not contain Symeon Seth's name as a writer. This could be explained if one considers Symeon Seth's name unimportant, since everyone knew it was him handing over the translation to the emperor, while Alexios' name had to be mentioned much like a name card on a present. However, it also fits with the larger landscape of authorship in Byzantium where an author's identity was often of little importance if it was not a famous name. This version was then copied into a neat and expensive imperial parchment manuscript which at some point ended up as a part of Plut. XI,14, preserving a state as close as possible to the actual gift by Symeon Seth.

But why, then, would Symeon Seth add *King and Bird* (Kb) and when was it added? Again, the content here seems to provide a suitable explanation in combination with the biographical information provided by Anna Komnene. The story of *King and Bird* (Kb) can be considered the complete opposite of *King and Dreams* (Kd). A king keeps a faithful and hard-working pet bird and even raises the pet bird's chick together with his own son. However, the young prince kills the little chick in a fit of rage and the aggrieved pet bird then pecks out the prince's eyes. Knowing there is no turning back, the pet bird hides in a tree where the king finds it. Plotting revenge, the king attempts to convince the pet bird to return and falsely promises forgiveness; yet, the bird is not tricked, calls all rulers faithless and cruel monsters and leaves for good.

Sjöberg noted the abrupt ending of the story, but as mentioned above, I do not agree with his hypothesis that Symeon Seth passed away before finishing.[160] The story does have closure, however short, and there is no sign of Symeon Seth dying, writing keel in hand. Instead, the bird leaves the king by making a dramatic exit:

> μάτην με προσκαλῇ. οὔτε προσεγγίσω σοί ποτε τῷ ἐμῷ ἐχθρῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ θαρρεῖν δεῖ οὔτε πιστεύειν τοῖς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κολακευτικοῖς λόγοις. λυσιτελέστερον οὖν ἐστι τὸ πόρρωθεν τούτων εἶναί με. ὁ γὰρ νουνεχὴς φίλους μὲν ἡγεῖται τοὺς γονεῖς, συντρόφους δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, συνήθεις δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μνημόσυνον, τὰς δὲ παιδίσκας ἐριδοποιάς, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς δανειστὰς καὶ ἑαυτὸν μονότροπον. κἀγὼ οὖν λαβὼν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀνεξάλειπτον λύπην ἄπειμι ἀνεπιστρέπτως. (*SkI* VIII,243,13–244,3)
>
> "You call me in vain. I will not approach you when I have you as my enemy, it must be that one neither trusts nor believes in the flattering words of an enemy. It is more profitable for me to be distant from them. The clever one believes parents to be friends, brothers to be companions, women to be associates, children to be reminders, female slaves to be belligerent, relatives to be

[160] Sjöberg 1962, 61; see above, 1.1.

> money-lenders, and themself to be alone. I too, after taking indelible sadness from you, leave without returning."

It is tempting to make a connection between the exiled Symeon Seth in Raidestos and the deeply disappointed bird who curses all kings. Besides the "harm" that the emperor fears from Symeon Seth (according to Anna Komnene), there is no detailed information on why Symeon Seth was exiled. Yet, it seems likely that he felt resentment and sadness about it, even if Alexios attempted to be as generous as possible. There, with free time on his hands and remembering the vain effort he put into translating *SkI*, he might have vented his feelings by adding *King and Bird* (Kb) to Alexios' precious translation, much like the resentful bird pecking out the prince's eyes. While the manuscript Plut. XI,14 is based on what was commissioned for the imperial circle, the extended version copied on cheaper paper and not linked to the emperor might have more easily circulated, now without a dedication and only the name of the translator.

This remains a hypothesis, but the manuscript situation, the biographical indications, Symeon Seth's overall aggressive writing persona, and the content of *King and Dreams* (Kd) and *King and Bird* (Kb) together appear to be too much of a coincidence. Accordingly, Symeon Seth's translation of *SkI* should be thought of as far more than a scholarly work or a paid commission by the emperor. In the hands of an ambitious scholar of foreign origin, *Kalila wa-Dimna* turns into a political weapon to pursue his goals and attack those who oppose him, whether Christians, philosophers, or the emperor himself.

3. Translation from the perspective of *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*

As the preceding chapters show, calling *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* a 'translation' of *Kalila wa-Dimna* would cover up the numerous, intentional alterations made by Symeon Seth. The changes made by Seth go way beyond those necessary when translating a text faithfully into the target language. These alterations also happen between copies of the same language, as the manuscripts of *KwD* demonstrate, thus causing the difficulty of identifying *SkI*'s source text.[1] However, what distinguishes *SkI* from *KwD*'s manuscript variations is that it transports the text from its source language into a new target language. Disregarding the finer details, this fact marks *SkI* as a translation from *KwD* in any definition of 'translation'.[2]

Yet, considering the number of reductions, augmentations, excisions, removals, omissions, expansions, amplifications, substitutions, transmotivations, and transvaluations of *SkI*, a case could be made to call it an adaptation instead. Taking Linda Hutcheon's *Theory of Adaptation* as a point of departure, the definition of an adaptation aligns seamlessly with the changes observed both in *SkI* and *KwD* versions.[3] They all are

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works
- A creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work

This active engagement with their respective sources brings the *SkI* translation and the *KwD* manuscript versions closer to the realm of adaptation. However, the reason why I would continue to call them 'copy' and 'translation' lies in their denomination as such. They were and still are read as copies and translations with their adaptational qualities being intentionally hidden. The manuscript L4044 nowhere states that it transvaluates female characters or that it plans to extend the text with religious and philosophical discussions.[4] These changes re-

[1] See above, 1.2–3.
[2] Chesterman 2016, 3–15.
[3] Hutcheon 2006, 8.
[4] See above, 2.1.

main hidden and gain credibility through the suggestion that they have always existed. By stylizing L4044 as a copy of Ibn al-Muqaffa"s *KwD*, new thoughts and perspectives can be disseminated without having to be established first. Without a source text to bring in for comparison, the changes are quietly turned into the original version.

Similarly, Symeon Seth never admits the full spectrum of his alterations in the brief prolegomenon of *SkI*:

> Συγγραφὴ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων· ἐκτεθεῖσα διὰ μυθικῶν παραδειγμάτων ἁρμοζόντων ἑκάστῃ ὑποθέσει· ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ φιλοσόφων· (λέγεται)προτροπῇ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύοντος· γραφεῖσα μὲν τῇ πατρικῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν· ἐξελληνισθεῖσα δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει προστάξει τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ. (*SkI*, pr.,1--5)
>
> Tale about the things in life; presented through narrative examples fitting to each subject; by one of the philosophers in India by the order of the king in that country; written in the language and letters of the mother tongue, turned into Greek in Constantinople by the order of the famous emperor lord Alexios Komnenos.

Comparing this short note to the abundant alterations analyzed above, it becomes clear that Symeon Seth had no intention of unveiling any personal agenda hidden in his translation.[5] The prolegomenon only states that *SkI* is a translation of Indian wisdom literature. There is no mention of his Arabic source, and the fact that Seth leaves the three Arabic forewords untranslated creates the illusion that the translation hails directly from India. Thus, nearly every change will go unnoticed by his target audience as long as they do not consult and compare it to his sources. The only noticeable change for a contemporary audience unaware of the source text would be the quotes from ancient Greek sources and the Bible, as they would not have been used by heathen Indian philosophers. However, I argue that this intervention is actually referred to in Seth's introduction, thus making it even more obvious that the other changes are deliberately disguised as translation.

Symeon Seth explains his translation strategy in his ambition to write "in the language and letters of the native language" (γραφεῖσα μὲν τῇ πατρικῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασιν pr.,1,3–4). This is immediately followed by the statement that the text has been "turned Greek" (ἐξελληνισθεῖσα pr.,1,4). This double mentioning signifies that he plans not only to translate Arabic into a certain style of Greek, but also intends to adjust it to the target culture. Otherwise, there would be no need to mention both statements directly after each other. These adjustments to a Greek taste would then visibly lie in the inserted quotes that could

[5] See above, 1.3–4 and 2.2.

not have stemmed from India or the Greek renaming of the jackals. Additionally, by disclosing details about the translation, the introduction can potentially assure the reader that Symeon Seth diligently admits to the interferences with the source text. If one is convinced by that, any hidden changes or political agendas have an even greater chance of being perceived as part of the source text.

This literal use of ἐξελληνισθεῖσα ('was turned Greek') adds to Stavroula Constantinou's discussion of translation concepts in Byzantium from the tenth century onwards.[6] Through the works of Symeon Metaphrastes who 'translated' Greek hagiographies into versions more adjusted to the contemporary preferences, μεταφράζω becomes the most prominent Greek word for translation.[7] It is, however, not the only one, as other often used terms are ἐξελληνίζω and μεθερμηνεία.[8] Symeon Seth's use of the word demonstrates that it could probably be used in a sense transcending mere rendering from a source language into Greek, as Constantinou understands it. In this case, 'Greek' signifies not simply the language but Byzantine culture and heritage. At least for Symeon Seth, ἐξελληνίζω is more than a mere synonym for μεταφράζω; it describes his intention as a translator – an intention that is already made clear by renaming the jackals in Greek. Accordingly, it is not surprising that originally Indian characters start quoting Homer, the Bible, and the Church fathers, or that the content has been significantly adjusted to bear more structural resemblance to the Aesopic fables.[9]

3.1. THE MODERN DISCOMFORT WITH MEDIEVAL TRANSLATIONS

Modern scholars may be uncomfortable with how freely Symeon Seth and other medieval translators treat their source texts.[10] This discomfort is expressed in the need to find different words for the silent but often significant changes made during the translation. This is essentially connected to a modern concept of translation as having to be faithful to its source text. But in fact, the idea of the best translation being as close to the source text as possible originates in the German romantic movement, prominently so in Schleiermacher's *Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersezens* (On various methods of translation).[11] For Schleiermacher there are only two *modi* of translation. The first is to translate in the way the author would have translated their work.[12] The second imagines

[6] Constantinou 2021, 19, with *SkI* as an example.
[7] Constantinou 2021, 15–17.
[8] Constantinou 2021, 19; Condylis-Bassoukos 1997, 209–210.
[9] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 117–120. For other examples, see Nilsson 2021b, 28–30.
[10] On medieval translation and faithfulness, see Venuti 2008, 16, 35, 267, and Shamma 2009, 78–81.
[11] Schleiermacher 1813, 47; Tunali 2017, 763.
[12] Schleiermacher 1813, 48: "Die erste Uebersezung wird vollkommen sein in ihrer Art, wenn man sagen kann, hätte der Autor eben so gut deutsch gelernt, wie der Uebersezer römisch, so würde er

how the author would have written the work if he were a native speaker of the target language.[13] Since both methods are, however, unable to transfer the true essence of the original into the target language, translators can only strive towards the unreachable perfect translation in a very Platonic manner of idea and appearance.[14] Although this aim is rarely what even modern translators strive for, Isabelle Desmidt shows how the idea of an evolving translation towards the goal of faithfulness to the source is still dominant in modern translation studies.[15]

Needless to say, medieval translators had no access to Schleiermacher's theory. The main difference lies in their perception of the source text: while the source text is treated as a holy object by Schleiermacher, to translators such as Symeon Seth or copyists such as the one from L4044, a source text is literally just that – a source. They can take from it and change it as they see fit, just as Konrad von Würzburg augments his German translation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Roman de Troie* by an additional 40 000 verses, despite translating only one third of the text.[16] In medieval Arabic literature, discussions on the literary proficiency of a copyist show that it was indeed a well-known and often even desired fact that copyists interfered with their source texts.[17]

To address this discrepancy between a modern, Schleiermacher-influenced understanding of translation and medieval and especially Byzantine reality, Constantinou introduces the concept of 'rewriting.' As she states, rewriting is not mainly done by postmodern writers, but rather one of the most basic characteristics of premodern writing.[18] Translation is one of the many possibilities of rewriting in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, where authors strive to prove their mastery of skill through various *modi* of rewriting renowned material: "copying a manuscript, editing or reediting a text, translating, paraphrasing, and adapting a work, writing from memory, and retelling a myth, legend, or story that circulates both orally and in a written form".[19] The copying of manuscripts should be

sein ursprünglich römisch abgefaßtes Werk nicht anders übersezt haben, als der Uebersezer wirklich gethan." (The first translation will be perfect when it is possible to say that if the author had studied German as well as the translator studied Roman, he would not have translated his originally Roman work differently than the translator actually did.).

13 Schleiermacher 1813, 48: "man solle einen Autor so übersetzen, wie er selbst würde deutsch geschrieben haben" (one should translate the author as he would have written in German).

14 Schleiermacher 1813, 69–70.

15 Desmidt 2009, 670–671. On tendencies in recent translations and retranslations, see Desmidt 2009, 678–680.

16 Lienert 1996, 1–34.

17 Keegan & Gründler 2023, 1–2.

18 Constantinou 2021, 4.

19 Constantinou 2021, 5–7, here p. 6.

noted here, as it agrees with the discoveries about the alterations made to *KwD* by Arabic copyists.[20]

Whereas Constantinou follows Moraru's thoughts on types of rewriting and perceives premodern rewriting as 'underwriting' and postmodern rewriting as 'counterwriting,'[21] I question this distinction. When underwriting a text, the intention is to validate, celebrate and update, while counterwriting undoes the model text and its ideologies.[22] With changes in religion and ideology, or simply through the wish of creating something new, ancient and medieval authors produced a fair amount of counterwriting. One could just recount the numerous rewritings of Medea,[23] of which Euripides' play is but one, or the more realistic retelling of the War of Troy by Dares and Dictys, befitting the taste of a Roman audience. Equally, ancient classics are underwritten and counterwritten in the Byzantine Empire, like the parodic rewriting of famous tragedies in Prodromos' *Katomyomachia*.[24] The method by which Theophanes composes his chronicle with a compilation of narrators from very different sources with very different agendas, thus painting his characters as saviors or spawn of Satan from one sentence to the next,[25] could very well be a technique of counterwriting. There is no good argument to separate postmodern rewriting from earlier rewriting, except by pointing out that postmodernism discusses methods that have already been applied for centuries.

Constantinou also states that premodern rewriting in the form of translation is often connected to great freedom,[26] as the translators change their source material according to their "own aesthetic and other intentions, as well as the nature and expectations of the rewrite's audience".[27] The observations made above agree with her notion that this tends to situate translations within the realm of adaptation.[28] Accordingly, the *modi* of rewriting she proposes fall within the description of medieval translations given above, since she defines translation as a sort of rewriting, and it could well be argued that rewriting is a type of translation.[29]

[20] Ivanovic 2017, 703; Gründler et al. 2020, 244, 265. See also above, 1.2 and 2.2.
[21] Moraru 2001, 6–10; Constantinou 2021, 7–8.
[22] Constantinou 2021, 7.
[23] Constantinou also mentions the Byzantine rewritings of Medea and Hermione: Constantinou 2021, 40, 46–47.
[24] Marciniak & Warcaba 2019, 99–101, 106–110; Messis & Nilsson 2021, 72. For further discussions of parodies in the Byzantine Empire, see Messis & Nilsson 2021. For another example of Byzantine under- and counterwriting in the *Charidemos*, see Kucharski 2021, 191–194, 198–212.
[25] Scott 2006, 49–65; Calofonos 2010.
[26] Constantinou 2013, 229.
[27] Constantinou 2021, 9.
[28] Constantinou 2021, 9.
[29] As another example, Desmidt 2009, 679–680, also uses the terms rewriting and translation interchangeably in her study. Cf. Mdallel 2003, 302.

To conclude, the concepts of translation, adaptation, and rewriting essentially overlap. The question is why translation might be the preferred term for describing the matter of *Panchatantra* and its numerous offspring. As I stated above, the first reason is that these texts intentionally present themselves as translations. Thus, their translators either deliberately hide their under- and counterwriting or simply do not reflect on them because they consider this way of translating the norm. The second reason lies mainly within the very meaning of translation. As past participle of the Latin verb *transferre* its original meaning is to bring something from one place to another, which is very much what happens when something is translated.[30] As Schleiermacher noted, not everything is brought over, either by intention or out of necessity, since no translation can ever stay completely faithful to its source.[31] Instead of looking only at the text and its closeness to the source, it should be equally important to consider again what is actually transferred, as it might explain why translators do not always care about faithfulness.[32] What is brought into the target language is not only the text in a new shape, but also the otherness of the source material's context and the image that is connected to the text and the culture it originates from.[33] In the case of *SkI*, its perception as a mirror for princes is important.[34] By translating wisdom meant for Indian kings, who are as famous as they are exotic, not only their knowledge but also their very power as rulers is transferred through translation: translation corresponds in these cases with the *translatio imperii*, the transfer of power.

This idea of understanding translation as a transfer of power has been developed by Sharon Kinoshita. She develops her argument based on Chrétien de Troyes' description of *translatio studii*, the transfer of knowledge. For her, however, *translatio studii* is closely linked to *translatio imperii*, since a transfer of knowledge also implies a transfer of power, which is especially apparent in the various translations of *KwD*.[35] Kinoshita demonstrates the importance of *KwD*'s translations into various languages as being closely linked to establishing new empires, often on the ruins of their predecessors.[36] Furthermore, translators also play an essential role in promoting change and creating new national languages.[37] In an already established empire with a long history like the Byzan-

[30] Chesterman 2016, 4.
[31] Schleiermacher 1813, 45, 52–54.
[32] Cf. O'Sullivan 2019, 21.
[33] O'Sullivan 2011, 193.
[34] Sjöberg 1962, 100, notes, however, that there is no knowledge of whether the *Panchatantra* was issued by a ruler.
[35] Kinoshita 2008, 371–372. See also Heilo & Nilsson 2019, 15.
[36] Kinoshita 2008, 380.
[37] Tunali 2017, 756.

tine Empire, *KwD* is not necessary to justify its power but appears more like an act of devouring even foreign material that might have been perceived as fashionable.[38] Since *KwD* played such an important role for the neighboring Arabic countries, it might have seemed reasonable to have one's own Greek version.

Kinoshita's observations also tie in with Symeon Seth's use of ἐξελληνίζω as a need to appropriate the source text for the Byzantine empire. Already during the Macedonian rule in tenth-century Byzantium, the idea of a superior Byzantine culture came into being, as well as the goal of creating a more sophisticated literary treasury.[39] The act of translating one's own texts into 'better' Greek can again be seen from the perspective of *translatio imperii*, as it is a way of appropriating one's own past in order to constitute an empire. In this sense, Byzantine culture does not have to rely on foreign material but is content with its own. Translations of foreign texts such as *KwD* nonetheless appear and receive a treatment similar to that of hagiography through Symeon Metaphrastes: they are written in atticizing Greek and adjusted to the taste of a contemporary Byzantine readership.[40]

Similarly, the retranslation of *SkI* in Sicily, the Eugenian version,[41] can be perceived as connected to the Norman reign, which saw fit to have a Greek translation of a more copious version of *SkI*. This is linked to *translatio imperii*, but could also point to another possible factor in the case of Symeon Seth's translation choices. According to this hypothesis (which Desmidt rejects), earlier translations deviate more from their source text than later ones. Since their success determines whether a text is accepted by the target culture, they change the text to appeal to the target audience's preference.[42] Only later, the demand for source-related translation arises and instigates a retranslation, although other reasons for retranslating, like cultural changes or the need to update, may also be considered.[43] This hypothesis would agree with the tendencies mentioned above to adjust the narrative style towards the taste of a Byzantine audience by turning it into Greek. About two hundred years later, the oriental style of multiple embedded stories had become more common, and the popularity of the text called for additional material.[44] However, this is probably not the only reason for the Eugenian version. The acceptance of the oriental style and its popularity result

[38] Cf. Gutas 2015, 326; Gutas et al. 2017, 89.

[39] Rosenqvist 2007, 59–63, 88–93.

[40] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 117–120. For other examples, see Nilsson 2021a, 28–30.

[41] The Eugenian version is often referred to as "Eugenian recension". However, following my argument below, I prefer to call it a version to emphasize its active way of engaging with Symeon Seth's *SkI*.

[42] Desmidt 2009, 671; Nilsson 2021b, 29.

[43] Desmidt 2009, 670–671.

[44] Sjöberg 1962, 58. On the oriental narrative style, see Monroe 2011, 51–70. On Middle Eastern frame-tale collections, see Marzolph 2024, 28.

in a translation that is, on the one hand, connected to *translatio imperii*. On the other, it can be seen as expressing the wish to distinguish oneself from the Byzantine Empire by owning a translation that fills in the gaps of Symeon Seth's reduction.

Interestingly, this stance once again disagrees with modern concepts of translation. This becomes visible especially when comparing Desmidt's three possible *modi* of (re)translation to what the Eugenian version does. Desmidt bases her three possible *modi* of (re)translation on Goethe's thoughts: to (re)introduce the text to the target culture, to translate target text-oriented, or to translate source text-oriented.[45] The Eugenian recension does none of those three. As the text is already known from Symeon Seth's translation, there is no need to introduce the text. Equally, while Symeon Seth's translation is rather target text-oriented, the Eugenian version undoes his streamlining process by adding the erased content. Yet, the Eugenian version does not change the other parts of Symeon Seth's target text-oriented practices to make the text more source text-oriented. For example, the Brahmins in *King and Dreams* (Kd) are still translated as philosophers. Instead, the Eugenian version seems to incorporate the preceding translation by adding newly translated parts to it. The retranslation, therefore, aims not to be closer to its source material but to improve the first translation, just as the Norman reign considers itself to be an improvement of other reigns by heavily relying on and merging Byzantine and Islamic culture.[46]

Translations and changes made by translations are often more intentional than not. They depend on the translator's translation strategies and their interpretation of the source. This is linked to the position that the translator takes towards the text, and by the implied reader they have in mind.[47] Obviously, the tastes of an eleventh-century Byzantine audience can differ vastly from an Arabic one; therefore, the translator has to apply great skill in transferring the text into the language of the target culture.[48] Perhaps it becomes even more pressing when the translated material has been so obviously linked to another culture's knowledge and power and, therefore, must be made suitable for the target culture. Though coming from an Arabic and originally Indian source, *SkI* now had to emphasize Byzantine superiority through its contents. It does so by integrating the quotations mentioned above into the teachings of what has often been considered a mirror of princes. In any case, even the frame narrative of *SkI*

[45] Desmidt 2009, 679.

[46] Travaini 2001, 185–186, and Corrie 2013, 47–48, 77. Similar approaches of uniting Greek and Arabic sources into one text at the court in Sicily can also be found in other genres like botany: Batt 2012, 9–10, and Hopley 2012, 25–29.

[47] O'Sullivan 2003, 198.

[48] Tunali 2017, 755–757, emphasizes the importance of perceiving translators as active agents in the transmission of texts.

and *KwD* points towards its importance as an educational text and, accordingly, Byzantine education, learning and taste had to be integrated into its translation.

3.2. EDUCATIONAL TRANSLATION PRACTICES

To understand the translator's particular agenda and intention throughout the text, it might be a fruitful approach to bring in one of the most educational modern genres: translations of children's literature. This does not mean that *SkI* was in its time ever perceived as a children's book.[49] Yet, it often seems to have fulfilled a similar educational role, and it is therefore not surprising that its translators share techniques and agendas of modern-day translators of children's literature. Even their goal to educate their readers can be seen as similar,[50] and even though translations targeting an adult audience might share some of these features, they are by no means as prominent or as well researched as in modern children's literature. The alterations made by these modern translators of children's literature do not differ from the translation in *SkI* in their intensity.[51] For example, the common strategy of keeping the foreign setting but renaming the characters in translations of children's book applies to *SkI* as well.[52]

Here, three main points in the research on translating children's literature will be discussed as relevant to *SkI*: the translation norms, as defined by Mieke Desmet, the difficulties of targeting a specific audience and a particular culture, and the voice of the translator. These points are closely connected and they culminate, in a way, in the voice of the translator inside the text.

Translation norms are what determine the dominant translation strategy found within the target culture by identifying cultural and historical norms.[53] Toury, who introduces them into translation studies, describes norms in the following way:

> [Norms are] the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension[54]

[49] The scholarly interest in *SkI* shows that it was literature targeted for adults. Furthermore, there is an evident lack of Byzantine children's literature. Byzantine children were immediately confronted with adult texts like the bible, history or saints' lives as soon as they learn to read; see Papaconstantinou & Talbot 2009, 105–106, 117–118, 138, 154, 276.

[50] Tunali 2017, 764–766.

[51] Metcalf 2003, 326; Desmet 2007, 75; Coillie & McMartin 2020, 20–23. For examples, see O'Sullivan 2003, 202–205, and Stolze 2003, 210–213. Even the older, fragmentary translations of *KwD* into Greek show great differences like using different animals; Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 34–35.

[52] Desmet 2007, 77.

[53] Coillie & McMartin 2020, 13.

[54] Toury 1995, 55.

As mentioned above, there seem to be certain historical and cultural circumstances for *SkI* that manifest themselves in the norms of its translation. These determine the limitations of Symeon Seth's translation, and by analyzing how they are applied to the text, it will be possible to situate it as a product of its time and culture. Still, the socio-cultural specificity and basic instability of norms prevent a strong generalization of translation norms, as they neither remain stable nor necessarily have to be applied.[55] While adequate translations aim to transfer the norm system of the source language and culture into the target culture and language, acceptable translations shift the source text towards the target language and culture.[56] However, Toury adds that in practice both acceptability and adequacy are applied while translating, since it is not possible to follow either of both poles without compromising at certain instances.[57] It has already become apparent that Symeon Seth's approach is what Toury calls an acceptable translation on the level of cultural shifts.[58] Yet, considering the language shifts of *SkI*, Symeon Seth's translation appears to be more of an adequate translation. The comparison to the Arabic manuscripts in previous chapters shows that he tends to translate verbatim where he does not see the need to introduce changes to the plot, cultural elements, character depictions, and the like.[59] This mixture of adequate language shifts and acceptable cultural shifts underlines the fact that *SkI* is the product of a well thought out translation strategy.

Desmidt proposes four norms for analyzing translations of children's literature in general: preliminary norms determine the directness of translation,[60] literary and educational norms decide whether a translation turns towards entertainment or teaching, pedagogical norms adjust the texts for its story in a manner that is deemed suitable, and business norms consider the translation from an economic point of view.[61] To these norms may be added Chesterman's accountability norm, which requires the translator to find a middle ground between the interests of parties connected to the translation: their own, the commissioners, the authors, the prospective readership, and other relevant parties.[62] When looking at S*kI*, these norms have to be adjusted to a medieval society, but will nonetheless help to explain the complex decision-making around the creation of a translation of *SkI* and other medieval translations as well. This approach

[55] Toury 1995, 62–64.
[56] Toury 1995, 56–57.
[57] Toury 1995, 57.
[58] See above, 1.3 and 2.2,
[59] See above, 1.3.
[60] Cf. Toury 1995, 58.
[61] Desmidt 2003, 168.
[62] Chesterman 2016, 66.

analyzes the vast and intertwining decisions that are undertaken in every step of a translation, and which often remain hypothetical without definite proof.[63]

Looking first at the accountability norm, *SkI* is dedicated to Alexios Komnenos (*SkI* pr.,1,5). Although it remains unclear whether it was a commission or not, having the emperor and probably also the Byzantine scholarly elite around him indicates the reader is the most important party. As in children's literature, one of the most interesting questions in this context is the asymmetrical relationship between the intended reader and the translator.[64] Here, the translator decides on what is fitting for the less experienced reader. Although it would have been dangerous for the historical translator Symeon Seth to imply that their communication with the reader-emperor is similarly as asymmetrical as an adult talking to a child, one might argue that it nonetheless is. The significant alterations of *SkI* indicate how strong the idea was to customize *KwD* for the emperor and omit unsuitable content in exchange for Byzantine education. This corresponds with Symeon Seth's assumed self-perception as a translator, educator, and scholar, as well as the hidden attempts to influence the perception of the contemporary reader.[65] In the meantime, the author of the source text or any faithfulness to their agenda hardly seems important for the translator. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ maybe intended to promote Persian culture in a newly established Arabic empire.[66] Yet, these goals and the long history of the *Panchatantra* and the additional sources moving from India to Constantinople seemed to have been of no interest to Symeon Seth, as they are neither translated nor mentioned. Even in his other writings, he hesitates to name the Arab scholars he studied.[67]

Closely connected to these observations is Desmidt's preliminary norm. *SkI* translates the Arabic manuscript and shows little to no awareness of its Indian roots. For example, Symeon Seth turns the Brahmins that still are identified as such in Arabic into ascetics, monks, and philosophers.[68] Accordingly, the only necessary distinction for *SkI* lies between 'foreign/exotic' and 'Byzantine.' This indicates that the intended reader of *SkI* differs strongly from the one of *KwD*.[69] The long history of its transmission, amassing power through continuous *translatio studii*, is irrelevant; instead, the translation functions as an act of cultural appropriation without more than a nod to its foreign origins. What happens

[63] McVaugh 2016, 133.
[64] Desmet 2007, 73–74, and Coillie & McMartin 2020, 11, 23.
[65] See above, 2.2.
[66] Krönung 2016b, 439–440. However, whether playing the role of a cultural ambassador was the main intention of his translation, as Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 23–25, argues so decidedly, is actually impossible to determine.
[67] See above, 2.2.3.
[68] See above, 1.3.6, 1.3.7 and 2.2.
[69] O'Sullivan 2019, 19.

here agrees again quite obviously with the translation tendencies of children's literature to acculturate the source material, to integrate it into the target culture.[70]

Considering business norms, it is first necessary to recall that a medieval translation made by a scholar hardly meant a financial gain for them, since writing material was expensive and the translations could not be mass produced. Although it would probably be easy to argue against the idea that Symeon Seth shortened the text dramatically to save money on ink and parchment, he may not have regretted having to spend less. However, the effort of producing a translated manuscript of a famous Arabic text turns it into a valuable present for, or an important task given by, an emperor, for which one might receive certain advantages. As noted above, this financial and political gain is referred to in the book *King and Dreams* (Kd).[71] Accordingly, it becomes necessary again to carefully consider the intended reader.

The literary and educational norms are, as Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ states,[72] thoroughly united in *KwD*. The story can be read for entertainment or with the goal of learning, which again turns the reader into the decisive factor. Reading *SkI* as a mirror for princes might have emphasized the educational perspective on the text. Additionally, at least to the Byzantine eye, it might have been similar to the equally educational fables of Aesop, thus emphasizing the educational perspective even more.[73] This impression deepens with the pedagogical norms that change the text and the translation by conforming to the norms of the target readers.[74] Removals, erasing, and concisions make the text more accessible. Strategies such as substitution, transmotivation, and semantic transformation are used to insert knowledge specific to Byzantine culture and literature. In a culture that, at least from the viewpoint provided in *SkI*, does not even bother to recall the long history of its source text, it is vital to turn such a foreign educational text into something that can be accepted.

It is clear that a translation is always undertaken within a network of norms and shifts its contents accordingly. While it is impossible for even many modern translations to recreate the exact circumstance and motivations surrounding a translation, there are still instances that give clues. As I have shown above, they become evident in passages where the voice of the translator is made explicit in all the instances that constitute a translator's profile.[75] By actively changing the

[70] Desmidt 2003, 168; Coillie & McMartin 2020, 18–19.
[71] See above, 1.3.7 and 2.2.2.
[72] Krönung 2016b, 427–429.
[73] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 117–120; Krönung 2016b, 429.
[74] O'Sullivan 2011, 191.
[75] See above, 2.2.

source material through methods like augmentations, reductions, and inserted metatexts (translator's comments), a profile of the translator can be created and, in rare cases like Symeon Seth, can even be connected to a historical person. It is rarely mentioned that a medieval translation, unlike modern translations, is not a revised work and hardly ever corrected or proofread.[76] Mistakes, once written with ink on parchment, are difficult to correct. Furthermore, it should be considered that translators are not always consistent in their application of translation norms: they might have good and bad days, revise their opinion on social norms, misunderstand their source text,[77] forget how they translated something similar before, or change their mind midway on how to translate certain phrases or words.[78]

Although I treat translators and copyists as stable components producing a stable version for the sake of providing easier access to the text, it must be noted that they are not.[79] However, this comes into play the moment the voice of the translator is profiled.[80] When looking at the text's didactic strategies, it becomes clear that the translator's voice is particularly present when deciding on behalf of the reader whether a passage is suitable, understandable or has to be changed in some way.[81] In order to grasp the voice of the translator, one must first consider how it manifests itself in a text:

In translated texts, therefore, a discursive presence is to be found, the presence of the (implied) translator. It can manifest itself in a voice which is not that of the narrator of the source text. We could say that two voices are present in the narrative discourse of the translated text: the voice of the narrator of the source text and the voice of the translator.[82]

Accordingly, the voice of the translator is the one that mediates the unfamiliar foreign norms with the norms of the target culture, therefore adjusting and interfering with the authors' voice.[83] Still, it should be added that the voice of the narrator and the translator are hard to tell apart when one only looks at the translation. They become even more convoluted when the voices of various copyists have to be added. This is also the case for *SkI* since the original manuscript

[76] For examples of modern translation and proofreading, see Stolze 2003, 217. For examples of medieval proofreading, see McVaugh 2016, 139.
[77] Stolze 2003, 220.
[78] Cf. Toury 1995, 67. McVaugh 2016, 133–134, also discusses these problems in connection to the individuality of the translator and their changes in style.
[79] Cf. Stolze 2003, 213–214.
[80] See above, Ch. 2.
[81] O'Sullivan 2003, 198.
[82] O'Sullivan 2003, 202.
[83] Coillie &
McMartin 2020, 20.

is lost and the oldest version, Codex Laurentianus plut. XI, 14,[84] has its own difficulties.[85] Thus, it is impossible to tell the voice of its copyist apart from Symeon Seth's and create separate profiles. Consequently, when speaking about the translator's voice of *SkI*, it is not only Symeon Seth's voice, in the same way as the narrator's voice is not the real-life author. It is also not Symeon Seth's intended translator's voice, as it is already irreversibly blended with other copyists' voices, of which the critical edition gives another combination.[86] In this sense, there is always a level of falsification to a profile of a translator's or copyist's voice. Nevertheless, the evidence of their voices that we have exists and shows us the possible ways in which a text like *KwD* and *SkI* were approached.

From another perspective, it is rather a blessing in disguise to see how various voices mingle indistinguishably and try to reshape the original into a suitable model. More than today, the translation and circulation of a foreign text in the Middle Ages is the work of many people who infuse it, sometimes more and sometimes less, with their voices.

[84] Sjöberg 1962, 89, 104–105.
[85] See above, 2.2.2,
[86] Sjöberg 1962, 140.

4. Teaching by telling stories: how–who–what

> ὁ γὰρ μή τε τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀλλ' ἐκτείνων τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πόρρωθεν καὶ μὴ διαλογιζόμενος τὰ ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὄπισθεν πείσεται τὸ τῶν μυιῶν, αἵτινες οὐκ ἀρκοῦνται τοῖς δένδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε περιπέτονται τῷ ῥύπῳ τῶν ὤτων τοῦ ἐλέφαντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις θνήσκουσι πληγεῖσαι. (*SkI* I,179,11--180,1)
>
> One who is not satisfied with the few things in life but reaches with his gaze for the things in the distance and thinks not of the things close by and behind him will suffer the same as the flies. They are not satisfied by the trees and flowers, but sometimes they fly around the dirt of the ear of the elephant and, being struck because of this, often lose their lives.

The passage above is spoken by the bull in the first book (*Lion and Bull*) of *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, after Ichnelates has convinced him of the lion's plan to eat him. While it informs us of how the character perceives his situation, I also identify a didactic notion in the text that goes beyond the bull's tragic fate. The first indicator of this is the general tone of the opening sentence quoted above, having an indefinite instead of a first-person pronoun as a subject referring to the bull who is speaking. The generalizing tendency then compares the unspecified subject to an unspecific number of flies. From this perspective, the passage contains a general warning against greed. It is intentionally not limited to the bull, as the choice of pronouns indicates.[1]

The passage also shows a clear argumentative structure. First, it contrasts a certain behavior with another and indicates one as problematic, using the argumentative structure of 'someone who does A and not B will suffer.' Then, to illustrate the suffering, the example of the greedy flies who get smashed by an elephant's ear is narrated. For the bull, this realization comes too late. However, the impersonal style of the passage implies that its content is not only meant for the character in the story, but also for the audience. Both warning and story contain a didactic impulse that aims to advise anyone willing to listen against greed.

[1] On stories as pedagogical tools, see Metcalf 2005, 256; Short & Ketchen 2005, 871; Jabri 2006, 364; Mazid 2009, 2516–17.

This sort of passage is by no means unique in *SkI*.[2] On the contrary, large parts of the text appear to be written in a similar fashion. These didactic qualities of *SkI* and its related versions are well known and also one of the main reasons for the text's popularity.[3] Yet, so far, no attempt has been made to explain what these didactic qualities are and whether the text has a didactic method. There are several discussions on what *SkI* and its related versions are trying to convey from a moralistic perspective; however, none of them are concerned with how the text conveys them.[4]

I therefore aim to analyze how narrative texts teach, using *SkI* as a case in point. Since written teachings cannot profit from direct interaction with their audience, nor see whether or not their teaching is accepted and effective, I will not concern myself with the possible results.[5] Nor will I add to the attempts of categorizing *SkI* as a certain type of didactic literature.[6] Instead, I will look exclusively at narrative strategies within the text that display a didactic quality – meaning that they have the potential to teach, just like the passage above teaches not to be greedy.

In order to do this, I analyze three aspects of narrative teaching. First, how a text teaches and in what way these methods can be systematized. Second, who is teaching in the text, or rather whose voices appear as didactic when looking at the characters, the narrator, and the plot. Thirdly, I consider what is being taught and how morals and ethics are expressed in the text. To uncover these teaching strategies, I will use suitable examples not from Symeon Seth's translation of *SkI*, but from one of the prefaces, The *Life of Burzoy*, as it is found in the Eugenian version.[7] The reason for this is to avoid repetition with the extensive analysis of

[2] On other translated Byzantine texts with dominant didactic narrative strategies, namely *Barlaam and Joasaph* and *The Book of Syntipas the Philosopher*, see Volk 2016, 401–407, 416–420; Krönung 2016a, 366–372, 374–376; Toth 2016, 382–384, 394–397. For a didactic perspective of the German *Syntipas*, see Kunkel 2023, 157–180.

[3] The question about the possible perceptions of *SkI* was already asked by the Persian to Arabic translator Ibn al-Muqaffa'; see Quintern 2011, 41. For a more traditional classification of didactic literature, see Bausinger 2016.

[4] Taylor 2007; Kristó-Nagy 2020.

[5] On how a reader's perception shapes the text, see Dithmar 2016b, 974–975; Ivanovic 2017, 719–721; Mangong 2019, 142. On a text's desired reader, see Lauch 1973, 26. For the reader's possible reactions, see Schellekens & Goldie 2011, and Martinez 2019, 3–9. For studies arguing against generalized reader experience while pointing out the individuality of reader responses, see Miall & Kuiken, 2002, 224, 229–231, and Reichl 2009, 110–111.

[6] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 10–60; Grotzfeld et al. 2016, 888–892; Gründler et al. 2020, 240, 250, 270. On the difficulties of defining didactic literature, see Gebhard 1974, 151; Manggong 2019, 135; Nilsson 2021a, 116. On Byzantine educational practices, see Markopoulos 2008, 785–795; Markopoulos 2013, 29–36. On the difficulties in defining Byzantine 'Fürstenspiegel' literature, see Agapitos 2020, 42–49.

[7] The manuscript used by Symeon Seth should have contained three prefaces (Cohen & Shehada 2017, 10). Two of them would have been written by Burzoy, the Sassanid doctor who brought the stories from India and translated them into Pahlavi. The first preface, the long version of *Burzoy's Voyage*,

didactic strategies in Chapter 5, but also to demonstrate that this method is not limited to Symeon Seth's translation.[8]

4.1. HOW: ABSTRACT EXPLICIT DIDACTICS

When looking at 'teaching methods' within a text, the categorization I would like to propose places them into two groups, one abstract and one narrative. The first group maintains an explicit didactic approach that provides abstract knowledge. This abstract knowledge appears as lists, wisdom sayings, quotations, and content that provide memorable knowledge even without any context. For example, the bull in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) decides to attack the lion saying, "One should live well or die well", quoting Sophocles' *Ajax*. Yet, the context of *Ajax* or *Lion and Bull* (Lo) is not needed to understand the saying, as it is abstract knowledge applicable to multiple scenarios where one should 'die trying.' This invites the willing reader to learn the same quote and use it in a suitable context. The reusability and a visible invitation to learn the quote is what makes it explicitly didactic. It is knowledge meant to be memorized from the text and used under entirely different circumstances without needing its original context. The following passage from the *Life of Burzoy* is a suitable, more detailed illustration of these explicit didactics and their many possible shapes.[9]

> Ἦ οὐκ ἐστιν ὁ βὶος οὗτος πολυώδυνος, καὶ πολυβάσανος, καὶ πολυκίνδυνος, καὶ ἡ ἀναστροφὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ θλῖψις καὶ ἀνάγκη καὶ βάσανος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μέχρι τέλους; Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἐρρέθη παρ' ἰατροῖς, ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἡ μύξα πεσοῦσα ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς γυναικός, καὶ συναφθεῖσα τῷ αἵματι αὐτῆς, καὶ παχυνθεῖσα διαμερίζεται εἰς μέλη. Καὶ ἔστιν ἐν σκοτίᾳ καὶ στενοχωρίᾳ, οὐκ ἐσθίων, οὐ πίνων· ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἡ ὥρα τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ, μετὰ βίας πολλῆς καὶ πόνου ἐξέρχεται· ὅταν δὲ ἐξέλθῃ, ὑπομένει τὰς τῆς βρεφουργίας ἀνάγκας, ἀπό τε πείνης, δίψης καὶ κρύους. Καὶ ἡ θλῖψις ἡ τελευταία καὶ μεγάλη -- ἡ ἀπογαλάκτησις.

retells the story of this journey, albeit in a rather novelistic manner, whereas the third preface, *Life of Burzoy*, contains Burzoy's autobiography, his nihilistic perspective on human existence, and his search for wisdom. The second preface is a later addition, commonly attributed to the Arabic translator Ibn al-Muqaffa,' and contains usage guidelines for its readers. The order of the prefaces derives from the fact that the long version *Burzoy's Voyage* was added after Ibn al-Muqaffa' 's translation and substituted the short version that was originally the second preface (Blois 1990, 63; Gründler & Khalfallah 2022, 108). These prefaces have not been translated by Symeon Seth and are a later addition in the Greek tradition; see Sjöberg 1962, 79–87; Blois 1990, 24–38, 40–48, 58–61; Lauxtermann 2019, 55–58. They can also be rewritten to suit the translator's intention; see Ginkel 2024, 160–163.

[8] For my examples in the following, I use the edition and translation provided by Alison Noble where possible.

[9] Sjöberg 1962, 79–87; Lauxtermann 2019, 55–58. Symeon Seth probably excluded the preface in his translation due to his overall intention to streamline the text. The removal of the text's transmitted history shows that there was no need to emphasize its long tradition and relation to kings and power. Accordingly, the *translatio imperii* aspect that Kinoshita 2008, 380, ascribes to *KwD* has little relevance for the Byzantine Empire. See above, 3.1.

> Καὶ ἡ τῶν μαθημάτων παίδευσις, ἥτις διὰ πόνου καὶ πολλοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐκφέρεται, καὶ αἱ ἀσθένειαι, καὶ οἱ πόνοι, καὶ αἱ φαρμακοποσίαι. Ὅταν δὲ νόμου ἡλικίας γένηται, ἀγωνίζεται περὶ πλούτου, καὶ συζυγίας, καὶ τέκνων, καὶ περὶ ἀκορεσίας καὶ μόχθων καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπικιδύνων, καὶ ἀναφέρεται ἐν τούτοις, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐχθροὺς τέσσαρας -- τὸ αἷμα, τὸ φλέγμα, τὸν χυμὸν καὶ τὴν χολὴν [...].[10]
>
> Is this life not indeed very painful, with much torment, and much danger, and a man's time in it one of affliction, anguish, and torture from start to finish? For the beginning of a man, as it is described by physicians, is like mucus falling into a woman's womb and, when this has combined with her blood and become thick, it divides into limbs, and it exists in darkness and confinement, without eating or drinking. When the time for his birth arrives, he emerges with great violence and labor, and, when he has emerged, he endures the anguish of infancy from hunger, thirst, and cold. Then there is the final great affliction – weaning, and the learning of lessons, which is acquired with labor and much struggle, and the sicknesses, the diseases, and the medicines to be taken. When he comes of age he struggles over wealth, and marriage, and children, and with insatiable desire, and hardships, and dangerous matters, and he brings these upon himself, as he has within him four competing enemies – blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile [...].

The passage opens with a rhetorical question that appears as a variation of the wisdom saying that all human life is suffering. It can be read as part of a philosophical and religious tradition that proposes a particular worldview found in the book religions, Buddhism, and others. Although not quite a quote, it remains a memorable sentence that transmits abstract knowledge about life. Therefore, this part can be perceived as an example of teaching a wisdom saying or quotable sentence.

The text then continues with a description of embryonic development. Interestingly, this knowledge is linked to an external source, the doctors (παρ' ἰατροῖς). The passage marked as medical knowledge appears to sum up either oral or written sources to teach how humans develop in a womb and in what conditions they remain before birth. Accordingly, this part provides an example of external knowledge from a different field to be studied and remembered.[11]

The next sentences outline the typical human life, which includes the above-quoted passage and ends with death. The different stages appear as steps of human existence, of which embryonic development is but the first. At the same time, they function as a list that can be memorized and used to categorize human lives into the described stages. This list is also remarkable for its inclusion of other embedded lists. These lists provide every step of human development

[10] Noble 2022, 76–77.

[11] Blois 1990, 60. On the dissemination and influence on Arabic literature of this passage, see Sánchez 2023, 173–206.

with characteristics that can also be studied. For example, four major reasons for an infant's suffering are listed: hunger, thirst, cold, and weaning. Despite being part of the overall argument about the misery of human existence, this knowledge provides information about child-rearing. An infant unable to communicate is most likely crying due to one of these four reasons. The first three can be solved by the caretaker, whereas the last one is part of human development and has therefore to be endured. Another embedded list can be found at the end of the quote. Here, the four humours are listed as an explanation for the toils of adulthood and offers basic information about human bodies as they were understood in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.[12]

Consequently, even if one disagrees with the overall argument and negative view of life, there is still abstract content in the form of memorable sentences, extratextual references and lists. They can be referred to in various situations without the original context. These types of teaching methods are, therefore, what I will be summarizing as abstract explicit didactics. On the one hand, they are often explicitly marked by the text through numbering, quoting, or rhetorical features that make them stand out like the rhetorical question in the example above. On the other hand, their content describes general human experience and does not need the context of a specific story.

The Arabic tradition of *KwD* emphasizes the importance of these explicit teachings, with collections that only copy the wisdom sayings and other memorable passages without the narrative frame.[13] These collections offer means to improve the arguments of those who learn them by heart as well as their style. Although there are no such excerpts of *SkI* to be found in Greek, many other examples of similar lists of quotes survive and show educational interest.[14]

If such abstract teachings can exist without or with only the barest minimum of a narrative, it should be asked what changes by adding a narrative. In the passage cited above, the lists, quotes, and wisdom sayings are placed within a narrative that sums up all the torments of human existence from birth to death. In this way, the narrative serves as a 'meta list' that includes all the explicit didactic units. By narrating the explicit didactic units in the order of a human life, they become more memorable. The narrative also provides an example of how to link explicit didactic content to a concrete situation. However, this also means that the explicit didactic content partly loses its abstractness. For example, the four humours are now placed within a negative context; they are labelled as the four enemies of human existence. So, to conclude, increased narrativity reduces the

[12] On parallels of the *Life of Burzoy* and Indian Buddhist tales, see Blois 1990, 58–60.

[13] Gründler et al. 2020, 264, 268; Stephan 2022, 20–23; Gründler & Toral 2024, 10.

[14] On lists in literature and their context, see Contzen 2016, 242–247, and Contzen, 2018, 316. On Byzantine religious lists, see Doroszewska 2024, 159–161, 177, 185, 188.

abstract value of these explicit didactic units but also the effort in remembering them.

4.2. HOW: NARRATIVE IMPLICIT DIDACTICS

However, what happens when a teaching method is fundamentally narrative and does not provide explicit didactic content in the form of lists or statements?[15] Unlike the case of abstract explicit didactics, their narrative essence is part of their teaching method.[16] In this, they differ from explicit, abstract didactics since they provide concrete, narrated didactics that focus on a singular event with apparently no abstract core. To understand the difference, it is useful to look at the narrative 'The man in the well' as found in *Burzoy's Voyage*.[17]

Since the modern terminology of fable or parable appears to be somewhat anachronistic when used for stories as old as *SkI*, [18] I will use the text's terminology: the king who requests the stories from his philosopher asks for neither parables nor fables, but for *paradeigmata*, examples.[19] By doing so, he invites stories about humans and animals alike, and the only condition is to provide him with a representative answer to his question. This definition also suits 'The man in the well,' which is intended to exemplify a preceding observation by the narrator.

The *paradeigma* of 'The man in the well' is situated in the same argument about human life consisting only of suffering, just like the example quoted in the previous section. In this instance, however, human suffering apparently is at least partly self-inflicted:

[15] Of course, such didactic narratives may be then collected as lists. Yet, in these cases, their narrativity is not bound to their selection or sequence of appearance. On the narrative qualities of lists, see Contzen 2016, 244, and Contzen 2018, 317, 319–324.

[16] Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 1, also states that all philosophy can be explained in examples that make a philosophical thought more convincing.

[17] On 'The man in the well,' its origin, history and dissemination: Lang 1957 and 1966; Blois 1990: 34–38.

[18] Wissemann 1992, 7–12, considers the development of the term 'fable' as finished by the end of Late Antiquity yet continues to give later examples that prove the opposite. Equally, his assumptions that the Middle Ages were able to refer to the same sources as himself in his article are highly questionable. Instead, his discussion of the term seems to prove that there is no consensus until Lessing establishes the 'animal fable.' Gebhard 1974, 122, and Dithmar 1971, 9; 2016a, 731–732 also argue that there is little difference between fable and parable. They can be described as allegorical riddles, which create analogies and are situated close to didactics. Although, as Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 14, argues, their grade of fictionality and ontological quality create the difference between fable and parable, their original premise remains the same. For a different definition based on religiosity, see Mazid 2009, 2518. For *KwD*, Forster 2009, 195–206, provides a detailed analysis of *The Trial of Dimna* that proves how little the inserted narratives fit modern categories.

[19] *SkI* I, 151, 2; *SkI* III, 201, 1; *SkI* IV, 214, 1–2; *SkI* V, 228, 1; *SkI* VI, 233,1; *SkI* VII, 235, 5. For a similar approach, see Forster 2009, 195–198.

καὶ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθὼν τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων, εἶδον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιμιώτερον πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ βλέποντα καὶ μὴ φροντίζοντα τῆς σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἡδονῆς· καὶ πλήρης θαυμασίας εἶπον· ὅμοιός ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνδρί τινι, ὅστις ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ φόβου δεινοῦ, ἐντυχὼν δὲ λάκκῳ ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ χείλει δένδρον, ἐκρεμάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ· κρατῶν δὲ κλάδους δύο τοῦ δένδρου ταῖς χερσίν, ἔθηκε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ στερεωθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ. ἦσαν δὲ ὄφεις τέσσαρες ἐκβάλλοντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς ἐκ τῶν τρωγλῶν αὐτῶν. Παρακύψας δὲ κάτωθεν εἶδε δράκοντα ἀνεῳγμένον ἔχοντα τὸ στόμα, καὶ δύο μύας, λευκὸν καὶ μέλανα, ἐσθίοντας τὰς ῥίζας τῶν κλάδων ὧν ἐκράτει. ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ γενόμενος περὶ τούτων ἐζήτει πῶς δεῖ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἀποδράσειν. ἀναβλέψας δὲ εἶδε μέλι ῥέον ἄνωθεν ἐκ δένδρου, καὶ γευσάμενος αὐτό, ἐγλυκάσθη τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ ἀπελάθετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη τῶν τεσσάρων ὄφεων τῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, οὔτε τῶν δύο μυῶν τῶν ἐσθιόντων τὰς ῥίζας τῶν κλάδων, οὐδ' ὅτι, ὅταν φάγωσιν αὐτὰς καὶ ἐκκοπῶσιν οἱ κλάδοι, πασεῖται ἐν τῷ φάρυγγι τοῦ δράκοντος· καὶ ἀσχοληθεὶς ἐν τῇ γλυκύτητι, ἀπώλετο.[20]

And having gained understanding about the matters of life, I saw that humans were worthier than all other creations and that they perceived the bad things and that they did not care about their salvation because of the things of pleasure; and wondering very much I said: Humans are similar to that man who escaped from a great terror when finding a well in a ditch that had a tree, and he hung on it, holding himself fast on two branches with his hands, he put his feet on a certain place so as to support himself. However, it was four snakes throwing their heads out of their holes. Peering down, he saw a dragon with its mouth open and two mice, one white and one black, eating the bases of the branches he was holding onto. Becoming anxious, he wondered what he needed to do to escape these things. When he saw honey flowing down from above from the tree and tasting it, he became sweetened by pleasure and abandoned his salvation and did not remember the four snakes at his feet nor the two mice eating the bases of the branches, not that when they had eaten them, and the branches had broken, he would fall into the jaws of the dragon; and preoccupied with the great sweetness, he perished.

'The man in the well' is introduced by the narrator, who emphasizes the similarity between the story and the factual truth about human existence. He constructs an analogy by likening a series of singular events, namely what happens

[20] Puntoni 1889, 45–46. I decided to use Puntoni's edition in this section, because it is closer to the Arabic text than the edition by Noble 2022, 58–59. Noble's text furthermore has some issues with the overall logic of the story in the Arabic text. Noble presents a retelling of the story with a tree growing in the well. Additionally, the four serpents simply dwell in the tree but are not stepped on, while the mice and their branches shift from the hands to the feet of the man. The latter is probably an attempt to save the plot logic that is lost when the four serpents are not stepped on. Furthermore, Noble translates the dragon at the bottom of the well first as a serpent but later as a dragon, which makes her translation difficult to follow; Noble 2022, 59. Huig 2022, 254–255, also notes further problems with this specific passage and the need to construct an understandable version by using the Latin translation.

to the man in the *paradeigma*, to the universal experience of human behavior. Therefore, what infuses the *paradeigma* with meaning is the analogies that it creates. Commonly, it invites the identification of the characters, actions and situations described in it with any suitable experience or knowledge the reader might have, making it possible to extract an abstract meaning from it.[21] Although the analogical worldview that is essential for fables has been described as a premodern or medieval approach,[22] the undiminished interest in such analogical stories and modern cognitive linguistics show the importance of analogies.[23] These analogies are, I believe, what create the didactic potential of a story. By being able to relate its singular events to any suitable experience, the *paradeigma* teaches behavioral norms, warnings, and solutions. In the case of the *paradeigma* above, the man's faulty behavior is rewarded with death, providing a warning. If a reader then can identify the distracting honey in their life and rescue themselves, they would do so by creating an analogy between their situation and the *paradeigma*.

Differently phrased, the *paradeigma* consists of narration and meaning, with the meaning depending on the context in which it is read. The story of the boy who cried wolf is most likely being read as a warning not to fake danger just to receive attention, since no one might come when actual danger appears. However, it could also be read as a warning to give a job only to a suitable person or not to leave children unattended in dangerous places.[24] Much like explicit didactic content has to be extracted and learned, the likening of *paradeigmata* to other experiences needs the active involvement of the reader that lies beyond the possibilities of a text. Within its possibilities are, however, narrative strategies that ease the accessibility of its didactic potential: first, the strategies found within the *paradeigma*; second, the *paradeigma*'s narrative framing.

As regards the *paradeigma*, there are three main narrative strategies in this example that each enhance its analogical potential. The first is the vagueness of the characters. It is but "a man" who runs from "a great terror", implying that both man and great terror could be anything and anybody. Although the man never receives a name or a background story explaining how he encountered the great terror, he is characterized by his further interactions with the other objects or characters in the story. He prefers to hide from the great terror instead of facing it and chooses the worst place as a hideout. The tree that provides safety from the great terror bears its dangers as he steps on poisonous snakes and hangs from two branches that mice are gnawing off while a dragon below is waiting

[21] Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 14; Torkler 2020, 187.
[22] Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 27–28.
[23] Turner 1987, 185, 195; Turner 2003, 3, 11–13; Turner 2006, 17, 26; Mazid 2009, 2519; Martinez 2019, 9.
[24] For a similar example, see Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 31–33.

for him to fall. Trying to think of a solution, the dripping honey distracts the man, causing him to die in the dragon's jaws. These actions paint the image of someone who would be capable of escaping but is too easily distracted and not very courageous. It is specific yet unspecific enough to invoke a likeness to 'someone' a reader knows, including the reader.[25]

Adding to the vagueness of the story is also its shortness, which is the second narrative strategy. The fewer the events that are being described, the easier it becomes recognisable as an analogy. 'The man in the well' consists of four events: hiding from danger – discovering new danger – distraction – death. Effectively describing an 'out of the frying pan into the fire' situation with a bad ending, the narrative is simple enough to be comparable to many historical situations, other stories, or individual experiences.[26] Similarly, its characters are simple enough in their description to create a further analogy. The unspecified man can be 'anybody,' the unnamed terror following him acts as a placeholder for some specific fear or danger. The snakes can be linked to anything dangerous someone escapes from, while the mice stand for whatever gnaws away the man's support. The honey, which I consider an object type of character, is whatever distracts from prioritizing one's safety, while the dragon in the well is the bad ending to which the man's actions lead up. In this sense, both characters and events create analogies.

A third strategy is the use of unexpected details that stand in contrast against the simplicity of the main character and the small number of events. While the former two strategies use vagueness as a method to encourage the creation of meaning, the addition of seemingly unnecessary details can achieve the same effect. The details in 'The man in the well' are connected to characters that could also be perceived as objects due to their lack of motivation in the narrative. For unknown reasons, the two mice gnawing the branches are described as black and white, and the place the man steps on consists of four snakes, an unexpectedly high number. Especially with the snakes, it is notable that they turn from a place he steps on "to support himself" into four living, dangerous animals. This small transformation from one to four and from inanimate to living provides them with possible symbolic value, like the complementary colours of white and black do for the mice.

This invites the reader and interpreter of the story to wonder about the meaning behind these details. The contrasting colours create connections to other opposing concepts like life and death, day and night, good and evil. Similarly,

[25] Gebhard 1974, 133, and Torkler 2020, 185.
[26] Schwarzbach-Dobson 2018, 4. For reflections on the *paradeigma*, see Audebert 1999, 289–290.

the number four is reminiscent of other units of four: the elements, the temperaments, the humours – all possible threats to human life.

Interpreting this *paradeigma* could take very different forms depending on the reader's imagination. Inserted in a frame narrative, however, the plurality of possible meanings can be guided in a certain direction.[27] Looking at the preceding frame, it becomes evident that the man is supposed to be compared to every human being. This thought is marked as a spoken monologue of the Burzoy-narrator: "wondering very much I said: Humans are similar to that man [...]".[28] The preceding sentence offers even more guidance as it provides an abstract perspective on human beings. Despite being the crown of all creation, they cannot resist the temptation of pleasure and therefore fail to pursue salvation. With this preceding frame, 'The man in the well' turns into an example of the pleasure-driven destructive nature of every human being.

However, the framing of 'The man in the well' is not limited to the preceding thoughts, but becomes even more explicit after the *paradeigma*:

> εἶδον δὲ καὶ μονόκερον ζῶον ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ παντὸς, ὃν καὶ ὡμοίωσα τῷ θανάτῳ διὰ παντὸς ἀκολουθοῦντι καὶ συμπαραμένοντι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὃν καὶ οὐ δύναταί τις ἐκφυγεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι πέφυκεν· τὸν δὲ λάκκον ὡμοίωσα τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τῷ πλήρει κακίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ δεινῆς διατριβῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας ὑπάρχοντι· τοὺς δὲ τέσσαρας ὄφεις, τοῖς τέσσαρσι χυμοῖς τοῖς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ συνοῦσι καὶ συνιστῶσι τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅταν τις τῶν τοιούτων χυμῶν ἐπαναστῇ τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ἔοικε τῷ δράκοντι τῷ θανατοῦντι διὰ τοῦ δείγματος τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τοὺς δύο μύας, τόν τε λευκὸν καὶ τὸν μέλανα, τὴν ἡμέραν τε καὶ τὴν νύκτα αἵτινες πρὸς μικρὸν διαφθείρουσι τὴν ὠκύμορον ζωὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· τὸν δράκοντα, τὸν θάνατον, ὃν οὐ δύναταί τις διαφυγεῖν κἂν εἰς οὐρανοὺς πετασθῇ τὸ δ' ἄνωθεν τοῦ δένδρου διαρρέον μέλι, τὴν πικρὰν γλυκύτητα τοῦ βίου τούτου, τὴν πρὸς μικρὸν μὲν ἡδύνουσα τὰς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αἰσθήσεις, ἀηδῶς δὲ καὶ μετὰ πικρίας χωρίζουσαν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ.[29]

> I saw the unicorn animal that was always following the human and I likened it to death that was always following and staying with the human, who was not able to escape it, even if he became powerful. The ditch resembles a life that is full of evil, wickedness, terrible time wasting and depravity. The four

[27] Gebhard 1974, 135; Carnes 2000, 64–65; Herman 2006, 357–358; Bellino 2021, 106. Mazid 2009, 2524–2526, provides a very detailed structuralist model of analyzing the components of a *paradeigma* and its framing. However, his model enforces, in my opinion, an unproductive segmentation that is hard to maintain for a text that is not as clearly structured as his example. For a more insightful perspective on framing and the way it guides meaning, especially in premodern tales, see Stephan & Gründler 2024, 6–12, and Marzolph 2024, 28–32.

[28] Fishbein 2021, §3.25. On different framing practices for 'the man and the well,' see Stephan & Gründler 2024, 13–15.

[29] Puntoni 1889, 46--47; the passage is translated by me since Puntoni's version is different from Noble's.

> snakes (resemble) the four humors that are inside the human being and maintain them through their (balanced) poison, and if one of the humors prepares to go out against someone else, it is like the dragon that kills the man through its bite. The two mice, the white and the black one, (are like) day and night that destroy little by little the quickly dying life of the human being; the dragon, the death, that it cannot escape and honey falling from the heavens and flowing from above down the tree (is like) the bitter sweetness of this life that little by little pleasures the senses of the human, but unpleasantly separates him through bitterness from his salvation.

Before analyzing this passage, I would like to make a few clarifications of its content. In this interpretation by the narrator, the "great terror" is turned into a unicorn.[30] This happens due to changes in translations and copies that differ in what the man is running from.[31] Depending on the source, the great terror can be an elephant, sometimes aroused or even six-faced and twelve-legged; a unicorn, like in the passage above; an aroused camel; a tiger; a lion; or even four lions. It becomes apparent that the above-mentioned narrative strategy of creating similarities has effects on the narrative itself: it does not matter what is chasing the man as long as it is terrifying.

The passage itself is marked as an interpretation of the *paradeigma* by the introductory "I saw". What then is seen by the narrator turns out to be a list of similarities between events, characters and objects, and human existence. The story's simplicity facilitates the comparison between the man's fate and the fate of every human being. Even the tiny, seemingly superfluous details in the story are filled with meaning: the snakes turn into the four humours and the mice into day and night. This type of narrative framing found before and after the *paradeigma* could be termed hermeneutic framing, since it provides guidance on how to read a specific story. The content is, however, not the only thing taught by this hermeneutic framing. The strong parallels in the text teach a formula that can be used for any hermeneutic analysis, a sort of 'a resembles b' or 'a is like b,' for example 'The ditch resembles a life that is full of evil.' These phrases are repeated seven times in the passage, indirectly giving instructions on how to read and interpret a *paradeigma*. Accordingly, the repetition of contents and structures turns into another teaching device for a text that will become even more apparent in the dialogues of *SkI*.[32]

The text thus offers teaching methods that not only provide memorable content, but also techniques on how to extract knowledge from a *paradeigma*. Ad-

[30] On the unicorn appearing and disappearing in later versions of *SkI*, see Huig 2022, 254–255. In Noble 2022, 58–59, the unicorn is constantly present.

[31] Zin 2008, 43–84.

[32] See below, 5.1.3.

ditionally, looking at the wider range of the text in which the *paradeigma* is embedded, the text also demonstrates how a *paradeigma* can be inserted in order to strengthen an argument.

Finally, the three passages quoted above demonstrate the build-up of the overall argument found in *Burzoy's Voyage*: life is suffering, and often that suffering is self-inflicted. This is proven by starting with explicit didactic content narrated in the sequence of human life. Next, the narrator questions why humans are not able to avoid at least some of these sufferings, despite their intelligence. The answer is then given in the form of a *paradeigma* and its narrative framing, explaining that the pleasure-driven nature of humans takes away their sense of self-preservation. This build-up is also found in the details of the text. For example, the recurring number four within passages can guide an attentive reader's thoughts towards interpreting the *paradeigma* with the intention of the narrator.[33] If they studied the lists of what inflicts pain on humans in different states of life, the four humors are already mentioned as the bane of a grown man's existence. With this in mind, one could easily create an analogy between the four snakes in the *paradeigma* and the four humors. The final narrative framing which interprets 'The man in the well' would then confirm this analogy, much like a teacher showing a student the correct solution to a question they were supposed to answer themselves. In other words, the didactic quality of the text is not only found in its implicit and explicit didactic content but also in the way they are connected by the narrator, as I will show in the following.

4.3. WHO: CHARACTER–NARRATOR–PLOT

Up to this point, the cited passages have shown that texts teach through abstract explicit content and narrative implicit stories and how they place and treat them. The structure of the narrative framing heavily influences the overall understanding of abstract knowledge and *paradeigmata*. However, maybe even more important than the structure is the voice transferring it. In the examples above, three times an explicit 'I' marks the beginning of each significant passage. An 'I' is found introducing the observation about the possibilities and failures of human existence, it reappears at the beginning of 'The man in the well,' and again in its interpretation. The 'I' should also be perceived as the voice uttering the rhetorical question at the beginning of the first example. This voice, the voice of the Burzoy-narrator, I will term a didactic voice due to the factors that have already been analyzed: it provides abstract explicit knowledge as well as narrative

[33] This can also be compared to various other narrative framings of the same story in different translations, for example, the elements in a Chinese version or the four evil (Buddhist) passions in the Jaina version; see Zin 2008, 43–44.

implicit didactic texts and offers examples of their application and interpretation. Additionally, it attempts to convince the reader of its opinion; in this case, that human existence is without salvation and full of suffering.[34]

To better understand the mechanisms of didactic texts, any voice that tries to convince while providing narrative or abstract knowledge will here be identified as a didactic voice. These didactic voices are not limited to narrators but can also be found coming from characters in a story.[35] In texts, they can appear in any number and do not need to follow the same conviction but can even teach opposing opinions. In a narrative, the superiority, inferiority, or equality of didactic voices and their methods and knowledge will usually be judged by a voice that rarely is termed so: the plot. Defined by Genette as the actual order of events as they occurred and not the order in which they are narrated in a story, plot appears as a source material with no other purpose than to be turned into a story. However, I would like to propose a different perspective on plot that attributes more agency to it.

While plot remains the foundation of what is perceived as a story it is also the driving force for events to happen, characters to act, narrators to tell, and readers to make sense of a story. Plot is the force towards its own end, towards the final event in the linear order of events, even if the end is narrated first. In the movie *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), the first scene shows the narrator floating dead in a swimming pool; the rest of the movie is but a long flashback of the already deceased narrator explaining how the end happened. The storytelling disables the logic of time and space because the plot, the chronological order of events, has the narrator dead in a swimming pool as the final event. What has been perceived as imaginative storytelling is only possible because the plot overrules any other logic within a story.

Plot is what forces characters and narrators to act: Bluebeard's wife has to open the door because the plot needs her to do so. Otherwise, no punishment would be delivered on Bluebeard and the story would continue in the liminal state of her living together with her husband. Plot can be likened to an oracle in a Greek tragedy, where characters act and events happen according to an irresistible fate. However, while plot has the same deterministic qualities as fate in Greek tragedy, there is a fundamental difference. Unlike fate, characters and events cannot be aware of the plot. Being aware of the plot would mean that they realize their fictionality. Even in stories in which characters appear to communicate with the reader, this communication is only simulated.[36]

[34] Nilsson 2021a, 117.

[35] Phelan 2013, 7. On voices in *KwD*, see Mahassine 2016, 472–473.

[36] For further ideas referring to the concepts of 'author,' 'implied author,' 'unreliable narrator,' 'model/empirical author,' and 'model/empirical reader,' see Iser 1984, 59; Eco 1987, 76–77; Genette

Plot is what comes before everything else that is part of a story and is its indispensable part, overruling characters and a story's internal logic.[37] It happens even if it disagrees with its characters and setting. Often, plot is belatedly justified by an extratextual interpretation. For example, in Paradise, Eve obeys the serpent without any intrinsic explanation; she has to do so according to the plot or humanity will not come into existence. Her later characterization as suffering from fatal female *curiositas* is an interpreter's attempt to add plausibility and explain why a human would not listen to God. In fact, however, the biblical text only offers us the events and the characters' actions according to the plot.

This leads to a common problem with a plot that occurs if the character and the plot are not well-matched. In these cases, the characters appear as acting 'out of character,' something that often occurs when antagonists suddenly seem to have reduced intelligence in the end, missing the crucial final step towards victory. In the *paradeigma* of the monkey and the turtle, the turtle appears to be of average intelligence and is even able to trick the monkey.[38] Yet, it is suddenly convinced that monkeys store their hearts outside of their bodies – a plot device necessary to let the monkey escape. This effect of (main) characters surviving seemingly inescapable death traps has also been termed 'plot-armour': a character receiving immunity to any possible danger by the power of the plot that needs to end at a certain event with certain characters.[39] This disregard of a fictional universe's intrinsic logic is the moment when the ultimate power of the plot becomes visible in a way that might very well undo the willing suspension of disbelief, leaving the reader to ask: Can this really be happening?[40] Plot is also what the reader needs to reconstruct when trying to understand the events of a story.[41] Uncovering the order of events in a story is not only a way of making sense of what is happening, but can even lead to an understanding of what is going to happen. By recognizing patterns in similar plots, the current plot's future events can be foretold: the detective will solve the case, and the lovers will be reunited.

Judging from this perspective, plot becomes the central force that coerces narrators, characters, and objects towards its final event much like a gravitational force. Accordingly, plot can be considered the ultimate didactic voice. By hand-

1998, 285–291; Wirth 2008, 180–186. For such issues in the case of Byzantium, see Nilsson 2021a, 87–91, 138–139.

37 Hibbitt 2013, 220–221. Cf. Farrant 2013, 123–130, on the impossibility of writing a story without a plot with examples from 19th-century French literature.

38 See above, 1.4.5.

39 Oxford English Dictionary 2022: https://www.oed.com/dictionary/plot-armour_n?tl=true (last visited 2025-10-08).

40 Coleridge 1907, 6; Martinez 2019, 4.

41 Hibbitt 2013, 219, 225–228.

ing out rewards and punishments to various character-based didactic voices, the plot and its narrator offer the final judgement on a text.[42] No matter how convincing and powerful a villain's didactic voice might appear, how much compassion his well-told tragic past might evoke, their death at the hands of the hero proves to be the ultimate counterargument.[43] Although not every death is necessarily a punishment but can even be a reward in the shape of a heroic death,[44] a story with a strong didactic voice will typically make it clear how to judge a character or situation. Or, in the didactic voice of Herodotus's Solon: πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. (Before he dies, refrain from calling him fortunate, call him lucky.)[45]

4.4. WHAT: MORAL AND ETHICS

The mentioning of reward and punishment within a text takes the issue of teaching methods into the realm of morals and ethics. Reward and punishment tend to influence the perception of characters and actions as desirable and undesirable as long as rewards are sought after, and punishments are preferably avoided. By creating analogies between actions and characters in a story and the reader, the reader will ideally be influenced in a particular direction. Confronted with the cruel fate of 'The man in the well,' the reader might decide to pay less attention to fleeting pleasures and instead try to find ways to overcome the inevitable death or find other answers to the Burzoy-narrator's bleak view of life. Such a view of life – what is to be considered good and what harmful – is based on underlying ethics that are either implicitly or explicitly expressed by a didactic voice. Although not every teaching will be as apparent as the nihilistic ethics found in the Burzoy-narrator, it can be assumed that each didactic voice has underlying ethics as a foundation. Narration is the place to give ethics a test-run.[46] That is to say, any kind of ethical stance can be tried out in a narration, sometimes to extremes that might be difficult to imitate outside of narration. Its effects and results will be expressed by the characters involved and its quality judged by the didactic voices of characters, narrators, and plot.[47]

Most of the ethical stances underlying characters, narrators and narrative structures are based on strategies for how to live a 'good life.' The concept of what a 'good life' is, however, can differ significantly; when these strategies of

[42] Phelan 2013, 2–7; Martinez 2019, 157.
[43] On the effects of well-written anti-villains, see Martinez 2019: 152.
[44] Mills 2014, 20–25.
[45] Herodotus, I, 32, 7.
[46] Torkler 2020, 191; Mallette 2022, 318.
[47] On the moral dilemmas created by narration, see Phelan 2013, 1, 13, and Martinez 2019, 151–153.

a 'good life' clash with each other, morals come into play.[48] Whereas ethics is a passive concept of a 'good life' that is supposed to be pursued, morals function as the active part that expresses the ethical concept in deeds. Morals can be defined as instructions that differentiate between right and wrong actions according to the ethics they are based on. Since moral problems are usually antinomic, meaning they need to be deliberated but cannot be resolved by an exact scientific solution, they appear most attractive for narration.[49] For example, the question 'Should I save someone who wishes to kill me?' can be answered by the story of the mouse and the cat as found in *KwD*.[50] In a life and death situation, the mouse decides to save a cat who is in equal peril, which leads to the mouse's survival. This does not present an overall solution to the moral question but does provide an example of a situation where the answer would be 'yes' according to the mouse's ethics, which prioritize survival. In another version of the same story, the mouse might decide to die along with the cat to rid the mouse's community of a dangerous predator, following an altruistic ethical approach in the same situation.

These ethics will be of special interest when looking at *SkI* and how they differ from the source text. Since ethics are normally a reflection of character, culture, religion, and social circumstances, translation and target culture can strongly influence the narrative's ethical foundation. By shifting between deontological, rational, theological, teleological, and pragmatic ethics, different styles of 'good life' are promoted.[51]

Similar to the didactic voice, the prevailing ethic is depicted as superior in a story. Even if it might not win in a theoretical argument, the plot and the characters' final fate usually point out the preferable way of life. Usually, villains represent such inferior ethics and their defeat by a hero with a superior ethical stance also emphasizes which ethical stance is better. Depending on the story, inferior ethics can be punished, corrected, or accepted as an alternative way of living, depending on what the plot has in store. A villain could be killed or punished, they could mend their ways, or even become accepted as a necessary evil. This reflects back on the superior ethic that, depending on the scenario, proposes destruction, rehabilitation or acceptance of other ethical stances. By having characters like villains and heroes playing out such ethical stances, they can demonstrate their superiority or inferiority. Unlike an argument, which can be disproved, a narrative usually will not provide alternative endings in which other ethics triumph.

[48] Früchtl 1993, 987; Harpham 1999, x; Martinez 2019, 153.
[49] Früchtl 1993, 984. For an example by Maimonides, see Stern 2013, 360–366.
[50] Fishbein 2021, §10.1–§10.13.
[51] Früchtl 1993, 983, 987.

To conclude, teaching strategies in texts can be divided into abstract explicit didactics and narrative implicit didactics. The first group includes passages that are stylistically marked as content worth remembering, like lists, proverbs, sayings, and quotes. The second group consist of narratives and the way in which stories teach by creating analogies through examples. These analogies can be guided by a story's narrative framework. Both abstract and narrative didactics use didactic voices to strengthen their argument and guide the reader towards the desired direction. These didactic voices, as well as plot and characters, if available, are based on underlying ethics and offer responses to moral questions by demonstrating solutions and failures. While didactic strategies in a text can be applied to any sort of content, they are usually inserted to teach the superiority of a certain type of ethics.

5. Layers of Teaching in *SkI*

Based on the investigation of teaching strategies undertaken in the previous chapter, here the main objectives will be to find the didactic strategies of *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, to analyze the didactic voices, and to discover the ethics and morals displayed. I will also consider the changes that apply through translation and the consistency of the various ethical stances within each book, but also within the *SkI* as a whole.

5.1. EXPLICIT DIDACTICS

When analyzing the explicit didactics found in *SkI*, it is necessary to recall the overall structure of the text to locate the places where explicit didactic units are found. This will make their distribution visible: whether they are evenly spread throughout *SkI* or more connected to specific stories and events. As noted in the previous chapter, the lists, proverbs, wisdom sayings, and quotes are situated in a narrative context, leading to a question that has not yet been asked: are certain narrative contexts more likely to contain explicit didactics?[1] When trying to answer that question, it should be kept in mind that the tendencies of *SkI* are not necessarily the same as in other texts. Yet, *SkI*, based on its intended use and the frame narrative of the king wanting to learn from his philosopher, can be considered a text with strong didactic tendencies.

The following structure presents the diegetic layers of *SkI* and displays the hierarchy of frame stories by indentation.[2] Since the story of the merchant and his three sons in the first book derives from the original frame narrative of the

[1] Forster 2009, 206–209. Wisdom sayings related to embedded tales appear in verse form in the *Panchatantra*, which further enhances their memorability; see Olivelle 2006, 24. On Psellos' use of *apophthegmata* (wisdom sayings), see Tocci 2014, 69–75.

[2] For an analysis of diegetic layers in *KwD*, see Mazid 2009, 2523–2524.

Panchatantra,[3] I separate it from the *Lion and Bull* story. The bold titles denote stories that contain explicit didactic content.

Book 1 *Lion and Bull* (Lo)
King and philosopher
Merchant and his three sons
Lion and Bull / Stephanites and Ichnelates
Stephanites: The monkey who smashed its testicles
Ichnelates: The hungry fox and the drum
Ichnelates: How the crow got the serpent killed
Wolf-panther: The swan, the fish, and the crab
Ichnelates: How the rabbit struck down the lion
Ichnelates: How the bull decided to overthrow the lion
Ichnelates: The three fish
Ichnelates: The louse and the flea
Bull: Bee and water lilies
Bull: Fly in the elephant's ear
Bull: How the wolf, the crow, and the jackal convinced the lion to kill the camel
Ichnelates: The turtle and the two ducks
Stephanites: The crow and the monkeys
Stephanites: The evil man and the scholar
Stephanites: The iron merchant
Book 2 *Trial of Ichnelates* (Di)
King and philosopher
Trial of Ichnelates
Ichnelates: The blind doctor and the quack
Ichnelates: The two naked women
Ichnelates: The loyal wife and the falconer

[3] In the *Panchatantra* frame narrative, a king has three lazy sons and asks a wise man for help (Olivelle 2006, 20; Taylor 2007, 2–3). The man promises to turn his sons into wise rulers by telling them five stories – which are the title-giving stories for the Panchatantra = Five Treaties. Probably in the Pahlavi version, this frame narrative splits into two separate stories. For the frame narrative, a king asks his philosopher for stories, while the three lazy sons become the children of a merchant. The merchant does not tell them five stories but instead provides them with a list of reasons why to live diligently. His sons become inspired and the oldest sets out to become a merchant. On his journey, they have to abandon one of the bulls pulling his wagons and this bull character then turns into the bull of *Lion and Bull*. The reason for this change of narrative is not clear but maybe inspired by Burzoy dedicating his collection to his king who wanted wisdom for himself and not for his children. From that perspective, the new frame narrative receives a performative power imitating the act of Burzoy teaching his king the newly found wisdom. Additionally, it also opens up the text to add more stories from different sources.

Book 3 *Ringdove* (Rd)
King and Philosopher
Ringdove
Mouse: The ascetic, the traveler, and the audacious mouse
Book 4 *Owls and Crows* (Oc)
King and Philosopher
War of Owls and Crows
Spy crow: The old serpent and the frog king
Book 5 *Monkey and Turtle* (At)
King and Philosopher
Monkey and Turtle
Book 6 *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw)
King and Philosopher
Hasty Man and Wife
Wife: The Ascetic and his two pots
Book 7 *King and Dreams* (Kd)
King and Philosopher
The King and the Eight Dreams
Minister: The two doves
Book 8 *King and Bird* (Kb)
King and Philosopher
King and His Jay

Looking at the structure of *SkI*, it is immediately notable that explicit didactic content appears mainly in the stories the philosopher is telling his king, and not in the embedded stories. The most reasonable explanation would be that these inserted narratives are, on the one hand, kept short because they serve as an example for the argument made in the frame narrative; on the other, they could be considered explicit didactic content themselves, providing a collection of *paradeigmata* suitable for various conversational or written occasions.

However, what becomes visible only after looking more closely at the relevant books, is the fact that after the first four books, the amount of explicit didactic content diminishes noticeably. Out of these four, the first book (Lo), contains the largest amount, which agrees with its overall size of about a third of the text in total. Within the other books, the amount is roughly the same. This means that the presence of explicit didactic content is not linked to the books belonging originally to the *Panchatantra*, since the second book (Di) is an Arabic addition and Books 5 (At) and 6 (Aw) belong to the *Panchatantra* but contain little to no explicit didactic content. Overall, there seems to be a tendency for the first

half of the text to have been treated with more elaboration and detail, while the narrative pace in the second half speeds up significantly, lacking inserted tales, long conversations, and explicit didactic content. However, this practice is not uncommon in Byzantine literature, or perhaps even in literature in general.[4]

I noted in the previous chapter that embedded *paradeigmata* used for an argument's sake share similarities with explicit didactics. They also share similarities when looking at their placement within the stories. While it would be possible for the narrating voice to insert didactic content, it hardly ever does so and lets the characters speak instead. This approach avoids a moral finger directed at the reader by having a narrator telling them how to act. Instead, it embeds explicit didactic passages into a situated context within the story, positioning the reader as a spectator who may or may not feel addressed by it. Accordingly, explicit didactic content is only found in conversations, soliloquies, or monologues as direct speech in the shape of advice to the addressee. In most cases, it is presented to the conversation partner before they begin to act, showing that good advice should preferably be given before the deed.

In the few cases where advice is offered late, it is always connected to regrets. The lion regrets sending Ichnelates out on a task before considering that Ichnelates might betray him (*SkI* I,163,2–10), Ichnelates regrets introducing the bull to the lion without considering that they might become close (*SkI* I,164,15–165,3), the bull regrets not identifying his enemies in advance (*SkI* I,179,5–180,1), and the monkey regrets trusting his turtle companion too much (*SkI* V,230,15–231,3). In the case of Stephanites, he mainly regrets advising Ichnelates who would never listen to him (*SkI* I,185,5–186,8). At other instances, when good advice is ignored and those refusing to listen to it have reaped what they sowed, they turn equally regretful. Ichnelates regrets not listening to Stephanites after being thrown into prison (*SkI* II,195,19–196,5), which, however, does not hinder him from ignoring Stephanites' next piece of advice. Similarly, the hasty man regrets not listening to his wife (*SkI* VI,234,13–16). In an extreme case, all owls die after ignoring good advice, making them unable to regret but instead letting their sworn enemies rejoice at their bad judgement (*SkI* IV,227,9–12).

In all other instances where advice with explicit didactic content is given (and which are too many to list), the advice is either followed or ignored due to different advice. Yet, while certain advice might be ignored in the storyline, it nevertheless offers valuable knowledge that might help within a different context. While this already shows that the usefulness of explicit didactic content for the

[4] I would attribute this phenomenon to the attractiveness of something new. Motivation is in many cases higher in the beginning of a project whereas its conclusion can turn into an unmotivated task or might even be left unfinished.

characters depends on the situation within the story in which it is embedded, the first step should be to look at the content itself without its context. In this way, the full range of possibilities when using explicit didactic content for argument's sake can be understood.

A good example of how explicit didactic units are employed in *SkI* is the merchant's speech in *Lion and Bull* (Lo). Analyzing the speech will show the different forms that explicit didactic units can take and the way in which they are inserted into the text. The passage in which the merchant teaches his lazy sons how to live a decent life confronts them not only with practical instructions, but also with the full range of explicit didactic methods employed in the text. The speech given by the merchant runs as follows (with numbering brackets inserted for the sake of the analysis below).

> ὁ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀναστρεφόμενος τριῶν δεῖται πραγμάτων· αὐτάρκους περιουσίας, δόξης παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἀποταμιευομένων ἐκεῖσε τοῖς δικαίοις ἀγαθῶν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τρία οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιγίνεταί τινι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν τεσσάρων· τοῦ κτᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ πόρου δικαίου καὶ εὐλόγου, τοῦ τὰ ἐπικτηθέντα καλῶς οἰκονομεῖν καὶ διεξάγειν, τοῦ μεταδιδόναι τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων τοῖς δεομένοις, ὅπερ λυσιτελεῖ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ βιοτῇ, καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλίνειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα συμπτώματα ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν. εἴ τις οὖν ἕν τι τῶν τεσσάρων τούτων παραδράμῃ, οὐδὲν ἀνύσει.
>
> εἰ μὴ γὰρ πλούτου εὐπορήσει, οὐκ ἂν δυνηθῇ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀναστραφῆναι οὔτε τινὰς εὐεργετῆσαι. εἰ δὲ πλούσιος μέν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τὸν βίον καλῶς οἰκονομεῖ, τάχιστα ἂν συναρίθμιος τοῖς πένησι γενήσεται. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰς δαπάνας ἐλαχίστας ποιεῖται κατὰ μικρὸν μὴ ἐπιγινομένης τινὸς προσθήκης τούτῳ, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ὁ σύμπας πλοῦτος ἀναλωθήσεται, καθάπερ τὸ στίμμι, ὅπερ κατὰ μικρὸν ὡς χνοῦς μεταδιδόμενον δαπανᾶται. εἰ δὲ πλοῦτος ἐπικτηθῇ καὶ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς γένηται ἐπιμέλεια, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτου μεταδοθῇ τι, ἔνθα καὶ δεῖ, πένης ὁ τοῦτον ἔχων τῷ ὄντι λογίζεται καὶ αἴτιος ἴσως τούτῳ ἔσται παντελοῦς ἀπωλείας. καθάπερ καὶ οἱ σωλῆνες διαρρήγνυνται, ὅτε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ προστιθέμενον μὴ πόρον ἀπορροίας ἐφευρίσκῃ. (*SkI* I,151,7--153,3)

Someone who gets on in life needs three things: [a] sufficient resources, [b] a good reputation amongst people, [c] success in obtaining the good things that are in store for the righteous in the land of the just. These three only come to someone through the following four things: [A] by procuring riches in a just and fair way, [B] by managing and arranging the gained [fortune] well, [C] by sharing the gained with those in need, which is profitable for the next life, [D] and by keeping away by all means from suddenly appearing evil. If one overlooks one of the four, they accomplish nothing.

[I] In fact, if one does not have plenty of riches, they have neither power over how to spend their lives nor can they help anyone. [II] If they have wealth but their life is not managed well, they will quickly be counted among the poor. [III] Even if they make only a few of the smallest expenses, but nothing hap-

> pens to increase it, it will happen that the whole wealth is absorbed, like an eyeliner of antimony-kohl, which is used up by applying its dust little by little. [IV] If wealth is won and it is taken care of its increase, but nothing of it is shared where it is needed, they are considered poor despite what they have and [V] it will probably be the cause of their complete destruction, like a pipe is shattered because the water in it is increasing without finding an opening to flow out.

The merchant's sermon contains three different types of explicit didactic. One obvious example is the comparison or metaphor that likens the situation described to "an eyeliner of antimony-kohl, which is used up by applying its dust little by little" or to "a pipe [that] is shattered because the water in it is increasing without finding an opening to flow out." In these cases, a more abstract situation is explicitly connected to an image in order to emphasize the point made in the argument. Likening concepts to images both improves their understandability and creates a more vivid impression. In both cases, these images have a negative connotation, as one does not want to end up like eyeliner or a broken pipe. Yet, interestingly, they also relate to the same concept of giving away money. The first image warns against having fossilized resources that will eventually end, while the other warns against the danger of accumulating wealth without using it, leading to eventual destruction. Both encourage a steady flow of money to prevent running out of it or self-destruction, emphasizing money as a flowing commodity.

This analysis makes it apparent that, despite appearing to emphasize or clarify, these images also demand further attention. Neither of the images tells exactly how the destruction will translate into a concrete situation, but they remain abstract enough to relate to a variety of possible developments. For these images, the 'how' remains in the realm of the interpreter; the images themselves only warn about the outcome. In this sense, these images use similar strategies as *paradeigmata*; they appear, however, more bound to the argument they are linked to. As half-sentences, images such as, for example, "like a pipe is shattered because the water in it is increasing without finding an opening to flow out" are unable to stand on their own as a *paradeigma* would. While parts of them can be interpreted in different ways, they are essentially connected to one line of interpretation by the other part of the sentence. In that sense, they create a formula of 'This and that can be likened to this image.'

The other two types of explicit didactics in the merchant's speech are similar to each other, with the main difference being their emphasis on narrative qualities. Both of them are lists; however, one type counts the parts it is made

of, while the other provides a seemingly unorganized collection of points.[5] The numbered type of list is found in the first part of the merchant's speech, counting the three things needed for a good life (a–c) and the four things necessary to do (A–D) in order to gain these three things. By providing a count of the elements, the list encourages to count and divide the points made, thus providing mental checkpoints of what needs to be done in order to fulfil the listed requirements. In that sense, one can easily remember the parts by knowing their number as well. At first glance, these separate parts seem to appear in a random order where it should not matter whether one point is mentioned sooner or later. However, looking more closely at the sub-list, the four things that need be done, it becomes obvious that they relate in different ways to the three points of the other list.

The four points of the sub-list already partly imply a temporal logic: one needs to gain wealth first (A) before one can manage it well (B). Although they could already share it with people (C) after procuring it, good management would improve the amount of wealth that can be shared. The fourth point then is an all-encompassing advice to avoid evil at all stages (D). By fulfilling points (A) and (B), gaining wealth fairly and managing it well, one would already accomplish the first point of the other list (a) "sufficient wealth". Similarly, points (A), (B), and (C) help with (b) "good reputation" and points (C) and (D) help with (c) "riches in the afterlife". I suggest that there is a rudimentary temporal structure found in both lists, with the sub-list creating said structure for the other list. Despite this rudimentary temporal structure, the main structuring method still seems to be the count of its elements.

In lists without a count, however, other structures become more prominent. In the second part of the merchant's speech, he tells his son about the consequences of not accomplishing the four points of the sub-list. It is not mentioned in the beginning that there are five consequences; instead, the text uses the structure of the sub-list as a narrative vehicle. Starting with (A) from the sub-list, (I) demonstrates the consequence of being poor. The subsequent consequences (II) and (III) then correspond to (B). Interestingly, consequences (IV) and (V) both refer to (C), although consequence (V) promises "complete destruction" to those not sharing their wealth and could also be interpreted as forfeiting one's hope for the afterlife (D).

Yet, references to the preceding list are not the only structure. Perhaps even more prominent is how the list seems to imply a dramatic climax. Starting from being poor to wasting wealth to being unable to use wealth to being considered poor because of one's stinginess, everything ends in utter destruction. It could

[5] On the narrative qualities of lists, see Contzen 2018, 316.

even be argued that it projects a teleological view of things, with bad actions leading to a bad ending. Additionally, this marks the end of the speech, leaving a heavy impression on the listeners. This climactic order of a list guarantees its narrative impact with the grand finale of complete ruin and shows that a dramatic increase can be another way of structuring. By sorting the components of a list by their assumed impact, they consider the engagement of the audience and can help the memorability of the list increase.

Finally, it should be noted that the speech in itself is a list of lists which are dependent on each other and employ again a sort of narrative quality. Starting with a numeric list of things, the second list already provides a rudimentary temporal structure on top of numbers. Yet, the final list not only skips the numbers but also focuses on a dramatic effect while enhancing itself with images. Additionally, when looking at the increase of quantitative text in the last list compared to the previous two, the merchant's speech has the shape of a *tricolon abundans*. In this sense, the merchant's speech can be considered an excellent example of how explicit didactics are employed and interwoven for the sake of an argument and enhanced through rhetorical devices.

On another level of narration, the merchant's speech also indicates the creation process of quotes. While the merchant is presented as the source of his wisdom, quoting no one, his words can then be used in the fashion of quotes typical for *SkI*. Unlike modern scientific quotations that aim to reference the exact source to make the quote 'correct,' the quotes in *SkI* only refer to an unspecified voice of authority, stating that "it is said" (λέγεται).[6] In this sense they differ little from the quotes inserted by Symeon Seth.[7] Although it is possible to find the exact passage, this effort is left to the reader. In *SkI*, their source texts remain uncited although knowing their context can add layers of meaning to the story. However, it is equally possible that the λέγεται is only used to create the impression of a quote to add more authority to an argument, while it is actually made up.

These quotes and wisdom sayings are usually marked by an introduction like λέγεται and are the final group of explicit didactics found in *SkI*. Like lists, they can also employ images or sometimes even be an image. Needless to say, lists, wisdom sayings, and even *paradeigmata* blend into one another. There are wisdom sayings that provide lists and many *paradeigmata* are introduced by the word λέγεται. This free mixture of forms shows that *SkI* does not possess a strict system of classifications, yet the creation of excerpts of explicit didactic content from *KwD* shows that these lists, images, and quotes were recognized as belong-

[6] For example, *SkI* III,213,16.
[7] Discussed above, 2.2.1.

ing to the same category. Therefore, since I want to understand what *SkI* is teaching, I have excerpted all explicit didactic content from the text.[8] In the table, each explicit didactic notion is marked according to a certain category: image (i); list with a count of elements (n); list (l); wisdom saying (w); and quotes (q). The quote category will be for the cases in which I can retrace the wisdom saying to an actual source.

The table contains a few problems that need to be addressed. First, the quote category is not necessarily complete; this is obvious if one compares the quotes identified in the *SkI* edition by Sjöberg with those in the Eugenian version translated by Noble. Noble found significantly more quotes than Sjöberg, likely thanks to the TLG. I assume that more could be identified, especially if a similar database had been accessible for Arabic sources. But even without identifying every direct quote in *SkI*, the selection discovered by Noble and Sjöberg should provide enough material to get an idea of the way in which Symeon Seth inserted them into his translation. The second issue lies within the selection itself. The explicit didactic instances that are marked with a λέγεται or a similar generalizing notion like "A wise person must...," "A king must...," "It must be that...," are easy to find in the text. To make such markers visible, I translate them in a way that emphasizes the repetitiveness by always using the same wording, just as the Greek text does. However, in other instances the decision whether something could count as an explicit didactic unit or not is more difficult to make. Once more, the *Owls and Crows* (Oc) is a good example.[9] Among the advice given by the five crow ministers, many can be understood as general advice in a military situation rather than referring only to the crows' situation.

For example, no 134 in the list below – "Nothing saves us from this attack but to flee and leave this dwelling. It is not possible to withstand the [stronger] enemies" – is not a wisdom saying *per se*, but it does contain one possible general solution. It would only need a little rephrasing to be generalized, mainly by changing the deictic notions referring to the crows and the first-person plural as follows: "Nothing saves one from an attack, but to flee and leave one's dwelling. It is not possible to withstand [stronger] enemies." Furthermore, the five ministers also serve the purpose of showing five different ways of reacting to an enemy attack, so it should make sense to argue that the advice is intended to be generalizable. Therefore, in instances like no 134, where the advice borders on a more general notion, I have decided to include them in the list of explicit didactics.

Another problem is implied in the merchant's speech: the text often contains what I propose to call wisdom clusters. Such clusters can contain multiple lists,

[8] See below, 5.1.1.
[9] See above, 1.4.4.

images, quotes, and wisdom sayings, while being logically connected and sometimes even containing explicit references to the plot. Therefore, I decided to exclude these references from the speaker's external circumstances whenever possible. Concerning the wisdom cluster, however, I decided not to separate them into independent pieces and instead keep them together for two reasons. First, because it is sometimes difficult to decide whether an image and a wisdom saying are actually a single unit or can be understood separately. Second, having them as clusters from the beginning will help me to analyze them as an argumentative strategy.

While all explicit didactic notions are presented in the table below, I nevertheless separate them into their respective books. The only exception is *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw), which does not contain any explicit didactic units. Dividing them should help to understand whether there are book-specific tendencies in explicit didactics and whether these tendencies are similar to each other. For each of these books, I will analyze their main topics and addresses, before considering their effect based on by whom and in which context they are used. Finally, the units presented in this table often carry important information for various other points in this study of *SkI* and are therefore frequently referred to throughout.

Table 5.1: Explicit didactic units

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	**Greek**
I,151,6–153,3 (i) (n) (l)	'Children, it is said that there are three things one needs for living: sufficient resources, prestige amongst people, and success in obtaining goods in the land of the just. These three only come to someone by the following four things: by earning wealth in a just and fair way, by managing and administering that which is gained well, by sharing that which is gained with those in need, which is profitable for the next life, and by keeping away by all means from suddenly appearing evil. If one disregards one of the four, they accomplish nothing. In fact, if one does not have plenty of riches, one has neither power over how to spend their lives nor can they help anyone. If there are riches, but their life is not managed well, they will quickly be counted amongst the poor. Even if one has only few of the smallest expenses but nothing happens to increase it, it will happen that all the wealth is spent, like eyeliner, which is used up giving away dust little by little. If riches are won and carefully administered but nothing is shared where it is needed, one is considered to be poor in spite of what one has and it will probably be the cause of their complete destruction, like a pipe is shattered because the water in it is increasing without finding an opening to flow out.	ὦ τέκνα, λέγων, ὁ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀναστρεφόμενος τριῶν δεῖται πραγμάτων· αὐτάρκους περιουσίας, δόξης παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἀποταμιευομένων ἐκεῖσε τοῖς δικαίοις ἀγαθῶν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τρία οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπιγίνεταί τινι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν τεσσάρων· τοῦ κτᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ πόρου δικαίου καὶ εὐλόγου, τοῦ τὰ ἐπικτηθέντα καλῶς οἰκονομεῖν καὶ διεξάγειν, τοῦ μεταδιδόναι τῶν ἐπικτηθέντων τοῖς δεομένοις, ὅπερ λυσιτελεῖ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ βιοτῇ, καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλίνειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα συμπτώματα ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν. εἴ τις οὖν ἕν τι τῶν τεσσάρων τούτων παραδράμῃ, οὐδὲν ἀνύσει. εἰ μὴ γὰρ πλούτου εὐπορήσει, οὐκ ἂν δυνηθῇ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀναστραφῆναι οὔτε τινὰς εὐεργετῆσαι. εἰ δὲ πλούσιος μέν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν δὲ τὸν βίον καλῶς οἰκονομεῖ, τάχιστα ἂν συναρίθμιος τοῖς πένησι γενήσεται. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰς δαπάνας ἐλαχίστας ποιεῖται κατὰ μικρὸν μὴ ἐπιγινομένης τινὸς προσθήκης τούτῳ, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ὁ σύμπας πλοῦτος ἀναλωθήσεται, καθάπερ τὸ στίμμι, ὅπερ κατὰ μικρὸν ὡς χνοῦς μεταδιδόμενον δαπανᾶται. εἰ δὲ πλοῦτος ἐπικτηθῇ καὶ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς γένηται ἐπιμέλεια, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτου μεταδοθῇ τι, ἔνθα καὶ δεῖ, πένης ὁ τοῦτον ἔχων τῷ ὄντι λογίζεται καὶ αἴτιος ἴσως τούτῳ ἔσται παντελοῦς ἀπωλείας. καθάπερ καὶ οἱ σωλῆνες διαρρήγνυνται, ὅτε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕδωρ προστιθέμενον μὴ πόρον ἀπορροίας ἐφευρίσκῃ.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
1 I,155,5–7 (w)	Understand that everyone who approaches kings is not going there for a life of luxury; he is yearning for glory to delight his own friends and to cause grief for his enemies.	ἴσθι, ὡς πᾶς ὁ προσεγγίζων βασιλεῦσιν οὐ διὰ βίου σπατάλην πρόεισιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε δόξης ἐφιέμενος εὐφραινούσης μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους φίλους, ἀνιώσης δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς.
2 I,155,7–156,1 (i) (w)	Inferior and lesser men accept what happens to them and are content with it, since a dog that finds a very dry bone is often delighted about it. However, an ambitious man stays not with the worthless and insignificant, but seeks after higher things and hunts for what is worthy of him, as the lion, having caught the rabbit; when seeing the camel, it will let go of the former and chase after the latter. Do you not know that the dog is wagging its tail until it receives a lump of bread from anyone, but that the great elephant rejects the food offered to him and is hardly ever flattered by anyone into eating it?	χθαμαλῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ χαμερπῶν τὸ στέργειν τοῖς τυχοῦσι καὶ τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύων ὀστοῦν εὑρίσκων πολλάκις ξηρότατον ἐφήδεται τούτῳ. ὁ δέ γε ὑψίνους ἀνὴρ οὐ μέχρι τῶν μηδαμινῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν ἵσταται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄνω ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄξια τούτῳ καταδιώκει, καθάπερ ὁ λέων ὁ τὸν λαγωὸν κατέχων, ἐπειδὰν ἴδῃ τὴν κάμηλον, ἐκεῖνον ἀφεὶς κατατρέχει αὐτῆς. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα τὸν κύνα τῷ οὐραίῳ σαίνοντα, ἄχρις ὅτου τὸ τρύφος ἀπολάβῃ τοῦ ἄρτου, τὸν δὲ μέγαν ἐλέφαντα προσφερομένης τῆς τροφῆς ἀπαναινόμενον καὶ μόλις τῷ κολακεύεσθαι ταύτην ἐσθίοντα;
3 I,156,1–4 (w)	Yet the great-hearted, generous man, who is attempting great things, even if he is not living a long life, is called a very long-lived one. He who spends a life in constraints and misery and helps neither himself nor others is short-lived, even if he reaches a great age and becomes an old man.	καὶ γὰρ ὁ μεγαλόθυμος ἀνὴρ καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ εὐμετάδοτος εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μακρὸν χρόνον τὸν βίον διάξει, ἀλλὰ μακροβιώτατος οὗτος λογίζεται. ὁ δὲ βίου στενότητι καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ συζῶν καὶ μήτε ἑαυτὸν μήθ' ἑτέρους ὠφελῶν βραχύβιος οὗτός ἐστι, κἂν εἰς μακρὸν καταντήσῃ καὶ διάξῃ γῆρας.
4 I,156,5–7 (w)	Consider how everyone has their own limits and one who is honored by those with the same honor must be content with his rank.	διαλόγισαι, ὡς ἕκαστος ἴδιον μέτρον ἔχει, καὶ ὅτε ἐστί τις παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις ἔντιμος, δεῖ τοῦτον ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ οἰκείῳ βαθμῷ.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
5 I,156,8–9 (w)	All honors of life are common to all. And the ambitious man always makes himself ascend, but the inferior always descend.	κοιναὶ πᾶσαι αἱ τοῦ βίου ἀξίαι. καὶ ὁ μεγαλόνους ἀνὴρ ἀεὶ ποιεῖται τὴν ἄνοδον, ὁ δὲ χαμερπὴς ἀεὶ κάτεισι.
6 I,156,9–11 (i) (w)	It is difficult to leap up from below, but easy to descend from above into the inferior, like a stone is lifted up high with difficulty, but easily brought down. So must we strive for height with all might and not accept our limits (status), since they can always be changed for others.	δυσχερὲς γὰρ τὸ κάτωθεν ἄνω μεταπηδᾶν, εὐχερὲς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω κατιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ χθαμαλώτερα, ὥσπερ ὁ λίθος δυσχερῶς μὲν ἄνω αἴρεται, ῥᾳδίως δὲ κάτω φέρεται. δεῖ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἄνω ἐπιζητεῖν ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ μὴ στέργειν τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον ἐξὸν μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἕτερον.
7 I,157,1–3 (w)	A sensible man is able to know the thoughts of a neighbor by guessing from his behavior and attitude.	ὁ γὰρ ἐχέφρων ἀνὴρ δύναται γνῶναι τὰ τοῦ πλησίον διανοήματα στοχαζόμενος τοῦτον ἔκ τε τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως.
8 I,157,5–7 (w)	The clever man also knows how to behave in a situation in which he is inexperienced. He who is not like this (=clever) will be caused to fall by his own skill.	ὁ ἐχέφρων ἀνὴρ οἶδεν ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀπειρίαν ἔχει. ὁ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος καὶ περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τέχνην σφάλλεται.
9 I,157,7–10 (i) (w)	The powerful are not accustomed to take the best ones around them as their helpers, but one who is closer than others just like grapevine. It does not twine itself around the best of the trees, but around the closest.	ὁ ἐξουσιαστὴς οὐκ εἰωθεν προσλαμβάνεσθαι τὸν κρείττονα τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν λοιπῶν πλησιέστερον παρωμοιωμένος τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. αὕτη γὰρ οὐ τοῖς κρείττοσι τῶν δένδρων ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλησιεστέροις περιπλέκεται.
10 I,157,12–13 (w)	But I know that the closest ones were not so before but lifted up from inferiority.	ἀλλ' οἶδα τοὺς οἰκειοτέρους ἡμῶν μὴ ὄντας πρότερον τοιούτους ἀλλ' ἀναχθέντας τῶν κάτω.
11 I,157,13–158,1 (l)	It is said that everyone who wants to rise in the royal court throws away their pride, overcomes their anger, endures harm, and yields everything they own to the king.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς πᾶς ὁ προσανέχων τῇ βασιλικῇ πύλῃ καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν ἀπορρίψας, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δυναμώσας καὶ τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένων καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπείκων οἰκειοῦται τάχιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
12 I,158,2–9 (l)	When I approach him and give careful attention to the tendency of his character and mind, I will follow it. I will encourage him more in his actions when he wants to attempt something advantageous, and I will prepare so that he can rejoice about many accomplished goals. When he undertakes something harmful, I will reveal to him the damage of such an action and the profit of abandoning it. And I will do it in a well-arranged and flattering manner. And I think that in this way the lion will judge me favorably and prefer me to others.	ὅτε προσεγγίσω αὐτῷ καὶ διαγνώσομαι τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῆς γνώμης ῥοπήν, ἕψομαι ταύτῃ· καὶ βουλόμενον μέν τινι ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῶν λυσιτελῶν διεγείρω μᾶλλον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρασκευάσω τοῦτον πλεῖον τῷ τελεσιουργήματι ἐπιτέρπεσθαι. μεταχειριζομένῳ δέ τι τῶν ἀσυμφόρων ἀποκαλύψω αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔργου βλάβην καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ καταλείψει αὐτοῦ λυσιτελές. καὶ τοῦτο εὐμεθόδως καὶ κολακευτικῶς ἐργάσομαι. καὶ οἶμαι, ὡς τοιουτοτρόπως με ὁ λέων διαγνώσεται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προκρινεῖ.
13 I,158,9–12 (i) (w)	A clever man is able to make the truth void and to commend the lie like the artist is able to counterfeit the truth by portraying on a flat surface someone leaving and approaching.	ὁ γὰρ συνετὸς ἀνὴρ δύναται τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκυρῶσαι καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος συστῆσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄριστος γραφεὺς παραχαράττειν ἰσχύει τὴν ἀλήθειαν σχηματίζων ἐξελεύσεις τινῶν καὶ εἰσελεύσεις ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ.
14 I,158,13–16 (n)	It is said that a wise man never boldly faces these three things, from which one is not easily saved: I mean nearness to kings, to attempt something through poison, and to trust women to keep secrets.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐχέφρων τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν κατατολμᾷ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως ἐξ αὐτῶν σῴζεται· λέγω δὴ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐγγύτητος καὶ τῆς τοῦ δηλητηρίου διὰ πεῖραν μεταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ ταῖς γυναιξὶ πιστεύειν μυστήρια.
15 I,158,16– 159,2 (i)	The king has been compared to a mountain that is steep and very hard to climb with many fruits, long grass, and full of beasts and lions, difficult to ascend and continuously dangerous.	παρείκασται γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄρει κρημνώδει καὶ δυσβάτῳ λίαν παντοίαις ὀπώραις καὶ πόαις κομῶντι καὶ θηρίων καὶ λεόντων πλήρει, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ ἀνέλευσις δυσχερὴς καὶ ἡ διαμονὴ ἐπισφαλής.
16 I,159,2–4 (w)	One who never faces dangers does not achieve his desires and one who is afraid of every deed remains completely without their share.	ὁ μὴ κινδύνων κατατολμῶν οὐ τυγχάνει τῶν ἐφετῶν, καὶ ὁ πρὸς πᾶν πρᾶγμα ἐπτοημένος ἄμοιρος ἁπάντων μένει.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
17 I,159,4–6 (n)	It is said that these three things occur to none of the small souls: I mean the service of kings, trade at sea, and quickly attacking the enemy.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς τὰ τρία ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ὑπεισέρχεται τῶν μικροψύχων· λέγω δὴ τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑπουργίας καὶ τὴν διὰ θαλάττης ἐμπορίαν καὶ τὴν ταχεῖαν πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν συμπλοκήν.
18 I,159,6–9 (i) (n)	Two places set apart the great-minded man: royal courts and a lifestyle in solitude for ascetic practices, like the elephant is either solitary or lives in the royal places.	δύο γὰρ τόποι ἀφωρίσθησαν τῷ μεγαλόφρονι ἀνδρί, αἵ τε βασίλειαι αὐλαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐν ἐρήμοις παρὰ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς διατριβαί, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἥ τε ἔρημος καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διαγωγή.
19 I,159,13–16 (i) (w)	There is need of inferior and miserable men for certain sorts of deeds and that those under good fortune are often useful for great deeds. We also use the piece of wood that was thrown on the ground to scratch the ear.	τινα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδέονται τῆς τῶν χθαμαλῶν καὶ δειλῶν ἀνδρῶν μεταλήψεως, καὶ ὡς οἱ τῆς κάτω τύχης πολλάκις ἐν μεγίστοις πράγμασι λυσιτελοῦσι. τῷ γὰρ ἐρριμμένῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ξύλῳ ἐνίοτε χρώμεθα πρὸς ὠτὸς κνησμονήν.
20 I,160,1–3 (i) (w)	The blameless and eloquent man is often not known by society until (his) speech (is heard) like a hidden spark bursts forth in light when air works on the flame.	ὁ εὐσυνείδητος καὶ λόγιος ἀνὴρ ἀγνοεῖται πολλάκις μέχρι τῆς ὁμιλίας, καθάπερ τὸ ὑποκρυπτόμενον πῦρ, ὁπόταν εἰς φῶς ἐξέρχηται, ἀέριον τὴν φλόγα ἐργάζεται.
21 I,160,4–8 (i) (w)	The flock of the king must bring him all that is due. Then he grants each the proper honor. Like the different seeds lain on the earth do not show what they are if they are not sprouting in the earth, so everyone shows from their own words what sort of person he is.	δεῖ τὴν ποίμνην τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναφέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἅπαντα τὰ δέοντα. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ ἀπονέμει τὴν τιμήν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ διάφορα σπέρματα ὑπὸ γῆν κείμενα οὐκ ἐμφαίνεται, οἷά ἐστιν, εἰ μή γε τῆς γῆς ἀναβλαστήσει, οὕτω καὶ ἕκαστος ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λόγων, ὁποῖός ἐστι, δείκνυται.
22 I,160,8–9 (i)	It must be that the king places neither the headdress on the feet nor the one for the feet on the head.	δεῖ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μήτε τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς κόσμον προσάπτειν τοῖς ποσί, μήτε τὸν τῶν ποδῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ.
23 I,160,9–11 (i)	And he who combines the hyacinth and the valuable pearls with lead dishonors himself more than the pearls.	καὶ ὁ τὸν ὑάκινθόν τε καὶ τοὺς τιμίους μαργαρίτας μολύβδῳ συμπλέκων ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἠτίμωσεν ἢ τοὺς μαργαρίτας.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
24 I,160,11– 161,1 (l)	It must be that the ruler judges those beneath him and the general the soldiers, the high priest the intellectual and diligent men. Rulers do not adjust their endeavors according to the mob, but the best choice [of men], because it is more beneficial to have a few hyacinths than many other big bodies (stones?).	δεῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα διακρίνειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὸν δὲ ἀρχιερέα τοὺς λογικοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ σπουδαίους. οὐ γὰρ τῷ πλήθει κατορθοῦσιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὰ ἐπιχειρούμενα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀρίστῃ ἐπιλογῇ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀλίγοι ὑάκινθοι πολλῶν ἑτέρων σωμάτων εὐμεγέθων ὀνησιμώτεροι.
25 I,161,1–10 (i) (q) (w)	And the kings need to not disregard one of the lowly ones beneath them, ***since the small is not small when it leads to something great***. It must be that the one who rules does not bring to his side (only) the splendid ones among nobility but takes advantage of anyone remarkable and capable. Not only should he not be content only with those around him and trust in them but also call on the distant who have adorned themselves with intelligence and education. When one is sick, one searches not for something closer to one's own body, but, since it is effective against the sickness, medicine from far away. And mice frequent the royal chambers, but one does not prefer them because of their closeness, but instead the wild falcon is summoned because of its advantages, acquired by the king, and carried on the arm.	καὶ χρὴ τὸν ἡγεμόνα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τινος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν εὐτελῶν. **τὸ γὰρ μικρὸν οὐ μικρόν, ὅταν ἐκφέρῃ μέγα**. (Greg. Naz., CM, PG 37,910A) δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν μὴ τοὺς κατὰ γένος περιφανεῖς προσάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀξιολόγους καὶ λυσιτελεῖν δυναμένους· μήτε μὴν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν μόνοις ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ τούτοις προσανέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρωθεν τοὺς συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ κεκοσμημένους προσκαλεῖσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγγύτερόν τινι παρὰ τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα· ἀλλ' ὅτε νόσος τούτῳ συμβῇ, τὰ πορρωτέρω φάρμακα ὁ νοσῶν ἐπιζητεῖ. καὶ οἱ μῦες πολλάκις βασιλικοῖς οἰκήμασι παρεδρεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ προτιμητέοι τῆς ἐγγύτητος, καὶ ὁ ἱέραξ ἄγριος ὢν διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λυσιτέλειαν μετακαλεῖται καὶ προσλαμβάνεται παρὰ βασιλέων καὶ ἐπὶ βραχίονος φέρεται.
26 I,161,11–13 (w)	It must not be that the ruler neglects such eager men, even if they are from low birth, but he must pay everyone according to their worth, even if all disagree.	οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν παρορᾶν τοὺς σπουδαίους ἄνδρας, κἂν ὦσι τῆς κάτω τύχης, ἀλλ' ἑκάστῳ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμειν, κἂν ἅπαντες ἀπαρέσκωνται.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
27 I,162,5–6 (w)	Do not be afraid, o king, of boastful sounds. They are often empty.	μὴ φοβοῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς ὑπερόγκους φωνάς. κεναὶ γὰρ πολλάκις εἰσί.
28 I,163,4–6 (l)	It must not be that the one in power trusts someone who has been neglected for a long time without being to blame, a greedy and insatiable man, one who was not properly helped by him in a time of misfortune or in those deprived of wealth and honor.	οὐ δεῖ γὰρ πιστεύειν τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν τῷ ἐπὶ πολὺν καιρὸν ἀναιτίως παρεωραμένῳ ἢ τῷ πλεονέκτῃ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ τῷ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως οἰκείως παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεργηθέντι ἢ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἀφαιρεθέντι καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις.
29 I,163,15– 164,1 (i)	The strong wind does not harm the powerless leaves; the highest trees he breaks into pieces and pulls out the roots.	ὁ γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἄνεμος τὰ μὲν ἀδρανῆ τῶν φυτῶν οὐ καταβλάπτει, τὰ δὲ ὑψιπέτηλα δένδρα κατακλᾷ καὶ πρόρριζα ἐκτίλλει.
30 I,165,5–9 (n)	It must be that a sensible person undertakes and considers these three things: First to endure the good and the hostile and to escape from the cause of the bad and seek the cause of the good. And then when good or bad events occur, to run towards the good and to escape from the bad. And after this, to see the future and to do likewise.	δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νουνεχῆ τὰ τρία ταῦτα μεταχειρίζεσθαι καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι· πρότερον μὲν ἃ πέπονθεν ἀγαθά τε καὶ ἐναντία, καὶ τὰ μὲν αἴτια τῶν κακῶν ἀποφεύγειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διώκειν. εἶτα καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα καλὰ ἢ φαῦλα καὶ σπεύδειν κατέχειν μὲν τὰ καλά, ἀποφεύγειν δὲ τὰ φαῦλα. καὶ σκοπεῖν μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέλλον καὶ ὡσαύτως ποιεῖν.
31 I,165,14– 166,3 (n)	Through six things a king becomes despised and overthrown: By not using the right moment in an agreeable way, by being harsh against someone when he needs to be lenient but flattering when he needs to be harsh, by not having plenty of competent and intelligent close subordinates and councilors and being rebelled against by those beneath him, by succumbing to irrational desires, by yielding into anger for them (the desires), and due to the changes of time.	δι' ἓξ γὰρ πράγματα ὁ βασιλεὺς περιφρονεῖται καὶ καθαιρεῖται· τὸ μὴ χρᾶσθαι τοῖς προσφόροις τῷ καιρῷ, ἀλλ' ἔνθα δεῖ αὐστηρίας τινὸς μαλακίζεσθαι, καὶ ἔνθα δεῖ κολακείας τινὸς θρασύνεσθαι· καὶ τὸ μὴ ἱκανῶν καὶ συνετῶν εὐπορεῖν ὑπηκόων οἰκείων καὶ συμβούλων· καὶ τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν· καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι ταῖς ἀλόγοις ὀρέξεσι· καὶ τὸ ὑπείκειν τῷ θυμῷ· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολαῖς.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
32 I,168,10–11 (q)	And he thought that he should not suffer an inglorious death, but should **live well or die well**.	καὶ δεῖν ἔγνω μὴ ἄδοξον θάνατον ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλ' **ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι**. (Sophocles, Ajax 479)
33 I,171,11–172,1 (w)	When the one speaking perceives that the things told by him appear ill–pleasing to the listener, he dares not say them – even if he does it out of affection – except if he has reason to trust the listener's understanding that the told kind advice is good advice.	τὰ λεχθησόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ δυσάρεστα τῷ ἀκούοντι φανήσονται, οὐ τοῦ λέγειν κατατολμᾷ – εἴ γε καὶ δι' εὔνοιαν τοῦτο πράττει – εἰ μή γε πολλάκις θαρρήσας ὁ ἀκούων τῇ συνέσει τοῦ λέγοντος παραίνεσιν εὐνοϊκὴν εἶναι τὰ ὑποτιθέμενα δόξει.
34 I,172,7–9 (l)	It is not right that a subject conceals (something) from his king out of love, nor that the sick are not told about their sickness by the doctor, nor that the poor do not hasten to hide their poverty.	οὐ δεῖ γὰρ οὕτως τὸν ὑπήκοον τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας εὔνοιαν συγκαλύπτειν, οὔτε τὸν νοσοῦντα τὰ τῆς νόσου μὴ ἀνακοινοῦσθαι τῷ ἰατρῷ, οὔτε τὸν πένητα σπεύδειν λαθεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πενίαν.
35 I,172,15–173,3 (w)	And it must be that kings, when they perceive someone desiring their rule, cast them down in advance and make them disappear before their desire overgrows. If this happens the attack can sometimes be deflected.	καὶ δεῖ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὅτε τινὸς ἐπαίσθωνται τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένου, προκαταβάλλειν τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανίζειν πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ μέγα τὰ τῆς ἐφέσεως ἀρθῇ. τούτου γὰρ γενομένου ἀνέγκλιτα ἴσως γενήσεται τὰ συμπτώματα.
36 I,173,3–6 (l)	Competent people take care in every way not to fall into any hostile, hopeless misfortune. The weaker and inferior probably fall into some (misfortune), however, they create their own rescue. The ones failing completely in every way do not rise up.	οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱκανώτατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων παντὶ τρόπῳ σπεύδουσι μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν ἐναντίῳ τινὶ ἢ ἀπευκταίῳ συμβάματι. οἱ δὲ ἥττονες αὐτῶν καὶ καταδεέστεροι περιπίπτουσι μὲν ἴσως ποτέ τισι, μηχανῶνται δ' ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνάρρυσιν. οἱ δὲ πάντῃ ἀφελεῖς περιπεσόντες οὐκ ἀναφέρουσι.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
37 I,174,11– 175,3 (i) (l) (w)	The ungrateful man makes use of affection until he seizes a superior rank because of it, of which he is not worthy. And he prepares to seize with treachery and cunning what is even greater. And he serves the rulers for no other reason than to fulfill some of his desires and he pretends to be diligent until he gains the things he was hoping for. After this has happened, he returns to his evil nature like the tail of the dog is suspicious and misleading; whenever it is bound by a thread and stretched out, it seems straight, but, being released from the bond, it becomes crooked again.	ὁ γὰρ ἀσυνείδητος ἀνὴρ εὐνοίᾳ κέχρηται τὸ πρότερον ἄχρις ὅτου καταλήψεται βαθμόν, οὗ μή ἐστιν ἄξιος. καὶ τοῦτον καταλαβὼν μηχανᾶται σὺν δόλῳ καὶ πανουργίᾳ ἔτι περαιτέρω. δι' οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἐξυπηρετεῖ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἢ τὸ τυχεῖν τινος τῶν ἐφετῶν καὶ ὑποκρίνεται τὸ σπουδαῖος εἶναι μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐλπιζομένων καταλήψεως. ταύτης δὲ τυχὼν πρὸς τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπανακάμπτει φύσιν· ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κυνὸς οὐρὰ λοξὴ οὖσα καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἐπειδὰν μίτῳ δεσμηθῇ καὶ ἐκτανθῇ, ἰθυτενὴς φαίνεται, ἀπολυθεῖσα δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ, αὖθις καμπύλη γίνεται.
38 I,75,3–6 (i)	One who does not favorably receive a burdensome speech from their allies resembles a sick person turning away from the use of a bitter and advantageous medicine and disobeying the doctor.	ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος παρὰ τῶν εὐνοϊκῶς ὁμιλούντων καὶ τοὺς ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους ἔοικε τῷ νοσοῦντι καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν πικρῶν φαρμάκων καὶ λυσιτελῶν ἀποτρεπομένῳ καὶ τοῦ ἰατροῦ παρακούοντι.
39 I,175,6–11 (l)	Be someone who knows this, that the better one among subjects and friends is the one holding affection, that the better one among works is the one with a good result, among praises the one praise spoken by good men, among rulers the one not devoted to conceit and arrogance, among the rich the one not distracted by many hardships, among friends the one not striving against.	καὶ ἔσο πρὸς τούτοις εἰδώς, ὡς κρείττων ἐν ὑπηκόοις καὶ φίλοις ὁ κατέχων τὴν εὔνοιαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις βέλτιον τὸ ἀγαθὴν ἔχον ἀπόβασιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὁ παρὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν θρυλούμενος ἔπαινος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὁ μὴ τῇ οἰήσει καὶ τῇ ὑπερηφανίᾳ ἐκδιδούς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πλουσίοις ὁ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ μόχθου περισπώμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ὁ μὴ ἀντερίζων.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
40 I,175,11–13 (i)	It is said also this that it is better that someone lays himself on fire and snakes than that he deprives himself of sleep when someone among those around him is aiming for his life.	λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς αἱρετώτερόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὄφεων καθεύδειν τινὰ ἢ ὕπνου σπᾶν τινος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευομένου τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ.
41 I,176,2–3 (w)	It is said, that if someone is received by you as a guest, do not entrust him with your own salvation first before you understand his disposition.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς εἰ ξεναγήσει σέ τις, μὴ πρότερον τούτῳ τὴν σεαυτοῦ πιστεύσῃς σωτηρίαν πρὶν ἢ τὴν τούτου διάθεσιν διαγνῷς, μὴ ταὐτόν τι πάθῃς τῷ τοῦ φθειρός.
42 I,176,11–13 (i)	The worn-out tooth cannot be cured otherwise but by tearing it out, and one gets rid of food poisoning by vomiting.	ὁ τετριμμένος ὀδοὺς οὐκ ἄλλως ἰᾶται, εἰ μὴ ἐκβληθῇ, καὶ τῆς διαφθαρείσης τροφῆς ἡ βλάβη διὰ τοῦ ἐμέτου ἀποδιώκεται.
43 I,177,2–4 (w)	The very clever kings punish openly the one who has sinned in full view, hidden the one [who did so] unseen.	οἱ γὰρ συνετώτατοι βασιλεῖς φανερῶς μὲν τιμωροῦσι τὸν προδήλως ἁμαρτήσαντα, κρυφίως δὲ τὸν ἀδήλως.
44 I,177,4–6 (w)	When a king inflicts punishment and dishonor on someone based on an assumption and the assumption is not proven true, he will make himself even more dishonorable.	ὅτε βασιλεὺς ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐπενέγκῃ τινὶ τιμωρίαν καὶ ἀτιμίαν, καὶ μὴ ἀληθὴς δειχθῇ ἡ ὑπόληψις, ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἠτίμω σεν.
45 I,178,3–4 (w)	What good is in store for one who is not master of himself, but depends upon someone untrustworthy and fickle?	ποῖον πάρεστιν ἀγαθὸν τῷ μὴ ἑαυτοῦ κυριεύοντι, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου ἀνηρτημένῳ ἀπίστου καὶ ἀβεβαίου;
46 I,178,5–8 (i) (w)	Who is able to escape fate or who is released unharmed having associated with rulers and served them? They resemble adulterous wives, who are together with many men, and they withdraw from one while approaching another and destroy the friendship holding them together.	τίς δυνήσεται τὴν εἱμαρμένην διεκφυγεῖν ἢ τίς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι παρεδρεύων καὶ ἐξυπηρετῶν ἀβλαβὴς ἀπαλλαγῇ; ἐοίκασι γὰρ πόρναις γυναιξίν, αἵτινες πολλοῖς ἀνδράσι συζεύγνυνται καὶ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἑτέρων ἀνθ' ἑτέρων εἰσερχομένων καὶ ἀμαυρούντων τὴν μεταξὺ αὐτῶν συστᾶσαν φιλίαν.
47 I,179,2–3 (w)	It is customary that contact with the wretched creates hostile assumptions against the good.	ἡ γὰρ τῶν μοχθηρῶν ὁμιλία ἐναντίας ἀπογεννᾶν εἴωθεν ὑπολήψεις περὶ τοὺς ἀγαθούς.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
48 I,179,8–11 (i)	But the greedy mind wove such an attack for me similar to what is suffered by foolish bees: They are all making it pleasant for themselves to sit on the flower of the water lilies, and they will not distance themselves before they are caught in them when the leaves close.	ἀλλ' ἡ πλεονεκτικὴ γνώμη τοιούτῳ με συμπτώματι περιέπλεξε παρόμοιόν τι παθόντα ταῖς ἄφροσι μελίσσαις, αἵτινες ἀσπαστὸν ποιούμεναι τὸ καθῆσθαι τοῖς τῆς νυμφαίας ἄνθεσιν οὐ πρότερον ἀφίστανται, πρὶν ἢ συμμιγέντων ἐπὶ ταύταις τῶν φύλλων ἀποπνιγῶσιν.
49 I,179,11–180,1 (i) (w)	One who is not satisfied with the few things in life but reaches with his gaze for things in the distance and thinks not of the things close by and behind him, will suffer the same as the flies: They are all not satisfied by the trees and flowers, but sometimes they fly around the dirt of the ear of the elephant and, being struck because of this, they often lose their lives.	ὁ γὰρ μή τε τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀλλ' ἐκτείνων τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πόρρωθεν καὶ μὴ διαλογιζόμενος τὰ ἔμπροσθέν τε καὶ ὄπισθεν πείσεται τὸ τῶν μυιῶν, αἵτινες οὐκ ἀρκοῦνται τοῖς δένδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε περιπέτονται τῷ ῥύπῳ τῶν ὤτων τοῦ ἐλέφαντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις θνήσκουσι πληγεῖσαι.
50 I,180,4–5 (w)	And often a group, even if it is powerless in itself, destroys the innocent and pious.	καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον σύστημα πολλάκις, κἂν ἀδύνατον ᾖ, ἀναιρεῖ τὸν ἀθῷον καὶ ὅσιον.
51 I,182,5–7 (l)	One soul is forsaken over a whole house and a whole house over a city and a city over a region and a region over a king.	μία ψυχὴ ὑπὲρ ὅλου οἴκου προδίδοται, καὶ οἶκος ὅλος ὑπὲρ πόλεως, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ κλίματος, καὶ κλίμα ὑπὲρ βασιλέως.
52 I,183,12 (q)	**Constant dripping wears away the stone.**[10]	**ῥανὶς γὰρ ἐνδελεχοῦσα κοιλαίνει πέτραν.**
53 I,183,13–15 (l)	Such a reward is not reserved for one who gives a lot or one who prays gladly or for a hermit as for one who saves themselves for one moment of time.	οὔτε γὰρ τοσοῦτος μισθὸς ἀποταμιεύεται τῷ πολλὰ εὐχομένῳ ἢ τῷ ἱλαρῷ δότῃ ἢ τῷ ἀσκητῇ, ὅσος τῷ ἑαυτὸν θανάτου ῥυομένῳ πρὸς μίαν καιροῦ ῥοπήν.
54 I,183,16–17 (w)	It must not be that one becomes involved with some dangerous thing by oneself. The intelligent man tries all other methods before war.	οὐ δεῖ τινα κινδυνώδει πράγματι δι' ἑαυτοῦ προσπλακῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐχέφρων ἀνὴρ μετὰ πᾶσαν ἄλλην μέθοδον ὕστερον τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖ.

[10] For the use of the ancient proverb, see Noble 2022, 470–471.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
55 I,183,17– 184,1 (w)	It must not be that one looks down upon the enemy if he is weak and especially if he is strengthened with intelligence.	οὐ δεῖ δὲ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ εἰ ἀδύνατός ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ συνέσει κατωχύρωται.
56 I,185,3–4 (i)	It is better to live in a hole full of snakes than with a king.	κρεῖττόν ἐστιν εἰλεῷ ὄφεως παροικεῖν ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ διανέστη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ λέοντος παράταξιν.
57 I,185,8–11 (l)	A very wise councilor of a king does not allow him to become the cause of a war if he is able to heal suffering through peace and, if the enemies are more powerful, he weakens them through devices.	ὁ συνετώτατος βασιλέως πρωτοσύμβουλος οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῦτον πολέμου προκατάρξασθαι, ἔνθεν δι' εἰρήνης τὸ πάθος ἰαθῆναι δύναται, καὶ εἰ δυνατώτεροι οἱ ἐχθροὶ εἶεν, διὰ μεθοδείας ἡττῆσαι τούτους.
58 I,185,11 (w)	Intelligence **conquers many hands.**	ἡ γὰρ φρόνησις **τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ**. (Polybius *Hist*. 1,35)
59 I,185,11–19 (i) (l) (w)	I know nothing else hurts rulers more deeply than to hear and receive the words from those who are like you. Speech is adorned with cleverness, rhetoric with righteousness, distribution of benefits with cheerfulness, appearance with a beautiful soul, wealth with distribution to the ones in need, keeping (one's) word adorns a promise, and health and joy adorn life. You know about these things that through knowledge the wise are well balanced, but drunken the unwise, like the eyes of the bats suffer from the light of day.	ἔγωγε οὖν ἀεὶ ὁρῶν σου τὴν οἴησιν καὶ τὴν πλεονεκτικὴν γνώμην ἔγνων, ὡς τοιούτων ἔργων κατατολμήσεις. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον καταβλάπτει τοὺς ἐξουσιαστὰς ὡς τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ δέχεσθαι λόγους παρὰ τῶν, οἷος εἶ σύ. κοσμεῖ γὰρ λόγον μὲν σύνεσις, ῥητορείαν δὲ δικαιοσύνη, μετάδοσιν δὲ ἱλαρότης, εἶδος δὲ ψυχῆς ὡραιότης, πλοῦτον δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους μετάδοσις καὶ ὑπόσχεσιν ἡ ἀφοσίωσις καὶ ζωὴν ἡ ὑγεία καὶ εὐφροσύνη. ἴσθι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς διὰ τῆς γνώσεως νήφει μὲν ὁ συνετός, μεθύσκεται δὲ ὁ ἀσύνετος, καθάπερ πάσχει τὰ τῶν νυκτερίδων ὄμματα πρὸς τὸ φέγγος τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν.
60 I,185,19– 186,2 (i)	A king with plenty such obedient people around him resembles a completely clean and clear water full of crocodiles, no one would be near it, even if one was consumed by thirst.	ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιούτων περὶ αὐτὸν εὐπορῶν ὑπηκόων ἔοικεν ὕδατι πάνυ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ διειδεῖ κροκοδείλων πλήρει, ᾧ τις οὐ πλησιάσει, κἂν δίψει καταφλέγηται.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
61 I,186,3–6 (i)	A kingdom is composed of those around it, like the sea through its waves. Because of these (the waves) it (the sea) becomes frightful to sailors. A fool in every way is someone who is friendly in a superficial attempt, who does not observe how to improve friendship, and who gains advantage for themself through the damage of others.	ἡ βασιλεία διὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν συνίσταται, ὡς ἡ θάλασσα διὰ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κυμάτων. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ καὶ φοβερὰ τοῖς πλέουσι καθίσταται. ἀνόητον δὲ πάντῃ τὸ ἐπιχείρημα ἐπιπόλαιον φιλεῖν καὶ τὸ τὰ εἰκότα τῇ φιλίᾳ μὴ τηρεῖν καὶ τὸ δι' ἑτέρων βλάβης οἰκεῖαν ἐπισπᾶσθαι ὠφέλειαν.
62 I,186,7–8 (q)	One of the wise said***: Do not reprove the dumb, so they won't hate you. Reprove the wise and they will love you***.	φησὶ γάρ τις τῶν σοφῶν· **μὴ ἔλεγχε μωρούς, ἵνα μὴ μισήσωσί σε.** (Proverbs 9:8) ἔλεγχε σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε.
63 I, 188,10-12 (w)	Well said he who said: flee evil men, even if they are relatives and next of kin.	καλῶς γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ εἰπών· φευκτέον τοὺς πονηροὺς ἄνδρας, κἂν συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀγχιστεῖς ὦσι.
64 I,189,9–12 (i) (w)	But the bad is nothing but bad. And the bitter fruit, even if you smear it often with honey, does not turn its own nature into sweetness. One must keep the company of good men and flee the evil.	ἀλλ' ὁ κακὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν κακός. καὶ γὰρ ὁ πικρὸς καρπός, κἂν πολλάκις ἐπιχρισθῇ μέλιτι, οὐ μετατρέπει τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν πρὸς τὴν γλυκύτητα. ἀνθεκτέον οὖν τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ξυναυλίας καὶ φευκτέον τοὺς πονηρούς.
65 I,189,12–15 (i)	As the wind takes up the stench of something that stinks and the sweet smell of something fragrant, whichever way it happens to blow over, so does the contact of wicked and diligent men when having contact with them.	ὥσπερ γὰρ μεταλαμβάνει ὁ πνέων ἀπὸ τῆς δυσωδίας τῶν δυσωδῶν καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας τῶν εὐωδῶν, ἐφ' ᾧτινι ἂν τύχῃ τούτων πεπνευκώς, οὕτω μεταδίδωσιν ἡ τῶν φαύλων καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν ὁμιλία τῷ προσομιλοῦντι.
66 I,189,16– 190,2 (l)	The sensible are always burdensome for fools, the wise for the uneducated, the generous for the stingy, the patient for the rash, and the straight for the twisted.	ἀεὶ γὰρ φορτικοί εἰσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἀνδράσιν οἱ συνετοί, τοῖς δ' ἀπαιδεύτοις οἱ σοφοί, τοῖς δὲ φειδωλοῖς οἱ εὐμετάδοτοι καὶ τοῖς προπετέσιν οἱ ἀνεξίκακοι καὶ τοῖς στρεβλοῖς οἱ εὐθεῖς.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
67 I,190,6–8 (i)	Do you not know that when you have been bitten in the finger by a viper, you cut it off and you refuse your own limb for being deadly, so that the poison is not spread by it in the whole body?	οὐκ οἶδας, ὡς ὅτε δηχθῇ τις παρ' ἐχίδνης τὸν δάκτυλον, ἐκτέμνει τοῦτον καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀθετεῖ μέλος ὡς ὀλέθριον, ἵνα μὴ δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἰὸς ἐπὶ τὸ σύμπαν σῶμα ἀναδοθῇ;
	II Trial of Ichnelates	
68 II,191,10–11 (w)	Regret and thinking will not cause anything else but wasting away the body and darkness of mind.	ὁ μετάμελος καὶ ἡ φροντὶς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐργάζονται ἀλλ' ἢ σώματος τηκεδόνα καὶ νοὸς ζόφον.
69 II,191,11–12 (q)	**But speak; do not conceal your mind so we both may see**.	**ἀλλ' ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόῳ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν ἄμφω.** (Homer Il. I, 363)
70 II,191,14–15 (w)	It is said that hearts exchange with each other.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἀνταμείβουσιν ἀλλήλαις αἱ καρδίαι.
71 II,192,5–6 (w)	For the true notion is confirmed through a message coming from outside.	ἡ γὰρ ἀληθὴς ὑπόληψις βεβαιοῦται καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐρχομένων ἀγγελιῶν.
72 II,192,9–10 (w)	It must be that one guards the secrets of friends [...] One who does not do so destroys their trustworthiness.	δεῖ τὰ μυστήρια τῶν φιλῶν τηρεῖν [...] ὁ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶν διαφθείρει τὴν ἰδίαν πιστότητα.
73 II,192,11–13 (w)	Here the aim is to uncover the truth and avenge harm; it must not be that the sin is concealed. The just king punishes neither suspicion nor still dubious assumptions.	ἔνθα δὲ σκοπὸς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστὶν ἡ φανέρωσις καὶ τοῦ ἠδικημένου ἐκδίκησις, οὐ δεῖ συγκαλύπτειν τὸ ἁμάρτημα. ὁ γὰρ δίκαιος βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπολήψει τιμωρεῖ, οὐδ' ἔτι ἀμφιβαλλομένης τῆς ὑποθέσεως.
74 II,193,5–7 (w)	Everyone who is striving for the good has to be ready to welcome misfortune rather than rewards.	πᾶς ὁ σπεύδων πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἕτοιμός ἐστι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν συμφορῶν ἢ τῶν εὐποιϊῶν.
75 II,193,7–8 (w)	This is why, I believe, hermits say that they renounce the company of people and strive for desolate places.	ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἀσκητὰς χαίρειν εἰπόντας τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστροφῇ τὰς ἐρήμους καταδιώκειν.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
76 II,193,11–13 (i)	The domestic fire reveals wood and wooden matters and proven and thoroughly investigated accusations are uncovered similar to how foul wood is stirred up.	τὸ γὰρ οἰκουρὸν πῦρ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ μεθόδῳ τινὶ φανεροῦται καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐξεταζόμενα καὶ ἐρευνώμενα μᾶλλον ἀποκαλύπτεται παραπλησίως τῇ δυσώδει ὕλῃ ταραττομένῃ.
77 II,193,15– 194,1 (l)	I think it worthy that the royal majesty accurately tries things against me through a very just arbitrator who does not debase the truth, nor prefers a side, nor closes his ears against those who envy me, as there are many such people for me, since the king is well intentioned towards me.	ἀξιῶ τοίνυν τὴν βασιλικὴν μεγαλειότητα ἐξετάσαι ἀκριβῶς τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ διά τινος δικαιοτάτου διαιτητοῦ, μὴ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραχαράττοντος μήτε μὴν πρόσωπα λαμβάνοντος μήτε πρὸς τοὺς φθονοῦντάς μοι τὰ ὦτα κλίνοντος, ἐπεὶ πολλοί μοι πάρεισιν οὗτοι, δι' ἣν εἶχε πρός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὴν διάθεσιν.
78 II,194,1–5 (q) (w)	If this is not done, I have nothing to which I will flee for protection but the mercy of God ***trying hearts and livers***. For this I am not scared of death, since I know that it (death) is determined and unmoved by prayers and all life is mortal. And ***if I had countless souls***, not one of them would refrain from desiring to please you.	εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐκ ἔχω τινά, πρὸς ὃν καταφεύξομαι ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν **τοῦ καρδίας καὶ νέφρους ἐξετάζοντος.** (Psalter 7:9–10) πρὸς τούτοις οὐ πτοοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον. οἶδα γὰρ τοῦτον ὡρισμένον καὶ ἀπαραίτητον καὶ πᾶν ζῷον θνητόν. καὶ **εἰ μυρίας εἶχον ψυχάς**, οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἂν τούτων ἐφεισάμην πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀρέσκειαν. (John Chrys., *EP*, PG 62:713.46)
79 II,194,9–11 (w)	And what else is more worthy than the life of one's own soul? If one does not defend oneself, hardly could they be defended by someone else.	καὶ τί ἕτερον τῷ ζῴῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τιμιώτερον; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπεραπολογήσεται, σχολῇ γε ἂν ἑτέρου ὑπερασπίσηται.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
80 II,194,17–20 (q) (w)	Do you not know that ***the thinking of the good is easily twisted*** according to poetry? But I see, as the prophet said, ***all are bent out of line and at the same time have become worthless***. And there is no one who is welcoming the truth because the king's extraordinary goodness neither scares nor punishes anyone.	οὐχ οἶσθα, ὡς **στρεπταὶ αἱ τῶν ἐσθλῶν φρένες εἰσὶ** κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν; (Il 15.203) ἀλλ' ὁρῶ, ὡς πάντες κατὰ τὸν προφήτην **ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν** (Psalms 13:3, 52:4). καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσπαζόμενος τοῦ βασιλέως δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀγαθότητος μήτε ἐκδειματοῦντός τινας μήτε ἐπιτάττοντος.
81 II,195,4–7 (l)	Such is one who depreciates secrets, a man employing female manners and a woman sufficient with manly things, and a guest who says that he himself is the master of the house, and he who defends himself in front of the king about things he is not asked.	τοιοῦτόν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τὰ μυστήρια ἐκφαυλίζων καὶ ὁ γυναικείοις τρόποις ἀνὴρ χρώμενος καὶ ἡ ἀνδρείοις ἀποχρωμένη γυνή, καὶ ὁ λέγων ξένος ἑαυτὸν κύριον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ὁ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπολογούμενος, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἐρωτᾶται.
82 II,195,8–9 (w)	One who makes terror is not at peace in comparison to one who does not avoid inevitable evil.	ὁ δεινὰ ἐργαζόμενος οὐκ εὐνοεῖ πρός τινα οὐδ' ἀποτρέπει μελλούσας κακίας.
83 II,195,11–12 (w)	Such are they who form lies and keep away from justice and are disconnected in words and deeds.	τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὰ ψευδῆ διαπλαττόμενοι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκκλίνοντες καὶ μήτε τοῖς λόγοις μήτε τοῖς ἔργοις στέργοντες.
84 II,196,3–5 (i)	I suffered like the ones being sick, who, despite knowing that they are damaged by certain food, do not abstain from it.	πέπονθα γάρ τι ταὐτὸν τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, οἵτινες εἰδότες, ὡς βλάπτονται παρά τινος τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, οὐκ ἀπέχονται τούτων.
85 II,196,8–10 (w)	I advise you to confess your sins. It will be better for you to be punished here temporarily than there for eternity.	κἀγὼ ταῦτα διελογισάμην, ἀλλὰ συναινῶ σοι καθομολογῆσαί σου τὸ ἁμάρτημα. κρεῖττον γάρ σοι κολασθῆναι ἐνταῦθα προσκαίρως ἢ ἐκεῖσε αἰώνια.
86 II,196,19–20 (w)	For removing a wretched man is to constrain evil and such is seen as beneficial for the state.	πονηροῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀναιρουμένου συστολὴ κακοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ὁρᾷ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
87 II,197,13–17 (w)	It is said that one who has a left eye of very small size and unmoving, the brows separate from each other, and walks with his head bent, he is a swindler and very wretched.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ὁ ἔχων τὸν ἀριστερὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῷ μεγέθει βραχύτατον καὶ ἀκινητότατον καὶ τὰς ὀφρύας ἀλλήλων διεστηκυίας καὶ ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνων συκοφάντης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ πονηρότατος.
88 II,197,16–198,3 (q) (w)	We are all under the sky and none of us transcends it and these things that he said are seemingly clever. If, as he spoke, ***the powers of the souls follow the combinations of the body***, why must it be that they who break the law must be punished with force or that a price is bestowed upon them who conduct themselves correctly? It seems to me, o foolish one, that ***you do not see the beam in your eye, but you judge the splinter in the eye of your neighbor.***	πάντες ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ὑπεραναβαίνει τοῦτον, καὶ οὗτος ὁ ταῦτα λέγων δοκησισώφρων ἐστίν. εἰ οὖν, ὥς φησιν, **αἱ ψυχικαὶ δυνάμεις ἕπονται ταῖς τοῦ σώματος κράσεσι**, (Galen *QAM* 4,767,11) τί δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς βίᾳ παρανομοῦντας ἢ βραβεῖα χορηγεῖν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πολιτευομένοις; ἔοικάς μοι, ὦ ἄφρον, **τὴν ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου δοκὸν μὴ ὁρᾶν, τὸ δὲ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ πλησίον διακρίνειν**. (Matthew 7:3)
89 II,198,17–18 (w)	He spoke well who said that in times of trial terror flows together from everywhere.	κάλλιστα οὖν ἔφη ὁ εἰπών, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ συρρέει πανταχόθεν τὰ δεινά.
90 II,199,6	The inferior always oppose the diligent.	ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ φαῦλοι τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀντικαθίστανται.
91 II,199,7–8 (w)	It must be that rulers speak the truth openly and expose and punish uneducated men.	δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ ἐλέγχειν καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις ἀνδράσιν.
92 II,199,10–11 (w)	It must be that every sensible one chooses eternal things over the temporary.	δεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ ἐλέγχειν καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις ἀνδράσιν.
93 II,199,13 (w)	If one who lies about another is thought senseless, how much more (one who is lying) about himself?	εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἑτέρου καταψευδόμενος ἀσύνετος λογίζεται, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ ἑαυτοῦ;

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
94 II,200,15–17 (w)	If you free this very unholy one of his charges, you should know that every one of your subjects who wants to will fearlessly plot intrigues and, successfully fulfilling his own (desires), will not value justice in the things that he does.	εἰ τὸν ἀσεβέστατον τοῦτον τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀπολύσεις, ἴσθι, ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ὑπὸ σέ, ὃ βούλεται, ἀνυποστόλως διαπράξεται πληροφορούμενος τοῦ μὴ τίσειν δίκας, ὧν ἔπραξεν.
95 II,200,19–20 (w)	On such things is to be considered and thought about that any man who stitches together a deceit against someone else **falls into the pit he made.**	*σκοπητέον τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ διαγνωστέον, ὡς πᾶς τις ἀνὴρ δόλον καθ' ἑτέρου συρράπτων* **ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς βόθρον, ὃν εἰργάσατο.**(Proverbs 26:27)
	III Ringdove	
96 III,201,3–4 (q)	**There is nothing in existence that is a substitute for a faithful friend.**	**φίλου πιστοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάλλαγμα τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν** (Sirach 6:15), (Gregory of Nazianz Orations II)
97 III,202,14 (w)	Do you not know that the good and the bad are destined to be?	*οὐκ οἶσθα, ὡς τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ φαῦλα τῶν πραγμάτων πέπρωνται;*
98 III,203,2–7 (w)	The obscured sun is blocked by the moon, the moon concealed by the shadow of the earth, the fish from the sea is snatched out of the depths by the waves, and the winged ones brought down from the air, as it is determined for them; and through this (fate) the foolish one often achieves his desires, through this one of the wise fails to reach the aim.	*ὅ τε γὰρ ἥλιος ἐπισκοτούμενος τῇ σελήνῃ ἐκλείπει, καὶ ἡ σελήνη τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς γῆς συγκαλύπτεται, καὶ ὁ θαλάσσιος ἰχθὺς ἐκ βάθους καὶ κλύδωνος ἁρπάζεται καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἐξ ἀέρος κατάγεται, ὅτε ὁρισθῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον· καὶ δι' οὗ πολλάκις ὁ ἀσύνετος τυγχάνει τῶν ἐφετῶν, δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ὁ ἐχέφρων ἀποτυγχάνει τῶν κατὰ σκοπόν.*
99 III,203,11–13 (w)	Since God gave me the authority over them, I owe them my care, since they serve me with good judgment.	*ἐπεὶ γὰρ δέδωκέ μοι ὁ θεὸς τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ἐποφείλεται ταύταις ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ πρόνοια, ἐπεὶ καὶ εὐγνωμόνως μοι ἐξυπηρέτησαν.*

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
100 III,204,5–8 (i) (w)	It must be that the sensible strives for the possible things, not for the impossible. One who tries such things resembles one who drives a wagon on water and a ship on dry land.	δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νουνεχῆ τὰ δυνατά, οὐχὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπιζητεῖν. ὁ γὰρ τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρῶν ἔοικε τῷ καθ' ὕδατος ἐλαύνοντι ἅμαξαν, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ξηρᾶς πλοῖον.
101 III,204,8–9 (w)	Choose suitable things with reasoning.	διάκρινε τῷ συλλογισμῷ τὰ εἰκότα.
102 III,204,12–14 (i)	But the diligent's virtue resembles the fragrance of musk; even concealed it disperses and becomes fairly known.	ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ σπουδαίου ἀρετὴ τῇ τοῦ μόσχου ἔοικεν εὐωδίᾳ, ἥτις καὶ συγκαλυπτομένη διαχεῖται καὶ κατάδηλος γίνεται.
103 III,204,14–18 (i) (n) (w)	Great is natural enmity. It is twofold and it is said to be resistant. One is avoiding like the lion and the elephant and the other pursuing like the cat and the mouse. It must not be that one trusts enemies. Water, even if warmed up by fire, does not throw away its own nature; flowing over it, it quenches the fire.	μεγίστη ἐστὶν ἡ οὐσιώδης ἔχθρα. αὕτη δὲ διττή· ἡ μὲν ἀντερειστικὴ λεγομένη. ὡς ἡ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ἡ δὲ φευκτή τε καὶ διωκτή, ὡς ἡ τῆς κάττης καὶ τοῦ μυός. καὶ οὐ δεῖ πιστεύειν ἐχθροῖς. τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ κἂν τῷ πυρὶ θερμανθῇ, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποβάλλει φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβέννυσι τούτῳ ἐπιχεόμενον.
104 III,204,20–205,2 (i)	As a gold vessel is hard to break and well worked and earth ware easily breaks and is hard to fix, so is sincere friendship hard to change and the impure easily damaged and hard to repair.	ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀγγεῖον δυσσκέδαστόν ἐστι καὶ εὐκατασκεύαστον, τὸ δὲ ὀστράκινον εὔθρυπτον μέν, δυσανάκτιστον δέ, οὕτως ἡ μὲν εἰλικρινὴς φιλία ἐστὶ δυσμετάβλητος, ἡ δὲ μὴ καθαρὰ ἄστατός ἐστι καὶ δυσίατος.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
105 III,205,7–12 (i) (n)	Those leading their lives have loved each other in two ways. First, those who love spiritually: these do not welcome a friend because of something else but only because of his own soul. Second, those who love for personal gain and establish friendship with someone else for the sake of material things: they resemble the hunter who throws grain as a bait to the birds, not to honor them with gifts but to lay claim to the gathered (birds) for themselves.	οἱ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀναστρεφόμενοι κατὰ δύο τρόπους ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοῦσιν, οἱ μέν, ὅσοι ψυχικῶς φιλοῦσιν, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι τὸν φίλον ἀσπάζονται ἢ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, οἱ δὲ χρειωδῶς φιλοῦντες ἕνεκά τινος ἑτέρου τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φιλίαν συνιστῶσι, καὶ ἐοίκασιν οὗτοι τῷ θηρευτῇ, ὃς ὑπορρίπτει τὸν σῖτον δέλεαρ κάτωθεν τοῖς πτηνοῖς καὶ οὐ ταῦτα φιλοτιμούμενος ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ συμφέρον μεταποιούμενος.
106 III,205,16–18 (w)	True friendship is proof that one becomes friends with a friend's friends and enemies with his enemies.	τῆς γὰρ εἰλικρινοῦς φιλίας τεκμήριον τὸ φιλιοῦσθαι τῷ φίλῳ τοῦ φίλου καὶ ἐχθραίνεσθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ αὐτοῦ.
107 III,207,12 (w)	One who lacks it (money) is not able to seize any of the things desired.	ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀπορῶν οὐ δύναταί τι καταλήψεσθαι τῶν ἐφετῶν.
108 III,207,13–15 (q)	And I was reminded how beautiful he spoke who said that **one must be one of the rich and that without them nothing of the things necessary happens** and that it is necessary that **someone fleeing poverty should toss themselves into a monster infested sea and, Kyrnos, against rocks from great height**.	καὶ ἀνεμνήσθην, ὡς **καλῶς ἔφη ὁ εἰπών, ὅτι δεῖ χρημάτων καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων** (Demosthenes, Olynthiaca 1.20) καὶ ὡς χρὴ **πενίην φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον ῥιπτεῖν καὶ πετρῶν, Κύρνε, κατ' ἠλιβάτων**. (Theognis, Elegiae 1.174–75)
109 III,207,15–208,1 (i) (w)	And like a little water is unable to reach its own place in the sea being raised up by air and dried out by the earth, so is someone lacking riches not able to size the desired.	καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ ὀλίγον ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον ἤγουν τὴν θάλασσαν καταλαβεῖν ἀνιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῇ γῇ ξηραινόμενον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ μὴ εὐπορῶν πλούτου καταλαβεῖν ἐφετὸν οὐ δύναται.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
110 III,208,1–5 (l)	Through poverty he faces living in danger and tries them sinfully, and therefore he often destroys this life and the pleasures of the next. Those lacking the bare necessities becomes miserable, having become like that they are hated, being hated they are distressed, being distressed, they lose reason and having lost reason they do not work on things beneficial for them.	ὁ γὰρ πενίᾳ συζῶν κινδύνων κατατολμᾷ καὶ ἐφαμάρτως ἐπιχειρεῖ, δι' ὧν πολλάκις ἀπόλλει τὴν ἐνταῦθα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπόλαυσιν. ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιδεὴς ἀνεύφραντος γίνεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος μισεῖται καὶ μισούμενος λυπεῖται καὶ λυπούμενος οὐκ ἐχεφρονεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐχεφρονῶν τὰ συμφέροντα αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐργάζεται.
111 III,208,5–9 (l)	I also saw everything that is praised for the rich is found as a fault in the poor. If someone poor is brave, he is called bold and reckless, if generous, wasteful and spendthrift, if mild and gentle, powerless, if modest, foolish, if eloquent, gossipy, if taciturn, stupid.	εἶδον δὲ καὶ πάντα, ἃ παρὰ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπαινεῖται, τοῖς πένησι καταμεμφόμενα. εἰ γάρ τις πένης ἀνδρεῖός ἐστι, θρασὺς καὶ ῥιψικίνδυνος ὀνομάζεται, εἰ δὲ εὐμετάδοτος, ἀναλωτὴς καὶ εὐδάπανος, εἰ δὲ πρᾶος καὶ προσηνής, ἀδύνατος, εἰ δ' αἰδήμων, ἠλίθιος, εἰ δὲ λόγιος, φλύαρος, εἰ δὲ σιωπηλός, ἀνόητος.
112 III,208,9–11 (q)	And as it was said, **it is better to depart from life than to bring upon oneself the sun as witness of shame and especially if the request was made by someone of the miserable**.	**καὶ ἄμεινον τοῦ βίου προαπελθεῖν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον** κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα **αἰσχύνης κτήσασθαι μάρτυρα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ πρός τινας τῶν φειδωλῶν ποιεῖται τὴν αἴτησιν.** (Aphthonios *Progymnasmata* 8, 8,22)
113 III,209,2–5 (w)	The reason for all evil in life is a very greedy mind and that the one who has it easily ventures into danger by land and sea, but that the one who is free (from it) tries to take the gold that lies ready before him.	πάντων αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἡ πλεονεκτικωτάτη γνώμη, καὶ ὡς ὁ ἔχων ταύτην ῥᾷον ἂν κινδύνων κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν κατατολμήσειεν, ἥπερ καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος ἐπιχειρήσει λαβεῖν ἑτοίμου προκειμένου χρυσοῦ.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
114 III,209,5–7 (w)	I was also convinced that there is no greater good than self-sufficiency and that perseverance and patience are especially to be praised in situations where there is no passage or pathway to be found.	ἐπληροφορήθην δὲ καί, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι μεῖζον τῆς αὐταρκείας ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις μάλιστα ἡ καρτερία τε καὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ἐπαινεῖται, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι πόρον ἢ δίοδον εὑρεῖν.
115 III,209,7–10 (l)	It is said that the first virtue is mercy, that being straightforward is a specific condition of friendship, and to know from the beginning through intelligence the things that will be and not to try the impossible is being content.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς πρώτη ἀρετὴ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ ἐξαίρετον χρῆμα τῆς φιλίας τὸ ἁπλοϊκῶς φέρεσθαι καὶ ἀρχὴ φρονήσεως τὸ γνῶναι τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ τῇ εὐθυμίᾳ τὸ μὴ ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν.
116 III,209,12–13 (w)	There is no delight in life like the company of friends	οὐδεμία τέρψις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῇ τῶν φίλων συναυλίᾳ παρόμοιος.
117 III,209,13–14 (w)	It must not be that there is something wiser than living life contently.	οὐ δεῖ τὸν ἐχέφρονα πλείονα ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀρκούντων ζητεῖν.
118 III,209,14–17 (l)	These things are easily obtained for one who wants them, I say, since the blessed nature abundantly produces the necessary food and water. If we assumed that someone was reigning the whole world, one would not have use for all this except for these lowest things.	ῥᾳδία δὲ ταῦτα τῷ βουλομένῳ ὡς τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως δαψιλῶς παραγαγούσης αὐτὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φημὶ τροφὴν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ. εἰ γὰρ ὑποθώμεθά τινα τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς κυριεύσαντα, οὐκ ἂν οὗτος πάντως τούτου ἀπώνατο πλὴν τὸ ἐλάχιστον.
119 III,210,2–5 (i)	And you must know that you adorn speech with a deed; and the sick, if they do not use the things they know are of use to them, their knowledge is worthless and they cannot find alleviation of their sickness through it.	καὶ δεῖ σε εἰδέναι, ὡς κοσμεῖ τὸν λόγον ἡ πρᾶξις, καὶ ὁ ἄρρωστος εἰ μὴ χρήσεται, οἷς οἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ὠφελεῖσθαι, εἰς κενὸν ἂν αὐτῷ ἡ γνῶσις ἔνεστι μὴ δυναμένῳ διὰ ταύτης τῆς νόσου εὑρεῖν κουφισμόν.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
120 III,210,5–8 (i) (w)	Do not care about riches. The great minded man is worshiped also without them, like the sleeping lion, just as the foolish rich is dishonored, like a dog wearing a golden necklace.	μὴ οὖν φρόντιζε περὶ πλούτου. ὁ γὰρ μεγαλόνους ἀνὴρ καὶ χωρὶς τούτου σεβάζεται, ὡς ὁ κοιμώμενος λέων, ὥσπερ πάλιν ὁ ἀσύνετος πλούσιος ἀτιμάζεται, ὡς ὁ περιδέραια χρυσᾶ περικείμενος κύων.
121 III,210,9–10 (w)	Nothing is foreign to the wise. Neither mention the words before, that you then were happy, but now you became a stranger.	μήτε μνημόνευε τῶν προτέρων λόγων, ὡς ἦς ποτε ὄλβιος, νῦν δὲ γέγονας ἠπορημένος.
122 III,210,10–11 (q)	**The things that happen are flowing in and out, as if a ball was being quickly turned around and torn down**.	**τὰ γὰρ ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ ἐν ῥοῇ ἐστι καὶ ἀπορροῇ, καθάπερ εἴ τις σφαῖρα, τάχιστα μετακυβευόμενα καὶ μεταρριπτόμενα.** (John Philoponus, Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca 13, part 3 p. 439,8)
123 III,210,11–13 (l)	It is said that these things are more restless than others: the shadow of youth, the friendship of wicked men, the love of women, false praise, and riches.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ταῦτά ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων ἀστατώτερα, τὸ τοῦ νέφους σκίασμα καὶ ἡ τῶν μοχθηρῶν ἀνδρῶν φιλία καὶ ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔρως καὶ ὁ ψευδὴς ἔπαινος καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος.
124 III,210,13–15	And the intelligent neither rejoices in the abundance of riches nor is he distraught by the lack of it.	καὶ ὁ νουνεχὴς οὔτε τῇ τοῦ πλούτου δαψιλείᾳ ἐπιτέρπεται οὔτε μὴν ἀλύει τῇ ὀλιγότητι.
125 III,210,16–211,2 (i) (w)	There is nothing stronger than the support of friends and their rejoicing together. For no one else helps a good man except another good man, just as only an elephant can raise a fallen elephant.	οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστι κρεῖττον τῆς τῶν φίλων συναντιλήψεως καὶ συναγαλλιάσεως. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἕτερος τοῦ σπουδαίου ἀνδρὸς ἀντέχεται εἰ μή γε σπουδαῖος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἕτερος πεσόντα ἐγείρει τὸν ἐλέφαντα εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐλέφας.
126 III,212,8–9 (w)	What use is one's intelligence when what is determined must be fulfilled?	τί ἄν τις ἀπώνατο τῆς οἰκείας συνέσεως, ὅτε δεῖ τὸ ὡρισμένον τελεσθῆναι;
127 III,212,13–14 (w)	Unliveable is the life after the loss of friends, and what other delight would be left in it?	ἀβίωτος ὁ μετὰ τὴν τῶν φίλων στέρησιν βίος, καὶ τίς ἑτέρα τέρψις ἐν τούτῳ καταλιμπάνεται;

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
128 III,213,2–3 (w)	Well spoke he who said that someone who stumbles once often continues to stumble.	καλῶς γὰρ ἔφη ὁ εἰπών, ὡς ὅτε τις ἅπαξ προσκόψῃ, πολλάκις ἀλλεπαλλήλως προσκόπτει.
129 III,213,7–10 (i)	And like the rising star does not remain in the east but sets down being carried around with haste, like the dawn becomes dusk, and like the part that was in the east sets and causes the sunset –like that, things are changed for us easily.	καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἀστὴρ ἀνατέλλων οὐ προσμένει τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἀλλὰ περιφερόμενος διὰ τάχους δύνει καὶ ὁ ἑῷος ἑσπέριος γίνεται καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ μέρος δύνει καὶ τὸ δῦνον ἀνατέλλει, οὕτως τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν εὐμετάβλητα.
130 III,213,10–13 (i)	I recall my previous disaster because of my current grief, just like when the scar of a wound after it has hardened out is struck suddenly, so one feels both the pain of the stroke and the pain of the first wound again and it is renewed from the beginning.	ἀνεμνήσθην οὖν ἔγωγε τῶν προτέρων μου συμφορῶν διὰ τὴν παροῦσάν μου λύπην, καθάπερ ἡ ἐκ τραύματος ἐνσκιρρωθεῖσα οὐλή, ὅτε πληγῇ, ὁμοῦ τε τῆς ἐκ τῆς πλήξεως ὀδύνης ἐπαισθάνεται καὶ τὸ πρότερον τραῦμα αὖθις ὡς ἔκ τινος ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ἀνακτίζεται.
131 III,213,16–18 (l)	It is said that in the moment of struggle the brave is tested, the trustworthy when receiving and repaying, and friends **in the moment of trial**.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖος ἐν καιρῷ δοκιμάζεται συμπλοκῆς, ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἐν ταῖς δόσεσι καὶ λήψεσι, καὶ οἱ φίλοι **ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ**. (Luke 8:3)
	IV War of Owls and Crows	
132 IV,215,3–4 (w)	It must be that one watches the enemy, even if he displays affection.	δεῖ παρατηρεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, εἰ καὶ εὔνοιαν ὑποδείξεται.
133 IV,215,15–216,1 (w)	Nothing saves us from this attack, but to flee and leave this dwelling, it is not possible to withstand the enemies.	οὐδὲν ἕτερον σώσει ἡμᾶς ταύτης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα διατριβὴν καταλιπεῖν, μὴ ἐξὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι.
134 IV,216,3–5 (w)	We are ready and take up a fight and if then the enemies attack, engage them and guard against them entering our midst.	ἑτοιμάζεσθαι καὶ ἀγῶνας ὑποδύσασθαι, καὶ εἴ ποτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐπελεύσονται, συμπλακῆναι τούτοις καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ εἰσδῦναι αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
135 IV,216,7–10 (w)	We must learn exactly whether our enemies want to become friends and make a peaceful truce by bringing them presents; and then we will send them to them and we will live a life free from anxiety.	δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀκριβῶς ἀναμαθεῖν, εἰ βούλονται οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἐχθροὶ φιλιωθῆναι ἡμῖν καὶ σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς ποιήσασθαι διὰ δώρων ὑπαγόμενοι· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἀποστελοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀμέριμνον βίον βιώσομεν.
136 IV,216,10–12 (w)	Kings who fear for their own land and are weaker than the enemy always reconcile with gold, through which their subjects are kept (safe).	ἀεὶ γὰρ βασιλεῖς περὶ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας φοβούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀδυνατοῦντες καταλλαγὰς ποιοῦνται τὸν χρυσόν, δι' οὗ συντηροῦσι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτούς.
137 IV,216,13–14 (w)	It is better lead an impoverished life and to be afflicted with pain than this, to worship the enemies who are stronger and more frightening.	κρεῖττόν ἐστι στενοῦσθαι τῷ βίῳ καὶ περιωδυνᾶσθαι ἢ τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποπεσεῖν, ὧν κρείττονές εἰσι καὶ τιμιώτεροι.
138 IV,216,15–16 (w)	they will not be content with the smallest, but they will seek what is surpassing our abilities.	οὐκ ἀρκεσθήσονται τοῖς ὀλιγοστοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιζητήσουσι.
139 IV,216,16–217,2 (i) (w)	It is said that one should rather draws the enemy towards friendship with rightly measured gifts, not actually with many. This increases their power but limits ours. The moderate bowing increases the shadow for the ones standing in the sun, the unmoderated limits it.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς δεῖ πρὸ τῆς χρείας τὸν ἐχθρὸν διὰ μετρίων δώρων ἐφέλκεσθαι πρὸς φιλίαν, μὴ μέντοι διὰ πολλῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἐπιτείνει, τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν συστέλλει. τοῖς γὰρ ἐν ἡλίῳ ἱσταμένοις ἡ μετρία κλίσις τὴν σκιὰν ἐπιτείνει, ἡ δὲ ἄμετρος ταύτην συστέλλει.
140 IV,217,3 (w)	One has to welcome endurance and war.	δεῖ οὖν τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν.
141 IV,217,4–6 (w)	One who is ignorant and fighting against stronger ones damages oneself more than the enemies.	ὁ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοῶν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττονας ἀντιφερόμενος ἑαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔβλαψεν.
142 IV,217,6 (w)	Surely, the intelligent do not consider the enemy powerless when thinking about them.	εἰ τάχα ὁ συνετὸς οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ποτε λογίζεται τὸν ἐχθρόν.
143 IV,217,7–8 (w)	Never do the wise despise their own enemy even if he lives far.	οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐχέφρων τὸν ἴδιον ἐχθρὸν περιφρονεῖ, εἰ καὶ πόρρω διάγει.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
144 IV,217,8–9 (w)	A good general does not choose war when other methods are available.	καὶ ὁ ἄριστος στρατηγὸς ἑτέρας μηχανῆς προκειμένης οὐχ αἱρεῖται τὸν πόλεμον.
145 IV,217,9–11 (w)	In other circumstances all the consumption is concerned with riches and words, but in war with the own soul.	πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις αἱ δαπάναι περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καταγίνονται καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ψυχάς.
146 IV,217,12–15 (i) (w)	It must be, o king, that you assemble the wise among your subjects. One right council is better than thousands of soldiers and equipment, and it adds a useful perspective for the king like the rivers water for the sea.	δεῖ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλεύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ ἐχέφροσιν. ἡ γὰρ ἀρίστη βουλὴ μυρίων στρατευμάτων καὶ παρασκευῶν ἐπικρατεστέρα ἐστί, καὶ προστίθησιν αὕτη σκοποὺς ὀνησίμους τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ οἱ ποταμοὶ τῷ θαλαττίῳ ὕδατι.
147 IV,217,15–17 (w)	And the sensible will not be ignorant of the enemy's power, where they intend to cause damage, all and everything they want, what kind of army is used by them, and their habits and preparations.	καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὁ νουνεχὴς τὴν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμιν καὶ ὁπόθεν τούτου ἡ βλάβη γίνεται, καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἷα βούλεται, καὶ οἵοις πρὸς αὐτὸν στρατεύμασι χρήσεται καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ἑτοιμασίαις.
148 IV,218,3–4 (w)	The great man rather chooses death with honor than a life in worthlessness.	ὁ γὰρ μεγαλόνους ἀνὴρ αἱρεῖται μᾶλλον τὸν μετὰ δόξης θάνατον ἢ τὴν ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ζωήν.
149 IV,218,5–6 (q)	As the poet says, ***the lazy man always has to wrestle with strokes of fate***.	**αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀμβολίεργος ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει** κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν. (Hesiod Op. 413)

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
150 IV,218,6–13 (l) (n)	I hear in sayings of old that kings became triumphant through excellent government. The best government happens because of the best and diverse council. The most effective council happens when it is not spoiled. Secrets can be spoiled in five ways: by those summoning the council, or those being summoned, or because of those working as official servants, or by those dispatched on a certain embassage, or by those who predict things based on visible actions, or by those concluding correctly and by those guessing.	ἀκούω τῶν πάλαι λεγόντων, ὡς οἱ βασιλεῖς τροπαιοῦχοι γίνονται διὰ τῆς ἀρίστης οἰκονομίας. ἡ δὲ ἀρίστη οἰκονομία γίνεται διὰ τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ πολυειδοῦς βουλῆς. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἐνεργεστέρα γίνεται, ὅταν μὴ ἐκφαυλισθῇ. ἐκφαυλίζεται δὲ τὰ μυστήρια πενταχῶς ἢ παρὰ τοῦ προσκαλοῦντος εἰς συμβουλὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν προσκαλουμένων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐνεργούντων οἱονεὶ ὑπηρετούντων ἢ ἐπί τινα πρεσβείαν ἀποστελλομένων ἢ παρὰ τῶν τὰ ἐσόμενά τισι τῶν προδήλων ἔργων τηρούντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν συλλογιζομένων ὀρθῶς καὶ στοχαζομένων.
151 IV,218,13–15 (n)	Who keeps their secret will benefit in two ways. Either the desirable happens or, having failed, one escapes the blame for the failure.	ὁ δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον μυστήριον συντηρῶν κατὰ δύο τρόπους ὠφελεῖται. ἢ γὰρ τυγχάνει τοῦ ἐφετοῦ ἢ ἀποτυχὼν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποτυχίᾳ μέμψιν ἐκφεύγει.
152 IV,218,15– 219,2 (w)	It must not be that someone who asks for council, if he is very intelligent, despises the words of the ones being called. It is sure that the accuracy of one's speech benefits from them.	οὐ δεῖ δὲ τὸν προσκαλοῦντα εἰς συμβουλὴν συνετώτερον ὄντα τῶν προσκαλουμένων τοὺς λόγους τούτων περιφρονεῖν. βεβαιοῦται γὰρ καὶ προστίθεται διὰ τούτων ἡ τοῦ λογισμοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀκρίβεια.
153 IV,219,2–6 (l)	If the king keeps his own secrets, makes use of clever men for the government, if those stay hidden from nearly everyone else, if his thinking is not to be grasped, if he never neglects the service of the well-minded and well-meaning, nor passes over the mistakes of someone, then he will prosper in everything.	εἰ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς συντηρεῖ τὰ οἰκεῖα αὐτοῦ μυστήρια καὶ τοῖς νουνεχέσιν ἀνδράσι πρὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας χρήσεται καὶ ἀφανὴς τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀκατάληπτος τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ μήποτε τοῦ εὐνοοῦντος καὶ εὐγνωμονοῦντος τὴν ἐνέργειαν παρορᾷ, μήτε τὰ παρά τινος διημαρτημένα παρατρέχει, οὗτος ἐν πᾶσιν εὐοδωθήσεται.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
154 IV,219,6–8 (n)	There is an order in secrets; they are two types: those for two and those that receive being heard by more. In what I will report you, I want two mouths and four ears to work together.	τάξις δέ ἐστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις, τὰ μὲν δύο, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἀκουστὰς ἐπιδέχεται. ἐν ᾧ δέ σοι μέλλω ἀναγγεῖλαι, στόματα δύο καὶ ὦτα τέσσερα συνδραμεῖν βούλομαι.
155 IV,220,4–11 (i)	You should know that the tree cut by an axe grows again and that the wound from a sword heals completely and hardens. Yet, the bite of the tongue is incurable as it affects the heart. And water extinguishes fire and poison is hindered by medicines and passion is stopped by fulfillment, but the fire of remembered evil is everlasting, it is implanted in the middle between us and you, the crows, never to be uprooted.	ἀλλ' ἴσθι, ὡς τὸ τεμνόμενον δένδρον διὰ τῆς ἀξίνης καὶ αὖθις φύει καὶ τὸ τραῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ξίφους συνουλοῦται καὶ ἐνσκιρροῦται. ἡ δὲ τῆς γλώττης δῆξις ἀνίατός ἐστιν ὡς ἁπτομένης αὐτῆς τῆς καρδίας. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ σβέννυσι τὸ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ δηλητήριον φαρμάκοις τισὶν ἀντικρούεται καὶ ὁ ἔρως τῇ ἐπιτυχίᾳ παύεται, τὸ δὲ τῆς μνησικακίας πῦρ ἀείζωόν ἐστιν, ὃ ἐνεσπάρη μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὦ κόρακες, μηδέποτε ἐκριζούμενον. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἡ γλαὺξ ἀπηλλάγη θυμοῦ γέμουσα, καὶ μετεμελήθη ὁ κόραξ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηναιδεύσατο.
156 IV,222,4–8 (i) (w)	It must be that the sensible yields to a stronger enemy so that he escapes damage from them. Or do you not see how the violent wind can uproot and break the most supreme of trees, but that the most powerless of the plants being carried around by it are not stricken down.	τῷ γὰρ ἐπικρατεστέρῳ ἐχθρῷ δεῖ τὸν ἐχέφρονα ὑπείκειν ὥστε τὴν ἐκ τούτου βλάβην διεκφυγεῖν. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ὅπως ὁ σφοδρὸς ἄνεμος τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη τῶν δένδρων ἐκριζοῖ καὶ συνθραύει, τὰ δὲ ἀδρανῆ τῶν φυτῶν τούτῳ συμπεριφερόμενα οὐ καταβάλλει.
157 IV,222,14–17 (w)	It is said that one who is neglectful of an important deed, having it already in their hand and letting it go, will not find it easily again at another time. And who finds the enemy in want of strength and does not destroy them will soon regret him being strengthened.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ὁ ἀμελῶν περὶ τὸ ἀξιόλογον πρακτέον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶν ὂν καὶ ἀπολέσει τοῦτο, οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἄλλοτε αὐτοῦ τεύξεται. καὶ ὁ τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀδυναμίᾳ εὑρίσκων καὶ μὴ ἀναιρῶν αὐτὸν ἐς νέωτα μεταμελεθήσεται δυναμουμένου αὐτοῦ.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
158 IV,223,1–5 (q) (w)	He must not be destroyed. It is written that ***you should not break the bruised reed***. It is better to have mercy with him and have very justified pity for him who resisted such unfortunate events and such blows. He must be treated well. It is a great piece of fortune that he can be useful against other enemies.	οὐ δεῖ τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι. γέγραπται γάρ, ὡς **κάλαμον συντετριμμένον μὴ κατεάξῃς** (Mt 12,20). μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτον ἐλεεῖν καὶ κατοικτείρειν δικαιότατον, ὃς τοιαύτας ὑπέστη συμφορὰς καὶ τοιαῦτα ῥαπίσματα. δεῖ οὖν περιέπειν αὐτόν. τὸ γὰρ διαφέρεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους μέγιστόν ἐστιν εὐτύχημα.
159 IV,225,1–2 (w)	The intelligent man having fallen into terrible things submits to his inferiors, until he will fulfil his own desires.	ὁ νουνεχὴς ἀνὴρ δεινοῖς περιπεσὼν ὑπείκει τοῖς εὐτελέσιν, ἄχρις οὗ τῶν οἰκείων ἐφετῶν ἐπιλήψεται.
160 IV,225,5–8 (l)	Kings must guard their secrets and not let someone foreign approach their documents, or the water they are washed with, or their bed, their garments, weapons, food and drink, pack animals, or their perfumes.	δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τὰ οἰκεῖα τηρεῖν μυστήρια καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν ἀλλότριόν τινα ταῖς οἰκείαις γραφαῖς πλησιάσαι, ἢ τῷ ὕδατι, δι' οὗ μέλλει ἀπονίψασθαι, ἢ τῇ στρωμνῇ ἢ τοῖς ἀμφιάσμασιν ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἢ τῇ βρώσει καὶ πόσει ἢ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἢ τοῖς μύροις.
161 IV,225,9–11 (w)	Rarely do the arrogant raise a sign of victory and the gluttonous remains sick until death. And not easily do they save themselves from destruction after acting upon unwise councils.	σπανίως γάρ τις τρόπαιον ἱστᾷ ὑπερήφανος καὶ ἀδδηφάγος μέχρι τέλους νόσῳ διατελεῖ, καὶ οὐ ῥᾳδίως ὁ συμβούλοις ἀσυνέτοις χρώμενος τῆς ἀπωλείας σῴζεται.
162 IV,226,10–13 (i) (w)	I see successful progress and victory are better reached through trickery and deceit than through resistance. The hottest and most intense fire only destroys what is above the earth, the water, being cold and calm, flows down through it and can uproot the things in it.	ὁρῶ τὴν δι' ὑπουλότητος καὶ μηχανῆς εὐόδωσιν καὶ νίκην κρείττονα τῆς δι' ἀντερείσεως. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ θερμότατον ὂν καὶ ὀξύτατον μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἀναλίσκει, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ὂν καὶ γαληνὸν καὶ κάτωθεν αὐτῷ διεισδύνει καὶ ἐκριζοῖ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ.
163 IV,226,13–15 (n)	It is said that one must not look down on these four of which none is lesser: I say fire, sickness, enemies, and debt.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς οὐ δεῖ καταφρονεῖν τουτωνὶ τῶν τεσσάρων οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου· λέγω δή, πυρός, νόσου, ἐχθροῦ καὶ χρέους.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
164 IV,227,1–4 (l)	When two seek a trophy, it will be gained by the one stronger in knowledge. If they are equal in these things, by the more intelligent, if they are the same also in this, by the one with the stronger obedient helpers. If they are similar also in this, the luckier one.	ὅτε γὰρ δύο τινὲς ἐπιζητήσουσι τρόπαιον, ὁ κρείττων τούτων τὴν συνείδησιν τούτου τεύξεται. εἰ δ' ἐξισοῦνται κατὰ ταῦτα, ὁ νουνεχέστερος, εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο παρομοιοῦσιν, ὁ κρειττόνων εὐπορῶν ὑπηκόων. εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἰσάζουσιν, ὁ εὐτυχέστερος.
165 IV,227,7–9 (i) (l)	It is said that he finds much sleep, who recovered from fever, who places a heavy load aside, and who recovers from hostile damage.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ἄνεσιν πολλὴν εὑρίσκει ὁ ἐκ πυρετοῦ ἀνακαλούμενος, ὁ βαρὺ φορτίον ἀποτιθεὶς καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐξ ἐχθρῶν βλάβης ἀπαλλαγείς.
	V Monkey and Turtle	
166 V 229,13– 230,2 (n)	It (friendship) is strengthened through these three things, entering a friend's house, meeting and visiting relatives, and the communion of salt.	ἑδραιοῦται δὲ αὕτη διὰ τριῶν, ἤγουν διὰ τῆς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ φίλου εἰσελεύσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν συγγενῶν θέας καὶ ἐπισκέψεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁλῶν κοινωνίας.
167 V,230,3–6 (l)	Do not put together, o friend, the communion, but pure affection. This is what is regarded as relationship and comradeship; eating together is also something stupid animals and donkeys do. Entering the house is also something robbers do.	οὐ ταῦτα συνιστῶσιν, ὦ φίλη, τὴν κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ ἡ εἰλικρινεστάτη διάθεσις. τὸ γὰρ ὁρᾶν συγγενείας ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ συσκηνίτου· τὸ δὲ ὁμοδίαιτον εἶναί ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσέλευσίς ἐστι καὶ τῶν ληστευομένων.
168 V,230,7–9 (w)	It must be that a friend demands steady friendship of their friends. Someone who builds friendship on something because of worldly affairs creates a powerless foundation.	δεῖ γὰρ τὸν φίλον μόνιμον φιλίαν παρὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπαιτεῖν. ὁ δὲ δι' ἄλλο τι τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φιλίαν συνιστῶν ἐπ' ἀδρανοῦς θεμελίου ταύτην οἰκοδομεῖ.
169 V,230,9–11 (i) (w)	It is said that one should not seek unnecessary things from friends. The calf that sucks more than what it should from the mother makes her angry and will be driven away by her.	λέγεται γάρ, ὡς οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τῶν φίλων περιττὰ ζητεῖν. ὁ γὰρ μόσχος, ὅτε πλέον τοῦ δέοντος τὴν μητέρα θηλάσῃ, παροργίζει αὐτὴν ὥστε διώκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς.

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
170 V,230,17– 231,1 (w)	I know that nothing is easier changed and swayed than the heart.	οἶδα γάρ, ὡς οὐδὲν καρδίας εὐμεταβλητότερον καὶ εὐαλλοιωτότερον.
171 V,231,1–3 (w)	It must be that the wise is not neglectful when testing the heart of relatives and friends and judges them by the signs of their words and all the other things around.	δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νουνεχῆ μὴ ἀμελεῖν ποτε ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν τὰς τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καρδίας καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τούτους ἀπό τε τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πέριξ λοιπῶν.
172 V,231,8 (w)	Worry is not useful.	οὐδὲν γὰρ λυσιτελεῖ ἡ μέριμνα
173 V,231,12–14 (w)	One who is content with little lives a relaxed life. One who has a greedy mind crosses the distance of their days with hardship and pain.	ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος ἄνετον βιοῖ τὴν ζωήν. ὁ δὲ πλεονεκτικὴν ἔχων τὴν γνώμην ἐν μόχθοις ἀεὶ καὶ πόνοις τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ διαπεραιοῦται τὸν δίαυλον.
174 V,232,8–10 (w)	Thus, they who catch a well-arranged opportunity but do not finish according to plan, when the opportunity has passed, they fail in all of their deeds.	οὕτως οἱ καιροῦ εὐθέτου δραξάμενοι καὶ μὴ τὸ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἐκπληροῦντες, τούτου παραδραμόντος, πάντῃ τοῦ ἔργου ἀποτυγχάνουσιν.
	VII The King and the Eight Dreams	
175 VII,235,3–5 (l)	The best of all is wisdom and endurance and additionally the intelligence of intelligent advisors and then a virtuous and very intelligent woman.	πάντων κρειττων ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνοχὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν συνετῶν συμβούλων σύνεσις, εἶτα καὶ ἡ ἀρίστη καὶ συνετωτάτη γυνή.
176 VII,237,10– 11 (w)	Do no longer execute someone before the wise ones beneath you have made their council known.	ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναιρῆσαί τινα πρὸ τοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ εὐνοήτοις ἀνακοινῶσαι τὸ βούλευμα.
177 VII,240,10– 12 (q) (w)	No profit comes from worry and discouragement, but they eat away the flesh, ***as one of the wise said: your anxious mind gnaws away the bone***.	οὐδεμία ὄνησις ἐπιγίνεταί τινι ἐκ τῆς μερίμνης καὶ τῆς φροντίδος, ἀλλὰ σαρκὸς ἔκτηξις, ὥς τις ἔφησε τῶν σοφῶν· **νοῦς ἐμμέριμνος σὴς βιβρώσκων ὀστέα.** (Greg. Naz., CM, PG 32,101)

	Stephanites and Ichnelates	Greek
178 VII,241,11 (w)	One is not changed by the words of a wise person.	ὁ τοῦ νουνεχοῦς εἷς λόγος ἀμετάτρεπτος.
179 VII,241,12 (w)	No one is completely free from sin in everything. And none of the humans is perfect.	οὐδεὶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναμάρτητος. καὶ τὸ τέλειον παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστί.
	VIII The King and His Jay	
180 VIII,242,11–243,2 (w)	Woe to those who are living with kings, uncertain and unsteady, and whose minds are without rest, who do not pay attention to anyone else, except only those who they need, then they see them as long as they need them, and who, even though they often commit the greatest sins, do not even consider them a small sin.	οὐαὶ τοῖς συναυλιζομένοις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀβεβαίοις οὖσι καὶ ἀστηρίκτοις καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀστάτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀντιποιοῦνται, εἰ μὴ μόνον ὧν ἐπιδέονται, καὶ ἕως τότε τούτων ἀντιλαμβάνονται, ἄχρις ἂν αὐτῶν ὦσιν ἐπιδεεῖς, οἵτινες καὶ τὰ μέγιστα πολλάκις πλημμελοῦντες οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἁμαρτάνειν λογίζονται.
181 VIII,243,7–9 (w)	Breaking faith brings the greatest punishment and if it does not happen in this life, it is repaid in the next. It also affects one's children and offspring.	μεγίστην ἔχει τὴν τιμωρίαν ἡ παρασπόνδησις, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι αὕτη γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἀνταποδίδοται. διαβαίνει γὰρ αὕτη καὶ μέχρι παίδων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων.
182 VIII,243,14–15 (w)	One must neither trust nor believe in the flattering words of an enemy.	οὐδὲ θαρρεῖν δεῖ οὔτε πιστεύειν τοῖς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κολακευτικοῖς λόγοις
183 VIII,243,15–244,2 (l)	The clever one believes parents to be friends, brothers to be companions, women to be associates, children to be reminders, female slaves to be argument causers, relatives to be moneylenders and themself to be alone.	ὁ γὰρ νουνεχὴς φίλους μὲν ἡγεῖται τοὺς γονεῖς, συντρόφους δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, συνήθεις δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μνημόσυνον, τὰς δὲ παιδίσκας ἐριδο- ποιάς, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς δανειστὰς καὶ ἑαυτὸν μονότροπον.

5.1.1. Explicit didactic units

Lion and Bull (Lo)

> *The crafty jackal Ichnelates attempts to gain the lion king's favor by helping him overcome his fear of the bull. However, as the lion and the bull become close friends and Ichnelates is ignored by the king, he devises a plot to drive them apart and make the lion kill the bull. He succeeds but is criticized by his friend Stephanites.*

With 66 explicit didactic units, *Lion and Bull* (Lo) contains more than a third of all the explicit didactic content found in *SkI*. Considering the overall length of the book, this hardly comes as a surprise. However, it should be noted that only three of these units contain quotes from external sources, rather few compared to later books. Since all three quotes stem from either the Bible or Christian writers and have no counterpart in the Arabic version, it is reasonable to assume that they have been inserted by Symeon Seth.[11]

Another interesting point is the images employed in various units and what is depicted to convey their message. It is notable that they all use images from nature (10, 16, 21, 22, 30, 61, 62, 65), especially animals (3, 16, 38, 41, 49, 50, 57, 60, 61, 67), and human behavior (7, 14, 20, 23–26, 39, 43, 47, 62, 64, 67), while only the two images in the merchant's speech refer solely to human-created objects (1).

The topics covered by explicit didactic content in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) cover the following areas: the advantages (1–4, 6–9, 11–14, 17–19, 54) and disadvantages (5, 10, 15–16, 47, 49–50, 57) of striving for success, good government (20–23, 25–27, 29, 32, 35–36, 38, 40, 44–45, 52, 58, 60–62), fortune and misfortune in life (31, 37, 46), money (1), battle strategies (55–56), and general advice that can be applied to many different situations (24, 28, 30, 33, 39, 41–43, 48, 51, 53, 59, 63–67). In cases with a clear addressee, the advice is either aimed at the king or a wise/successful person. Since politics are depicted as the main place for success, many units of that category also discuss the ways of handling kings or whether they should be avoided. Similarly, the general advice units can also be applied to court situations and are mostly used in that context within *Lion and Bull* (Lo). Overall, the topics found within the explicit didactic units strongly correspond with the story of *Lion and Bull* (Lo), showing their connection to the plot.

Concerning the topics found in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), the main question is what sort of advice the explicit didactic units contain and whether they agree with each other to form a homogeneous picture. Considering the advantages and disadvantages of striving for success, there are two opposing opinions presented by Stephanites being against it. Ichnelates and the merchant argue in

[11] See above, 2.2.1.

favor, while the bull remains ambivalent, arguing both in favor and against. All agree, however, on what success is supposed to be. Success can be gained in the financial sphere, politics, or religious practices, with political success being the most sought-after by the characters. Only the merchant explains how to gain financial success that will eventually lead to a pleasant afterlife, and religious practices in the shape of asceticism are only ever mentioned as a vague concept of similar renown (19, 54).

Politics, which is the main interest of Stephanites and Ichnelates, are amply discussed. The basic assumption is that success in politics means closeness to a king and having gained a king's favor. Equally, both sides agree that court politics are dangerous; their main difference arises from their subsequent reaction to that. The arguments in favor, as voiced by Ichnelates, point out that a great-hearted, ambitious person is compelled to strive for greatness due to inherent qualities (3, 6, 17–19, 54). By pushing their limits, they help their friends and vanquish their enemies (2, 7, 11) through their superior intellect (7–9, 13–14) and readiness to sacrifice everything for their success (12). And even if they fail, they still have accomplished greatness (4). The arguments against attempting success in politics point out that one should be content with one's individual limitation (5) and not be seduced by greed (49–50). These arguments especially warn against the fickleness and danger of those in power (10, 15–16, 47, 57). Interestingly, the images employed to describe rulers are similar insofar as they emphasize their seductive power; reflecting a misogynistic perspective, they also repeatedly liken them to women when describing their weaknesses.

The explicit didactic content about government focuses on choosing the right subject for the right task (20–23, 25–27) and their duties (35, 58). It also warns against the dangers in store for rulers who neglect the potentially dangerous mentality of their subjects (29, 32, 36, 38, 60–62). There is only a little advice on what a ruler is supposed to be like (40, 44–45), which can probably be linked to the story that shows the lion as a negative example, although the importance of a king is never questioned (52).

The other, less central topics of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) concern the importance of money in the merchant's speech (1), as well as two battle strategies that advise to choose war as the last option (55), and never to underestimate an enemy (57). The explicit didactic units discussing fortune and misfortune in life suggest that one should endure both good and bad but at the same time actively strive for the first and avoid the latter (34, 37). However, this is only possible for someone free (46). In this sense, they imply that fate or at least things beyond one's influence exist and happen; however, there is some sort of individual freedom that enables one to counter these events. Finally, the areas covered by general advice in *Lion and*

Bull (Lo) and the later books are too wide to cover in a discussion and of little interest, since I aim to find more general didactic tendencies in *SkI*. However, their existence proves that general life advice outside of the major topics is also of interest in *SkI*.

Looking at the framing and context of these explicit didactic units, it is clear that they are all part of the characters' direct speech. They are linked to the plot and its protagonists and support the point that a character is making. Furthermore, the use and choice of explicit didactic units contribute further to their characterization.[12] However, due to the didactic characteristics of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and the subsequent books, there is an undeniable focus on exactly these conversations containing explicit didactic units, much like pearls sewn onto a piece of fabric. Therefore, while the story carries them, the explicit didactic units are the more eye-catching pearls of wisdom that can be extracted from the text.

Trial of Ichnelates (Di)

> *The lion's mother convinces her son to put Ichnelates on trial for the bull's murder. In the end, Ichnelates is killed.*

Di has only 28 explicit didactic units, but the number of quotes is large in comparison to *Lion and Bull* (Lo). There is a total number of eight quotes to be found, often more than one in a cluster of wisdom sayings. They range from Homer and Galen to the Bible and Christian authors.

As in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), the topics in explicit didactic units of Di align with the plot. Besides general advice (68–70, 74–75, 82, 84, 89–90) applicable to many situations besides the one created within the plot, other topics of interest are the handling of secrets and suspicions (69, 71–73, 76–77, 80–81, 83, 93, 95), government (73, 80, 86, 91, 94), religious advice (78–79, 85, 88, 92), and physiognomics (87–88). The addressees of the explicit didactic units are less distinguishable than in *Lion and Bull* (Lo). Very few are directed at a ruler, but most of them are either simply statements in general terms or speak directly to the conversation partner.

Interestingly, the entire book contains only images that derive from biblical quotes inserted by Symeon Seth (78, 88, 95), and a single, independent image (76) that compares an investigation to a fire that reveals what is made from burnable wood and which wood is foul. Furthermore, the wood image has been changed from its form found in Arabic.[13] The lack of images might be due to its being written by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. The images containing animals often

[12] On the characterization qualities of lists, see Contzen 2018, 316–317.

[13] See above, 1.4.1.

mention elephants as the most superior animal and status symbol in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and *Ringdove* (Rd) (3, 19, 50, 103, 125), hinting at their Indian origin. Accordingly, the taste for images might have simply been something that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ did not share to the same extent.

Since the book revolves around Ichnelates trying to cover up his crimes and the other characters trying to uncover them, most explicit didactic units focus on the handling of secrets and suspicion. Secrets are supposed to be guarded tightly (72) and only shared with trustworthy people (81). Suspicion can only be cleared with external help (69, 71, 77) and should only be acted upon after receiving confirming evidence (73) since it tends to trick people (80). However, if suspicion is proven right, it will in the end reveal itself because evil and lies do not prevail (76, 83, 93, 95). In this sense, the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) offers a perspective opposite to Lo: while the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) shows that punishment will be given to liars, *Lion and Bull* (Lo) has a successful liar accomplish their goals without any repercussions besides criticism from a friend who is ignored.

The explicit didactic units about government equally focus on how (73, 91) and why (80, 86, 94) a ruler has to punish their lying and scheming subjects. The moralistic undertone of both topics becomes even more apparent in the explicit didactic units that concern religious advice. Here, the concern is the mercy of God that surpasses human capabilities (78, 88) and the welfare of the soul that should be prioritized before worldly gains (79, 85, 92). Additionally, there are also explicit didactic units on physiognomics that are refuted (87–88).[14] Like the absence of images in the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di), the moralistic focus can be attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, but it has been adapted into a more Christian-Byzantine direction through the quotes inserted by Symeon Seth.

Ringdove (Rd)

> *A crow watches a flock of ringdoves being saved from a hunter by a mouse. It convinces the mouse to become its friend. They also bond with a turtle and an antelope. Together, these four overcome a hunter by combining their individual strengths.*

Ringdove contains a total of 35 explicit didactic units, with six quotes that can be attributed to Symeon Seth. They derive from ancient Greek literature and other texts, the Bible, and Christian writers, demonstrating a broad range of knowledge. Following the story's main focus on friendship prevailing over any danger, the topics found in *Ringdove* (Rd) cover mainly fortune and misfortune in life (97–98, 100, 114, 117–119, 121, 126, 128–130), friendship (96, 104–106, 115–116, 125,

[14] See above, 3.2.2.

127, 131), and money (107–113, 120, 124). Besides the usual general advice (101–102, 121, 123), they rarely cover topics that are more important in other books, such as government (99) and enemies (103). The number of images found within *Ringdove* (Rd) further supports the suggestion above that the lack of images in the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) might have been due to its being written by a different author. In *Ringdove* (Rd), the images cover once again nature (103, 109, 129), animals (103, 105, 125), human behavior (100, 105, 130), and human-made objects (104). Since *Ringdove* (Rd) is fairly removed from court life, the topics focus less on government and the other main themes above. Government is only mentioned once as something according to which the ruler is required to care for their subjects as a duty given by God (99). Concerning enemies, natural enmity is supposedly impossible to overcome (103).

The main interest of *Ringdove* (Rd) lies in fortune and misfortune in life, which is also important in *Lion and Bull* (Lo). According to the explicit didactic units, fate appears as an immovable force that wills both good and bad events (97–98, 126, 128–130). Someone trying to navigate it should only strive for what is possible (100), and be content and patient with what they encounter (114, 117–118), while not comparing the past to the present (121). Knowledge about these things alone is not enough: it is important to act upon it (119). Compared to *Lion and Bull* (Lo), there is more emphasis on fate as a determining force that can only be suffered but not conquered as in *Lion and Bull* (Lo).

The topic of money, or rather the lack thereof, appears to be strongly connected to fortunes and misfortunes in life. The explicit didactic units repeatedly emphasize that without money nothing can be achieved, and life becomes unbearable and shameful (107–112). These explicit didactic units are opposed by later units pointing out that misery derives from greed (113) and wisdom is superior to riches (120) which is why money should be faced with the same equanimity as fortune and misfortune in life (124). In this sense, the explicit didactic units that negate the importance of money turn its presence or absence into a stroke of fate and therefore link both topics together. The other main topic is friendship, explaining that there is nothing better than a faithful and sincere friendship (96, 104, 116, 127) in which friends share friends and enemies (106). True friendship is proven by straightforward behavior (115) and providing help for a friend in need (125, 131). However, friendship that only focuses on personal gain is not worthwhile (105). In the original *Panchatantra*, *Ringdove* (Rd) would have followed *Lion and Bull* (Lo) directly, providing a contrast between a successful friendship between unlikely friends and a

friendship that ends in tragedy.[15]

Owls and Crows (Oc)

> *The crows are raided by their ancient enemy, the owls. After listening to the advice of his five ministers, the crow king sends the fifth minister as a spy to the owls, who welcome him warmly. Since the owl king ignores his minister's advice to kill the crow, the spy successfully helps his king to kill all owls. In the end, spy crow and crow king ridicule the dead enemy.*

Owls and Crows (Oc) has 34 explicit didactic units and contains only two quotations, one from Hesiod and the other from the Bible. However, the effect of these quotes on the plot as well as the political message behind them should not be underestimated.[16] As indicated by the content of the story, the main topics of explicit didactic units concern the handling of enemies (132, 137–139, 142–143, 147, 155–157), advice for battle (133–135, 140–141, 144–145, 162), government (136, 146, 150, 160) and secrets and suspicion (150–151, 153–154, 160). Besides the more general advice (148, 152, 159, 161, 163–165), there is also religious advice (158), which is the one containing the quote from the Bible, and advice about fortune and misfortune in life, quoting Hesiod (149). The images in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) only concern nature (146, 155–156, 162) and human behavior (139, 155, 165) and use neither animals, nor human-made objects.

As noted above, the explicit didactic content in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) is less generally phrased than in other books, since the characters often refer to the content of the frame narratives.[17] Nevertheless, the advice about battle and the handling of enemies can still be generalized. According to the explicit didactic units, enemies should always be watched no matter what (132, 142–143, 147), and while one should never bow to one's enemies (137), it is useful to turn them into friends through gifts (139) as long as one is not getting exploited (138). Since the discussion voices different opinions, another explicit didactic unit suggests yielding to a superior enemy to escape harm (156). Furthermore, enmity caused by harmful words is eternal (155) and it is necessary to destroy an enemy once the chance arises. Otherwise, it will only lead to regret (157). In other words, the concept of enemies portrayed in these explicit didactic units pictures an irreconcilable enmity. Enemies can be tricked, convinced into abstaining from violence, or repelled with various means, but are never turned into friends.

Closely related to the topic of enemies are battle strategies to engage with them. In general, the explicit didactic units offer various options when reacting to an attack by enemies ranging from feeling to fighting to paying them tribute

[15] Cf. Dubost 2015, 4–5.
[16] See above, 2.2.1.
[17] See above, 5.1.

(133–135, 140). Other suggestions warn that fighting stronger enemies is dangerous (141) and war should only ever be the last option (144) since only war takes lives (145) while trickery and deceit normally yield better results (162).

Both topics also connect to explicit didactic units focusing on government. When facing an enemy, rulers are advised to use money against stronger enemies to protect their subjects (136) and to not let anyone close to their personal belongings and documents (160). Other advice concerns rulers needing wise councilors (146) who give good and secret advice (150). As this overview shows, the three topics are closely related in their content and often mixed. Like within the frame story, secrets, government, and the handling of enemies are an intertwined issue that requires delicate handling.

Monkey and Turtle (At)

> *A monkey becomes very close to a turtle he feeds with figs. The turtle's partner at home becomes sad and convinces the turtle that they have a terminal illness only to be cured by a monkey heart. The turtle then tricks the monkey to ride on its back in the lake. Yet, a moment of moral hesitation lets the monkey escape and ends their relationship.*

Since the book about the monkey and the turtle is rather short, there are only 10 explicit didactic units and no quotes. The explicit didactic units follow the plot, focusing on friendship (166–169, 171), fortune and misfortune in life (173–174), and general advice (170, 172). The only image in the story is based on animal behavior (169). In the depiction of friendship, the first explicit didactic unit defines as a friend someone who visits and eats together with the family (166), whereas the following unit describes friendship as based on steadiness and affection (167–168) and argues that nothing impossible should be demanded from friends (169). Friends, however, need to be carefully judged according to their words and deeds (171). In this sense, the topic of friendship in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) provides some definitions of true friendship but nevertheless cautions against friends.

The King and the Eight Dreams (Kd)

> *A king has eight scary dreams and only escapes a plot by the Brahmins with the help of his wife and minister. When he later orders his wife to be executed out of anger, the minister cleverly saves her and reunites them.*

Despite being one of the longer books, *King and Dreams* (Kd) has only five explicit didactic units out of which one has a quote by Gregory of Nazianzos inserted by Symeon Seth (177). The topics cover government (175–176), offer general advice (177–179), and contain no images. The lack of explicit didactic

units can, like for the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di), be attributed to the fact the *King and Dreams* (Kd) derives from a different source, the *Mahābhārata*, and not the *Panchatantra*. The two units about government, like in *Owls and Crows* (Oc), recommend wise councilors as well as a clever wife for a king to rule well (175). They also warn not to order executions before asking said wise councilors for their opinion (176).

King and Bird (Kb)

> *A king has a beloved pet bird, whose chick grows up together with the king's son. When the king's son kills the chick in a fit of rage, the pet bird pecks out his eyes and flees. The king, planning revenge, tries to lure the bird back but the bird refuses, leaving for good.*

While being a short book, *King and Bird* (Kb) still has three explicit didactic units that focus on the risk of striving for success at court (180) and the handling of enemies (181–183), but it lacks quotes and images. The unit concerning the court, as in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), warns against fickle and unjust kings (180). When handling enemies, the explicit didactic content promises that revenge will come to pass even after generations (181) and to never trust anyone, no matter how close or distant (182–183).

By comparing the explicit didactic units found in all books, it becomes clear that the main topics depend on the content of the book. Despite vastly different stories in each book, there are still topics that recur frequently and are the main themes of explicit didactic units: fortune and misfortune, government, the handling of enemies, friendship, secrets and suspicions, and religion. Overall, the explicit didactic units found in each book do not disagree with their message except when they are displayed in an argument within the story. In these cases, the disagreement between characters is reflected in opposing opinions, like how to handle an enemy, or by different interpretations of the underlying assumption: if fate determines us, we can either fight it or comply and be patient.

Interestingly, most if not all notions about religion can be identified as either Islamic or Christian additions to the text, showing that the interplay of religion and political or personal wisdom becomes increasingly important.

5.1.2. Inserted narratives

In order to display the overall tendencies of inserted narratives, they are presented in a table with summaries. This will display what kind of stories are inserted into the frame narrative of *SkI* and whether they have a similar pattern or similar motifs. Some of the stories have an ending specific for Symeon Seth's

SkI,[18] but since I focus on *SkI* as a didactic text, I will not consider alternative versions, such as the Arabic or the Eugenian version.

As explained above, inserted narratives lack the clear message of explicit didactic units. Instead, they have multiple possible interpretations if considered individually.[19] Although *SkI* places them in a frame narrative, like the explicit didactic units, they can be taken out of the frame narrative and exist independently without losing their internal logic. The only exception within this list of inserted narratives is the story about the bull attempting to rebel against the lion king (no 6). Since Ichnelates invented it to convince the lion, the story's conclusion happens in the frame narrative, in which the bull is killed for the assumed treason. However, I still include it in the table below, since it is a story told to influence someone's behavior, much like the other stories.

Table 5.2: Inserted narratives

1.	The monkey that smashed its testicles I,154,12–155,4	A monkey watches a carpenter chop wood. When the carpenter leaves, it tries to imitate the carpenter but accidentally smashes its testicles and is punished by the returning carpenter.
2.	The hungry fox and the drum I,162,6–13	A fox is first scared by a loud drum but, overcome by hunger, it attacks the drum, expecting meat but finding it hollow.
3.	How the crow got the serpent killed I,166,7–15,168,12–169,1	A crow's chicks are always eaten by a snake, so it plans to peck out the snake's eyes. The wolf-panther, the crow's friend, stops the crow from enacting the plan and helps the crow trick humans into killing the snake instead.
4.	The swan, the fish, and the crab I,166,15–168,12	An old swan that can no longer hunt lies to a crab and its fish friends that hunters will come to catch them all. They agree that the swan will each day transport a few of them to a new, safe place. However, the swan is actually eating the fish. When the swan tries to eat the crab as well, the crab strangles it.
5.	How the rabbit struck down the lion I,169,7–171,4	Prey animals form a pact with a lion to offer one of them per day in order not to be hunted. A rabbit about to be offered to the lion manages to trick the lion into attacking his reflection in a well, thus drowning the lion.

[18] See above, 1.4.6–7.
[19] See above, 4.2.

6.	How the bull decided to overthrow the lion I,172,9–15	Ichnelates tells the lion about a supposed meeting in which the bull defames the lion and entices the other subjects to plan a rebellion (which leads to the bull getting killed in the frame narrative).
7.	The three fish I,173,7–174,7	A clever, a mediocre, and a stupid fish share a pond with a connection to a river. One day, fishermen see them and decide to come back and catch them. The clever fish immediately escapes into the river. The fishermen return and block the way to the river. The mediocre fish escapes by pretending to be dead and the stupid fish is caught.
8.	The louse and the flea I,176,4–9	A louse attaches itself to a nobleman. When the louse is visited by a flea, the flea aggressively bites the man and flees, but the slower louse is caught and killed.
9.	Bees and water lilies I,179,8–11	Bees tend to enjoy the sweet nectar of water lilies so much that they do not notice the flower closing and trapping them.
10.	Fly in the elephant's ear I,179,11–180,1	Greedy flies get crushed when they try to eat the dirt in an elephant's ear.
11.	How the wolf, the crow, and the jackal convinced the lion to kill the camel I,180,5–183,10	A camel joins a lion and his fellowship, which consists of a jackal, a crow, and a wolf. When the lion is hurt by an elephant and cannot provide for the carnivores any longer, they come up with a plan to trick the camel into offering itself as food.
12.	The turtle and the two ducks I,184,3–16	A turtle asks the two ducks it has been living with to take it with them to a new lake. The ducks promise to carry it up on a stick which the turtle has to bite but warn it not to speak. When humans comment on the flying turtle, the turtle responds and falls to its death.
13.	The crow and the monkeys I,186,9–17	A crow watches a band of monkeys who take a firefly for a spark and try to ignite a pyre with it. Trying to teach them about their mistake, the monkeys kill it angrily.

14.	The evil man and the scholar I,187,1–188,9	An evil man and a scholar find a treasure and decide to split it evenly, taking only what they need and burying the rest under a tree. But the evil man steals everything and accuses the scholar in front of a judge, stating that the tree will confirm his accusations. The astonished judge questions the tree in which the father of the evil man is hiding. Not fully convinced by the talking tree, he sets fire to it. The lie is revealed, the father dies, and the evil man is punished while the scholar receives all the money.
15.	The iron merchant I,188,12–189,8	A merchant gives his friend some iron for safekeeping. But by the time he wants it back, the friend has already sold it, so he pretends it was eaten by mice. The merchant then abducts the friend's child and tells him that the child was carried away by a hawk, just like his iron was eaten by mice. The friend returns the money and receives his son back.
16.	The blind doctor and the quack II,197,3–10	The princess of a kingdom falls ill and a talented blind doctor prescribes her a cure he cannot mix due to his impairment. The king orders the quack to do it instead, but the wrongly mixed medicine causes deadly diarrhea for the princess and the quack is killed by being forced to drink the medicine as well.
17.	The two naked women II,198,4–9	Two naked women and a naked man are in the wilderness. One woman finds a piece of cloth to cover herself and soon starts insulting the other woman for being naked. The man rebukes her for forgetting that she just recently has been naked as well.
18.	The loyal wife and the falconer II,199,15–200,12	A falconer had unrequited love for his master's wife. To avenge himself for being refused by her, he trains two parrots to accuse her of adultery. But the wife manages to prove her innocence and the falconer is attacked by his falcon, losing his eyes.
19.	The ascetic, the traveler, and the audacious mouse III,206,14–209,2	A mouse is living at an ascetic's house. Empowered by a secret stash of money it is sleeping on, it manages to steal the ascetic's food no matter where he places it. One day, a traveler who is staying overnight helps the ascetic take the mouse's money. When the mouse tries to get its money back, it is beaten up twice and loses the support of the other mice. It then curses money and goes into exile.

20.	The old serpent and the frog king IV,225,13–226,9	An old serpent is unable to hunt frogs. It pretends to have been cursed by a monk to be unable to hunt and offers itself to the frog king as a mount in exchange for being fed two frogs a day.
21.	The Ascetic and his two pots VI,233,9–234,6	A poor ascetic has two pots full of honey and butter. Holding both of them in his arms, he imagines how selling them will make him rich. Engaged in his fantasy, he accidentally smashes the pots.
22.	The two doves and the seeds VII,240,13–241,6	A dove couple collects a stash of seeds for the winter, promising not to eat any of them. In summer, the heat dries out the seeds, shrinking the stash. The enraged male dove suspects his wife and kills her. When the humidity returns in autumn, he realizes his mistake and dies of grief.

Considering these stories, three things stand out as particularly relevant in the case of fables: characters, stereotypes, and replaceability.[20] First, the *paradeigmata* have, as noted above, animals, humans, and even plants and objects as characters. The question of objects as characters may be debatable, but I argue that the drum (no 2), the seeds (no 22), the iron (no 15), and the two pots (no 21) are indeed characters of their respective *paradeigma*. With their inherent qualities, they influence the outcome of the story and make the turn of events plausible. The drum is a loud yet hollow object that can trick the listener into equating its loud noise with equally large power despite being easily destroyed. The seeds appear as seemingly unchanging wealth but are influenced by humidity and heat and are therefore able to trick their unknowing owners. The iron's inherent qualities of being hard to break and impossible to eat silently refute the merchant's lying friend. The two pots are breakable containers filled with valuables that will lose their worth once the container is broken, thus punishing the ascetic for his carelessness.

Seeing these objects from this perspective, it is obvious that they are agents as much as the other living characters. Although unable to move on their own or to show signs of being alive, they still act based on their qualities. Additionally, like living characters (animals and humans), they have a symbolic role that encourages analogies with the frame story or real-life events. Like other characters, they can be replaced by anything with the same inherent qualities necessary for the plot of the *paradeigma*, even with living characters. For example, the iron

[20] See also above, 4.2.

merchant could have given his friend an elephant to take care of in his absence. If the friend then told him that the elephant had been eaten by mice, it would just be as nonsensical as iron being eaten by mice. From this point of view, there appears to be no restriction on possible characters for these stories as long as they further the plot.

Secondly, neither species, object, nor occupation creates a stereotype, meaning that there is no 'brave lion,' 'wicked crow,' or 'treacherous drum' that is repeated in different, independent *paradeigmata*. Instead, the same species, object, or occupation can be found with different behavior. Accordingly, a lion will be tricked by a rabbit in one story (no 5) but betray and kill a camel in another (no 12); fish will escape their hunters (no 7) or be tricked into offering themselves as a meal (no 4); crows want to heroically fight for their chicks (no 3), instigate a lion into murdering an innocent camel (no 12), or offer kind advice to a band of murderous monkeys (no 12); an ascetic can overcome the mouse tormenting them (no 19) or destroy their plans with their own hands (no 21). In other stories, like the ones about the three fish (no 7) or the two doves (no 22), there is more than one example of a species with distinctively different qualities present.

These examples make clear that the *paradeigmata* in *SkI* do not create positive stereotypes in the sense that they link certain qualities to certain species, objects, and occupations.[21] However, when looking at *SkI* in its totality, some qualities are never linked to certain types of characters. Lions, for example, are never depicted as positive characters but remain ambiguous at best.[22] The lion in no 5 is a powerful threat to all the other animals and therefore eliminated despite keeping his side of the bargain while the lion in no 10 readily eats the camel he swore to protect. Similarly, the lion king in the first two books is depicted as a weak ruler who is tricked into murdering his friend and then unable to convict the culprit. Furthermore, if one argues that the lion king's mother is also a lion, she presents yet another type of lion that fights for her son, even beyond the scope of legal actions, to kill the one she considers guilty. Accordingly, while it seems that lions are depicted differently, they are still never entirely 'good' and are always dangerous to the other characters.

[21] Olivelle 2006, 25–32, argues in favor of stereotypes in the *Panchatantra*; although it might be easier to determine such stereotypes using a more limited range of source material, I do not agree with him for two reasons. First, many of the *Panchatantra*'s animals only appear once, making it unconvincing to turn them into a stereotype. Second, in other cases where animals appear twice or more and show opposing traits, Olivelle simply concludes that they can be both, which contradicts the understanding of stereotypes. The *Panchatantra* thus also does not have positive stereotypes and is no different from *SkI* and *KwD* in that respect.

[22] Audebert 1999, 298, observes something similar for kings.

Likewise, other characters also have certain qualities that are never attributed to them. Crows are unable to achieve a positive outcome by directly addressing an issue, like the crow that is murdered trying to help a band of stupid monkeys (no 13). They need friends or treachery to reach their goals. Ascetics are unable to fend for themselves, sometimes even despite the sound advice they receive, as in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw). In this sense, the characters, albeit not actively pursuing a commonplace stereotype, still create a certain recognizable pattern. The appearance of a lion implies that there will be a violent event, a crow will have to act wisely to overcome its limits or perish, and an ascetic will never do well in worldly matters.

Thirdly, only the plot is necessary while the characters are all replaceable. This has already been demonstrated in cases such as the vanished unicorn, where the unicorn is missing in the *paradeigma* but mentioned in the *paradeigma's* subsequent explanation.[23] As noted above, the unicorn has been substituted by many animals and even by an abstract 'great terror' in various versions of the fable. This example shows that a specific animal is not required to create the plot, as long as whatever is presented fulfills the requirement of being a 'great terror.'

This replaceability of characters should be seen within the light of the analogies that are created by a *paradeigma*. All characters are replaceable because they are intended to be substituted in the first place. Their interactions with each other and the events they face provide the recognizable features of a story. It is not important whether three fish in a pond have to escape a fisherman (no 7) or three chicken have to escape a bear. The important part is that the three different reactions to the impending threat are an analogy to three possible kinds of human behavior when facing a necessary task: they can resolve it quickly in a relaxed manner, succeed just barely under time pressure, or fail.

Needless to say, even plots may change, like in the case of the two naked women where either might insult the other, or in the case of the snake and the frog king where the snake is either old and cunning or honest and determined. However, in these cases, I would argue that new stories are created that are related to one another but present different content.

The inserted narratives of *SkI* do not easily fit into categories. Yet, it is possible to identify the overall structure of these inserted narratives. Maybe the most eye-catching feature is the high number of character deaths. Since harsh punishment (and especially death) is supposed to leave a lasting impression, it is not surprising that many stories end with the death of a character. Out of 21 inserted narratives, only the iron merchant (no 14) and the two naked women (no 17) end without any character or object dying or suffering physical damage; even

[23] See above, 4.2.

the child abduction in the iron merchant story is only resolved peacefully due to the father's willingness to confess his theft. The story of the old snake, with a seemingly positive outcome for the snake, also ends with two frogs a day being fed to the snake.

In that sense, physical harm (nos 1, 18–19) or death and destruction of an object (nos 2–14, 16, 20–22) are the most common outcome of a *paradeigma* in *SkI*. The structure leading to such a conclusion is always similar. A preexisting potential danger escalates due to events arising in the plot, leading to harm or destruction. For instance, in no 9, the bee's greed is the preexisting potential danger, and the escalating event is the bee choosing a water lily to eat, which results in the bee becoming trapped and dying.[24] In another example, no 1, the monkey's curiosity or hybris – depending on the interpretation – creates potential danger. The situation escalates when the carpenter leaves their workplace and the monkey uses the chance to imitate them, resulting in squashed monkey testicles and punishment by the returning carpenter. Similarly, all the other stories can be analyzed with this model.

The inserted narratives of *SkI* are thus punishment narratives that reflect the worst outcome of a potential danger.[25] Albeit being inserted in different frame narratives and stemming from different Indian sources, the *paradeigmata* all appear to be threats or warnings, punishing their misbehaving characters. In this respect, they are similar to explicit didactic units in their fixed shape and the way in which they are easily distinguishable from the text. Another similarity lies in the way in which they have been inserted into *SkI*, to which I will now turn.

5.1.3. Insertion techniques

Although wisdom sayings and *paradeigmata* differ in length and didactic strategy, they are inserted into their frame narratives in a similar way. Despite having a logical connection to the context of the story, both interrupt the narrative flow. In both cases, the reader is taken out of the previous setting for some time and forced to engage with either a new story or didactic content that transcends the plot of the frame narrative. This happens by textual markers like 'the wise do this or that' or 'it is said,' signalling the importance of the subsequent story or wisdom saying.[26] As Symeon Seth's translation shows, these wisdom sayings and *paradeigmata* can be easily removed without affecting the plot. Since they

[24] The extremely short *paradeigmata* of the bee (no 9) and of the fly (no 10) are not uncommon in Arabic literature; see van Gelder 2021, 12–32.

[25] Taylor 2007, 34, comes to a similar conclusion for the *Panchatantra*.

[26] This agrees with the analysis in Forster 2009, 195. Gründler 2024, 30, observes the same for *KwD*.

are not being part of the plot's chain of events, they pause the plot when they appear.

While this pausing of narrated time typically does not affect the plot, there are exceptions, like the final scene in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), when the lion kills the bull. Here, the lion and the bull are engaging in a fight while Stephanites holds a long, admonishing lecture for Ichnelates. By the end of that lecture, the lion kills the bull. This might lead to questions about why Stephanites was busy verbally chastising Ichnelates for murdering the bull, while the bull, according to the plot, is not dead yet (*SkI* I,190,2–4). Could Stephanites not have used the time he wasted on his incorrigible friend to save the bull instead? There are possibilities to explain this scene within the frames of plot logic. For example, Stephanites is also not happy about the bull's popularity with the lion (*SkI* I,171,5–6), so while he condemns the method, he welcomes the result. Another would be that a tiny jackal guard would most likely be unable to stop two large, aggressive animals like a lion and a bull in a fight.

However, it seems more likely that Stephanites' speech should be considered a pause in the narrated time instead of as a sign of Stephanites' reluctance to interrupt the fight of the lion and the bull. The long criticism is to be generalized for anyone attempting evil plots like Ichnelates, emphasizing that strife for personal gain is condemnable because it harms the state and society. In this sense, the conversation does not really happen at the same time as the fight; it is more like a commentary on what is and has happened. From this perspective, Stephanites' final criticism also indicates the emphasis that the text places on the explicit didactic units. The plot is only an exemplary framework leading to deliberations and general knowledge about politics and life. Once again it should become apparent that the explicit didactic units are indeed the pearls of wisdom sewn onto the fabric of the frame narrative that sometimes even transcend the narrated time frame.

This disruptive quality can also be seen as an effect that enhances the didactic qualities of wisdom sayings and *paradeigmata* alike. Similarly, the images used in wisdom sayings can be understood as analogic devices. As such, they improve the saying's accessibility by relating it to a visual example, like in the following unit 103 in Table 2: "Like a gold vessel is hard to break and well worked, earth ware easily breaks and is hard to fix, like sincere friendship is hard to change, the impure is easily damaged and hard to repair." The value of sincere and insincere friendship is compared to gold and clay pots respectively. By explaining that gold is durable while clay can be easily destroyed, both kinds of friendship receive a visible quality that foretells their value and duration. While the second part of the wisdom saying could be uttered without the image, the analogy of

the image creates a convincible argument that should agree with the audience's experience. Concerning the plot, the wisdom saying will then be proven right, since the sincere friendship between the animals withstands all trials.

Like this example, the other wisdom sayings always agree with the characters' motivation. Even in the case of the turtle who is trying to trick the monkey, its wisdom sayings about friendship show its insincerity. According to the turtle, eating together and visiting each other's places is a sign of friendship (165). The monkey rejects this statement, arguing that robbers would be able to do the same (166). There is an obvious irony to that scene, as the monkey recognizes the fault within the turtle's wisdom saying but fails to conclude that the issue lies with the turtle's evil intentions. In this sense, even if characters pretend, their choice of wisdom sayings reveals their true colors. Additionally, there are cases in which wisdom sayings are part of ignored or bad advice. In these instances, they only express the characters' intentions but will have either no effect at all or a negative one on the characters receiving them. However, regardless of their effect on the plot, wisdom sayings and *paradeigmata* are both inserted in a way that demonstrates their use as part of an argumentation strategy. While the often shorter wisdom sayings, even if they are part of a wisdom cluster, are integrated freely into a character's speech, *paradeigmata* follow a regular pattern. Since this pattern is repeated throughout *SkI*, I will briefly demonstrate it with the first *paradeigma* about the monkey that smashed its testicles (no 1).

At the beginning of his speech, Stephanites advises Ichnelates to stick to his assigned task as doorkeeper (*SkI* I,154,7–11). He continues with the claim that those who interfere in other people's affairs suffer an unpleasant fate (*SkI* I,154,11–12). Subsequently, he proves his claim with the example of the monkey (*SkI* I,154,12–155,4). The structure of Stephanites' argument begins with a request for a certain behavior, followed by a general claim, which in turn is supported by the *paradeigma*. Thus, a deductive argumentation strategy is used to represent the relevant content. Usually, telling *paradeigmata* is the privilege of the main characters, even if they argue for different sides (*SkI* I,154.2–I,159,10; *SkI* I,185.5–190.8). The only exception are kings, who never tell *paradeigmata*, probably because as rulers they do not have to argue but decide. Additionally, the Greek kings tend to be particularly silent.[27]

To conclude, a *paradeigma* does not teach an absolute truth and only shows possible outcomes of a particular decision. However, Olivelle notes for the *Panchatantra* that the plot of *Lion and Bull* (Lo) defines winners and losers in the argument,[28] although winners and losers are swapped with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's

[27] See above, 1.4.4.
[28] Olivelle 2006, 38–39.

continuation in the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di). For the plot, this creates a proleptic effect in some *paradeigmata*. For example, the *paradeigma* about the monkey that is harmed while trying to imitate a human seems to predict Ichnelates' fate in Book II. This shows that although the *paradeigmata* convey lessons, they are questioned in a larger context and exposed as part of an argumentative structure, no different than the wisdom sayings.

5.2. IMPLICIT DIDACTICS: ARGUMENTS AND RHETORICAL DEVICES

As shown above, explicit didactic structures stand out from the rest of the text because of how they disrupt the narrative frame. However, this does not mean that the narrative surrounding has nothing to teach and is only there to present the explicit didactic units adequately. On the contrary, how the narrative works around the explicit didactic units and integrates them is just as important. The way in which the monkey *paradeigma* is inserted into Stephanites' argumentative structure becomes didactic content itself: first concrete advice to the character in the story (stick to your lot in life), then a general observation (those who attempt too much will fail badly), followed by a *paradeigma* (the monkey who squashed his testicles when imitating a wood cutter).[29]

By repeating the same pattern throughout the text, it becomes subconsciously memorable or can be actively analyzed and learned. Similarly, the most convincing characters are the ones who use the most *paradeigmata* and wisdom sayings, implying that using both leads to success. For example, in the case of *Owls and Crows* (Oc), the pious owl is the one to use quotations from the Bible in a convincing way that rhetorically outmaneuvers the clever owl.[30] This demonstrates that rhetorical skills may even trump sound advice. Similarly, Ichnelates manages to escape his sentence thanks to his rhetoric and needs to be killed in secret, showing that only lethal violence can win against rhetorical skills.[31]

Accordingly, the explicit didactic content teaches lessons about life and behavior, as, for example, the phrase "The small is not small when it leads to something great" (*SkI* I,161,2). The implicit didactic teaches how to insert explicit didactic content and where they are successful. For example, the phrase "The small is not small when it leads to something great" is used by Ichnelates in order to successfully convince the lion king of his usefulness. If the above analyzed argumentative structure is the how, then the diverse settings of the stories would be the where and the when. *SkI* offers rhetorical strategies for advancement in the royal court, for making the king follow your bidding, for a successful defense

[29] See above, 5.1.3.
[30] See above, 2.2.1.
[31] See above, 1.4.2.

in front of a judge, and for personal relationships (that is, whether to establish a friendship or to successfully deceive others).

How characters communicate in these situations can be significantly different. In private conversations between friends where both have different opinions, they usually express them in a dialogue in which they place their arguments against each other. For example, Stephanites and Ichnelates both present wisdom sayings and *paradeigmata* with opposing opinions. Additionally, Stephanites is guiding his friend in a question-answer strategy through various points that need to be taken into consideration for his goals while providing a critical voice of reason:

ὁ δὲ Στεφανίτης εἶπε· καὶ πόθεν σοι δῆλον, ὡς ὁ λέων ἠπόρηται;

ὁ δέ φησιν· οἶδα τούτου τὸν λογισμόν. ὁ γὰρ ἐχέφρων ἀνὴρ δύναται γνῶναι τὰ τοῦ πλησίον διανοήματα στοχαζόμενος τοῦτον ἔκ τε τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως.

ὁ δὲ Στεφανίτης· καὶ πῶς, εἶπεν, ἐλπίζεις χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ λέοντι, μήποτε βασιλεῦσιν ὑπηρετήσας μηδ' ἐπιστήμην ἔχων τῆς αὐτῶν παιδείας καὶ ὁμιλίας;

ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· ὁ ἐχέφρων ἀνὴρ οἶδεν ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀπειρίαν ἔχει. ὁ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτος καὶ περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν τέχνην σφάλλεται.

ὁ δὲ Στεφανίτης εἶπεν· ὁ ἐξουσιαστὴς οὐκ εἴωθεν προσλαμβάνεσθαι τὸν κρείττονα τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν λοιπῶν πλησιέστερον παρωμοιωμένος τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. αὕτη γὰρ οὐ τοῖς κρείττοσι τῶν δένδρων ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλησιεστέροις περιπλέκεται. πῶς οὖν δυνήσῃ οἰκειοῦσθαι τῷ λέοντι τούτου ἀπῳκισμένος;

ὁ δὲ Ἰχνηλάτης ἔφη· ἔγνων, ὅσα λέγεις, καὶ ἀληθῆ εἰσιν·ἀλλ' οἶδα τοὺς οἰκειοτέρους ἡμῶν μὴ ὄντας πρότερον τοιούτους ἀλλ' ἀναχθέντας τῶν κάτω. βούλομαι οὖν κἀγὼ τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι. λέγεται γάρ, ὡς πᾶς ὁ προσανέχων τῇ βασιλικῇ πύλῃ καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν ἀπορρίψας, τὸν δὲ θυμὸν δυναμώσας καὶ τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένων καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπείκων οἰκειοῦται τάχιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ.

Stephanites said: "And how did it become clear to you that the lion is at loss?"

He [Ichnelates] said: "I know what he is thinking, because a clever man is able to know the thoughts of the one nearby by guessing from their form and disposition."

Stephanites said: "And how do you hope to find favor from the lion, as you have never served kings and have none of their knowledge, education and way of conversation?"

He answered: "The clever man knows to behave even in the things he is inexperienced in. He who is not will err in his own expertise."

Stephanites said: "The powerful are not accustomed to taking the best of those who are with them as their helpers, but one who is closer than others like grapevine. It does not twine itself around the best of the trees but around the closest. How will you be able to become friends with the lion, being so far removed from him?"

Ichnelates spoke: "I know what you say, and it is true. But I know that the closest ones were not so before but lifted up from those below. I want to try

> this too. It is said that everyone who wants to rise in the royal court throws away their pride, overcomes their anger, endures harm, and yields everything they own to the king." (*SkI* I,156,16–158,1)

As can be seen from this brief passage taken from a conversation between Stephanites and Ichnelates, both characters argue on equal footing and use explicit didactic units to strengthen their arguments. At the same time, replying to Stephanites' critical counterarguments, Ichnelates can put his plans into words and achieve sound reasoning for them.

In other conversations between friends or people pretending to be friends, the conversation style is slightly different; it is more assertive and tries to convince the other party to take a certain action. For example, Ichnelates convinces both the bull and the lion to seek a fight instead of dialogue, the crow and the turtle convince the mouse to become their friend and share its tragic past, and the turtle in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) tricks the monkey into leaving the secure land. The main difference between these private conversations between characters and Stephanites' indirect support of Ichnelates' plans lies in the gain for the character who is doing the convincing. Ichnelates needs the lion to kill the bull so that he can become the king's closest advisor. The crow and the turtle both want to have the mouse as a true friend. The turtle in *Monkey and Turtle* (At) wants to feed the monkey's heart to his wife. Stephanites, however, has little motivation to make Ichnelates succeed or fail and therefore his questions and arguments only express concern. He only gives his blessing when Ichnelates manages to convince him that the bull is harmful to the king.

It should be noted that, although Stephanites questions Ichnelates' plans, Stephanites never opposes them and even encourages Ichnelates to remove the bull. He only changes his opinion about Ichnelates when he realizes that Ichnelates' way of removing the bull will damage the king. This is also evident in his conversation style, which turns into a sermon for a wicked person – fully aware that the wicked Ichnelates will not listen to his moral reasoning:

> πρὸς τούτοις οἶδα τὰ τοιαῦτά σοι παραινῶν, ὡς ἀνηνύτοις ἐπιχειρῶ. φησὶ γάρ τις τῶν σοφῶν· μὴ ἔλεγχε μωρούς, ἵνα μὴ μισήσωσί σε. ἔλεγχε σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε.
>
> Therefore, I know while admonishing you about these things that it is an impossible undertaking. One of the wise said: Do not reprove the dumb, so they won't hate you. Reprove the wise and they will love you. (*SkI* I,186,7–8)

Stephanites is fully aware that his excessive monologue, one of the longest in *SkI*, will not affect Ichnelates. Ichnelates will not change his ways, yet Stephanites is unable to stop himself from expressing his criticism. His admonishment states

the reason why this speech not only does not affect the plot, but even appears separate from the story's narrated time.[32] While it might be directed at Ichnelates, it is actually aimed at the wise – the potential audience of *SkI* – who will gain wisdom from it.

Other monologues are also found in the text, as, for instance, when the lion reproaches himself for trusting Ichnelates too quickly (Lo), when the ascetic's wife worries about her husband's hastiness in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw), or when the mouse in *Ringdove* (Rd) laments the loss of the turtle. In these cases, however, the monologues fit the time frame of the plot better. The lion is anxiously waiting for Ichnelates and questions his loyalty in the meantime, while the mouse is admonished by the crow to stop lamenting and start acting. The ascetic's wife manages to change her husband's rash nature for a while before he reverts to his old ways, killing her in the process but proving her criticism correct. Therefore, in all cases besides Stephanites' speech, the monologues fit more neatly into the plot or cause some sort of reaction from other characters. From an implicit didactic point of view, their different settings show also their varying usefulness. The anxiety of the lion king and the time-consuming monologue of the mouse are both ill-timed. The king should have considered Ichnelates' qualifications before making a decision. Similarly, the mouse is wasting important time. The ascetic's wife manages to improve her husband temporarily but ultimately fails. Monologues, therefore, appear to be of little or no use when trying to affect other characters. Important and lasting changes are all achieved by conversations.

A more successful rhetorical strategy is demonstrated for influencing a king. Conversation is the way to speak to kings in an official setting or to counsel them.[33] In an official setting, in which someone is newly introduced at the court, Ichnelates' example demonstrates that the clever and humble use of explicit didactic units is the most successful. In private counselling settings, the characters usually emphasize their close bonds to the king or their superior knowledge to steer the conversation towards their goals.[34] Ichnelates, the spy crow, the lion's mother, as well as the queen and the minister in *King and Dreams* (Kd), all employ these strategies and successfully make their respective king do their bidding. In this way, the king-character turns into a tool for the actants at court whose success is bound to their rhetorical skills. Only by deploying them the right way can they reach the desired outcome. Even in cases where the king has evil intentions like in *King and Bird* (Kb), the bird cannot leave without having a conversation with the king first. In this conversation, the bird provides the king with

[32] See above, 4.1.3.
[33] London 2008, 190–192, 207–209.
[34] Cf. London 2008, 207.

ample arguments as to why the powerful are not to be trusted. Thus, only after demonstrating that it can see through the king's deceit and therefore prove its point that the king cannot be trusted, can the bird leave for good.

The official council settings in *Owls and Crows* (Oc) have already been discussed above,[35] but should be considered again at this point. Here, the councillors usually provide a multitude of opinions and the king has to select the right one to act upon. Unlike in private settings, the king appears more active due to his choice to follow one of several pieces of advice. However, here as well the council deploys the most efficient rhetorical devices. In the case of the crow king, the best advice aligns with the best rhetoric, however, the wise owl is outdone by the pious owl's biblical quotes. In this sense, it becomes obvious that success is always tied to one's rhetorical skillset – which can be trained by diligently studying *SkI*.

5.3. ETHICS AND MORALS

Two more important aspects of *SkI*, implied at various instances above, need to be addressed properly. First, the text's ethics, or what is defined as 'good,' and, second, the subsequent morals, or the right or wrong actions one can take to achieve the said 'good.' As the comparison with the Arabic *KwD* manuscripts has shown, the differences between each version can affect the morals and therefore the underlying ethical perspective. Accordingly, when I present the moral teachings of *SkI*, I am only referring to them as they appear in the Greek text by Seth, edited by Sjöberg.

Nevertheless, considering the ethical stance of *SkI* and the morals to be drawn from it, one should not forget the discomfort that some of the stories may cause in cultures influenced by biblical monotheism. As noted above, the fewest changes in character and plot are in *Ringdove* (Rd), which has the least complex transmission history among the stories drawn from the *Panchatantra*.[36] This creates the impression that all versions agreed on the overall positive depiction of an unlikely friendship overcoming various obstacles by combining every friend's strength. The other stories, however, seem to require the translator's and scribe's personal involvement in finding an acceptable version. These become visible especially when comparing them to other versions.

Therefore, in order to understand the moral stances and underlying ethics of each book in *SkI*, I will consider it once more comparatively to determine which stories Symeon Seth might have removed for moral reasons. For example, the story of 'The Bird Titawa and the Sea' in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), is missing;

[35] See above, 2.2 and 2.4.4.
[36] See above, 1.4.3.

yet the *paradeigma* about the turtle and the two ducks (no 11) told by Titawa's wife has been translated. In this case, Symeon Seth removed the story of the bird Titawa due to its length and multiple diegetic layers. To be precise, when the *paradeigma* about the turtle and the two ducks is told, in Arabic the story is already at the fourth diegetic layer: the philosopher is telling the king how Stephanites is telling Ichnelates about the bird Titawa being told by his wife the story about the turtle and the two ducks. This number of diegetic layers is somewhat relieved by removing the story of the bird Titawa in *SkI*. Here, the philosopher is telling the king how Stephanites is telling Ichnelates about the turtle and the two ducks, thus making the layering more accessible.

This layering that is characteristic of the *Panchatantra* is removed by Symeon Seth except for one instance (nos 3, 4). Accordingly, the long Titawa story is left out and only the more concise *paradeigma* is kept. This is a common translation strategy that aims to adapt a foreign text as much as possible to the target readership's preferences in order to generate a sense of familiarity with unusual material.

Symeon Seth removed most of the erotic tales from *KwD* in his translation. Accordingly, most of the stories with human protagonists are gone, leaving only those with no sexual connotations. Even among these, it is possible to perceive a sort of censorship in *SkI* in comparison to the Arabic versions: the princess is no longer pregnant (which would imply sexual relations) and the man no longer has two wives.[37] Only the falconer and the merchant's wife remain; however, this story is not about committing and hiding adultery, but instead about proving the wife's innocence. Although these stories reappear in the Eugenian version, there seems to be an apparent distaste for or disinterest in erotic stories in Symeon Seth's *SkI*. Yet, as the translation mistake from Arabic to Greek where the weasel turns into the wife who is then brutally murdered in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) shows, there are no issues with domestic violence or violence in general.[38] In the same manner, neither the endings nor the underlying ethics of each story seem to change significantly when comparing L8751 and *SkI*, thus implying that they were accepted. The only addition in *SkI* would be the added criticism of abusing the Christian faith, and some details that can be attributed to Symeon Seth's writing persona and historical background.[39]

[37] See above, 1.4.6.

[38] See above, 1.4.6. The lack of legal intervention against domestic violence against women is also found in the *Life of St. Mary the Younger* who supposedly hit her head fatally after fleeing from her violent husband's beatings. Hr 'hitting her head' should be read as a cover-up lie to protect the abuser (and in her case murderer), much like the modern excuse of 'I fell down the stairs'; see Laiou 1996, 239, 265–266.

[39] See above, 2.2.

In this sense, it is important to study each book, the variety of morals they present, and the ethical conclusion they draw when looking at their end.[40] Next, how the underlying ethics of each book relate to each other should be considered. This will show whether there is an overall underlying ethics to be found for *SkI* or if the books should be seen as separate units that each possess their own ethical stance. A story's closure is a decisive factor for morals and ethics, since the winning party proves their opinions to be stronger and therefore right.[41] Concerning the stories in *SkI*, survival of the fittest usually proves the point. This becomes a problem when looking at the first two books of *SkI*. Since the king asks his philosopher how an evil man can drive two friends apart, the story he receives as a reply is not surprisingly dark and presents twisted morals. Stephanites, Ichnelates, the lion, and the bull all represent different ethics and perspectives. In this case, the ethics of the lion present a special case, since he has to act from the perspective of a ruler. Characterized as weak in the beginning, he lacks the necessary insight to apply the morals he sets for himself in the explicit didactic unit no 29:

> οὐ δεῖ γὰρ πιστεύειν τὸν ἐξουσιαστὴν τῷ ἐπὶ πολὺν καιρὸν ἀναιτίως παρεωραμένῳ ἢ τῷ πλεονέκτῃ καὶ ἀπλήστῳ ἀνδρὶ ἢ τῷ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως οἰκείως παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεργηθέντι ἢ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἀφαιρεθέντι καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. (*SkI* I,163,4--6)
>
> The one in power must not trust someone who has been neglected for a long time without being to blame, a greedy and insatiable man, one who was not properly helped by him in a time of misfortune, or those deprived of wealth and honor.

Despite recognizing that, to the lion's knowledge, Ichnelates fits at least the first category, he fails to act upon it or to perceive Ichnelates' greed. Accordingly, the lion is a tragic figure: he has an ethical concept of what a good and honorable king should be like and how he is supposed to act, yet Ichnelates' rhetorical skills easily make him abandon his morals and kill his most loyal advisor. In a similarly tragic way, the bull fails to recognize Ichnelates' true character, despite pointing out that the lion was likely manipulated into resenting him because of some evil-minded advisors. To make it worse, he even tells the *paradeigma* of a group of carnivores plotting against a camel – one of whom is a jackal. In this sense, the bull who aims to lead a successful life at the lion king's side has all the right morals, but fails to see the critical bit of information: that his most trusted friend Ichnelates is, in fact, the one plotting against him.[42]

[40] Olivelle 2006, 38, attempts briefly something similar for the *Panchatantra*.

[41] See above, 4.3–4.

[42] For Monroe 2011, 61–70, the camel story and others in book 1 are an expression of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's Manichean beliefs, apparently forgetting that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ only wrote book 2. Even the reestab-

Stephanites, who is more of a bystander than an active force within the plot, presents an ethical stance opposed to that of Ichnelates. His perception of a 'good life' can be summed up as being content with the lot received by fate (*SkI* I,154,7–155,4).[43] Striving for more is dangerous and will result in punishment, as in the *paradeigma* that Stephanites tells about the monkey trying to imitate a human. It can be argued that Ichnelates uses this stance to convince his friend about his plans to get rid of the bull. Since the bull disrupts the natural order and is therefore harmful, Stephanites agrees that his removal is useful as long as it does not hurt the king. However, in Stephanites' sermon (*SkI* I,185,5–190,2), it has become obvious to him that Ichnelates does not share his ethical stance. Instead of removing the bull in an acceptable manner – for example, by convincing the king to treat his subjects more equally –, Ichnelates achieves his goal in a way that damages the king's honor and brings out the worst in him.

Ichnelates finally turns out to be the winner in *Lion and Bull* (Lo). Despite Stephanites' advice and the other characters' good intentions, none of them can overrule Ichnelates' ethics of achieving the highest power by any means possible. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that the morals upon which Ichnelates acts can be likened to gatekeeping. By providing all the other characters with exactly the information that is to his advantage, he not only makes Stephanites agree with him until it is too late, he also prevents any clarifying communication between the lion and the bull. *Lion and Bull* (Lo) even presents a learning curve for Ichnelates, who first introduces the lion and the bull to each other and is subsequently left out of the picture. This makes him realize that he needs to control the flow of information between them to take the bull's position. That his schemes succeed and that he achieves the rank for which he was aiming does not, however, make him as an ethical role model. Rather, it demonstrates a variety of successful political strategies like deception, betrayal, and manipulation.

This dark outlook on life and politics is probably what motivated Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ to create a continuation in which Dimna/Ichnelates pays for his crimes, although his death is just as dubious as his rise to power.[44] In this sense, even though the end punishes the villain of *Lion and Bull* (Lo), it is hard to say that the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) proposes a less bleak outlook on life. Justice is served, but at the cost of the judicial system's integrity. The lion king still shows little improvement besides respecting and listening to his mother's advice, which makes up for his lack of insight.

lished justice in book 2 is difficult since, as I state above, we neither know what the original version was (see above, 2.4.2), nor whether it was just a reworking of *Lion and Jackal* (Lj) (2.1). See Gründler 2024a, 343–353.

[43] On notions of fate in *KwD*, see Audebert 1999, 304–307.

[44] See above, 2.1 and 3.2.1.

In this respect, the lion's mother's ethical stance is just as extreme as that of Ichnelates. For her, 'good' is defined by a state in which 'evil' is punished by any means possible. Like Ichnelates, she first proceeds in a law-regulated manner by assembling the court, just like Ichnelates helps the lion to overcome his fear of the bull. When she realizes that the court is unsuited to punish Ichnelates in the imagined way, she exercises her influence over the king, just like Ichnelates did before. Finally, just like Ichnelates did to the bull, she makes the king kill what she perceives of as an obstacle to her definition of 'good,' arguing that:

> εἰ τὸν ἀσεβέστατον τοῦτον τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀπολύσεις, ἴσθι, ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ὑπὸ σέ, ὃ βούλεται, ἀνυποστόλως διαπράξεται πληροφορούμενος τοῦ μὴ τίσειν δίκας, ὧν ἔπραξεν. (*SkI* II,200,15–17)
>
> If you free this very unholy one of his charges, you should know that every one of those beneath you, who wants, will fearlessly intrigue and successfully fulfill his own (desires); he will not value justice in the things that he does.

In this respect, her extreme stance of pursuing what she perceives of as 'good' for the state is no different from that of Ichnelates. The only difference is her goal, which does not strive for personal gain but the future of the state, to which Ichnelates poses a substantial danger.

In *Ringdove* (Rd), as noted above, the ethical stance appears to be the most universally accepted one. The pursuit of true friendship and what the story defines as good, namely being honest, kind, and helping each other with one's individual strength, is demonstrated through the story. The mouse's background story shows the counterexample in which the mouse's former relationships are built upon money and proven to be worthless. The characters share, furthermore, a consensus about their ethics and provide each other with moral and actual assistance, for example when the gazelle or the turtle are caught by a hunter or the mouse is caught in recollections of its traumatic past. Additionally, the true friendship between the characters in *Ringdove* (Rd) can be seen in opposition to the failing friendships in *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di), where neither lion and bull nor Stephanites and Ichnelates remain friends in the end.

Owls and Crows (Oc), however, continues where *Lion and Bull* (Lo) and the *Trial of Dimna/Ichnelates* (Di) left off. As a story about irredeemable hatred between two people, the underlying ethics clearly state that the only 'good' enemy is a dead enemy and true peace can only be found at the price of utter annihilation of one party. For this, any means are acceptable, as the only *paradeigma* translated from Arabic about the cunning old snake (*SkI* IV,225,13–226,9) emphasizes. The death of the owls proves that their ethical stance of 'my enemy's

enemy is my friend' in *KwD* and *SkI*'s Christian mercy is the wrong way to approach an enemy. This should be considered a strict warning against any kindness towards an enemy, but it also encourages the crows' strategy of using deception instead of outright war. While the owls attack the crows and damage them, they fail to eradicate them and instead create a need amongst the crows to retaliate. Yet, the crows succeed through underhanded strategies such as deception and betrayal. It is noticeable that the crows' behavior does not differ much from Ichnelates' schemes. Both Ichnelates and the spy crow feign friendship and repay kindness with death. While the endangered owls have a voice of reason, much like the bull tells himself a tale that even contains a treacherous jackal, they fail to listen to it and die.

From this perspective, *Monkey and Turtle* (At) provides a counterexample in which the endangered party, the monkey, manages to save themselves from the treacherous party, the turtle. However, despite the different outcomes, the ethical stance remains the same according to which any means are acceptable to reach one's goals. While the three characters' goals do not align with each other, two out of three succeed. The monkey successfully tricks the turtle into bringing him back safely to his tree, but the turtle fails to gain the monkey's heart. Finally, the turtle's wife, who wants her husband back, succeeds in destroying the relationship between the turtle and the monkey even if the monkey survives. The moral to be taken from the story also bears some resemblance to *Owls and Crows* (Oc), where the owls miss the chance to eradicate the threat amongst them. Like them, the turtle also fails to notice his wife's schemes as well as to seize the opportunity to kill the monkey.

From the perspective of morals and ethics, the other three stories do not present ethical stances, but rather morals that seem to follow the not clearly defined concept of a 'good' life. In *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw), the moral warns against rash actions lest one comes to regret them. *Monkey and Turtle* (At), however, warns against the other extreme, being too slow, by telling the story of the turtle who fails to attain the monkey's heart. Accordingly, it could be argued that *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) and *Monkey and Turtle* (At) correspond to each other, showing that premature and belated actions both cause failure and even death. *King and Dreams* (Kd), which is also from a different tradition, the *Mahābhārata*, demonstrates the benefits of an intelligent wife and a wise advisor for a king. As noted above, the story also provides a manual on how to handle a king successfully. *King and Bird* (Kb), finally, is a warning similar to Stephanites' and the bull's perspective on attempting success in politics (15, 16, 60), providing a daunting example of why one should avoid kings.

To conclude, the ethical stances provided in *SkI*, with the exception of *Ringdove* (Rd), present a rather bleak outlook on human nature.[45] Success is only guaranteed to those willing to step over bodies, as the stories prove time and time again. In a sense, even *Ringdove* (Rd) agrees with that, since the friends are willing to go to any length to protect their friendship. As for the means to reach said goals, rhetoric is the key device used by all successful characters to manipulate and convince others. Accordingly, *SkI* presents a consistent underlying ethic that is in its essence nihilistic and distrustful of anyone who does not share the same goals. Those who try otherwise end up dead in almost any depicted scenario. The few instances at which Christian morals and the idea of being rewarded for being 'good' are mentioned are either discontinued, like the merchant's son who disappears from the story, or end in tragedy. The owls, acting upon Christian mercy, are annihilated and ridiculed by the winning crows. Ichnelates is not saved by his pretense of piousness, nor does he actually care about his immortal soul, but rather disregards it in his attempt for mortal glory.

5.4. ABSTRACTION PROCESS

In addition to the argumentative structures, rhetorical strategies, and ethical and moral perspectives outlined above, *SkI* also displays an abstraction process that generalizes human behavior. Considering that *SkI* provides a broad variety of scenarios and characters, it is important to see what kind of stereotypes it creates and how they are depicted. The abstraction process is especially strong when comparing *SkI* to its predecessors, since Symeon Seth removes every name but the ones of the two eponymous jackals. Through this, human and animal characters become more generalized and appear similar to the Aesopic fables that were popular in Byzantium.[46] However, in comparison to modern fables, classical animal stereotypes are not to be found in *SkI*.[47] Instead, animals appear somewhat limited by their physical capabilities and their behavior. There is, for example, no wicked type of animal, but smaller animals are more likely to resort to clandestine means than larger animals who can achieve their goals through violence.

[45] This bleak outlook on life is similar to the one presented by Symeon Seth's contemporary Kekaumenos in his *Strategikon* (ca. 1078). There, he presents a rather disillusioned guide for navigating politics and warfare.

[46] Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003, 117–120.

[47] Sax 1998, 134–140. For a traditional view on the animal characters in the *Panchatantra*, see Ghazoul 1983, 17–21. I assume that Ghazoul's clearly English names of the characters originate from Arthur W. Ryder's translation. For example, the lion in Lo is called "Rusty" and the turtle in *Ringdove* (Rd) "Slow"; Ghazoul 1983, 15. This is problematic as the new names also imply an understanding of the character that Ghazoul never questions in his analysis.

SkI is written from the weaker animals' perspective. The focus lies on the actions they need to undertake in order to survive in the proximity of larger animals.[48] The only exceptions are *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) and *King and Dreams* (Kd) with human protagonists. Yet even in these stories, there is a clear power imbalance where the husband or the king can explode into ruthless violence, killing the weaker characters in the process. From this perspective, *SkI* indeed has a variety of stereotypical characters, such as the unstable or weak king, the clever advisor, the ruthless person, the false friend, and the true friend. They appear in different settings and combinations, and they can sometimes even be a combination of stereotypes but are nevertheless recognizable. Ichnelates, for example, can be considered a stereotypical ruthless character who will do anything to achieve his goal. Yet, in order to do so, he also takes on the role of a false friend for the bull and a clever advisor for the king. In the case of the lion's mother, her ruthlessness is part of being a clever advisor. Interestingly, the ruthless characters are not necessarily evil or constantly ruthless; rather, they show their ruthlessness in difficult situations when they are required to act in order to reach their goal. Overall, they show a complexity that is difficult to reunite with modern fable perceptions.[49]

The bull and the lion can be considered true friends, although their friendship costs them dearly, unlike the true friends in *Ringdove* (Rd). Other clever advisors appear in *Owls and Crows* (Oc), as the spy crow and the clever owl, as well as the minister and the queen in *King and Dreams* (Kd). The kings in general are depicted as unstable and weak, with the exception of the crow king who diligently listens to the spy crows and acts as suggested. The other kings and the husband in *Hasty Man and Wife* (Aw) are unable to discern good advice from bad and often harm those who would benefit them most. Additionally, the king in *King and Bird* (Kb) also behaves as a false friend, just like the turtle in *Monkey and Turtle* (At), trying to trick the bird into returning to kill it.

From this perspective, the characters in each book's main story are closer to psychological stereotypes rather than to animal species showing a predetermined behavior. It could be argued that *SkI* is less about animals equaling human stereotypes and more about behavioral stereotypes being applied to randomized animal species. The use of animals then serves as an anonymization and generalization process that supports the analogy-creating potential of the stories.[50] In other words, the animals in *SkI* are hardly an attempt to understand or describe

[48] Olivelle 2006, 31, argues that the main conflicts are created between herbivores/domestic and carnivores/wild animals, however, the *Panchatantra* chapters already provide several stories, among them the entire *Ringdove* (Rd) to disprove him.

[49] Ruymbeke 2016, 554.

[50] Cf. Ghazoul 1983, 17–18.

animal behavior. While they retain some qualities that originate from observation, like feeding habits, the incompatibility of herbivores and carnivores, or the peculiarity of elephants in some of the wisdom sayings, their interactions are entirely human. Animals and even objects serve as vehicles to understand the mechanisms of human society and interpersonal relationships. In this respect, *SkI* teaches us to perceive anything as related to insights about human nature, preaching an entirely human-centered outlook on a world that is governed by an opportunistic nihilism.

Concluding remarks: towards a new approach to medieval translation

In the *Ringdove* (Rd) as it appears in the *Panchatantra*, the following story is told by a traveler to a Brahmin, who is bothered by a mouse that keeps stealing his food despite it has been placed out of reach. A Brahmin's wife is hulling white sesame seeds to cook a meal for her guests, but it happens that a dog starts nibbling at them, making them unclean. She therefore has her student exchange them for an equal amount of less valuable black sesame, which can be eaten unhulled. Observing the strange trade, the Brahmin comments: "There must be some reason for this".[51] The frame narrative then concludes that the mouse must have a secret reason for being so nimble and greedy, just as the Brahmin's wife does. Indeed, the two men discover that the mouse owns a hoard of gold coins which lends it extraordinary powers.

The sesame tale's cultural connotations about Brahmin society and its values are not easily translatable into other cultures that do not share them. Nevertheless, the story continues to be translated into Pahlavi, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, before finally ending up in an eighteenth-century German translation by the school director Christian Gottlieb Hertel. It then has the following shape, with the Brahmin's wife now being called a 'landlady':

The Landlady and the Pancake

"Invite whoever you want", the woman said, "I have flour and butter. With these I can make a pancake." The next day, she prepared the flour and made noise in the kitchen as if she were preparing for a wedding celebration at home. In the meantime, a dog walked across the flour and relieved its bodily fluids on it. The landlady caught it in this unsavory business, paid the dog its due, and wanted to throw away the flour. Changing her mind, she went for a more economical solution. She mixed the wet flour with a little bit of fresh and dry flour, saying to herself: "The pancake will be tasty." I was sitting unnoticed next to my travel companion, a philosopher, watching everything unfold, and asked him what

[51] Olivelle 2006, 85.

he was thinking. "I think", he said, "that this woman must have had sufficient reason to not throw away the flour".[52]

It is apparent that the *Panchatantra*'s sesame story travelled a long distance in time and space in order to end up as a German pancake made with dog pee. At this point, the original message of the story – how cultural norms can explain seemingly strange or even disadvantageous behavior – has been rendered in an absurd manner. There is no cultural norm that encourages the making of dog pee pancakes in eighteenth-century Germany. Rather, the absence of hygienic standards allows the narrator and his friend to calmly accept the prospect of eating such a pancake. Furthermore, if one accepts "There must be some reason for this" as a sort of wisdom saying that can be applied to various situations due to its abstract nature, that saying also survives in the German version. Yet, along with the cultural connotations of Brahmin society the wisdom saying has lost its abstract quality, and specifically discusses the pancake. In the German version, it characterizes primarily the narrator's companion as a comical philosopher-character who will find reason even in flour mixed with dog pee.

Similarly, the Brahmin's wife is somewhat transformed into a landlady (*Hauswirthin*).[53] This introduces a new cultural concept of *Hauswirtschaft*, household management – an important task and job for women in eighteenth- to twentieth-century Germany, taught through practical training. While a wife would also often be a *Hauswirtin*, especially better households or priests would hire a trained *Hauswirtin* to manage household chores such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of guests, and finances. The choice of words in Hertel's translation emphasizes the cultural importance of a job that required responsibility, organizational talent, and economical thinking. In this way, the landlady baking dog pee pancakes becomes a caricature of her profession: she sacrifices her guests in favour of, as the narrator assumes, economical frugality.

As for the frame narrative, the pancake story no longer supports the argument in which the *Panchatantra* story was embedded, namely that there must be a reason for the mouse's strange ability. In the pancake story, the reasoning of the landlady remains the speculation of the narrator, who is only listening and observing, and the wisdom saying becomes a somewhat comical conclusion. The discovery of the mouse's secret thus becomes a lucky guess, turning frame narrative and embedded tale into a comical scenario.

It is very likely that Symeon Seth left the sesame tale untranslated in *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* because it made little sense in the Byzantine cultural context and accordingly did not support the frame narrative's plot logic. However, the

[52] Hertel 1778, 72–73. The English translation is mine.
[53] Hertel 1778, 72.

sesame story reappears in the Eugenian version.[54] Here, the dog pees on the sesame, probably to make the uncleanliness understandable, but the wife still exchanges it for unhusked sesame. There is a certain uncommented absurdity as to why she would still trade sesame spoiled by dog pee.

This version of the story transforms into the German pancake tale quoted above. As such, it is a prime example of how different forces shape a story and add new meaning to it, especially in travelling tales that are difficult to understand without their cultural context. It could be argued that the Eugenian version's absurdity of trading sesame with pee is taken to the next level by being integrated into German *Schwank* literature, which consists of popular tales with crude humor.[55] From this perspective, the reconstruction of the tale is easily understandable: flour that has been peed on is funny in a crude way, and it is funny that the wife in the Eugenian version is trading it instead of throwing it away, but it is even funnier if the landlady in Hertel's version still bakes a pancake with it while the guests are watching everything. Finally, the philosopher friend becomes a caricature because he desperately tries to see reason even in dog pee pancakes.

In this way, humor subverts the original tale that served as an explanatory model for the frame narrative. Whether the audience laughs at it or is disgusted by the tale is not that important. The interesting part is that just like Symeon Seth, Hertel admittedly treated his source freely and readily changed the content so that it would suit his contemporary audience.[56] In other words, the translation approach of an eighteenth-century German book appears to be not that different from an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript. This shows that the norms of medieval translations as discussed in this book were at work also in the eighteenth century, indicating that literal translation was not exactly common.

Let me return to and recall the two main aims of this investigation. First, to reconstruct the missing link between *Kalila wa-Dimna* and its eleventh-century Greek translation *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* and to reconsider how we think about medieval translation practices. Second, with the Greek *SkI* as my primary source, to analyze the didactic techniques by which this text attempts to teach its readers.

For my first aim, the comparison with the transmission history of *SkI* and the manuscript situation of *KwD* has confirmed that reconstructing a missing link is impossible. *SkI*'s manuscripts are amongst the oldest witnesses of the

[54] Noble 2022, 212–213.

[55] For a more detailed explanation of *Schwank*, its use of scatological humor and comical treatment of wisdom sayings: Müller 2017, 308–316.

[56] Hertel 1778, xi.

Western *Panchatantra* translations. Yet, the stories are substantially changed through the translation of the original Sanskrit into Pahlavi, Arabic, and finally Greek, with further silent changes happening in each copy created in these languages. Based on these findings, I abandoned the idea of recreating the Arabic manuscript that Symeon Seth used for *SkI*. Instead, I compared *SkI* to the two closest manuscripts, the British Library MS Or. 8751 (L8751) and MS Or. 4044 (L4044), showing that even here the changes were significant. While some passages are verbatim translations, others were either rewritten by Symeon Seth for various reasons or might have already been altered in his lost source text. The changes from *KwD* to *SkI* furthermore affect various layers of the text, from mere sentences to characterizations, changes in the plot, and even in the outcome of events.

Yet, as these changes are also found in copies, with L4044 being a prime example, I found it necessary to construct profiles of the Arabic copyists of L8751 and L4044. While these profiles cannot aim to reconstruct historical human beings, they can still help to establish the individual characteristics of the writing persona creating the manuscript. In this sense, L8751's writing persona appears to be careful, minding the readers' understanding of the text. L4044's writing persona interfered more aggressively with its source material, demonstrating a clear interest in philosophy and theology; enhancing female characters; and elaborating on female experiences such as pregnancy, childbirth, nursing, and sexuality. This led me to the conclusion that L4044's writing persona could be seen as an educated woman copyist.

For the translator's profile of *SkI*, the inserted quotations from ancient Greek texts, Church Fathers, and the Bible unveiled a masked criticism of those who abuse Christian beliefs. In most stories, characters quoting the Bible or Christian texts are either tricking others or causing everyone's death due to their naïve piety, while classically learned characters reign supreme. The only exception appears in *Ringdove* (Rd), in which different species with different kinds of education establish a lasting friendship. This critical perspective also agrees with the ironic renaming of the main character in *Lion and Bull* (Lo), Ichnelates. Named after a word solely used to describe the pursuit of Christian ideals, Ichnelates only pursues worldly gain, pretending humility and piety while not shying away from murder. This critical and confident writing persona, who alters their source text according to their own norms, also agrees with the equally aggressive writing style found in Symeon Seth's other surviving texts. His dislike of Galen and his supporters is also reflected in *SkI*, showing that the writing persona overlaps with the historical Symeon Seth trying to establish himself as a

foreigner at the imperial court of Constantinople.[57] From this perspective, his translation process also reflects his political ambition as well as his disappointment with his later exile.

The overall heavy alterations found in *KwD* and *SkI* give reason to rethink medieval translation and copying practices that rarely adhere to modern norms of faithfulness to the source. Instead, they promote an active engagement with their sources while being conscious of the power contained in the transfer of knowledge. *KwD* in particular is often translated first when establishing a new reign. However, comparing the medieval approach to the translation of modern children's literature shows that practices in use in the Middle Ages are still being applied, especially in situations in which the translator interferes with their source text for the assumed benefit of their target audience. Overall, my investigation has established the relationship between Arabic and Greek while also uncovering the complicated and deliberate alterations within each version. Refusing to judge these texts as 'good' or 'bad' in terms of faithfulness reveals a new perspective on medieval translation practices and the possible reasoning influencing the creation of copies and translations.

For my second aim, I created a new way of addressing didactic narrative strategies in texts based on one of the forewords in *KwD*. My main distinction lies between explicit and implicit didactic content. Explicit didactic content refers to text segments that can be actively removed from the narrative as independent units, such as proverbs, lists, and wisdom sayings. Implicit didactics refer to the didactic analogies created by narratives and how they aim to encourage a certain type of behavior. For both explicit and implicit didactic content I also considered how they are inserted in the text. On the one hand, these insertion techniques guide their understanding and meaning; on the other, they showcase how to actively apply both implicit and explicit didactic strategies in arguments. Next, I considered the voices uttering these didactic units: mainly characters and narrators, but also the plot, in the sense that the outcome of a story teaches the right behavior. This leads to the display of ethics – the underlying values – and their enactment in the form of morals, which shape a character's actions.

By applying these categories to *SkI* as a whole, it became clear that *SkI*'s offers a memorable formula for how to insert explicit didactic content into an argument. Explicit didactic units, whether they are small proverbs or large inserted narratives, are clearly marked in the text, sometimes to the extent that they disrupt the frame narrative. Overall, they propose the superiority of rhetorical skill and cunning, with physical violence being the only possibility to counter a

[57] Psellos, on the other hand, uses Galen in his medical texts; see Volk 1990, 68, 102, 124, 163, 180, 297, 379, 452, 467.

rhetorically superior opponent. On the level of ethics and morals, *SkI* is far removed from the Brahmin society in which it originated. This lacuna, however, is filled with the above-mentioned reflections on ancient Greek education and Christian beliefs while offering a mostly bleak and nihilistic outlook on humanity.

This approach to analyzing *SkI*'s didactic qualities is something easily applicable to other texts as well. Such a method might help to clarify what we speak of when we term something 'didactic' and to provide a useful analytical tool. The study of *SkI* has shown a surprising consistency in didactic strategies and ethical stances considering the complexity of its transmission. This proves once more that the didactic value of *SkI* was indeed recognized and deliberately transmitted and thus that the didactic aspect was a central concern for those copying and translating the text.

The three methods I have developed in order to reach my two aims may also be valuable for further studies: unit comparison, profiling, and systematic descriptions of didactic methods. First, the comparison of units allows a horizontal, comparative reading of a text's different versions. This is not limited to one language, but can also be used for comparing translations, as I did above. By giving each unit a descriptive name, like "Do not Kick Elephant," it is even possible to achieve a rudimentary comparison without necessarily being able to read every language. In this case, the unit name can help identify the presence or absence of its content and give a first impression on a text's overall characteristics. While horizontal reading is by no means a new invention, the use of digitalization and, soon enough, AI supported analysis, this method promises to give unforeseen access to even the most diverse textual traditions. As a reading method that makes use of modern technology, I expect this approach to be fruitful for any text tradition that struggles with immense variation, like that of *Kalila wa-Dimna* does.

Second, profiling, as I have developed it by combining new philology and microarcheology ideas with forensic approaches, could be a valuable asset in reassessing how we read manuscripts. While, as noted throughout this study, it is impossible to reconstruct the historical human, profiling manuscripts will nevertheless give us access to understand the mentality, preferences, and intentions that led to the specific manuscript. Profiling also depends much on the unit comparison reading method that is needed to make a profile visible. While it is possible to make conclusions with only one manuscript, a more detailed profile will come to life by comparing manuscripts to one another. Furthermore, profiling need not be limited to describing the producer of a manuscript or a translator's work. Profiling can also grasp the textual output of a collective working

together on a text by combining different versions into the new, desired result.[58] In this way, we can learn more about individual approaches and interpretations of texts as well as about the profiles of those who engaged with them.

Third, the system I have developed for the analysis of didactic methods in *SkI* addresses a lack of systematic description in what is referred to as didactic texts. Especially in the case of texts with clear didactic layers, scholarly analysis often never proceeds further than labelling a text as didactic and maybe jump to either the content or the moral aspects. Therefore, my approach includes the missing deliberation of *how* a text teaches and proposes two main concepts: abstract explicit didactics and narrative implicit didactics. This system can be used to describe *SkI* and *KwD*, but also any other texts with didactic layers. The advantage of this system is also that it might help to reevaluate texts that have previously been labelled as 'shallow' or 'for mere entertainment.' I would expect to find many such explicit and implicit didactic units interwoven into a seemingly flat narrative.

The manuscript translated by Hertel, quoted and discussed at the beginning of this chapter, was lost during World War II.[59] It is therefore impossible to reconstruct his source text, much like is the case for Symeon Seth's *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*. Yet, it should be possible to create a unit segmentation parallel to the closest manuscripts of the Eugenian version in order to understand Hertel's translation strategies and to profile his translator *persona*. The methods developed in this study could in this way be used just as well for an eighteenth-century translation. One could even investigate how popular literary types like *Schwank* influenced a translator in their work, and how they could be used as a way of turning didactic narratives into comedic entertainment.

The way I see it, this book is just the beginning of such investigations. While I have focused only on the complicated relationship between *SkI* and *KwD*, the approaches developed here could be used for numerous others texts. Hopefully they will further our understanding of translational methods in the Middle Ages and beyond.

[58] I hope to demonstrate this in the case of the Eugenian version in an article under preparation.
[59] Sjöberg 1962, 29–30.

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