Arabo-Byzantine Traffic of Manuscripts and the Connections between the Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement and the First Byzantine 'Renaissance' (9th-10th Centuries)
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Among the manuscripts from the middle-Byzantine period we possess a collection of fifteen manuscripts that form a genuine neoplatonic library – with works of Plato, his commentators such as Proclus and Damascius, Christian neoplatonists such as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and various treatises on geography and other subjects. According to the opinion of Bernard Flusin, this philosophical collection, which displays an exceptional interest in philosophy, was produced in the middle of the ninth century, without a doubt by a single scriptorium and quite possibly it was also requested by a single person. Scholars have searched, in vain, to attribute it to the activity of Leon the Grammarian or Photius. This paper will entertain an entirely different perspective regarding the question of who could have ordered these manuscripts in Byzantium – an Arab.

Arabo-Byzantine connection

The Muslim civilisation that emerged in the seventh century was highly affected by the culture of its Byzantine and Sassanid predecessors. We can observe many Byzantine influences in the nascent caliphate. In very few cases they were direct (as in art), but this was not necessarily always the case. Almost everything that Arabs were doing on a larger scale – building monumental architecture, searching for identity, waging wars, even defining religion – was done in defiance of the splendour of the still mighty and impressive

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empire of Constantinople. As a result we can read plentiful articles and books about the presence of Byzantium in Medieval Muslim culture.\(^2\) By contrast, Arabic influences on Byzantium are occasional and difficult to track. They include: the transfer of motifs in art and literature, the dubious idea that iconoclasm was inspired by Islam, as well as influences in astrology and occult sciences, studied recently by Paul Magdalino\(^3\) and Maria Mavroudi\(^4\).

However the most fascinating phenomenon of this period is the simultaneous and somewhat sudden appearance of three movements in different corners of the Mediterranean (Carolingian Empire, Byzantium and Muslim caliphate) that share a common characteristic: an unprecedented interest in ancient culture. This paper will deal with the literary aspect of the “Macedonian” cultural revival (more precisely with the renewal of written production in the ninth century, related to the invention of the extremely efficient minuscule script) and with the Abbasid Greco–Arabic translation movement of IX and X centuries, during which a major part of scientific literature and Greek philosophy was translated into Arabic, including Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates, Ptolemy and Galen. This activity, concentrated in Baghdad, was generously sponsored by the caliphs and politico-cultural elite and lead to Greek thought being incorporated into the Islamic tradition.

These two escalations of literary interest in ancient Greek culture, in Byzantium and in the Abbasid caliphate, took place almost simultaneously. The question that appears immediately is whether these movements were related to each other in any way. The long-established answer to this question was negative. In the past, all influence of the Arab world upon Byzantium has been largely denied, especially by the scholars of Byzantium, who called it “just a remarkable coincidence”\(^5\). A few years ago, this approach was questioned by Dimitri Gutas, a specialist in the Greco-Arabic translation movement. He found it hard to believe that these two movements, which occurred almost simultaneously and which where in many ways so similar, could have been completely unrelated. He maintained that the Byzantines were well aware of philosophical and scientific movements in Baghdad; indeed, they were even under Arabic influence\(^6\).

Gutas makes a very interesting comparison between the books that were being copied or translated in the ninth century in Byzantium on one hand and in the Abbasid caliphate

\(^2\) Principal works on the subject containing the current state of research: M. Di Branco, _Storie arabe di Greci e di Romani. La Grecia e Roma nella storiografia arabo-islamica medievale_, Pisa 2009; N. M. El Cheikh, _Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs_, Cambridge MA 2004.


\(^4\) M. Mavroudi, _A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources_, Leiden 2002.


on the other. He sets side by side the list of works translated into Arabic at that time and the list of the very first manuscripts that have undergone the process of transcription into minuscule in Byzantine scriptoria. The correlation between them is striking.

Gutas gives two possible explanations for these similarities. Firstly, the Greek manuscripts could have been copied in the ninth and tenth centuries through imitation or as a response to the Arabic translation of these very works. This would represent a kind of emulation or rivalry at the cultural level. The Byzantines, being aware of Arab achievements in the fields of science and philosophy, would have wanted to prove their superiority. This rivalry was a constant element in the diplomatic game of that time. The Byzantine determination to reclaim cultural superiority over the Arabs would have provoked their desire to emulate Muslim achievements and nourished a renewed interest in Greek heritage.

Secondly, the manuscripts could have been copied in Byzantium because of a specific Arabic demand for these works. The Arabs were highly interested in Greek philosophical and scientific literature. They needed the manuscripts. In fact, as we will see, the caliphs seized every opportunity to obtain them from Byzantium. The Byzantines possibly became aware of this matter and according to Gutas they may have provided the Arabs with fresh copies of the Greek manuscripts that were in their possession. This paper will leave out the theory of cultural rivalry and instead will focus on the manuscripts.

### The Arabic demand

The Arabic demand for Greek manuscripts would be difficult to underestimate. On several occasions, sources inform us of great efforts undertaken by caliphs in order obtain Greek manuscripts from Byzantium. Frequently they were taken as booty after conquest of a Byzantine city. According to Ibn Gulgul, Caliph al-Mu’tam, after the conquest of the major Byzantine city of Amorium, ordered to take the remains of the books stored in the local library and then called the famous physician Yuhannā ibn Māsawayh to translate them. It is probable that such events occurred quite often, since the Muslim jurists of that period paid special attention to the question of what to do with foreign books acquired as booty in wartime. The caliphs also employed more peaceful means to obtain books. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Ma’mūn wrote to the Byzantine emperor asking him for a selection of old scientific manuscripts from Byzantium. The letter was followed by a group of scholars sent by the caliph with an order to bring and translate these books.

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It was not only the caliphs who were interested in books from Byzantium. The same Ibn al-Nadim tells us what he heard from Ibn Šahrām, a tenth century envoy to Constantinople. He came back to Baghdad with reports about the abundance of books in Byzantium. He recounted during a general gathering (ماع سلجم يف ماع سلجم يف ماع سلجم يف ماع سلجم يف), presumably of scholars, that he had seen in Byzantium a building of ancient construction (ءانبلا ميدق لكيه ءانبلا ميدق لكيه ءانبلا ميدق لكيه ءانبلا ميدق لكيه), closed since the adoption of Christianity by the Romans, in which there were among other dazzling riches numerous camel-loads of ancient books. We should draw particular attention to a few important points:

- the fact that Ibn Šahrām announces this information to a gathering of the scholars of Baghdad;
- the mercantile language he uses (especially the phrase “numerous camel-loads of ancient books” – (لامجأ ةّدع ىلع لمحي ام قميقلإا بستقلا نم – (لامجأ ةّدع ىلع لمحي ام قميقلإا بستقلا نم – (لامجأ ةّدع ىلع لمحي ام قميقلإا بستقلا نم – (لامجأ ةّدع ىلع لمحي ام قميقلإا بستقلا نم – (لامجأ ةّدع ىلع لمحي ام قميقلإا بستقلا نم –);
- Ibn al-Nadim’s belief that Ibn Šahrām had: ‘exaggerated to the extent of a thousand camel [loads]’;
- the attention Ibn Šahrām pays to describing the quality of the manuscripts (“some of these [books] were worn and some in normal condition. Others were eaten by insects.”)
- and finally the fact that he emphasises the close contacts he had with the Byzantine emperor, who gave him access to these books.

All these elements to the story make me think of a commercial advertisement, as if Ibn Šahrām was trying to attract interest in these great quantities of manuscripts, lying unused in Byzantium and longing to be taken to the caliphate.

Byzantium therefore was famous in the Arabic world for possessing numerous Greek works. Moreover, this reputation was common not only in the Abbasid Caliphate, but in Umayyad Spain and in Fatimid Egypt as well. Some sources speak of Arabs who came to Byzantium precisely with the specific aim of buying Greek books. Ibn al-Nadim gives few names of some important scholars and political figures “who were concerned with the bringing of books from the Byzantine country” (نم بستقلا جارخإب ينع نمم (مورلا دلب (مورلا دلب (مورلا دلب دلب ودا ديريغ وقاجرا نب نيب موهف مورلا) دلب ودا ديريغ وقاجرا نب نيب موهف مورلا) دلب ودا ديريغ وقاجرا نب نيب موهف مورلا) دلب ودا ديريغ وقاجرا نب نيب موهف مورلا) دلب ودا ديريغ وقاجرا نب نيب موهف مورلا) and goes on to say that they sent “Hunayn ibn Ishāq and others to the Byzantine country to bring them rare books and unusual compositions about philosophy, geometry, music, arithmetic, and medicine” (دلب ىلا هريغو قاحسإ نب نينح اوذفنا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا (ىقيسوملاو ةسدنهلاو ةفسلفلا يفيف تافنصملا بئارغو بتكلا فئارطب مهؤاجف مورلا). There are more stories of that kind, even dating to later periods, for example of Muhammad b. Sa'id, a thirteenth century historian and librarian from Malaga, who was an avid buyer of Byzantine books. When he heard of a famine in Byzantium, he sent a shipment of grain to Constantinople, but commanded his agent not to give it to the starving Byzantines unless in exchange for – nothing else than – books.14

We can imagine therefore, that Arabic scholars were very interested in importing Greek manuscripts from Byzantium. However, there was one extremely significant problem: money.

**The Financial aspect**

It is easy to envisage a number of difficult predicaments related to this kind of activity. Getting into contact with Byzantine copyists, buying old precious manuscripts or commanding new ones to be copied and importing them to Baghdad... It would be quite a costly affair. Did the scholars of Baghdad have that amount of money? In fact they did. Firstly, we must understand the importance of the book trade in the Arab world, which prospered much better than that in Byzantium. It was so important that, for example, in Baghdad, there was a whole neighbourhood of bookstores and many people made their living through the production and trade of books. For instance – Ibn al-Nadīm himself, the historian who is mentioned in this paper so frequently, inherited from his father a bookstore coupled with a publishing company and his opus – *Al-Fihrist* – was intended as a complete catalogue of the books and authors that he possessed in his facilities (or that he knew of).

Simply speaking – there was huge amount of money involved in the book business in Baghdad, especially in the Greco-Arabic translation movement. This process was very fortunate when it came to finding patrons. Most of the groups belonging to the elite of Baghdad – regardless of their position and of religious or ethnic affiliation – were interested in sponsoring translations. This movement was initiated by the Abbasid caliphs themselves. Subsequently, it was developed and sponsored by their families, courtiers, state officials and by the emerging community of scholars. As they paid a lot for these works, their expectations grew. The more profitable the translation movement became, the more professional it turned out to be.

This is the case for the instance of Hunayn ibn Ishāq (809–873), a Nestorian physician and the most famous of the translators. Ibn Abī Usayb’ia, a thirteenth century biographer of physicians, relates a story about the beginning of his career which sheds some light on the level of professionalism expected from the translators by their generous patrons. On his first visit to Baghdad, Hunayn ibn Ishāq is admitted as a student by Yūhannā ibn Māsawāyh (777–857), the famous Abbasid court physician and director of the House of Wisdom. Yuhannā is irritated by Hunayn’s lack of proficiency at Greek and throws him out. Hunayn decides to leave Baghdad and to go to Byzantium. There he studies Byzan-

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17 Ibidem, p. 125.
19 Ibidem, pp. 133–134.
tine literature (مورلا بادآ) reads ‘their books’ (مهبتك ةءارق) and learns the Greek language (ينانويلا ناسللا ملعت). When he returns after three years, he possesses a level of Greek so high that he chanted Homer (سيرموأل ةيمورلاب ارعش دشني) and by heart. Then he reconciles with Yuhannā.

This story is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it shows the degree to which a translators’ professionalism was pursued. This proficiency was much desired and in consequence it became well-paid. It could have been an incentive for Byzantine copyists to intensify their copying of manuscripts, in order to meet Arabic demand. Secondly, it provides an example of the fact that the Arabs associated the source of education in the Greek language with Byzantium.

When the translations became a very profitable business, their authors were able to devote plenty of resources and effort in order to acquire the manuscripts to work on and the skills required to translate them. However, could Arab demand for Greek books have influenced Byzantine manuscript production? The sources themselves contain no straightforward information regarding this matter, but we can find a few clues here and there: for example in the following story.

Qustā ibn Lūqā21 (circa 820–circa 912) was a Christian scholar of Greek origin who translated into Arabic multiple Greek works and wrote several books himself on astronomy, mathematics, medicine and philosophy. In his youth, he left his hometown and went to Baghdad in search of fame and fortune as a translator. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions Qustā while describing the mission of a group of Arabic translators that were dispatched by al-Ma’mun to Byzantium to find rare manuscripts. Ibn al-Nadīm thus goes on to say that “Qustā ibn Lūqā [also] brought some material with him, which he translated, it also being translated for him.”22 This story would seem to be the perfect embodiment of the theory of a Byzantine answer to the Arabic demand for Greek manuscripts. A young Greek scholar leaves his hometown hoping (correctly) to pursue a career in Baghdad. He even takes some manuscripts with him. However there is a flaw in this version of events: Qustā was not Byzantine. While of Greek language, culture and of Orthodox creed, his hometown was Baalbek, in Syria, a Muslim province for almost three centuries.

A Palestinian intermediary?

It is worthwhile at this point to refer to the fact that Greek manuscripts were probably as numerous inside the caliphate as in Byzantium. The Arabs inherited, with the conquered Byzantine provinces, two focal points of Greek culture – Alexandria and Antioch, as well as many smaller centres. Palestine, or more generally, Syria, was a particularly important area of post-Byzantine learning within the caliphate. The Orthodox environment

around Jerusalem not only survived the Muslim conquest, but thanks to its new position within the vast Muslim caliphate, it became very dynamic and innovative,\textsuperscript{23} as is proven for instance by the very early implementation of paper or minuscule script.

In this case, perhaps it would be more appropriate to relocate or re-centre the entire model of Arabo-Byzantine manuscript traffic? Maybe we should place this demand-supply scheme within the Caliphate: in Syria and Palestine? We can assume that Arabic translators searched intensively for Greek manuscripts in Palestine, and in Syria in general. Perhaps the concentrated activity of these communities is at least to a certain degree a consequence of the intellectual Golden Era in the Abbasid caliphate? Could it be that Arabs were eager to buy manuscripts from Palestinian monks? Maybe this interest prompted the latter to invent a more efficient way of writing: the famous minuscule? Nevertheless if all of this demand-supply pattern were to be confined to the areas of the Abbasid caliphate, how could we connect it to the development of the Macedonian renaissance in Byzantium?

To better analyse this relationship, we should take into account the close cultural ties between the Greek communities of Palestine and Constantinople in this period. They became very intense due to the arrival of refugees from the Eastern Provinces after the Muslim conquest.\textsuperscript{24} Moreover, they magnified during the time of the civil wars and turmoil of the second half of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth.\textsuperscript{25} Several important figures of ninth-century Byzantine culture were refugees from Palestine – Theodore and Theophanes Graptoi, George Syncellus, Michel Syncellus and Antony the Younger. For this reason, it would not be a complete novelty if Muslim-ruled Palestine influenced Constantinople culturally.

Among these emigrants was Michel Syncellus (c. 760–846), an educated monk who spent the first part of his life in Palestine.\textsuperscript{26} Some time after 810, Michael and his two disciples Theodore and Theophanes, known as the Graptoi, arrived in Constantinople, where they became disciples of Theodore the Studite and they fought together against the heresy of iconoclasm. This cooperation between Palestinian and Studite monk circles is especially interesting for the reason that these two groups are considered as being poten-

tially responsible for the origin of the minuscule. Indeed, some of the oldest manuscripts written in the new script originate from the Studios. Moreover, we know that from the moment Theodore became abbot of the monastery of Studios, a scriptorium developed there which became an important centre for the copying of Greek manuscripts.27

On account of this, is it possible that Greek refugees from the lost Eastern Provinces brought the new script into Byzantium? Or that they had persuaded their hosts in Constantinople of the profits to be derived from copying manuscripts for the Arabs? Although we are not able to answer these questions at this stage, but we cannot exclude them automatically. On top of this the origins of the minuscule are obscure and we cannot yet be sure that they should necessarily be placed in Palestine or in the Studite circles of Constantinople. It is important, nevertheless, to underline the ties that connected those two exceptionally important cultural circles of that period. This relationship may occupy a central place in the further development of the hypothesis presented in this paper.

**Conclusion**

The model put forward in this paper is not necessarily as complicated or complex as it may seem. While the Greco-Arabic translation movement developed in Baghdad, it was in constant need of Greek texts, and consequently scholars and their patrons started to seek ancient books within the Greek communities of the caliphate or across the border, in Byzantium itself, which was commonly known as the land abounding in Greek manuscripts. These actions were stimulated by an increasing amount of money involved in the Greco-Arabic translation movement. As a result, major incentives appeared for Byzantine copyists or scholars to go to the caliphate, or simply to sell manuscripts to the Arabs. Furthermore, this was rendered more labour-saving by the new invention of a highly efficient minuscule. This process could have taken place directly between the caliphate and Constantinople or, what has been found more plausible, through the intermediary of Palestine.

Nonetheless, this idea poses many difficulties. The main problem is that the sources do not give us direct evidence of the interactions, which would have tied Byzantine (or Palestinian) scriptoria and the translators and scholars from the caliphate. In fact, the sources had simply no interest in describing these processes. Virtually all of the sources that have survived are partisan and engaged in favour of one of the sides of the Arabo-Byzantine cultural rivalry. The authors are very eager to demonstrate the cultural superiority of their own civilisation. As a result there is no chance that they would have described cultural interactions with the enemy, as would be the case for the production or the purchase of manuscripts. We can only hope for accidental, indirect mentions of such processes. Yet besides the lack of explicit information in the sources, the latent evidence, which we have been elaborating upon in this paper, is not unequivocal. Beyond doubt there are several points of this theory that need further analysis.

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