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*Anaṭūliyūs*' Book**

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**The Tradition of the *Geoponika*: A Comparative Study with  
Anatūliyūs' Book**

**ABSTRACT**

A number of Greek originals were translated into Arabic at the institution called the "House of wisdom" in early Abbasid period. The primary source of the *Geoponika* compiled in the 10<sup>th</sup> century is *περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί* compiled by Cassianos Bassos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but the Greek original of *ἐκλογαί* does not exist. In addition, the primary source of *ἐκλογαί* is two agricultural books compiled by Anatolios and Didymos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (i. e. Anatolios' *σ υ ν α γ ω γ ῆ γ ε ω ρ γ ι κ ῶ ν ἐπιτελεστέων* and Didymos' *γεωργικῶν*), but the Greek originals of both of them also do not exist. However, the originals of Cassianos and Anatolios were translated from the Greek into Arabic in early Abbasid period, and today those Arabic versions are extant. The former is known as *kitāb al-filāḥa ar-rūmīya* (Qusṭūs = Cassianos) which was translated from the Greek by Sirgīs b.Hilīyā ar-Rūmī in 9<sup>th</sup> century. The latter was translated directly from the Greek into Arabic in 8<sup>th</sup> century and transmitted as *kitāb al-filāḥa* (Anatūliyūs=Anatolios). In this paper we shall conclude that our Arabic manuscripts (probably *kitāb al-filāḥa* of Anatūliyūs) discovered by P. Sabth constitute an excerpt abridged from the Arabic original text of Anatolios, and that the *Synagoge* of Anatolios was incorporated as the primary source of the *Eklogai* compiled by Cassianos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the *Eklogai* as the primary source of the *Geoponika* compiled in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Keywords: *Geoponika*, Anatūliyūs, *Synagoge*, Qusṭūs, *Eklogai*.

The *Geoponika* is an agricultural encyclopedia. It was one of a series of similar encyclopedias, excerpted or compiled from ancient writings, that put together under the auspices of Byzantine (East Roman) emperor Constantine VII porphyrogenetos (913- 959). The text in its present form dates from the mid-tenth century. *Selections on Agriculture* (περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί) compiled by one Cassianos Bassos Scholasticos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century are generally named the *Geoponika* and three Greek editions are: by Brassicanus Basileae 1539, by Needham Cantabrigiae 1704, and by Niclas Lipsiae 1781.<sup>1</sup> Today, the Greek original of the *Eklogai* does not exist. But it was translated into Arabic twice: initially from Pahlavi not later than the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and subsequently directly from the Greek in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. And the Greek original of the *Synagoge* is also not extant, but it was translated directly from the Greek into Arabic in the 8th century and its manuscript is extant.

In this paper we shall examine whether the kitāb al-filāḥa of Anatolios (i.e. the *Synagoge*) is incorporated as the primary source of the *Eklogai* (i.e. the *Geoponika*) or not, and that how much the *Eklogai* relies on the *Synagoge* by comparing the former with the latter. And we also shall examine whether our Arabic manuscripts constitute an excerpt abridged from the Arabic original text of Anatolios or not. At the end, we shall consider the philological tradition of the *Geoponika*.

## 2.

First, one manuscript of this translation entitled *kitāb filāḥat al-arḍ* by *Abṭrōliūs* was found by P. Sbath.<sup>2</sup> He regards *Abṭrōliūs* appearing in the title as *Anaṭūliyūs* (i.e. Anatolios).<sup>3</sup> From the introduction of this manuscript (Fol. 1 vv.1-10, Fol. 2 vv.1-4) we can see the followings:

1. This is the book of *Anaṭūliyūs*. (Fol. 1 v.2)
2. In 179/795 Yaḥyā ibn-Ḳālīd ibn-Barmak commissioned the Patriarch of Alexandria, the bishop of Damascus and the monk Eustathios (Ūṣṭāt) to translate it directly from the Greek into Arabic. (Fol. 1 vv.6-8)
3. This book is the collection excerpted and compiled from ancient writers, "Hippocrates, Aristotle, Erasistratos, Herodotus, Democritus, Galen,

<sup>1</sup> The most recent edition is H. Beckh, *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, Leipzig 1895. This paper uses that of Beckh.

<sup>2</sup> Sbath 1930-31, 47-54 (with Arabic texts). This manuscript dates from 839/1436. Cf. Sbath 1930-31, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 48. On the contrary Sezgin 1971, 308, 315 says that this is not Anatolius, but Ps.-Apollonius (Balīnās al-Ḥakīm). It seems to me that *Abṭrōliūs* is Anatolius, not Apollonius, because the Arabic scripts ب and ج in *Abṭrōliūs* seem to be a slip of the pen for ح and ج. See Sbath 1930-31, 50.

Africanus, Plutarch, Apuleius, Serapion<sup>4</sup> and Asclepius.” (Fol. 1 vv.8-10)

4. In this manuscript the book is in twelve books. (Fol. 2 vv.1-2)

Second, Photios (c. 810-c.893), *Bibliotheca*, cod. 163 reads as follows:

‘Ανεγνώσθη Οὐϊνδανίου Ἀνατολίου Βηρύτου συναγωγὴ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων’

Συνήθροισται δὲ [107 a] αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἔκ τε τῶν Δημοκρίτου, Ἀφρικανοῦ τε καὶ

Ταραντίνου καὶ Ἀπουληίου καὶ Φλωρεντίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Παμφίλου, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔκ τῶν Διοφάνους παραδόξων· τόμοι δέ εἰσι τὸ βιβλίον ιβ’.

Photios’ testimonies differ from them of the Arabic version. According to Photios;

1. The author of this book is Vindanios Anatolios Berytos.
2. The collection is from ancient writers, “Democritus, Africanus, Tarantinos, Apuleius, Florentius, Valens, Leon, Pamphilos, Diophanes”
3. The work of Anatolios is in twelve books.

The author of this book is Anatolios, not Vindanios Anatolios Berytos.<sup>5</sup> 3 writers of 9 appearing in Photios’ notice appear in Arabic version. If the *Synagoge* of Anatolios consisted of 12 books, we can say that our Arabic manuscripts constitute an excerpt abridged from the original text of Anatolios.<sup>6</sup>

3.

Next, we shall compare the manuscripts of the *Synagoge* with the *Geoponica*, and then consider the similarity of contents between the former and the latter. Table 1 shows how much the similarity of contents is (see Table 1 and Sources 1-6). The underline’s number of the *Geoponica* conforms to that of Folio 3-6. We can conclude from considerations of Table 1 and Sources 1-6 that there is more or less the substantial similarity of contents between them. In addition:

1. We can see from Fol. 4. v.8 and Fol. 5. v.8 that “some” mentioned in *Gp.* 2. 3. 2 is Apuleius, and “the very wise” mentioned in *Gp.* 2. 48.3 is Hippocrates.
2. 3 of 6 trees appearing in *Gp.* 2. 8. 2 appear in Fol. 4. vv.9-13: ἰτέαι = صفاف, μυρίκαι = طرفاء, λεῦκαι = حور

<sup>4</sup> On the reading of Sotion, see Sbath no.1200

<sup>5</sup> Ito 2017, 61-68. Anaṭūliyūs was al-Ifṛīqī, not al-Bairūfī. According to ibn al-‘Awwām, Anatolios is written as Anaṭūliyūs al-Ifṛīqī; see b. -‘Awwām *Filāḥa*, 1 83, 8; 283, 19; 537, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Sbath 1931, 50.

3. The preposition *من* used in Fol. 5. v.4 comes from the preposition *ἀπό* used in *Gp.* 2. 8. 2.

**Table 1**

<i>Anatolios' Book 1</i>	<i>Geoponika</i>	Similarity
Fol. 3(ϣ). vv.2-3	2. 2. 1	a little
Fol. 3. vv.5-7	2. 2. 2	some
Fol. 3. v.9-Fol. 4(ξ). v.1	2. 3. 1	much
Fol. 4(ξ). vv.1-4	2. 3. 2	much
Fol. 4. vv.4-6	2. 3. 4	some
Fol. 4. vv.6-8	2. 3. 6	some
Fol. 4. vv.10-11	2. 8. 1	some
Fol. 4. vv.11-12	2. 8. 2	much
Fol. 5(ο). vv.2-3	2. 7. 1	some
Fol. 5. vv.3-4	2. 7. 2	very much
Fol. 5. vv.7-9	2. 48. 1	some
Fol. 5. vv.9-11	2. 48. 2-3	a little
Fol. 6(ϛ). vv.2-3,4-5,5-6	2. 44. 2	some
Fol. 6. vv.7-8	2. 44. 3	a little
Fol. 6. vv.8-9	2. 44. 4	a little

Source 1: Fol. 3(ϣ). vv.2-6 and *Gp.* 2. 2. 1-2

تفسير ما في المصحف الأول<sup>(٣)</sup> ...

(٣) القول في أمر الشباب وأسنانهم وأيهم أقوى على عمل الأرض

(١) إن أفضل أسنان الرجال في عمل الأرض المحتلمون<sup>(٤)</sup> والفتيان والكمول إذا جربوا  
وحسن تآديهم لذلك وحملوا عليه من صغرهم . وينبغي للشيخنة تعاهدكم وتفقد أعمالهم  
والنظر فيها فإن أصابوا خللاً أو تقصيراً أخذوا على أيديهم وردوهم من ما قصرُوا عنه  
حتى يبلغوا أحكامهم . والشباب في عمل الحصاد ألين ظهوراً وأقوى اكفاً من الشيخوخة  
(٢) وينبغي للشباب أن يتعلموا من شيوخهم تدبير ما هم فيه من عمل الأرض وتدبير الشهور  
وانقلاب الرياح والمعرفة بالأرضين وفضل بعضها على بعض

Cap. 2. Ὅτι μαλίστα παῖδες πρὸς γεωργίαν ἐπι-  
 τήθειοι, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῶν ἔργων  
 τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐπιλέγεσθαι  
 προσήκει, καὶ ἐκάστω ἔργῳ τὸν ἀρμόζοντα  
 ἀφορίζειν. Βάρωνος.  
 5

(1) Ἐκάστη μὲν οὖν ἡλικία πρὸς γεωργίαν ἔχει τὴν  
 ἐαυτῆς ἐπιτηδειότητα. (2) Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἀρ-  
 μόζουσι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ἀνατρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἐργασίαν, καὶ  
 ὑπουργοῦντες, καὶ ἐκάστω τῶν γινομένων ἀκριβῶς  
 10 παρακολουθοῦντες, ἐνδόλως τε ἐπικάμπτεσθαι δυνάμε-  
 νοι, πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἄγρωσιν ἀνασπᾶν, καὶ τὴν φυλλίδα  
 ἀποτίλλειν, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς γῆς, πεῖρα τε καὶ ἐρ-  
 γασία καὶ μελέτῃ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐμμανθάνον-  
 τες. 3 Τὸν δὲ ἀροῦντα χρή μακρότερον ἔχειν τὸ  
 15 σῶμα. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικείμενος τῇ ἐχέτλῃ,  
 τὴν ὅλην ὕνιν βαρύνει, ὥς μὴ ἐπιπολῆς εἶναι τὴν  
 αὐλάκα, καὶ καταφερόμεναι ἀπὸ ὕψους πληγαί, μᾶλλον  
 καθάπτονται τῶν βοῶν. 4 Τοὺς δὲ ἀμπέλους ἐργαζο-  
 μένους οὐχ οὕτως ὑψηλοὺς εἶναι χρή, τετραγωνιαίους  
 20 δέ. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος, πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς ἀμπέλου  
 οὐ μακρόθεν καταφερόμενος, ἀλλὰ πρόσγειος ὢν,  
 ἀπονητὶ ἐργάζεται. 5 Τοὺς βουκόλους ἰσχυροὺς καὶ  
 μακροὺς, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχυτέρους ἐπιστήσομεν, ὅπως  
 μὴ μικροὺς ὄντας, καλύπτωσιν οἱ βόες προϊόντες, δύ-  
 25 νωνται δὲ ἐφορᾶν τὰ ἐμπροσθεν, καὶ ἵνα τῇ τραχύ-  
 τητι τῆς φωνῆς καταπτοῶσι τοὺς βόας. 6 Τοὺς αἰ-

Source 2: Fol. 3(ϣ). v.9- Fol. 4(ϛ). vv.1-8 and Gp. 2. 3. 1-6

القول في أى الأمكنة من الأرض أمراً<sup>(١)</sup> وأصح لبناء المزارع

(١) اعلم أن السواحل (٤) والجبال والحقول المنكفئة إلى نواحي الجوف أصح وأمرأ<sup>(٢)</sup>  
وأخصب وأزكى في الإخراج من الأرض المتضعة التي تكون قرب مجامع الماء والأرض  
المنكفئة إلى القبلة وإلى الغرب أيضاً لأن رياح القبلة والغرب مفسدة للنبات وتهيج  
الأمراض. وينبغي أن تكون بيوت المزرعة في مشرق من الأرض على تربة بيضاء  
ويكون أبواب منازلها وكواها قبالة المشرق لأن رياح المشرق مريئة خفيفة من قبل  
حرارة الشمس فاما أبوليوس الحكيم فقال تفتح إلى القبلة والمشرق وذلك لأن<sup>(٣)</sup> الشمس  
وانقلابها إلى القبلة فاما أنا<sup>(٤)</sup> فمخالف له في ذلك لأن رياح القبلة رطبة وخيمة كثيرة  
الأمراض

Cap. 3. 'Εν ποίοις τόποις καὶ κλίμασι χρῆ τὰς οἰκῆσεις ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ποῖον ἕστρον ἀποβλεπούσας, καὶ περὶ βαλανείων. Διδύμου. 6

(1) Οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τόποι εἰσὶν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὑγιεινότεροι, καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀνα-  
κεκλιμένοις τόποις πρὸς βορρᾶν νεύοντες. (2) οἱ δὲ  
πλησίον ἐλῶν καὶ λιμνῶν, ἢ ἐν κοίλοις τόποις, ἢ πρὸς  
νότον ἔνεμον, ἢ πρὸς δυσμὰς κεκλιμένοι, νοσώδεις. 10  
3 χρῆ οὖν τὰς οἰκῆσεις οἰκοδομεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψη-  
λοτέρων τόπων. εἰς τε γὰρ ὑγίειαν καὶ ἔποψιν καὶ  
κατασκοπὴν τοῦ χωρίου οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐπιτηδειότατός  
ἐστι. (4) τὸ δὲ πᾶν σχῆμα τῆς οἰκίας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν  
ποιητέον, καὶ τὰς θύρας. οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν 15  
ἔνεμοι πνέοντες ὑγιεινότατοι, ἢ τε τοῦ ἡλίου θερμό-  
της τάχιν εἰσβάλλουσα λεπτύνει καὶ διασκορπίζει τὸ  
παχὺ καὶ ἀγλυῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος. 5 Λεῖ δὲ τὰς οἰκῆσεις  
μὴ ταπεινὰς μὴδὲ πνιγρὰς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνειμένας καὶ  
πλατείας καὶ ὑψηλάς. (6) Τινὲς δὲ καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν 20  
συμβουλευούσι τὰς οἰκῆσεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἃ τε δὴ τὸν ἥλιον  
ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχούσας. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν  
οἰκῆσιν ἀμείνονά φημι, διὰ τὸ τὸν νότον ἀπὸ μεσημ-  
βρίας πνέοντα ὑγρὸν καὶ ἀνώμαλον καὶ νοσερώτατον  
εἶναι. 7 Τὰ δὲ βαλανεῖα τοῦναντίον δεῖ ποιεῖν οὐ 25

Source 3: Fol. 4(ξ). vv.10-12 and Gp. 2. 8. 1-2

القول في الفيضة والجبال قرب المزارع

(1) إن كان في ناحية القرية جبل والا فينبغي أن تنظر إلى أشرف موضع فيها فتغرس فيه العليق وجماعة من أصناف الشجر الذي لا يثمر. (2) فإن كان الموضع (5) كثير الماء فينبغي أن يغرس فيه الصفصاف والطرفاء والخور والدلب والساج (6) لأنه يحتاج إلى أعوادها لآلة المزارع

Cap. 8. Ὅτι δεῖ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀγροῖς δασέα εἶναι ὄρη, καὶ πῶς ἀν φυτευθεῖη. Ἀπουληίου.

(1) Καλὸν μὲν αὐτομάτου ὄρους ἀμφιλάφειαν ἔχειν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπάρχοι τοῦτό σοι, οὐ δυσχερὲς καὶ ὄρη ὑλώδη καταφυτεύσαι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀγρῶν δένδρων σπέρματά ἐστιν, ἃ κατασπαρέντα ὕλην ἀν ποιήσοι, πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ξηροῖς τόποις οὐ σφόδρα. (2) ἴτέαι γὰρ καὶ μυρίκαι καὶ λεῦκαι καὶ ἐλάται καὶ μελίαι καὶ πτελέαι καὶ πάντα τὰ ὁμοιογενῇ τοῖς καθύγρασι χαίρει τόποις· πίτυς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμμώδεσι θάλλει. 3 μόνας δὲ φοιὰς καὶ ἐλάτας καὶ ἐν τοῖς ξηροτέροις τόποις σφόδρα 5 εὐθαλεῖς γίνεσθαι ἢ πείρα ἐδίδαξε. 4 δρύες δὲ καὶ καστάνειαι, αἱ Διὸς βάλανοι καλούμεναι, ἐν τοῖς συνε- χῶς κατομβριζομένοις τόποις κατατιθέσθωσαν.

Source 4: Fol. 5(°). vv.2-4 and Gp. 2. 7. 1-2

القول في جمع المياه حول المزارع وفي أي (5) موضع تجمع

إن كان هذا الماء موافقا للأرض يبردها ويكثر نداها ويكسر حرارة الشمس ويسومها (1) عن الزرع ولا خير في شربه وكان في بعض الأرض ما ينبع فليقتصر (1) عليه وإلا فليجمع (2) من ماء المطر من أمكنة طيبة لا يكون فيها زبول (3) الغنم والبقر لأن بخاره إذا خالط الماء أفسده ويفسد الأرض ويحرق ما يكون فيها

Cap. 7. *Περὶ ὑδάτων, καὶ πῶς δεῖ τὸ ὕμβριον  
ὑδωρ συνάγειν. Διοφάνους.*

(1) Ὑδάτων δὲ πρὸ πάντων φροντιστέον, οὐ διὰ τὴν  
τοῦ ὕδατος μόνον ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ εὐκρατότα-  
τον ἐν τοῖς ἀνέμοις τὸν ἀέρα ποιεῖ. (2) εὐτυχὲς μὲν  
οὖν σφόδρα τὸ ἔχειν ἀπὸ πηγῆς ὑδωρ. εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ  
ὕμβρια συναγέσθω, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν καὶ πάσης τῆς  
φамиλλας ἔξαρκούντα χρεῖαν· οὐχ' ὥσπερ εἰώθασί τινες  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαύλεων, ὅπου πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα  
10 τυγχάνει κόπρου πληροῦντα τὰς ἐπαύλεις, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
τῶν δωματίων, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπιμελῶς καθαίρειν καὶ συνε-  
χῶς χρεῖ· ξυλίνους δὲ ἀγωγοὺς καθαροὺς τὸ ὑδωρ εἰς  
τὰ φρέατα συνάγειν. 3 Ἀφρικανοῦ. Ὑγιεινὸν δὲ τὸ  
ὑδωρ ποιεῖ δάφνη τούτῳ ἐμβρεχομένη. 4 τὸ δὲ φαν-  
15 λον ὑδωρ θεραπεύσομεν οὕτως. ἐμβαλλέσθω εἰς κε-  
ράμια, καὶ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἐάσθω, ἕως ἂν καταστῇ, καὶ  
μεταχεύσθω ἡρέμα εἰς ἄλλα σκεύη δόξα τῆς ὑφίξανού-  
σης ὑποστάθμης.

Source 5: Fol. 5(°). vv.7-11 and Gp. 2. 48. 1-3

القول في التقدم إلى العمال ان لا يخرجوا من أرض زكية<sup>(٣)</sup> إلى أرض مجذبة  
ان بقراطيس الحكيم نهى عن الخروج من الأرض الزكية<sup>(٤)</sup> المريئة الطيبة الرياح  
إلى أرض سوء وخيمة مجذبة فان كان لا بد من الانصراف عن الأرض الزكية فليكن  
انصرافه<sup>(٥)</sup> إلى خير منها فان لم يفعل فانه سيستوخم البلد ويسقم وتفسد طبيعته<sup>(٦)</sup> من  
قبل وخامة الماء والرياح والزرع وغرس الأشجار بمنزلة الانسان الذي يصح ويصح  
حاله في أمراً<sup>(٧)</sup> الأرض وتخبث وتسقم في أخبت الأرض

Cap. 48. Ὅτι οὐτε γεωργούς οὐτε φυτὰ προσήκει  
ἀπὸ καλλιόνων τόπων εἰς ἐλάττους μεταφέρειν.  
Διδύμου.

(1) Συμβουλευούσι τινες μὴ ἐξ ὑγιεινῶν τόπων εἰς  
τοὺς νοσώδεις μεταφέρειν τὰ φυτὰ, καὶ τοὺς γεω- 5  
ργούς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ χειρόνων εἰς τοὺς κρείττους, ἢ  
ὁμοίους, ἢ εἰς τοὺς μὴ πολλῶ ἐλάττους. (2) ξενίζει γὰρ  
καὶ ταράττει ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολὴ τοὺς μεθιστα-  
μένους. (3) οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ  
τῶν φυτῶν παρατηρεῖν τοῦτο τοῖς σοφωτάτοις δοκεῖ. 10

Source 6: Fol. 6(ῖ). vv.2-9 and Gp. 2. 44. 2-4

القول في تدبير القهرمان من تحت يده

(٦) قال ديمقراطيس الحكيم: ينبغي<sup>(١)</sup> للقهرمان ان يكون عاملاً بالصلاح لكي  
يسير بسيرته من تحت يديه من أعوانه وعماله ويكون كريم الغريزة سهل الخليفة كافاً عن  
الأشربة المسكرة فانها تكثر النسيان والنوم والكسل ويكون نشيطاً في ما وكل به  
وأُسند إليه ويتيقظ من نومه قبل نهوض عماله من مضاجعهم ولا يكون حلاًفاً ولا  
كذاباً ولا مستحلاً لأخذ شيء مما جعاه مولاه لله من ماله ويكون بصيراً بأوقات  
الراحة في العمل ولا يكون فضاً ولا غليظاً بل يتودد من تحت يديه من أعوانه  
وعلمانه وخزانه فان ذلك يسرع في إصلاح من تحت يديه ولا يقرض شيئاً من مال  
سيده إلا بأذنه ولا يعمل في سوى أرض سيده إلا بأذنه وان هو أصاب أمراً مرجحاً  
فليستأذنه فيه إلا أن يتقى فواته فيعمل به

Cap. 44. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀργῷ ἐπιτρόπου ἢ οἰκονόμου. Φλωρεντίνου.

1 Χρή τὸν ἐμπειστευμένον τὴν τοῦ ἀργοῦ ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπόδειγμα εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀργῷ πάντων, ἵνα πρὸς ἐκείνον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου βίον καὶ τρόπον ἀποβλέποντες, αἰδῶνται μᾶλλον ἢ φοβῶνται. (2) ἔστω δὲ σεμνός, εὐπρόσιτος, οἶνον κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀπεχόμενος, (λήθην γὰρ ἐμποιεῖ ἢ πλείων τοῦ οἶνου πόσις) μὴ αἰσχροκερδής, μηδὲ περὶ τοὺς τόκους ἄπληστος, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος, καὶ πάντοτε τοῖς ἐπιτηδείων δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, ἐργηγορός, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνιστάμενος· ψεύδεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιорκεῖν φυλαττόμενος, θεοσεβής, τὰς συνήθεις θρησκείας φυλάττων, μὴ δένδρα καθευρωμένα ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἐνυβρίζων, ἀλλὰ πάντας πρὸς εὐσέβειαν παρασκευάζων· καὶ τῷ καιρῷ μὲν τῆς ἐργασίας ἐπιστρέφής, τῷ δὲ καιρῷ τῆς ἀναπαύλης κοινὸς καὶ προετικός, τὰς ἀργίας κατὰ ἐβδομάδα γίνεσθαι συγχωρῶν, καὶ μηδὲν τι τότε ἐπαχθὲς πράττειν ἐπιτρέπων, ἀλλὰ σχολάζειν ἀναγκάζων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μηνιαίαις ἢ ἐνιαυσιαίαις ἑορταῖς. (3) ἀλλοτριούς λόγους μὴ μισθούσθω, μηδὲ ἐργασίαν γῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀναδεχέσθω, μηδὲ δανειζέτω πᾶσιν ἐκ δεσποτικοῦ λόγου, ταῖς τοῦ δεσπότη ἐντολαῖς ἀρκεῖσθω. (4) ἅν τι εὖρη κρεῖττον, ἀναφερέτω πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν δεσπότην, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πᾶν οὕτως κατεπεῖροι τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ πράγματος, ὥς μὴ ἐκδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ δεσπότη κέλευσιν.

On the one hand the *Geoponika* consists of 20 books and 621 chapters. Each chapter has a chapter heading and 494 of the chapter headings also give the names of the work and the author (in the genitive case); on the other the book of Anatolios has also a chapter heading in each chapter, but all of them does not give the names of the author (in the genitive case). The author's name is sometimes indicated by "x said" x قال in the body of chapter. And about chapter headings there is also the substantial similarity of contents between them. Concerning Fol. 6(1). v.2 and the chapter heading of *Gp.* 2. 44 (see Source 6) M. Ullmann asserts that 'das Lemma "Florentius" in Geopon. 2. 44 falsch ist. Den richtigen Namen "Demokritos" bietet die arabische Übersetzung.'<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, we cannot judge from only this case whether what he says is right or not. Three of the 11 writers appearing in Fol. 1 vv.8-10 appear in Fol. 4 v. 6, Fol.5 v.7, and Fol.6 v.1: Apuleius, Hippocrates, and Democritus. By the way Hippocrates appearing in Fol.5 v.7 differs from the author (i.e. Didymos) appearing in the chapter heading of *Gp.* 2. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Ullmann 1972, 431.

To sum up: It is probable that our Arabic manuscripts constitute an excerpt abridged from the Arabic original text of Anatolios, and that the *Synagoge* of Anatolios was incorporated as the primary source of the *Eklogai* compiled by Cassianos Bassos in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the *Eklogai* as the primary source of the *Geoponika* compiled in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that close relation and similarity between the *Geoponika* and the Arabic version prove it. It also appears that the Anatolios' Book 1 is equivalent to *Gp.* 2; therefore *Gp.* 1 is not from our Arabic manuscripts.

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