

than four<sup>1</sup> MSS. of *Jubilees*,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, as many texts as were known to Charles and still nearly half the number of copies available to us now.

Finally, mention is made in *Le Monde Oriental* for 1916<sup>3</sup> of still another copy of our book extant in the Cathedral Library of Axum at the end of the last century.

It is hoped that the present communication will result in making available at least some of the MSS. last mentioned.

We expect to complete a new edition in about six years' time and we earnestly hope that by then all the texts from Qumran cave IV will have been made available, so as to make our edition as comprehensive as possible.

<sup>1</sup> As I have been informed by Mr R. Schneider, who recently paid a visit to Gunda Gunde, only three MSS. can be found now.

<sup>2</sup> Numbered 15, 35, 51 and 160 in Mordini's provisional numbering which, as I have been told by Mr Schneider, has often disappeared from the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. x (Uppsala, 1916), p. 246.

# THE "KALILAH WA-DIMNAH" AND THE ETHIOPIC "BOOK OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT" (BRITISH MUSEUM MS. OR. 534)

ENRICO CERULLI

We all know how the collection of tales, derived from India and known in Arabic literature under the title of *The Book of Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, was later on widely disseminated from Arabic into many other literatures of the Christian East and of Europe. This diffusion in Europe begins with the translation, or rather the Latin version of the Hebrew translation, made between 1263 and 1278 by John of Capua, and again retranslated into various European languages. Did this work, so well known and so widespread, ever appear in Ethiopic literature, and if so, from what sources? This may seem rather an unimportant problem, but, on the contrary, it is not without interest for the cultural history of the Middle Ages in Ethiopia.

It has already been asserted by some scholars that the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* was translated into Ethiopic. I traced this assertion, some years ago,<sup>1</sup> to a passage in the catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum by W. Wright. In the description of the MS. Or. 534, which contains the *Maṣmura Krestos* ("Psalter of Christ"), W. Wright says<sup>2</sup> that fo. 10 of that MS. enumerates "the books, biblical and other, which the author used in composing this Psalter", and among those books the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* is quoted. This quotation was, later on, pointed out by Th. Nöldeke<sup>3</sup> as evidence of a possible Ethiopic translation of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Thence the hypothesis has passed, without further check, into the more recent literature on the subject. The problem is therefore centred on the MS. Or. 534 of the British Museum. That MS. is dated A.D. 1582 (19th year of the reign of Negus Sarṣa Dengel). The "Psalter of Christ" (*Maṣmura*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my review of M. M. Moreno, *Cent fables amhariques* in *Orientalia*, xix (1950), 214.

<sup>2</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1877), p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1884), p. 676, n. 5.

*Krestos*) is an adaptation for Christian use of the Psalms of David, the usual daily lectionary of the Ethiopian Church. As W. Wright has published only the Ethiopic text of the first two Psalms, I think it useful to give a translation:

Psalm 1

Blessed is the man who did not walk in the road of heresy,  
and stood in the faith of the Father and the Son  
and belief in the Holy Ghost, one Trinity.  
And blessed is in the flaming fire of her love  
he who bows and prostrates himself  
to Mary the Virgin, justice of the sinners and wisdom of the ignorant.  
Myself too—I will strongly keep, until my death,  
faith in the Trinity;  
and I will now open my lips  
telling a speech and song,  
whose name is the "Psalter of Christ" like the Psalms of David;  
and this (my Psalter) does not omit a single word from the words of  
his (Psalter),  
and its letters are no more than the letters of his (Psalter).  
But it is convenient to obtain from God the power of ending it,  
because God is the beginner and the end of all.

Psalm 2

Why gathered themselves together peacefully  
those who had been enemies before:  
Herod and the Roman Pilate  
with Caiaphas and Hannah, chiefs of Jerusalem?  
Was it not to strengthen their decision of pouring out the blood  
and crucifying the Son of Mary,<sup>1</sup>  
who appeared in flesh in this world?  
He knows their secret and laughs at them;  
and Our Lord scorns them;  
because He has previous knowledge  
of all (the work) which He has to do.  
But they believed they had obliterated the memory of Him  
from Sion, the mountain of His Temple!  
because they had put on a dress of ignorance and envy.  
Later they had the sorrow of raising his head.

<sup>1</sup> The "Roman Pilate" is described here as an accomplice of the enemies of Jesus, contrary to the tradition of the Ethiopian Church on the "martyrdom" of Pilate. Cf. my lecture "L'Oriente Cristiano nella unità delle sue tradizioni" (in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1964).

Is it not true that envy is worse  
than any other wrong? and worse than a biting earthly serpent?  
The vengeance of His death arrived lately at its proper time  
against those who had crucified Him and had not repented,  
as the son of Gorion told in his history  
where he wrote the actions of his relatives:<sup>1</sup>  
how Caesar captured them at the end of the fortieth year  
after the Ascension (of Jesus) in flesh to Heaven.<sup>2</sup>  
Therefore I pray  
and, in memory of Thy Crucifixion, I beseech Thee  
not to let me diverge from the right road.  
O compassionate Lord,  
give me, as your servant, the favour of the Cross.

As is readily seen from these examples, the technique of the author is relatively simple: he quotes, at the beginning of each Psalm of his Psalter, the first words of the corresponding Psalm of David (in the Ethiopic version) and continues to celebrate the Christian faith in the same number of verses as in the Psalm of David. The verses have a rhyme which changes three times in Psalm 1 (rhymes: in *-d* for the first six verses; in *-t* for verses 7–11; in *-lu* for verses 12–15) and eight times in Psalm 2 (rhymes: in *-m*, verses 1–7; in *-mu*, verses 8–9; in *-ro*, verses 10–12; in *-su*, verses 13–15; in *-ki*, verses 16–17; in *-hu*, verses 18–21; in *-t*, verses 22–3; in *-l*, verses 24–8).

Psalm 151 contains the *colophon* of this work. The translation is as follows:

I am the smallest<sup>3</sup> among the churchmen,  
a disciple of the monks  
of the monastery (called) Dabra Märyām.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to the History of the Pseudo-Josippon which had been translated from the Arabic into Ethiopic, possibly in the fourteenth century. Cf. Murad Kamil, *Des Josef ben Gorion (Josippon) Geschichte der Juden: Zēnā Ayhud* (New York, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the narrative of the expedition of Titus and the capture of Jerusalem, *op. cit.* pp. 239–63.

<sup>3</sup> This is the beginning of Psalm 151 of the Ethiopic Psalter, a free composition inspired by I Kings xvi. 1–14 and xvii. This Psalm is used also in the rites of the Coronation of the Emperor of Ethiopia. Cf. my article "Nuovi libri pubblicati in Etiopia" in *Oriente Moderno*, xii (1932), 170–5.

<sup>4</sup> Dabra Märyām is a well-known monastery in Tigre, in the province of Gar'alā, valley of the river Takkazē. Its scriptorium was founded by Absādi, one of the first disciples of St Eustathius, and followed the rules of the other Eustathian convents of Northern Ethiopia. Monks of Dabra Märyām are quoted in the MSS. Vaticanus Aethiopicus 38 (a monk Mekḥa Märyām living

I have recited the lectionary of the Psalms  
which are of the same number as the Psalms of David.  
You who read my book,  
do not hasten to criticize my worthlessness for its defects;  
but pardon me,  
remembering the pains which I have endured to compose it!  
because, when words were abundant,  
the number of letters was too few for me;  
and at other times the letters were more numerous than my words.<sup>1</sup>  
And I made them equal with much effort and endeavour,  
in the time of Sarša Dengel  
when he killed Muḥammad, the King of Adal.<sup>2</sup>  
Finally I say:  
Glory be to the Lord who gives us the power!

It is in this context that we find the references, written as marginal notes in the MS., for the *Book of Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. There are three or perhaps I should rather say only two. The first quotation is found on fo. 124r:

(Marginal note): ከሊላ: ወደምና

(Text): fo. 124r: በከመ: ምሳሌ: ጠቢብ: ይብል

ኮነ: በአሐዱ: መዋዕል

ዴገኖ: አርፎ: ለብእሲ: በውስተ: ፍኖት

ወጉዮ: በብዝሃ: ፍርሃት

እስከ: ወድቀ: ማእከለ: ጸድፍ

in Cairo in 1541) and Vaticanus Aethiopicus 66 (a deacon Yā'qob living in Rome in the Ethiopian College of St Stephen in the middle of the sixteenth century). Cf. S. Grébaut-E. Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani* (Rome, 1935), pp. 176, 247. Another monk of Dabra Māryām is quoted in B.M. MS. Or. 705 (Dān'ēl: the MS. was written in the eighteenth century; but Dān'ēl is quoted in a list of saints of previous ages). Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue*, cit. p. 186. There is also another monastery named Dabra Māryām on an island in lake Ṭānā, near the point where the Blue Nile issues from the lake; and although this is less famous than the Dabra Māryām in Tigre, it remains doubtful whether the author of our *Psalms of Christ* lived in the Northern monastery or in the convent in lake Ṭānā.

<sup>1</sup> The author had decided that each Psalm of Christ, as said above, must have the same number of verses as the corresponding Psalm of David. But sometimes he was inspired to say much more and at other times less than that number of verses; and it was therefore difficult for him to attain that exact correspondence.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad ibn Naṣīr ibn 'Utmān ibn Badlāy, Sultan of Adal, was defeated by Sarša Dengel (Malak Sagad), Negus of Ethiopia, in the year A.D. 1576-7. Cf. *Documenti arabi per la storia dell'Etiopia in Memorie Accademia Lincei* (Rome, 1931), p. 60, nn. 8 and 9.

ወበውስተ: ጸድፍ: ረከበ: አመ: ወተሰቅለ: ቦቱ: በሐቂፍ  
ወረእየ: አርባዕተ: አክይስተ: እመንገለ: ገቦህ  
እንዘ: ይፈቅዱ: ግሪገ: ጎቤህ  
ግዲ: ርእየ: ተመነ: እምታሕቴህ  
ጎቤህ: ያንቀግዱ: ወይጸንሐ: ለውሒጥ: አብቂዎ: አፋህ  
ካዕበ: ርእየ: እንዘ: ይዌስርዎ: ለአም  
ክልኤ: አናጹት: ፀግዳ: ወፀሊም  
በከመ: ቃለ: ምሳሌህ: ለበረሃም:  
እስከ: አልጸቀ: ጉንዱ: ለወዲቅ  
ወእንዘ: በፍርሃተ: እሉ: ይጸግቅ  
ርእየ: ጸቃውግ: መግር: ላዕለ: ግጽቅ  
ከሠተ: አፋህ: ወተክዕው: ሎቱ: በበሕቅ  
ወበጣዕመ: ጸቃውዕ: ንስቲተ: ረስዎ  
ለእለ: ፍርሃታት: እለ: ዘከርናሆመ  
ዘኮነ: ይብል: በምንት: አመስጦመ  
ረስየነ: ሊተ: ኢይርስዎመ: ለእሉ  
ዘፍካሬ: ነገርመ: ይተሉ።

A second quotation, which is only a moral explanation of the first one, is on fo. 129r, as follows (with the same marginal note: ከሊላ: ወደምና):

አንቅሐኒ: ኢይርሳዕ: ድንጋዕያተ  
ዘአሐዱ: ብእሲ: በጣዕመ: ጸቃውዕ: ረስዎመ:  
እለ: ተጻደቅዎ: በበጸታሆመ  
በምእት: ወሠላሳ: ወአሐዱ: ጸታ: ዘከርናሆመ  
ወዝንቱ: ውእቱ: ጊዜህ: ለከሂተ: ፍካሬሆመ  
አርፎስ: ዘዴገኖ: ከመ: ይውግዎ: ውእቱ: ዲያቦሎስ: መስሐቲ  
ወፍካሬ: ጸድፍኒ: ግለም: ይእቲ  
ወትትሚሰል: አመ: ሀላዌ: ሥጋነ: ዛቲ  
ዘነዋ: ንሕነ: ከልነ: ስቂላን: ባቲ  
ወአርባዕቲሂ: አክይስት: ውእቶመ: ጠባይግትነ  
ዘእመ: ንቱ: ይጸውሩ: ሕምዘ: እክይ: ዘይቀትል: ነፍስነ  
ወእለ: ይዌስርዎ: ለአም: አናጹት  
ይተረጎመ: በዕለት: ወሌሊት  
ዘበመ: ይትፈጸም: መዋዕለ: ግመታት  
ወዝኒ: ተመን: ዘብቅው: አፋህ: ለውሒጥ  
ሲአል: ውእቱ: ከሎ: ዘይመሥጥ

ወአልቦ፡እምኔሁ፡ዘያመሥጥ  
ወጣዕመ፡መዓርኒ፡ዘአርስዮ፡እሎንተ  
ሐውዘ፡ዓለም፡ውእቱ፡ዘኢያሒሊ፡ሞተ  
ወዘያረስዕ፡ተደላ፡ኢኃላፊተ  
ብጹዓን፡እለ፡መነኩ፡ጣዕመ  
ወጸልኡ፡ዓለመ  
ኩሎ፡ጊዜ፡እንዘ፡ያደነግጹ፡እምእሉ  
እስመ፡ዘረስዮመ፡ይቀትሉ።  
ኦክርስቶስ፡እምቅድመ፡ትደቅ፡ኦምዮ  
ጸግወኒ፡ልብ፡ዘይሄሊ፡ሰማየ።

The translation of the two quotations, which I prefer to give together, is as follows.

I

(Marginal note): *Kalilā wa-Demnā*

(Text): fo. 124r: As the parable of the learned man says:

There was once upon a time:

A wild beast that attacked a man on a road.

He ran away with much fear

until he fell into a pit,

And in that pit he found a tree and clung to it with an embrace.

Then he saw four serpents at his side  
which were trying to come up towards him.

He also saw a dragon below

that was looking at him and was ready to swallow him, opening its mouth.

Moreover he saw two mice which were gnawing at the tree,

one of them white and the other black,

according to the words of the parable by Barlaam,

until the trunk was about to fall.

But, while he was distressed by fear of them,

he saw a comb of honey on a branch

and opened his mouth and honey flowed to him slowly.

So by the sweetness of honey he forgot in a little while

those fears which we have mentioned above,

and whose meaning was: How can I escape from them?

(O Lord), let me not forget those

whose interpretation follows.

II

(Marginal note): *Kalilā wa-Demnā*

(Text) (fo. 129r): Awake me! so that I shall not forget the fears

that the man forgot for the sweetness of honey;

and they assaulted him each in his turn

as we have mentioned in the 131st psalm (of ours).

And this is the proper time to explain its interpretation:

The wild beast that attacked him is the Devil, the deceiver,  
and the pit signifies this world.

The tree represents the life of our body,  
which here we all are fastened to.

The four serpents are our elements  
which bring evil passions killing our soul.

The mice that gnawed the tree

must be interpreted as the days and nights

by which the time of our years shall be consumed,

and the dragon that opens its mouth to swallow

is Sheol, which ravishes all

and nobody escapes from it.

The sweetness of honey that makes those (evils) to be forgotten

is the pleasure of this world which lets no one think of death;

and makes the lasting rest to be forgotten.

Blessed are those who have kept themselves far from pleasures  
and have disliked the world,

while they were ever afraid of those (evils)

which kill the men who had forgotten them.

O Christ, before the fall of my tree

grant me a heart which may think (ever) of Heaven!

This tale with its moral conclusions is really found in the *Book of Kalilah wa-Dimnah* in the final passage of the voyage of Burzoe, the physician, to India.<sup>1</sup> But, while the marginal note of the Ethiopic MS. quotes *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, as we have seen in the text of the Psalm itself, the tale is related "according to the words of the parable by Barlaam". In fact this second quotation is also correct. Our tale is told, in the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat*, by the monk Barlaam to explain to the prince Josaphat how to avoid backsliding and falling into sin after baptism.<sup>2</sup> Now the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat* was translated into Ethiopic by 'Enbāqom, abbot of the famous monastery of Dabra Libānos, during the reign of Negus Galāwdēwos<sup>3</sup> in A.D. 1553.

<sup>1</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Burzoes Einleitung zu dem Buche Kalila wa-Dimna* (Strassburg, 1912) (*Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, Heft 12), pp. 25-7; M. M. Moreno, *La Versione araba del libro di Kalilah e Dimnah* (San Remo, 1910), p. 33; L. Cheikho, *Kitāb Kalilah wa-Dimnah* (Beyrout, 1905), pp. 43-4 (Arabic) and p. 36 (commentary).

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *Baralām and Yewāsef being the Ethiopic version of a Christianized Recension of the Buddhist legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva* (Cambridge, 1923), I (text), 71-2; II (translation), 82-4.

<sup>3</sup> The date and the name of the translator are in the colophon of the MS. B.M. Or. 699. Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue*, cit. p. 183. As to the translator

There are only slight differences between our text in the *Psalms of Christ* (*Maṣmura Krestos*) edited above and the text included in the *Book of Barlaam* as edited by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge.

(1) In the *Maṣmura Krestos* the man had been frightened by a wild beast (አርዊ is a generic name; but it is also used in the composite formation አርዊ:ሐሪስ "the wild beast rhinoceros" which has given the Amharic name አውራሪስ "rhino"; and it appears again in the old traditions as the name አርዊ of the legendary Dragon at the beginning of the Axumite Kingdom). In the *Book of Barlaam* the man escapes from ገጹ:ለዘፈቀርት "the face of a unicorn"; the wild beast is thus designated by a paraphrase "He who has only one horn" and not by the specific Ethiopic name ሐሪስ.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The tree, which is grasped by the man to save himself, is gnawed in the *Maṣmura Krestos* by ክልኤ:አናጹት "two mice"; but in the *Book of Barlaam* by ክልኤ:አናብጥ "two locusts". Here also the *Maṣmura Krestos* apparently follows the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, which consistently has "two mice". But it is not without interest to note that, as we shall see later on, all the other versions of the *Book of Barlaam* alluded in this passage to "two mice", like the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, instead of "two locusts"; and the two creatures that gnaw the tree of life in the Western version of the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat* are in fact two mice.<sup>2</sup>

Hence these two differences between our *Psalms of Christ* and the Ethiopic *Barlaam and Josaphat* are not substantial; and cannot, in my opinion, be considered as a decisive argument against the hypothesis that the tale in the *Psalms* really derives from the *Barlaam and Josaphat* and not from the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*.

<sup>1</sup> Enbāqom, abbot of Dabra Libānos, and his work, cf. my *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1961), pp. 170-5 and 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> The Ethiopian translator has thus followed the Arabic text literally: من قدام ذي القرن الواحد (as in the MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 113, edited by H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des mss. éthiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1877), p. 210). The Ethiopic name of the rhino ሐሪስ has also been adopted as a loan-word in Arabic (cf. the note in *Al-Andalus*, xiv (1949), 466-7 by E. García Gómez: "Ḥarīṣ-Unicornio"); but the translator who rendered into Arabic the *Barlaam and Josaphat* did not employ the specific name, but rather a periphrasis, as we have seen.

<sup>3</sup> I think that possibly the "two locusts" in the Ethiopic translation of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* are only the consequence of a mistake by the Ethiopian translator. He had misunderstood the Arabic ابصر جرذين ("he saw two mice") for ابصر جرادتين ("he saw two locusts"). The Arabic text of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* (L. Cheikho, *op. cit.* p. 43) also has جرذان.

(3) On the other hand, Ignazio Guidi has already noted that there are differences in some details between the various MSS. of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*; and Nöldeke again pointed out some of them.<sup>2</sup> I would add that, if we consider also the Western versions of both *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* and *Barlaam and Josaphat*, a great many variants are found likewise in the *Barlaam*, so that when, as in our case, the tale is the same in the *Kalilah* and in *Barlaam*,<sup>3</sup> it seems difficult to identify the source as one of the two books rather than the other. For instance: in the MSS. used by Cheikho and Nöldeke in their editions of the Arabic text of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* the man is running away from a danger or terror (خوف).<sup>4</sup> In the MS. of the Laurenziana of Florence (Palatinus Mediceus 95), seen by I. Guidi, the man runs away "from a raging wild beast" ("da fiera furibonda");<sup>5</sup> in the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (especially the Ar. 3464) of the edition by De Sacy, he escapes "from an elephant" (and the same detail is in MS. Ar. 170 of the Stadt-Bibliothek in Hamburg).<sup>6</sup> In the Western versions (of the Middle Ages) the escape is "a facie leonis" in John of Capua;<sup>7</sup> and, more in accordance with the Arabic text of Cheikho and Nöldeke, "un home que con cuita é miedo llegó á un pozo" in the Spanish translation.<sup>8</sup>

(4) In the *Book of Barlaam* some details are more elaborately described than in our *Psalms of Christ*, for example the dragon, which in the *Psalms of Christ* was looking at him and ready to swallow him;<sup>9</sup> in the *Book of Barlaam* ጸስተነፍስ:አሳተ:ወአዕይ.

<sup>1</sup> I. Guidi, *Studi sul testo arabo del libro di Calila e Dimna* (Rome, 1873), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 25, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The tale of the man in the well discussed here is not the only coincidence between the two books. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 5. He thinks that the *Barlaam* is the source of the *Kalilah* ("Mir ist sehr wahrscheinlich daß Burzoe sich durch den buddhistischen Roman hat beeinflussen lassen, dessen Original verloren ist und dessen bester Repräsentant für uns das arabische *Bilaubar wa-Būdāsf* ist").

<sup>4</sup> L. Cheikho, *op. cit.* p. 43; Th. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> I. Guidi, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 25, n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Beispiele der Alten Weisen des Johann von Capua*, ed. F. Geissler (Berlin, 1960), p. 46 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 52).

<sup>8</sup> *Calila é Dimna*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 51 (Madrid, 1952), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> In the edition by L. Cheikho (p. 43): فاذا هو يتنين فاغر فاه نحوه even more laconically than in Ethiopic; while Th. Nöldeke (p. 26) translates from his MSS., rather more diffusely: "einen Lindwurm welcher den Rachen aufsperrte in Erwartung, daß er herabfallen und ihm zur Beute werde".

ንቲሁኒ፡ ይበርቃ፡ በኃይል፡ ወክሁት፡ አፋሁ፡ ወይፈቅድ፡ የሐጦ "was breathing out fire and its eyes were shining powerfully and its mouth was open and it wanted to swallow him".<sup>1</sup> And while in the *Psalms of Christ* the man in the pit, tasting honey, "forgot a little those fears which we have mentioned above",<sup>2</sup> in the *Book of Barlaam* ኃይል፡ አስተሐምሞተ፡ በአልክቱ፡ ምንዳቤያት፡ አለ፡ የንወድዎ፡ ወኢ፡ ገለየ፡ ከመ፡ ዘፈቀርኑ፡ በአፍኦ፡ እምነ፡ ዓዘቅት፡ ይጥገር፡ ወየኃሥሥ፡ በሊዎቶ፡ ወበታሕተ፡ ዕመቃቲሃ፡ ለዓዘቅት፡ ካዕበ፡ ተመን፡ ዘብቅወ፡ አፋሁ፡ ከመ፡ የሐጦ፡ ወአዕፀቅኒ፡ ዘይእገዞመ፡ ከመ፡ ይትመተሩ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ተርፎመ፡ ወእገሪሁኒ፡ ይከይዱ፡ ገብ፡ ዘኢከነ፡ ጽኑዓ፡ ዘኢያድኃኖ፡ እም፡ ፀአክይስት፡ ወረስአመ፡ ወእቱ፡ ለአልክቱ፡ ምንዳቤያት፡ ዙሎመ፡ ወለዓጸባሆመ፡ ወአስርሐ፡ ርአሶ፡ በጣዕመ፡ ዝኩ፡ መዓር፡ ንስቲት፡ "He gave up his preoccupation with those dangers which had surrounded him and did not think any more that the unicorn outside that well was snorting and trying to devour him and that in the lower depths of the well also there was the dragon with its mouth open to swallow him; and the branches which he had grasped were about to be cut off; and his feet were trampling upon weak ground which would not have saved him from the four serpents. He forgot those sorrows, all of them, and those troubles; and was relieved by tasting that little honey."<sup>3</sup>

(5) As I have said above, the Western versions of the *Barlaam and Josaphat* also differ from each other in some details. A typical instance is the addition of a final episode: a friend who tries to save the man from the pit by putting a ladder near the mouth of the well; but the man refuses to come out. This episode, which ultimately has symbolic significance and is not in the Ethiopic nor in the Arabic versions, has been added to the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>4</sup> and in the *Speculum Morale* of Vincent de

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* I, 71; II, 82.

<sup>2</sup> In the edition of L. Cheikho (*loc. cit.*): شغل قلبه عن التفكير في أمره والتماس حيلة ينجي بها نفسه ونسى أن يذكر الجردين الدانبيين في قطع الغصن. In the MSS. translated by Th. Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*): "Er gar nicht mehr daran dachte in welcher Lage er war und daß er ein Rettungsmittel suchen mußte." Both these versions, however, differ from the Ethiopic *Psalms of Christ*.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1842), p. 556: "quodam autem amico ejus porrigente sibi scalam ut egrederetur melle delectatus distulit et cadente arbore cecidit in os draconis"; and in the English version likewise. Cf. *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Sidney I. H. Herrtage, London, 1879; repr. 1898 (Early English Text Society, Extra Series no. xxxiii), p. 110. Therefore "Amicus est Christus aut praedicator, scala est poenitentia".

Beauvais,<sup>1</sup> while it is lacking in the *Legenda Aurea* and even in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais himself, which is characteristic of such transmissions in medieval literature.<sup>2</sup>

It is best, therefore, to collect here the variants of the moral comment to our tale, both in *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* and in *Barlaam and Josaphat*:

1. The wild beast or the danger which forces the man to run away.

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: no interpretation. John of Capua; Spanish version: no interpretation.

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic and Ethiopic: "the destiny of death" (ትእዛዙ ሞት; رسم الموت). Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "mors quae hominem semper sequitur"; *Speculum Morale*: "mors temporalis"; *Speculum Historiale*: *idem*; *Legenda Aurea*: "mors quae hominem semper persequitur".

2. The well.

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions; John of Capua; Spanish version: "this world".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic and Ethiopic: "this world" (هذا الدنيا; ዓለም). Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*; *Speculum Morale*; *Speculum Historiale*; *Legenda Aurea*: "this world".

3. The tree.

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: "life". John of Capua: "vita umana". Spanish version: "la vida flaca d'este mundo".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic version: "the measure of our life which is eaten and consumed by the days and the nights"

<sup>1</sup> *Vincentii Bellovacensis Bibliotheca Mundi*, vol. III, *Speculum Morale* (Douai, 1624), c. 96: "Quidam autem amicus audiens causam eius, occurrens ei ex opposito, porrigit ei scalam per quam egrediatur a periculo, inculcans ei periculum et quod inde exeat. Iste autem cum diceret se prius velle sinum pomis implere et differret, arbore corrosa et cadente, a flatu dictarum viperarum corruptus, cecidit in os draconis." And the explanation of the symbols: "Amicus Jesus Christus aut praedicator; scala est consilium poenitentiae faciendae; dum autem homo differt acquiescere salutari consilio, subito vita deficiente, in os diaboli cadit."

<sup>2</sup> I have limited here the list of the variants in the Western versions only to four more widely diffused and well-known works of the literature of the Middle Ages: the *Gesta Romanorum*; the two *Specula* of the *Bibliotheca Mundi* by Vincent de Beauvais, and the *Legenda Aurea*, as significant examples for our study.

(هذه مدة حياتنا المأكولة المفقاة من الليل والنهار). Ethiopic: "the measure of our life which is eaten and passes away" **ዕድሜ ሕይወትን፡ ዘይትበላዕ፡ ወየኃልፋ**. Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "vita, que per horas diei et noctis quasi per murem album et nigrum incessanter consumitur"; *Speculum Morale*: "vita peccatrix"; *Speculum Historiale*: "vitae nostrae mensura quae a duobus muribus per horas diei et noctis consumitur et dirimitur"; *Legenda Aurea*: "uniuscujusque vita est que per horas diei ac noctis quasi per murem album et nigrum incessanter consumitur".

4. The four serpents.

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: "the four elements of the human body". John of Capua: "quatuor elementorum mixturae ex quibus constat corpus humanum". Spanish version: "los quatro humores que son sostenimiento del home".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic and Ethiopic versions: "the four elements which are not lasting in the human body" (التي لا ثبوت لها في الجسم البشري); **አለ፡ኢይቀውማውስተ፡አንለ፡አመሕያው**. Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "quatuor qualitates humorum quibus inordinate compositis corporis compago dissolvitur"; *Speculum Morale*: "quatuor qualitatium intemperantiae"; *Speculum Historiale*: "quatuor"; *Legenda Aurea*: "corpus ex quatuor elementis compositum quibus inordinatis corporis compago dissolvitur".

5. The dragon.

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: "death". Western versions, John of Capua: "hominis sepultura que semper stat hominem expectans"; Spanish version: "la muerte que ninguno non puede excusar".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic and Ethiopic versions: "the interior of Hell" (بطن الجهنم); **ከርወ፡ሢኦል**. Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "diabolus"; *Speculum Morale*: "diabolus"; *Speculum Historiale*: "infernus venter"; *Legenda Aurea*: "os inferni".

6. The honey (or poma).

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: "the sweetness of this world"; John of Capua: "huius mundi delectatio"; Spanish version: "esta poca de dulzor que home ha en este mundo".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic versions: "worldly sweetness" (حلاوة الدنيا); "the sweetness and desires of this world" (**ጣዕመ፡ ወፍትወቱ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ዓለም**). Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "delectatio peccati"; *Speculum Morale*: "delectationes



B. ANTELAMI, The legend of the man in the pit (Parma, Battistero, Lunette of the door of life).





B. ANTELAMI, The sun and his chariot (Parma, Battistero, Lunette of the door of life).



B. ANTELAMI, The door of life (showing the location on the lunette of the legend of the man in the pit).



peccatorum"; *Speculum Historiale*: "dulcedo mundi"; *Legenda Aurea*: "delectatio fallax mundi".

7. The mice (or locusts).

(a) *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Arabic versions: "the day and the night". John of Capua; Spanish version: "the day and night".

(b) *Barlaam and Josaphat*. Arabic and Ethiopic versions: "the day and night". Western versions, *Gesta Romanorum*: "horae diei ac noctis"; *Speculum Morale*: "dies et nox"; *Speculum Historiale*: "horae diei ac noctis"; *Legenda Aurea*: "horae diei et noctis".

If we now compare the results of this analysis with the passage of the *Psalms of Christ* in the British Museum MS. we see that there is an indisputable coincidence between the *Psalms* and the *Barlaam*. It is the interpretation of the "dragon", which in the *Psalms of Christ* is "Sheol"; and in *Barlaam and Josaphat*: "the interior of the Sheol" (ܡܕܝܢܬ ܫܝܠܐ; بطن الجحيم), while in *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* the dragon is: "death". On the contrary, there seems to be no particular coincidence with *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*; besides, the interpretation of "the wild beast" as "the devil" (in the *Psalms of Christ*) is not found anywhere else, although it may be noted that only the *Barlaam* gives any interpretation at all of that symbol.

But, before examining other passages of our MS., I would point out that the tale of the man in the well who forgets his dangers for a little honey has been widely diffused in the Western world, where its symbols were much appreciated. I would here mention only a true work of art which was inspired by that tale in Italy. On the southern door of the Battistero of Parma a sculpture of Benedetto Antelami, the great Romanesque artist of the twelfth century, represents our tale, with a symbolic explanation which is in some ways more complicated, because classical symbols have there been mixed with oriental ideas.<sup>1</sup> Antelami has followed the *Barlaam and Josaphat*<sup>2</sup> in the central part of his "lunette": a man on a tree tastes some honey, while a dragon is waiting for him below and two rodents<sup>3</sup> are gnawing the tree.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geza Francovic, *Benedetto Antelami* (Milan, 1952), I, 211-19; II, 276-352; P. Toesca, *Il Battistero di Parma* (Parma, 1960), pp. 14, 26-7.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* did not circulate in Western countries before the Latin translation (from the Hebrew) by John of Capua, viz. between 1263 and 1278. The source of B. Antelami was therefore the *Barlaam*.

<sup>3</sup> "Rodents", rather than the more precise word "mice", because it has been supposed by L. Testi (*Le Battistère de Parme: son histoire, son architecture, ses sculptures, ses peintures*, Florence, 1916, p. 97)—although, I think, erroneously—that B. Antelami did not know the Latin version of the *Barlaam* but

But, on both sides of the lunette in the upper part, Day and Night which use up human life, symbolized by the rodents in the central sculpture, are represented by their images in the classical tradition: Day by Helios and his chariot; Night by Selene and the lunar car drawn by bulls. This insertion of Gods of classical paganism in an oriental tale (from India) and on the door of a Christian church may seem improper to our modern sensibility but it was quite normal for the mentality of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, while the tale in the oriental literatures<sup>2</sup> is intended to point out the danger of indulging in the pleasures of this world—poor and ephemeral as they are—forgetting the inescapable debt of death,<sup>3</sup> the lunette by Antelami with the two splendid figures of Helios and Selene laid rather more stress on the general idea of human life, short and transient in this world, consumed by the inexorable march of time, so that the door surmounted by it is usually called: the Door of Life. However, all that is very far from Ethiopia and, of course, from our problem today.<sup>4</sup>

rather the French legend; and that therefore the two creatures gnawing the tree are not "duo mures" specifically as in the Latin *Barlaam* but:

Deux bestelettes

qui manjuent les racinettes,

as in the French Fabliau (edited by Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dis, Fabliaux, etc.*, Paris, 1842, II, 113).

<sup>1</sup> I would only quote here as a typical example the famous invocation by Dante:

O sommo Giove  
che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso.

(*Purgatorio*, VI, 118-19)

<sup>2</sup> The general problem of the insertion in the Western versions of *Barlaam* of Christian ideas and apology has been recently examined (with a rich and exhaustive bibliography) by Hiram Peri Pflaum, *Der Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende* (Salamanca, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> The tale in the *Barlaam* was already described by M. Menéndez Pelayo as "una de las que ponen de manifiesto con más terrible energía la vanidad de los goces del mundo" (*Orígenes de la Novela*, Santander, 1943, I, 54).

<sup>4</sup> I have only considered above, under the usual title of *Gesta Romanorum*, the edition of that collection by Oesterley (see p. 84, n. 4 above). But the tale of "the man in the pit" is also in the English version (*The Early English Version of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Sidney I. H. Herrtage, London, 1879, reprinted 1898; pp. 101-11); and in *Die Gesta Romanorum nach der Innsbrucker Handschrift und vier Münchener Handschriften*, ed. W. Dick (Erlangen, 1890), p. 67; and in the *Tractatus de diversis Historiis Romanorum*, ed. S. Herzskin (Erlangen, 1893), p. 13, with some variants the study of which is, of course, beyond the limits of my present research.

On the other hand, the same tale is found in Arabic Moslem literature (cf. L. Cheikho, *op. cit.* p. 36), e.g. in the well-known collection *al-Iqd al-farid* by

The third (or rather, second) quotation from the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* in the B.M. MS. Or. 534 is as follows:

(Marginal note): ከሊላ ወደምና፡ጸጥርስ፡ሐዋርያ

(Text): ወከመ፡ሐራውያ፡ዘተሐፅበ፡ወአንገርገር፡ፋበ፡ፅቡር፡ዘከያ ሁ፡ሐዋርያ፡ያዜከር

(Marginal note): Kalilā wa-Demnā. The Apostle Peter.

(Text): Like a pig washing itself and then wallowing in the mud, as the Apostle mentions.

The quotation refers to II Peter ii. 22 ("Sus lota in volutabro luti", in the Vulgate). I have not been able to trace this passage in the text of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, but it is found in the *Book of Barlaam* (Ethiopic text): ከመ፡ሐራውያ፡ዘያንገርገር፡ወስተ፡ፅቡር፡አምንም፡ወይት፡ራሃሕ፡ባቲ፡ "like a pig which wallows in slimy mud and rejoices therein".<sup>1</sup>

Here again, while in the margin *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* is quoted, the text is from the *Book of Barlaam*; as in the first two quotations which we examined above, the marginal note quotes *Kalilah* and the text quotes *Barlaam*. It is only fair to add that in this third quotation the Epistles of St Peter are also quoted in the note, and in fact the *Barlaam* derives from that verse of St Peter; but to an Ethiopian churchman it was very easy to identify a quotation from Holy Scripture.

We can therefore conclude our analysis of these texts as follows: The *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* is quoted in Ethiopic literature only in the *Psalms of Christ*, a work of the second half of the sixteenth century by a monk of the monastery Dabra Māryām. A MS. in the British Museum, Or. 534, which is a "unicum", has preserved this work. The quotations from the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* are, in all, three; and they are not written in the text of the *Psalms of Christ*, but in three marginal notes. Two quotations concern the same tale: the man fallen into a pit. The third is a passage of the second Epistle of St Peter. All the three quotations are in the *Book of Barlaam* and *Josaphat*; the first two are also in the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. But

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, the Spanish writer of the tenth century A.D. from Córdoba; and here again the questions of the immediate source and the variants are to be examined elsewhere. Cf. also another version: "Aus einem Briefe des Gesandtschafts-Attaché Blau an Prof. Fleischer" in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, VII (1856), pp. 401-3 (from a recent Arabic MS., where the unicorn has been replaced by an elephant in heat فيل مغتم, as in the Arabic version already published by De Sacy (*Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bidpai en arabe*, Paris, 1816).

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* I, 114-15; II, 129.

the author of the *Psalms of Christ* only quotes in his text the *Barlaam* for the first two quotations and only St Peter for the third. *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* appears only in the three marginal notes. Full analysis of the two passages quoted, which are common to both books: *Barlaam and Kalilah*, reveals in the text of the *Psalms of Christ* at least two certain coincidences with the *Barlaam*, where the *Barlaam* diverges from the *Kalilah*; and they are: the rhino as the cause of the fear of the man who falls into the pit; Sheol symbolized by the dragon. On the other hand, there is a certain divergence from the Ethiopic translation of the *Barlaam* in the *Psalms of Christ*, and this is the consequence of a mistake made by the Ethiopian translator of the *Barlaam* who has misunderstood the Arabic original ("two locusts" instead of "two mice"), while the *Psalms of Christ* give the correct version which, after all, is common to all other versions of the *Barlaam* and to the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*.

In these circumstances I think that we may conclude that, in so far as the only evidence at our disposal is still B.M. MS. Or. 534, it is not necessary to postulate an Ethiopic translation of the Book of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. The author of the *Psalms of Christ* knew the *Barlaam and Josaphat* and quoted freely from it. Possibly he inserted in the margins of his text the three references for the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, *ad abundantiam*, rather to show his wide learning in Arabic literature than to declare his real sources. The fact that he knew the correct translation of the passage of the *Barlaam* concerning two rodents, and not locusts, should also be considered as a clue that he had under his eyes also the Arabic texts he quotes.

The *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat* was thoroughly perused by the author of the *Psalms of Christ* who cites it as his source in two other tales. The first tale is (in the B.M. MS.):

(fo. 94r) (marginal note): በረሃም

(*ibid.*) (text): ወነዋ፡ምሳሌ፡ዘይመስሎ፡ለዝኩ፡ግብር።

ኮነ፡በጎበ፡ሰብአ፡አሐቲ፡ሀገር

ይመስጥዎ፡ለአሐዱ፡እምኔሆሙ፡ግብተ

ወያነግሥዎ፡ሎቱ፡መንግሥተ

ወእምድጎረ፡ነበረ፡አሐድ፡ግመተ

ይወስድዎ፡ካልአተ፡ሀገረ፡ሙቁሐ

ወይሄሉ፡ምስለ፡ንዴት፡ጎቤሃ።

ወከመዝ፡ኮነ፡ይገብሩ፡አዝማነ፡ብዙኃ።

ወድጎረ፡እሉ፡አንገሥዎ፡ለጠቢብ

በከመ፡ልማዶሙ፡ዘእንበለ፡ይትከዝብ።

ወሐለዩ፡በልቡ፡ከመ፡ሀለዎ፡ይሰድድዎ፡ሀገረ፡ንዴት

ኮነ፡ያስተዳሉ፡ንቤሃ፡በበንስቲት

ኩሉ፡ግብረ፡መፍቅዳት

ወከመዝ፡ገብረ፡እስከ፡ዕለተ፡ስደት

ወሶበ፡ተሰደ፡አምሳሉ፡ቀደምት

ቦአ፡ጎበ፡አስተዳለው፡እምይእቲ፡ዕለት።

እሉ፡ነበሩ፡በንዴት፡ጽኑዕ

ወውአቱሰ፡በተድላ፡ወፍግዕ

እስመ፡ዘገበ፡ዘይበልዕ።

አነ፡ውአቱ፡አብድ፡አሐዱ፡እምእሉ

ዘእንዘሀልል፡በምድር፡ወኢይዜክር፡ዘላዕለ

ወውአተ፡ጠቢብ፡ጳድቃ፡ይመስሉ

ዘአስተዳለው፡ትሩፋተ፡በዝ፡ሃለም፡ሕይወት

ከመ፡ይትፈሥሐ፡ባቲ፡ድጎረ፡መዊት

ወሞት፡ይመስል፡ስደተ፡እሉ፡ነገሥት።

(fo. 94v) (marginal note): Barlaam.

(*ibid.*) (text): And this is an example similar to that deed:

It was the custom of the people in a country

that they suddenly seized one of them

and made him king of their kingdom;

and, after one year had passed,

they brought him to another country as a prisoner

and he stayed there in indigence.

They were acting thus for many years.

Then they made king a wise man,

as their custom was, unexpectedly,

and he thought in his heart that at last they would send him to the

country of poverty.

Then he prepared there, little by little,

all that is necessary;

and he did so until the day of his exile.

Then when he was exiled, like the others before him,

he went to that place which he had prepared from the first day.

Those others were in great poverty;

and he was in wealth and pleasure,

because he had stored something to eat.

I am one of those ignorant men

and am indulging in luxury on earth without remembering what is in Heaven,

while they are like that wise man;  
they who during their life in this world prepare their virtues,  
so that they may find delight by it after their death,  
death being like the exile of those kings.

We know that this parable was also widespread in the Western literatures of the Middle Ages. If we compare our text in the *Psalms of Christ* with the Ethiopic version of the *Barlaam* we find some variants.

(1) The custom was to elect as "King for one year": "a stranger", in the *Barlaam*; <sup>1</sup> "one of them" (citizens) in the *Psalms of Christ*.

(2) The *Psalms of Christ* do not mention that the "King for one year" thinks that his reign is bound to last nor that his subjects "rose up against him...and made him to appear in the city naked before the whole community", as in the Ethiopic *Barlaam*. <sup>2</sup>

(3) The explanation of the symbols is in the *Psalms of Christ*: the "King for one year" is the man who indulges in the luxury of this world; the exile after the reign is death; the wise man elected King is he who while alive prepares himself by virtuous behaviour for eternal life. In the *Barlaam*: the town is this world; the people who choose the King are "the chiefs and nobles... who seduce us with the taste of the things" of this world; the end of the reign is death; the King is the dead man "naked" and "taken into the land of darkness"; and "the good counsel... which saved that wise King is my own insignificance and worthlessness": <sup>3</sup> a true Buddhist conclusion certainly different again from the Christian adaptation of the *Psalms of Christ*.

However, if we compare also the Western versions of this tale—at least in the most widely diffused collections, as we have already done above for the tale of "the man in the pit"—we notice some other individual variants, which are not without some interest, at least psychological:

(1) In the *Gesta Romanorum* "the King for one year" was a citizen of the Kingdom; but the wise man made King, on the other hand, was "quidam extraneus... qui nesciebat morem illum". <sup>4</sup>

In the *Speculum Historiale* <sup>5</sup> the inhabitants of that country used to take "extraneum aliquem et ignotum virum nihil legum civitatis

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* I, 76; II, 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* I, 77; II, 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, p. 630.

<sup>5</sup> *Vincentii Bellovacensis Bibliotheca Mundi*, IV, *Speculum Historiale* (Douai, 1624), p. 585.

suae vel traditionum scientem" and "hunc sibi regem constituerant". The wise man made King was then only "quidam vir... qui non exiguo mentis intellectu vigeat". The *Speculum Morale* <sup>1</sup> in its short version gives no significant detail on this point.

The *Legenda Aurea* <sup>2</sup> follows almost verbatim the *Speculum Historiale* in describing the custom ("hominem extraneum et ignotum"); and is more vague about the wise King ("quidam alius sublimatus in regno").

(2) Only the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Legenda Aurea* explain that the "King for one year" did not know his destiny ("in omni securitate manente deliciisque atque suavitatibus absque formidine et regnum sibi permansurum existimante"). <sup>3</sup> The *Gesta Romanorum* <sup>4</sup> and the *Speculum Morale* <sup>5</sup> ignore that detail. But all our four books agree in the exile of the King "totus nudus" (*Gesta*); "nudum trahentes (eum) per totam civitatem" (*Speculum Historiale*); "nudare (eum) et in exilium mittere" (*Speculum Morale*); "per totam civitatem nudum trahentes (eum)" (*Legenda Aurea*).

(3) The moral of the tale in the *Gesta Romanorum* is: "Insula illa in qua quilibet rex est per annum iste mundus est in quo regnant mali per annum i.e. per horam respectu eternitatis. Et post hanc vitam nudus mittitur in sudario in fovea et nisi aliqua bona premiserit ibi in exilio i.e. in eterna pena erit." <sup>6</sup> And in the *Speculum Morale*: "etsi mundani solliciti sunt de thesauris pecuniae congregandis quando magis quisque fidelis deberet esse sollicitus de thesauris spiritualibus acquirendis".

The *Speculum Historiale* explains the tale in more eloquent words: <sup>7</sup> "Civitatem ergo intellige vanum istum et deceptorem mundum; cives autem principes et potestates daemonum... qui alliciunt nos dulcedine voluptatum et suggerunt ut corruptibilia velut incorruptibilia et mortalia velut immortalia et semper nobiscum mansura consideremus... Consiliarium autem bonum qui omnia vera fecit nota et salutaria edocuit studia sapientem et prudentem Regem me vilem homunculum aestima qui bonam et rectam viam veni monstrare tibi."

In the *Legenda Aurea*: <sup>8</sup> "Civitas haec mundus est; cives tene-

<sup>1</sup> *Vincentii Bellovacensis Bibliotheca Mundi*, III, *Speculum Morale* (Douai, 1624), p. 708.

<sup>2</sup> *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Leipzig, 1846), p. 817.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, cit. p. 631.

<sup>7</sup> *Speculum Historiale*, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

brarum principes qui nos falsa mundi delectatione alliciunt; nobisque insperantibus mors supervenit et in locum tenebrarum demergimur; divitiarum vero ad aeternum locum praemissio fit manibus egenorum."

And here too we see in the Western version that the Buddhist moral of the contempt of the self is necessarily adapted to Christian doctrine; and the tale symbolizes rather how the good works in this life may help eternal life after death.

(4) While in the *Barlaam and Josaphat* the wise man made King arrives at the right solution "meditating anxiously how he could improve the state of his mind" and "keeping a strict watch over himself",<sup>1</sup> i.e. by the meditation typical of the Buddhist method; in the Western versions the wise King understands his danger by external means ("Venit autem ad eum unus qui indicavit ei morem terre et civitatis illius", in the *Gesta Romanorum*;<sup>2</sup> or again "cognovit per quemdam sapientissimum consiliarium suum consuetudinem civium", in the *Speculum Historiale*;<sup>3</sup> and more briefly "legem audiens", in the *Speculum Morale*;<sup>4</sup> "cum illorum consuetudinem didicisset", in the *Legenda Aurea*).<sup>5</sup> Here the value of meditation for attaining a state of self-contempt disappears; and the tale rather points out the necessity of acting in this life so as to deserve eternal joy.<sup>6, 7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* I, 76; II, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, cit. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Mundi*, cit. IV, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca Mundi*, cit. III, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, cit. *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> This tale of the "King for one year" is again inserted in the *Gesta Romanorum* (ed. Oesterley, cit. pp. 389-91) in another story "De prospectione et providencia" or "De pomo aureo", where the young prince, who was trying to give a golden apple to the most stupid man in the world, finally gives it to the "King for one year": "Amen dico vobis, concludo ex dictis meis quod in toto mundo non est tantus stultus sicut vos quod tam breve tempus regnare debetis et post hoc tam miserabiliter vitam finire." And the King, after receiving this curious prize, decides: "In presenti anno bona infinita mittam ante me in exilium ut dum ibi venero de bonis illis vivam." We note here a typical example of the combination of different motifs in medieval tradition and how these combinations may duplicate a tale, both versions being accepted in the same collection. Cf. also the same duplicated story in *Die Gesta Romanorum nach der Innsbrucker Handschrift*, etc., by W. Deck, cit. pp. 219-20; and the *Tractatus de diversis Historiis Romanorum*, ed. by S. Herzstein, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> The moral of the tale in the Christian West is resumed by Don Juan Manuel in his *Conde Lucanor* (where our tale is the "Cuento 49") by the distich:

Por este mundo perecedero  
no te expongas a perder el duradero.

(Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. E. Moreno Baez, Valencia, 1953, p. 188.)

It is, perhaps, somewhat far-fetched, but I would like to mention here one or two points that, in my opinion at least, concern a connexion between the *Barlaam and Josaphat* and Calderón's masterpiece, *La Vida es sueño*. M. Menéndez Pelayo in the Introduction to the fourth volume of the works of Lope de Vega insisted that *La Vida es sueño* was to some extent inspired by Lope de Vega's *Barlaam y Josaphat*, especially in the motif of the prince whose bad horoscope causes prison or exile.<sup>1</sup> Later on M. Menéndez Pelayo in his *Orígenes de la Novela* repeated that the first act of the *Barlaam y Josaphat* of Lope de Vega "entró mucho en la concepción de la *Vida es sueño* y aun dejó su reflejo en algunos versos de Calderón".<sup>2</sup> The same author distinguishes three elements of different inspiration in *la Vida es sueño*: the motif of *el durmiente despierto*, which is in the *Arabian Nights* and in many European works such as *The Taming of the Shrew*; the prince who is a prisoner because of a bad horoscope, which is in the *Barlaam*, though Calderón knew it indirectly through Lope de Vega; and the philosophic thought in Sigismondo's monologue, which Menéndez Pelayo ascribes to the philosophy of Philo.<sup>3</sup> This has been complemented by A. Reyes who, in his essay *Un tema de la Vida es sueño*, has proved, satisfactorily—I think—that the theme of Sigismondo's monologue was preceded by a long series of similar poetical compositions in Spanish literature.<sup>4</sup> Now the tale of the "King for one year" in the *Barlaam*, which we have just analysed, may be taken to hint at another connexion between *la Vida es sueño* and the *Book of Barlaam*. This would be important for literary history because, if it is ever accepted, a direct connexion between Calderón and the *Book of Barlaam* (not merely through Lope de Vega) will become credible.<sup>5</sup> And for the moment I cannot go further than that.

<sup>1</sup> *Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española*, ed. M. Menéndez Pelayo (Madrid, 1894), IV, p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* (Santander, 1943), I, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit. ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Alfonso Reyes, *Trazos de Historia Literaria* (Buenos Ayres, Espasa-Calpe, 1951), pp. 11-81. His conclusions are: "El tema, procedente de la antigüedad clásica, ha penetrado en España principalmente a través de Plinio. El Renacimiento pone de moda la lectura de los autores clásicos y a la vez despierta el interés por el estudio del hombre: entonces el tema cobre un desarrollo especial, que puede estudiarse en Italia y después en España. . . . Cuando Calderón lo recoge y fija como en un perfecto cristal, las disputas sobre la libertad humana conmueven todavía las conciencias. Y entonces Calderón le aplica a la idea de la libertad."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for the editions of the seventeenth-century Spanish translations of the *Book of Barlaam* M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, cit. I, 58.

The last quotation from the *Barlaam* in the *Psalms of Christ* is the following tale of "the three friends".

(fo. 112r) (marginal note): በረሃም

(*ibid.*) (text): በከመ፡ተብህለ፡በአምሳለ፡ጠቢባን።

ኮነ፡በእሷ፡በአሐዱ፡እምዘመን

ወኮነ፡ሎቱ፡ሠለስቱ፡ፍቁራን

ከልኤሆሙ፡ያፈቅር፡በጥቡዕ

ወኢይትፈለጥ፡እምኔሆሙ፡ጊዜ፡ፍሥሐ፡ወፍግዕ።

ወምስለ፡አሐዱ፡ፍቅር፡ኢያጸንዕ

እስመ፡መሰሎ፡ዘኢይበቀሩ።

ወእምዝ፡ፈነወ፡ኅቤሁ፡ንጉሥ፡ላእካነ

ከመ፡ያብጽሕዎ፡ፍጡነ

እስመ፡ቦቱ፡ዘይሰክዮ፡ፀር።

ወይቤሎ፡ለፍቁሩ፡ንግ፡ምስሌየ፡ሐር

ትትራድኦኒ፡ሊተ፡መጠነ፡ተክህለከ።

ወይቤ፡ኢእክል፡ሐዊረ፡ምስሌከ።

ወኢተለዎ፡ዳእመ፡አስተፋነዎ፡ንስቲተ።

ለካልእኒ፡ፍቁሩ፡ይቤ፡ዘንተ

ወአስተብቀሩ፡ከሠተ

ከመ፡ይኩኖ፡ረድኤተ።

ወእቱሂ፡ተሐየዮ፡አላ፡ወሀቦ፡አጽርቅተ

(fo. 112v): ከመ፡ይኩኖ፡ስንቀ፡ኅብ፡የሐውር፡ፍኖተ።

ወድኅረ፡እሉ፡ሐረ፡እንዘ፡የኅፍር፡እምኔሁ

ኅብ፡ፍቁሩ፡ሣልስ፡እስመ፡ኮነ፡ኢያፍቅር፡እምሕሊናሁ

ወአስተብቀሩ፡ይሐር፡ምስሌሁ።

ወሐረ፡እንዘ፡ይናዝዘ፡በቃሉ

ወተራድኦ፡በኩሉ፡ወውስተ፡ኩሉ፡

ከልኤቱስ፡ፍቁራን፡ንዋይ፡ወብእሲት

ወሣልሳይኒ፡ምጽዋት

ዘንትሐየያ፡በዛቲ፡ዓለመ፡ሕይወት

ትበቀሩ፡እምድኅረ፡ሞተ።

(fo. 112r) (marginal note): Barlaam

(*ibid.*) (text): As it was told in the parables of the wise men:

There was once a man

who had three friends.

He strongly loved two of them

and did not leave them in his joyful or in his delightful days.

His friendship with the third one was not strong

because he thought it not suitable.

Then the king sent some messengers to him to bring him quickly

because an enemy had accused him.

Then he said to his (first) friend: Come with me; go; and help me as far as you can!

(That man) replied: I cannot go with you.

And did not follow him; rather he accompanied him a little way.

However, he said that to his second friend

asking him openly

to give his aid.

(That man) neglected it; he only gave him some rags

to be worn while going on the road.

And after those (two) he went ashamed

to his third friend whom he had not loved in his mind

and asked him to go together with him.

And (that man) went with him and consoled him

and helped him in all and towards all.

The two friends are Wealth and Women

and the third friend is Alms

which we neglect in this world of our life

but which become useful after death.

Here, too, I think I must give a short list of the variants between the *Psalms of Christ*, the *Book of Barlaam* and the four typical Western versions of the Middle Ages.

(1) The man with three friends is—in the *Barlaam*<sup>1</sup> and the *Speculum Historiale*<sup>2</sup>—summoned before the King to pay a debt; in the *Psalms of Christ* he is only "accused by an enemy"; in the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>3</sup> he has killed somebody; in the *Legenda Aurea*<sup>4</sup> he is "in magno periculo positus et a rege citatus"; in the *Speculum Morale*<sup>5</sup> the soldiers arrive "ut ducerent eum usque ad imperatorem".

(2) The answer of the first friend is in the *Barlaam*, the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Speculum Historiale*: "You are not my friend. I can only give you as alms some ragged garments for your route." In the *Psalms* he says only: "I cannot go with you." In the *Speculum Morale* the first friend is more charitable but he accepts only "quod duceret eum usque ad mediam viam" and not as far as the court. In the *Gesta Romanorum* the charitable mood of the supposed friend goes a little further: "justum est ut poenae sub-jaceas... ideo tecum pergam ad patibulum et postquam mortuus

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, cit. I, pp. 73-5; II, pp. 84-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Mundi*, IV, *Speculum Historiale*, p. 584.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Romanorum*, cit. p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, cit. pp. 816-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Mundi*, III, *Speculum Morale*, p. 1478.

fueris, tres vel quattuor ulnas panni tibi dabo ad corpus tuum involvendum."

(3) The second friend replies in the *Barlaam* and the *Speculum Historiale*: "I am too busy. I will walk a little way on the road with you." In the *Psalms of Christ* he gives "some rags to be worn while going on the road" (like the first friend in other versions above). In the *Speculum Morale* he was ready "ut duceret eum usque ad portam, ultra non posset". In the *Gesta Romanorum*: "ad patibulum tecum pergam et in via te consolabor quantum potuero." In the *Legenda Aurea*: "curis etenim multis circumdor, modicum tamen usque ad ostium palatii et sociabo te statim domum revertar."

(4) The third friend—in the *Barlaam*, the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Legenda Aurea*—says: "I will go before thee and will petition the King on thy behalf and he will not deliver thee into the hand of thine enemies." In the *Psalms of Christ* he helps his friend "in all and towards all". In the *Speculum Morale* he "dixit quod introduceret eum usque ad Imperatorem et loqueretur pro eo". In the *Gesta Romanorum* the third friend is thoroughly compassionate: "culpam mihi imponam et patibulum si necesse fuerit pro te ascendam."

(5) The explanation of the symbols, on the other hand, varies somewhat. The first friend, in the *Barlaam*, as in the *Psalms of Christ*, the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Legenda Aurea*, is wealth and love of money; only the *Speculum Morale* explains it as "abstinentia"; and in the *Gesta Romanorum* the first friend is generically "this world".

The second friend, in the *Barlaam* as in all other sources, is "women and children", except the *Speculum Morale* where the second friend is "castitas".

The third friend: in the *Barlaam* and the *Legenda Aurea*, "spiritual works, faith, hope, charity, alms, truth"; in the *Psalms of Christ* and the *Speculum Morale*, "alms"; in the *Speculum Historiale*, "justorum operum chorus"; while in the *Gesta Romanorum* the third friend is Jesus Christ himself. In the *Speculum Morale* the third friend is "elemosyna vel misericordia quae Deum placat et vitam aeternam dat".<sup>1</sup>

Here again the ancient Indian morality, which preaches

<sup>1</sup> The variants of the *Speculum Morale*, in apparent contradiction to the other explanations, give to the tale a rather different moral: "Abstinentia" accompanies the man "usque ad mediam viam" to Heaven ("the Court of the Emperor"); "castitas" leads him "usque ad portam"; but only "elemosyna vel misericordia" obtains Paradise for him.

detachment from the family (women and children) and wealth in favour of living by alms, evolves into Christian ideas of good works in this world to obtain a just reward in life eternal.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore we must conclude that in MS. Or. 534 of the British Museum three tales from the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat* have been inserted in the *Psalms of Christ*. These three tales follow each other in the *Barlaam* in this order: "the man in the pit"; the "three friends"; the "King for one year".<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Psalms of Christ* had therefore under his eyes those pages of the *Barlaam* and quoted the three tales<sup>3</sup> in different Psalms. Again this seems to me good evidence that the marginal note quoting the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* as the source of the first of those three tales has been added *ad pompam*, while in the text of the *Psalms of Christ* the *Barlaam* is correctly quoted.<sup>4</sup> The possibility that there was an Ethiopic translation of the *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* thus appears even more remote.

<sup>1</sup> Another good example of the complexity of the tradition of these texts in the Middle Ages is tale no. 48 in *El Conde Lucanor* by Don Juan Manuel (ed. by P. de Gayangos in *Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV* (Bibl. de Autores Espanoles t. LI), Madrid, 1952, pp. 418-19). The "friends" are asked collectively to help and "todos le dijeron que en otras cosas le ayudarian asaz, que en esto, porque podrian perder los cuerpos et lo que habian"; and some of them add "que le farian honra al su enterramiento". The true friend, although he had been previously despised, is proved three times successively: the first time, when the young man brings the bag with the imaginary murdered man, the good friend replies "que por el amor que habia con su padre que lo encubria". The second time the young man gives to the "good friend" "una puñada en el rostro, la mayor que pudiese" and he replies: "digote que por esto nin por otro tuerto non descubriré las cosas del huerto", viz. the murder. The third time, the young man, as a victim of his own fiction, is condemned to death; and the "good friend" declares "que aquel mancebo non matara el home, mas que lo matara un su fijo, et non tenia otro sinon aquel" and sacrifices his own son to his friendship. The tale so adapted has its obvious conclusion which is that the lord "acordándose del amor que ha al home que es su criatura, fizo come el buen amigo; ca envió el su fijo Jesucristo que muriese non habiendo ninguna culpa".

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *Baralâm and Yewâsef*, cit. I, 71-7; II, 82-8.

<sup>3</sup> A similar series is found in Western collections: in the *Legenda Aurea* (op. cit. pp. 816-17) following each other: "the man in the pit"; "the three friends"; "King for one year"; in the *Speculum Historiale* (op. cit. pp. 584-5) in the same order; while in the *Gesta Romanorum* (op. cit.) the series of three tales is not continuous (p. 483 "The three friends"; p. 556 "The man in the pit"; p. 631 "King for one year") but all three have been inserted; and in *El Conde Lucanor* (op. cit. pp. 418-20) "The three friends" and "King for one year" follow each other.

<sup>4</sup> The *Barlaam*, as we have seen above, is also the source of the short quotation concerning the passage from II Peter.