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ADAB AS SOCIAL CURRENCY
THE SURVIVAL OF THE *QAṢĪDA* IN MEDIEVAL SICILY*

NICOLA CARPENTIERI
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Abstract

This article explores the resilience of the *qaṣīda* as social currency in the Kalbid and Norman periods of Sicily. It demonstrates how the Kalbid emirs incorporated the sociopoietic function of the Arabic ode—its capacity to create bonds of social exchange based on a shared ethos—in their programme to foster cohesion at a court potentially endangered by social, confessional and ethnic rivalries. It subsequently shows how the *qaṣīda* carried out a comparable function at the Norman court of Roger II, where Arabic poets once again resorted to the language and lore of the *qaṣīda* in order to craft a neutral space of interaction for Muslims and Christians at court.

Key Words

Arabic literature, Muslim Sicily, Norman Sicily, *habitus, qaṣīda,* Italian literature.

The Classical Arabic ode (*qaṣīda*) remained at the forefront of Sicilian literary expression throughout the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. This was a time of immense political turmoil for the island. Three successive events overturned its political status-quo: the Fatimid revolution, which ended the Aghlabid control of the island; the Sicilian *fitna*[1] that followed the collapse of the Kalbid emirate;[2]

* I wish to thank Prof. Alexander Fidora at the Institut d'Estudis Medievals at the Autonomous University of Barcelona for his kind support during my stay as a Research Associate there. This article was supported by a Beatriu de Pinós Postdoctoral Fellowship. Thanks also to Dr. Sarah Wood for her helpful reading of my draft, as well as to my mentor, Prof. Bill Granara at Harvard University for his guidance and advice.

1 'Civil war', I use the term as it appears in poetic collections and biographical dictionaries, for example *Tartīb al-Madārik* and *al-Kharīḍa.* See Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Muʿjam al-ʿUlamāʾ wa al-shuʿarāʾ al-Ṣiqilliyyīn*, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994, pp. 98, 159. On this term see also: Annliese Nef, 'La Fitna Sicilienne: Une Fitna Inachevée?', *Médiévales* 60 (2011), pp. 103–116.

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and the Norman conquest that annihilated the Sicilian *Taifa* kingdoms.[3] These upheavals had major repercussions on the Sicilian social landscape. Agents with diverging interests, moved by different confessional, ethnic and political affiliations, rose to positions of prominence and contributed to the ongoing processes of cultural and political history.

The present article addresses one main question: how did the *qaṣīda* survive these dramatic upheavals and the resulting changes in social and political milieux, whilst retaining its value as social currency?[4] In other words, how did the classical Arabic ode carry out its traditional function of a 'token in a ritualised social exchange',[5] in societies where ethnic, confessional and political rifts would ostensibly jeopardise traditional social exchanges?

Building my argument with reference to recent scholarship,[6] I maintain that the Kalbid emirs and their bureaucratic apparatus fostered, through the reproduction of the canonical forms of the *qaṣīda*, a non-normative code of behaviour which granted social cohesion in a fragmented and profoundly heterogeneous society. This code, best understood in terms of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*,[7] was later revived and impulsed by Arabic poets working in Norman Sicily. With their verse, the Arabic poets of Norman Sicily promoted a courtly *habitus* encoded in the Arabic ode, in order to overcome social rifts and religious rivalries within their own society.

Both at the fraying edges of *Dār al-Isām* and at the precarious boundaries of Christianity, the classical Arabic ode resisted as a *koine* by which confessional, ethnic and political divisions could be bypassed. Poets at both the Muslim Kalbid

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2 The Kalbid Emirs ruled Sicily from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh century. They were formally appointed by the Fatimids, but gained, progressively, a *de facto* autonomous rule.

3 After the collapse of the Kalbid emirate, Muslim Sicily was split in local municipalities each ruled by a warlord (*qāʾid*). Historians refer to these smaller kingdoms as *ṭawāʾif* (s. *ṭayfa*) a term also used for the Andalusian party-kingdoms of post-Umayyad Iberia. The term has entered contemporary scholarship through Spanish historiography, where the Arabic *ṭawāʾif* became *los Reinos de Taifas.*

4 'Social currency' here refers to the means by which agents position themselves in the literary field and affect change. I borrow the term from Bourdieu's theory of social capital in an attempt to nuance the definition of the *qaṣīda* as 'an object in ritual exchange', given by Stetkevych. See, in particular: Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy,* Bloomington–Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002.

5 Ibid., pp. 18–19, 182–183.

6 The central argument of this article is owed largely to Erez Naaman's findings. See Erez Naaman, *Literature and the Islamic Court: Cultural Life Under al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād*, London: Routdlege, 2016. For the poetry of the Kalbids I often referred to William Granara, 'Rethinking Muslim Sicily's Golden Age: Poetry and Patronage at the Fatimid Kalbid Court', *Alifbā studi arabo islamici e mediterranei* 22 (2008) [= Antonino Pellitteri (ed.), *I Fatimidi e il Mediterraneo, Atti del Convegno (3-6 dicembre 2008)*, Palermo: Accademia Libica in Italia–Università degli Studi di Palermo, 2008], pp. 95–108.

7 Granara, 'Rethinking Muslim Sicily's Golden Age', p. 108.

and at the Christian Norman courts used the *qaṣīda* to fashion and reify the court as an agglomerating social space. The *qaṣīda*'s value as social currency is thus 'transversal': that is to say, capable of intersecting ethnic, confessional and political boundaries. In what follows, I show how actors in the literary field capitalised on this transversal value in order to foster social configurations that bridged *internal otherness*[8] in the Emirate and Kingdom of Sicily.

I[9]

1. I see them stand up for departure, camels laden with beautiful maidens
   like full moons arising, rocking on their backs, as they move forward,
2. If they looked to the one they journey towards,
   they'd disregard the maidens's countenances
3. And rush on, the desert as their mount
   as they are mounts for the desert
4. Caring for nothing but poetry
   whose springs are the mouths of the bards
5. Trample on the waters, shunning them
   as if the chant of camel-drivers quenched their thirst
6. I say to my mount, when she stops exhausted,
   her hooves obeying my shouts of incitation
7. I will dismount only in rich pastures,
   by the cold, sweet waters of the Euphrates
8. In the land of Mudāfiʿ, protector of my hopes
   slayer of the years of drought.

We know precious little about the author of these lines,[10] the Sicilian prince Jaʿfar ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Kalbī. Fragments of his poems, ten in total, have come down to us by way of the medieval anthology penned by Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ (d. 1121), *al-Durra al-Khaṭīra fī Shuʿarāʾ al-Jazīra*[11] (The Precious Pearl on the Poets of the Island). We can assume that Jaʿfar flourished on Sicilian ground sometime between the end of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh century. He was of royal lineage: his family, the Kalbids, ruled the island from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh

[8] See Anna A. Akasoy, 'Al-Andalus in Exile: Identity and diversity in Islamic intellectual history', in Matthias M. Tischler and Alexander Fidora, *Christlicher Norden-Muslimischer Süden Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Münster: Aschendorff, 2001, pp. 329–343.

[9] Arabic text from ʿAbbās, *Muʿjam al-ʿUlamāʾ*, pp. 30–31. English translation mine.

[10] The eight lines are extracted from a longer poem, 14 lines in total in Ibn Bassām's *Kharīḍa.*

[11] The book has been culled and edited by Bashīr al-Bakūsh: Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar al-Saʿdī, *Al-Durra al-Khaṭīra fī shuʿarāʾ al-Jazīra,* ed. Bashīr al-Bakūsh, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995.

century. Under their guidance, Muslim Sicily attained a high degree of autonomy, a period of rare political stability and an unparalleled cultural flourishing. These accomplishments are reflected in the accounts of Medieval Arab historians, who unanimously praise the Kalbid emirs's individual and collective merits.[12]

Patrons of poets and scholars and often competent poets themselves, the Kalbids attracted to their court in Palermo the finest minds from all over Sicily and North Africa. It was during the century or so of their rulership that Palermo orbited firmly, both culturally and politically, within the Arabo-Islamic polity. It appears from the shards of poetry in our hands that its court spoke the language of Qayrawan and Baghdad and moulded its verses on those of the great poets of the past. Sicilian Arabic poets at the Kalbid court appear to have clung staunchly to a 'classicist' poetics. Gaˇfar's ode is a case in point. The poem is dedicated to Mudāfiʿ ibn Rashīd ibn Rāfiʿ al-Hilālī,[13] the Emir of Gàbes, a city on the southern coast of modern-day Tunisia.

As he addressed his correspondent, Jaʿfar opted for an archaising style in both language and structure. In the first line he deploys a powerful motif of the pre-Islamic ode, the *ẓaʿn*, i.e. the departure of the poet's beloved with the other women of her tribe.[14] Many a great *qaṣīda* opened with this image. Imrūʾ 'l-Qays, ʿAntara, al-Aʿshā and other totemic figures of the pre-Islamic parnassus all employed this theme to begin their odes.

Line two contains the *takhalluṣ*, or disengagement, from the *nasīb*. The line has the two main functions. On the one hand it introduces the next section of the ode, the *raḥīl* (desert-journey). The poet's infatuation for the 'beautiful maidens' (*jamāl*) is singularly transferred to the mounts, who would divert their gaze from their riders to behold the poet's patron and rush towards the latter (l. 3). On the other hand, line two condenses the paradigmatic shift from a focus on a longing for the beloved to a focus on a longing for the recipient's acceptance. I say 'condensing', as such a shift towards the recipient is customarily obtained progressively, through the development of the *raḥīl*, while here the poet obtains it in the brief space of one line.[15] The appearance of the poem's recipient at the

[12] See for example: Abū al-Fidāʾ, *al-Mukhtār fī Akhbār al-Bashar* in Michele Amari (ed.), *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* [= *BAS*], Torino–Roma: Loescher, 1881, vol. II, pp. 89–96; Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī funūn al-Adab*, in Amari (ed.), *BAS*, vol. II, p. 137; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* in Amari (ed.), *BAS*, vol. II, p. 197; Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, in Amari (ed.), *BAS*, vol. II, pp. 527–528.

[13] ʿAbbās, *Muʿjam al-ʿUlamāʾ*, p. 31.

[14] See Michael A. Sells, 'Guises of the Ghūl', in Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (ed.), *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, pp. 130–164.

[15] This is exemplified in Ibn Qutayba's oft-quoted summary of the Arabic ode: 'when the poet had assured himself of an attentive hearing, he followed up his advantage and set forth his claim: he went to complain of fatigue and want of sleep and travelling by night and the noonday heat, and how his camel had been reduced to leanness. And when, after representing all the

very beginning of this short ode suits its epistolary nature: the intimate communication between the poet and his addressee is on the forefront. Line four is the poem's conceptual pivot: Jaʿfar extols the nature of the relationship between him and his addressee, a relationship based on poetry (*shiʿr*, l. 4), its codes and its aesthetics. The desert-journey and the poet's mount come to symbolise the very ode travelling from Jaʿfar to Mudāfiʿ. It is poetry that spurs the poet's mount onwards in its journey, and in poetry that poet and recipient are united. The line thus encapsulates the role of this ode as an 'object in a ritual exchange',[16] aimed at establishing bonds of political allegiance between the poet and his recipient. What is less clear is the nature of the power relation between Jaʿfar and Mudāfiʿ. Was the Kalbid prince seeking shelter in Gàbes, perhaps as he prepared to leave Sicily? Or rather, was the poem a ritualised exchange among peers? Did it open a longer petition or a diplomatic letter?

Unfortunately, the scant biographical sources from *al-Durra al-Khaṭīra* do not provide us with an answer to any of these queries. Yet, beyond the details of the case, what is remarkable is how this line encapsulates the essence of poetic patronage as a ritualised exchange regulated by non-normative structures. By mentioning poetry as a bonding element between composed and recipient, Jaʿfar reaffirms the ode's sociopoietic value: he and his North African recipient share in a common identity built on the normalised language of the qaṣīda and its lore. Line 5 reinforces this idea: poetry—here the *rajaz*[17] of the camel-driver—metaphorically replaces water in sustaining the poet's mount in the desert-crossing. Line 6 operates the *takhalluṣ* to the final section of the ode, the praise of the ode's recipient, shifting the focus on the poetic persona with the introduction of the first person. Line 7 evokes the element of water, traditionally associated with the patron's liberality in rewarding the poet. Subsequently, in line 8, the bond of patronage between the poet and the recipient is sanctioned, as the addressee is mentioned explicitly as a 'slayer of the years of drought'.

The ode's thematic organisation is a textbook case: a short *nasīb* (amatory preface, l. 2), a *takhalluṣ* (disengagement from the ode's introduction, l. 2), leading to a *raḥīl* (desert-journey, ll. 3–6), and a second *takhalluṣ* (l. 7), leading to the praise of the ode's recipient in line 8. Jaʿfar borrowed directly from pre-Islamic imagery and *badīʿ*- Mutanabbian phrasing (particularly in line 3). In this, his poetics exhibits the landmark qualities of Sicilian Arabic poetry which have been

discomfort and danger of his journey he knew that he had fully justified his hope and expectation to receive his full meed... he entered upon the panegyric and incited him (i.e. his patron) to reward' (Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb ash-shiʿr wa-sh-shuʿarāʾ*, trans. in Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. 77–78).

16 See Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*, p. 277.

17 *Rajaz* is one of the metres of Arabic poetry; it does not belong, formally, to *qaṣīd* metres and was commonly used for prophecies, invocations and in the chanting of camel-drivers.

observed by William Granara. Granara interpreted the traditionalist quality of Sicilian Arabic poetry as 'the reflection of a frontier mentality that sought identity in being in the main, being more Arab, more Islamic, more orthodox, more Mālikī, more conventional than the freethinking urban centres of Córdoba, Cairo, and Baghdad'.[18] In the tenth century the *ẓaʿn*, along with the other motifs of the pre-Islamic ode, was still widely reproduced by poets both in the East and the West, Jaʿfar's lines being a case in point.

But the prince's choice should not be dismissed as a slavish adherence to the tradition. In a time when the raging literary trend prescribed poets to sing the praises of wine, relish in the greenery of manicured gardens, or indulge in describing the graces of a cup-bearer or a singing girl, the choice to revive the quaint motifs of desert poetry was anything but a given. It was, rather, a deliberate choice conveying specific meanings. By adopting the most traditional of openings and structures, the Kalbid prince positioned himself within a revered poetic tradition going back to pre-Islamic Arabia. He thus reclaimed and upheld a pedigree that—fictional as it may have been—bound him to his North African interlocutor. The Kalbids hailed originally from North Africa themselves, while their tribe, the Banū Kalb, traced its ancestral origins in southern Arabia. Prince Jaʿfar's epistle to Gàbes, with its rigorous and conservative style, encapsulates the political, cultural and emotional bond that Muslim Sicily maintained, throughout its history, with its perceived motherlands: the immanent North Africa and the chimeric Arabia.

Jaʿfar's line provide us with a preliminary example of how the lore and language of the pre-Islamic ode assumed, in Sicily, a distinct value as social currency: an agglomerating factor in a dived society. The social rifts inherent to Sicilian society during the Kalbid emirate are evident if we consider the varied components of Sicilian society in the tenth century. Firstly, Kalbid Sicily was a frontier land: the Muslims, even at the peak of their military prowess and political influence, had troubles in keeping the totality of the island under control. The towns of the North East such as Taormina and Rometta were contested territory. Closer to the Italian mainland and mostly Christian, their people looked hopefully towards Byzantium. They were in a state of constant rebellion or outright independence. On the other hand, amicable contacts with local Christians and Jews were habitual. The tenth century traveller Ibn Ḥawqal, during his sojourn on the island, was appalled to find out that Sicilian Muslim and Christian peasants intermarried and, in a blatant neglect of all precepts of

[18] William Granara, 'Ibn Ḥamdīs and the Poetry of Nostalgia', in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (eds), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of al-Andalus*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 401.

religion, raised their sons as Muslims and their daughters as Christians.[19] Secondly, as clients of the Fatimid Caliphs (an embattled *shīʿa* dynasty), the Kalbids were faced with the ominous task of ruling over a predominantly Sunnī Mālikī population. Sicily had risen in revolt against the Fatimids a number of times. In 913, the island rebelled and proclaimed allegiance to the Sunnī Caliphate of Baghdad. Then again, in 937 the Berbers of Agrigento led a major revolt against the Fatimid governor of Sicily, forging an alliance with Constantinople. The rebellion degenerated into an all-out war pitting Sicilian Muslims against their leaders in North Africa and the Fatimids against the Byzantines. The Fatimids eventually prevailed thanks mainly to the ruthless acts of repression carried out by their general Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. Khalīl restored the Fatimid grip over the capital, Palermo, razing part of the old city and building the fortress of *al-Khāliṣa*, (translatable as 'the Perfected One') a de facto city within the city.

These rebellions in Sicily exasperated the kind of social rifts that Anna Akasoy explored in her study of *internal otherness* in Muslim Societies.[20] The Sicilian social landscape in the second half of the tenth century saw a Mālikī Sunnī majority—elite classes, landed gentry, peasants and city dwellers—ruled by a Shīʿa minority backed by reiterated, ruthless military interventions from North Africa. To these two main elements we should add the Jewish population, as well as a Christian majority in the easternmost Sicilian towns, a disenfranchised[21] rural population, the destabilising presence of disgruntled *kharijites*, and an atavistic rivalry between Berber and Arab settlers.[22] It was in such a situation of social fragmentation, ethnic and confessional rivalry that Ḥasan al-Kalbī, the first Kalbid governor of Sicily, was dispatched to Palermo. Before him, a long list of North-African-appointed rulers had had to bear the brunt of the local population's resentment against fiscal and political control from the North African mainland. Many of these governors were in fact systematically ousted by popular uprisings, stoked by a growingly controlling local elite.[23] But, contrary to the foreseeable course of things, Ḥasan al-Kalbī and his successor, his son Aḥmad, proved particularly popular with the Sicilians. When, in 354/965 the Fatimids recalled Aḥmad to North Africa, a new popular uprising broke out in Palermo, this time demanding, for the first time in the history of Muslim Sicily, that the Amīr be reinstated to power. Likely as a last resort to tame the rebellion, in

[19] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. Johannes H. Kramers, 2nd ed., Boston–Leiden, Brill, 2014, p. 129.

[20] See n. 8.

[21] If we give credit to Ibn Ḥawqal's description of Sicily's rural population, see n. 14.

[22] See Granara, 'Rethinking Muslim Sicily's Golden Age', p. 101.

[23] Arabic chronicles point in particular to the family of the Bānū al-Tabarī, see Ibn Khaldūn, in Amari (ed.), *BAS,* vol. II, p. 193.

359/970 the Fatimid Caliph, al-Muʿizz, sought conciliation by dispatching Aḥmad's brother, Abū 'l-Qāsim, to Sicily with an official investment to the emirate. Within thirty years, Muslim Sicily would peak politically and culturally under one of Abū 'l-Qāsim's successors, the emir Yūsuf al-Kalbī. Granara has investigated the success of the Kalbid dynasty in creating a thriving court in these less-than ideal social and political circumstances, focussing on the Kalbids' articulation of power through court literature. He argued that the Kalbid emirs fostered, through literary patronage and through the replication of the codified aesthetic of the Arabic ode, a courtly *habitus* that allowed for modes of interaction freed from the shackles of ethnic and religious affiliations.[24] It will be useful to quickly introduce Bourdieu's *habitus* before proceeding.

Bourdieu defined *habitus* as a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions, once acquired and internalised, generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'. *Habitus* 'orients' actions and inclinations without strictly determining them. It gives agents in a given literary field a 'feel for the game': a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not.[25] *Habitus* also shapes the agents' sense of social belonging, resulting in an ingrained disposition whereby these agents tend to collocate themselves within specific social milieux. Erez Naaman, in his 2016 book, illustrates how, at court, *habitus* informed 'elite social configurations in which power relations are dimmed at times to allow models of interaction based on cultural competence.'[26]

The evidence we possess from the poetry of the Kalbid court, such as the poem examined above, reveals that Muslim Sicily's aulic society, the court in particular, resorted to the most traditional aspects of the Arabic ode to shape its *habitus.* Social affiliations were crafted and cemented around its language and lore. The Kalbids resorted to the identity-building aesthetics of the *qaṣīda* to shape a durable code of social interaction capable of bridging 'internal otherness'. Let us look at a further example: a prince of the Kalbid dynasty, Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kalbī, writes to an unmentioned *kātib* (court secretary):

II[27]

1. The two of us are bound together by Adab, it is sacred to us, like the sacred line of ancestry

[24] See Granara, 'Rethinking Muslim Sicily's Golden Age'.

[25] See Pierre Bourdieu, *Language & Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, Cambridge–Malden: Polity Press, 1992, pp. 12–15.

[26] Erez Naaman, *Literature and the Islamic Court: Cultural Life under al-Sahib ibn ʿAbbad*, New York: Routledge, 2016, electronic ed., ch. 2.

[27] Arabic text from ʿAbbās, *Muʿjam al-ʿUlamāʾ*, p. 234. English translation mine.

2. Run from the ones to whom your concept of art is adverse; in every work of art be safe from blame
3. And come to us, for our friendship repays with grace the hardships of the literary profession

The opening line of this fragment illustrates how modes of interaction based *habitus* dimmed power relations at court. The power relations, in this specific case, are clear: as a prince with his courtier, Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla positions himself (l. 3) as the protector and patron of the unmentioned scribe he addresses. And yet, line one remarkably reverts the usual power dynamics of literary patronage. The poem appears to be an invitation, on behalf of the prince, for the scribe to join in his court: Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla is attempting to attract the scholar to join his entourage. The message must thus establish firstly a bond of reciprocity between the prince and the scribe. Hence, in line 1, the prince extols a common lineage with his addressee, one based on *adab*. The term, well known to Arabists, needs only a brief introduction: a complex of codes and norms that shape the individual, including scholarly and linguistic competence, a command of the poetic canon, intellectual sophistication, eloquence, elegance and taste. Vadet poignantly expressed it when he stated: '*adab* is the social principle par excellence, it is [...] the ideal by which the individual asserts himself as member of a group.'[28] Line one thus fashions a sociopoietic function for *adab*, one capable of overriding even the most fundamental category of social belonging, namely blood-relations. A second point to be underscored here is the powerful intertextual charge of this first line. The line paraphrases another by Abū Tammām, which runs as follows:

III[29]

And though our ancestry divides us, we are united by Adab, which we elevated to the position of our father

The intertextuality in this first line would not be lost on the poem's recipient, a competent literary person himself. With his accomplished *sariqa*,[30] Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla is at once making a display of *ẓarf*, sophistication and elegance, and crafting a flattering invitation for the scribe. The effect is highly enhanced by the

[28] Jean Claude Vadet, *L'Esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siecles de l'Hegire*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1968, p. 327, see Naaman, *Literature and the Islamic Court*, n. 35.

[29] Abū Tammām, *Diwān,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbduh ʿAzzām, Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1957, vol. II, p. 402.

[30] 'Theft': in Arabic poetics the term comprises different forms of quotation of a line of poetry, see Beatrice Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry Ibn al-Rūmī and the Patron's Redemption*, New York: Routledge, 2002, electronic ed. ch. 1.

quotation of Abū Tammām's line, which bestows upon the addressee a hyperbolic association with the ʿAbbasid caliphal court.

Lines two and three condense the subtle dialectic between artistic autonomy and patronage, proclaiming the prince, in his quality of *muʾaddab*—an agent endowed with the qualities of *adab*—as the guarantor of the scribe's independence. At the same time Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla purports himself as the best-suited recipient of the *kātib*'s praise. In these two lines literary competence is foregrounded, with the competent literary agent declared to be perpetually emancipated from need.

The sociopoietic function of *adab*, extolled in this short piece, brings us back to our discussion of *habitus* at the Kalbid court. There is a natural overlapping between Bourdieu's formulation of habitus and *adab* understood as a non-normative code of polite behaviour informed by literary competence and intellectual sophistication, as phrased in Mustakhliṣ al-Dawla's poem. Such a formulation of *adab* encapsulates the notion of habitus as a transversal sociopoietic structure. If a pedigree based on *adab* is capable of replacing ancestry, understood as the fundamental structuring notion in the Arabic tribal system, then *adab* as a sociopoietic structure is capable of transcending other subordinate affiliations of ethnic and confessional nature. By fostering a courtly habitus, the Kalbids could craft their court as a cohesive social structure in which the dialectics of patronage and the sociopoietic function of the *qaṣīda* overrode the social rifts of the kingdom they were appointed to rule.

It is beyond the scope of this article to address the political significance of attracting and developing a body of notaries versed in the code of *adab*. It is, however, remarkable to observe how poetry from the Kalbid, Norman and Hohenstaufen courts testifies to the position of prominence granted to notaries in the literary field. 'Hegemony in the field of ideas and culture', as Salinari has it,[31] honed through a careful grooming of the bureaucratic caste, proved paramount for the Sicilian political programme from the Kalbid to the Hohenstaufen age.

IV[32]

1. Oh Favara of the Two Seas, you gather every blessing: a life of delight and a supernal sight
2. Your waters split into nine streams, how perfect their divided flow
3. The meeting of your Two Seas is the battleground of Love, on your Two Shores passion has encamped

[31] Carlo Salinari, *La Poesia Lirica del Duecento*, Turin: UTET, 1951, p. 11.

[32] Arabic text from ʿAbbās, *Muʿjam al-ʿUlamāʾ*, pp. 54–55. English translation mine. I am also indebted to Karla Mallette's English version of this poem. See Karla Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100-1250*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, pp. 139–140.

4. By God, the Sea of Two Palms! it encircles a building, the mightiest of abodes.
5. It is as if its pure waters, flowing together, were melted pearls, and its calm surface was blue sappanwood
6. It is as if the branches in the garden stretched out to gaze into the deep water and smiled
7. Fish swim in the purity of its waters, and birds coo among its gardens
8. And it is as if the oranges of its island, fire ablaze, burned on branches of emerald
9. And as if the lemons had the paleness of a heartsick lover, waking, grief-stricken.
10. And the Two Palms are like Two Lovers, who had built a castle to fend off their enemies
11. Or, when suspicion arose around them, stood up tall to frighten the slanders
12. Oh two palms of the two seas of Palermo, may you be given to drink of the sustaining rain forever!
13. May you enjoy the passing of time, may all your desires be fulfilled, while misfortune sleeps
14. By God, shade and protect the People of Love! for in the security of your shade love finds protection.
15. This is the account of an eyewitness, not to be doubted, while hearsay is but trifling and delusion!

These lines were penned by a *kātib* of Roger II, al-Iṭrabanshī, possibly on the inauguration of the monarch's pleasure palace of the Favara (from the Arabic *fawwāra*: spring of fresh water).[33] The poem has been discussed by Karla Mallette in her fascinating monograph on the literature of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, and her argument will be quoted in what follows.[34] Mallette's analysis called attention to al-Iṭrabanshī's striking use of the *qaṣīda*'s lore and of Quranic imagery in crafting his praise for a Christian patron. It is indeed surprising that such a poem not only was written, but that it survived at all. The anthologist ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, who quotes it, is careful to relentlessly invoke the curse of God upon the Normans; at times he cuts short the poems he quotes, as they are 'in praise of the infidels'.[35] And, yet, he quotes.

[33] Ibn Ḥawqal describes two sources with this name: the small Favara (*al-fawwāra al-ṣaghīra*) and the big Favara (*al-fawwāra al-kabīra*), the latter on the edge of a mountain outside the city, the most abundant water source in Palermo. See Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, p. 123. It is likely that Roger's pleasure palace was built on one of these two sites, see the chronicle of Romuald of Salerno, n. 33.

[34] Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily*, pp. 26–27.

[35] See ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Kharīḍat al-Qaṣr,* in Amari (ed.), *BAS*, vol. II, pp. 429–490.

It is the mastery of poets like al-Iṭrabanshī in redeploying the classical themes of the *qaṣīda*, in this case particularly *waṣf* (description) and *ghazal* (love poetry), that could not fail to impress the anthologist. It is very likely that the author of the poem even found himself in a predicament in composing this ode. He was, after all, writing a poetic praise for the enemy, the Christian usurper of his ancestral homeland.

As he wrote his ode, al-Iṭrabanshī must have been painfully aware of the struggles and divisions that had undermined the Sicilian Muslim polity some decades before. These divisions rang accusingly in the many verses of Sicilian Arab poets in vituperation of the Normans, which ostensibly circulated between North Africa, Sicily, the Iberian peninsula and the East. I should like to quote but one example, extracted from the *dīwān* of Ibn Ḥamdīs, Muslim Sicily's premiere poet in exile:

V[36]

36. If my land was free, I would go to her, with a resolve that deems travelling an absolute necessity
37. But my land, how can I liberate her from the chains held by infidel usurpers?
38. Indeed, if those dogs have seized their food, it was only after our arteries had stopped pulsing.
39. How? while her people annihilated each other at the beck and call of civil strife, every wood-gatherer kindled his fire there
40. In its light their heretic views were revealed and it was as if their beliefs were all different
41. No mercy was shown on blood-relations—relatives washed their swords in each other's blood
42. Fingertips were pulled away without concern for the hand

In these lines Ibn Ḥamdīs elaborates the theme of *al-ḥanīn ilā al-waṭan*, or nostalgia for one's homeland, into an account of the contingencies of the Sicilian *fitna*, actively pushing the boundaries of genre in order to express his most immediate concerns. The dismemberment of the Sicilian Muslim social body is narrated through images of physical dismemberment and treacherous violence. In lines 40 and 41 in particular, Ibn Ḥamdīs denounces the fragmentation of social cohesion of the Sicilian polity. In these two lines we read an allusion to a sunnī/shīʿa divide that had, for over a century, laid dormant in Muslim Sicily. Ibn Ḥamdīs conjures the spectre of sectarian antagonism as the great puppeteer behind the scenes of the *fitna*. Such unequivocal accusations would have

[36] Arabic text in Ibn Ḥamdīs, *Dīwān,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960, p. 31. English translation mine.

resounded strongly with the poet's audience, that included his North African patrons, the Zirids, but also the throngs of Sicilian refugees escaping the Norman invasion and his Sicilian compatriots under Norman 'captivity'.

Let us return to al-Iṭrabanshī's ode. The first rhetorical feature that jumps to the eye, particularly in the Arabic, is the poet's consistent usage of double imagery, beautifully conveyed with recurring dual nouns. As Mallette has it, 'it is pleasant to believe that Iṭrabanshī chose to fill his poem with doubled imagery in part to symbolise the dualism of Sicily's Muslim and Christian population'. If we follow Mallette's analogy, we see al-Iṭrabanshī fashioning the Norman court as an inverted battleground: a 'battleground of love' (l. 3) where the two communities, Muslims and Christians, like the clashing waters of the Favara's two seas, can come together and converge. He does so by tapping into the aesthetics of Arabic love poetry, whose lexicon and imagery dominate the ode. Mallette even suggests that with the evocative epithet *Ahl al-Hawā*, the 'People of Love', Iṭrabanshī may have in fact addressed a 'rarefied and idealized form'[37] of the Sicilian community represented at the Norman court. The epithet is commonly employed in the Arabic *nasīb* and *ghazal*—the traditional thematic loci of Arabic love poetry—to designate the poet's beloved, or more generally the female members of another tribe. But whether or not al-Iṭrabanshī did have in mind such a title for his re-imagined community, it is unequivocal that he carefully selected, for his description, highly recognisable *topoi* of Arabic love poetry (ll. 10–11). The Favara, as we know from historical accounts of the time, was Roger's own pleasure palace, a locus reserved for the king's entertainment. Romuald of Salerno describes it as follows:

> And lest this great man should at any time lack pleasures either aquatic or pastoral, he created a pleasure garden at a place which was called Favara, with many canals and streams, into which he ordered different types of fish, brought from many different regions, to be introduced. He had another beautiful and splendid palace constructed next to this pleasure garden.[38]

This description of the Favara by Romuald of Salerno follows his description of the Royal Palace and the Cappella Palatina, and one is tempted to draw an analogy between the imagery of al-Iṭrabanshī's poem and the splendid pictorial representations in the *muqarnas* ceiling of the chapel. There, floral motifs are interposed between scenes of courtly entertainment, with the king drinking wine among his courtiers, musicians and dancers. Al-Iṭrabanshī's description echoes those images of princely entertainment, through the appropriation of the lexical

[37] Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 27.

[38] Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon* in *Roger II and the Creation of the Kingdom of Sicily*, trans. ed. Graham A. Loud, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, p. 264.

patrimony of the the Arabic love poem, best represented in the description of the lemons as heartsick lovers (l. 9) or in the recurrent guises of 'love', *gharām* (l. 3) *ʿishq* (ll. 9–10) *hawā* (l. 14). These images all emphasize the Favara's vocation as a locus of pleasure and convivial entertainment.

Al-Iṭrabanshī's poem is also redolent with Quranic imagery, as already noted by Mallette:[39] gardens irrigated by rivers (2.25, 3.133, 9.72) with waters of unsurpassed purity (47.15) and a community of the elected bonded by fraternal love (3.195, 13.23–24, 4.69). Al-Iṭrabanshī fuses the two lexicons, the religious and the erotic, as he fashions the Favara as an idealised seat of the king's *majlis al-uns*, the entertainment session of the king and his courtiers: a cornerstone institution of the Islamic court since ʿAbbasid times. Descriptions of the idyllic settings of such *majālis* recur in the corpus of Sicilian Arabic poetry, as, for example, in the verse of Ibn Ḥamdīs. Staples of such descriptions are water imagery coupled with luxuriant vegetation, the erotic and the bacchic element.

Naaman has clarified how the success of artistic, intellectual, and leisure activities in the *majlis al-uns* depended on loosening up the hierarchic tension between patron and courtiers. ʿAbbasid treatises—grouped under the umbrella term of *Adab al-Kātib*, kinds of manuals on etiquette for courtiers—prescribed familiarity as the indispensable premise for an accomplished *majlis al-uns*: only through familiarity could the king enjoy the company of his courtiers in non-official gatherings. Power relations had to be temporarily suspended at the *majālis* in order to attain the convivial atmosphere required by these events.[40]

It is such intimate confidence and familiarity that al-Iṭrabanshī chose to emphasise in his ode, by fashioning the Favara as the idealised locus of the *majlis al-uns.* In order to do so, he tapped into the language and imagery of the many descriptions of *majālis* from the classical canon and choosing his lexicon mainly from the register of Arabic love poetry. As he projected the Favara as a locus of conviviality and leisure, the poet was also promoting the image of a court where agents embodied the behavioural codes of *adab*. The poem alludes, particularly in l. 14, to an audience of literary agents refined by the aesthetics of love and conversant with poetic art, who, by sharing in the *qaṣīda*'s code, participate in the 'construction of a culture' at the Norman court.[41] Their system of behaviour and interaction, based primarily on artistic competence and on a shared aesthetic code, overshadows confessional, ethnic and political affiliations. Thus, much in the fashion of its Kalbid predecessors, al-Iṭrabanshī taps into the sociopoietic function of the *qaṣīda* in order to craft a neutral, inclusive social space in which potential confessional rivalries were dimmed.

[39] Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 26.

[40] Naaman, *Literature and the Islamic Court*, ch. 2.

[41] See Gadi Algazi and Rina Drory, 'L'amour à la Cour des Abbasides. Un code de competénce social', *Annales HSS* 55/6 (Nov.–Dec. 2000), pp. 1255–1282.

Al-Iṭrabanshī's lines reveal how the Arabic ode maintained its value as social currency, an 'object in a ritual exchange', at the Norman court. As opposed to the vitriol of anti-Norman 'nationalist' Arab poets, his work—aimed ostensibly as much as to the sovereign as to co-religionaries who could appreciate its subtleties—was a fundamental step towards the normalisation of the Norman experiment of social inclusiveness, and a legitimisation of its agents.

Conclusion

In this article, I attempted to show how the Kalbids and the Normans of Sicily capitalised on the sociopoietic power of the *qaṣīda* for their monarchic ambitions. Sicily's heterogeneous social landscape, that of a land on the edge of both the Muslim and the Christian polities, compelled any attempt to implement 'national' policies to be either inclusive or outright repressive. Opting for an inclusive approach, both the Kalbids and the Normans exploited the Arabic ode as a social currency that could operate transversally, crossing boundaries of religion and ethnicity. By doing this, they fostered social cohesion in a land divided by deep confessional, ethnic and political rifts. Through the language and lore of the *qaṣīda*, patrons and poets fomented a *habitus* among literary agents at court. This *habitus* informed the generative process of works that, as Mallette has it, were 'constructed of a vertiginous combination of the discrete cultures of Sicily's residents'. Ultimately, the poetry of the Kalbid and Norman age bears testament to the fact that Kalbid and Norman policies of social inclusion allowed for both states to thrive culturally, and to fully reap the benefits of a heterogeneous society.

Arabic Texts

I

١. أراها للرحيل مُثَوَّراتِ جمالاً بالجمالِ مُحَمَّلاتِ
٢. تتيهُ على الركائبِ في سُراها بأقمارٍ عليها طالعات
٣. ولو نظرتْ لمن تسري إليه لصدَّتْ عن وجوه الغانيات
٤. وسارتْ والفلاةُ لها ركابٌ كما كانت ركاباً للفلاة
٥. ولم تعلقْ بشيءٍ غير شعر منابتُهُ بأفواه الرواة
٦. تمرُّ على المياهِ ولم تَردْهَا كأن الريَّ في رَجَزِ الحداة
٧. أقولُ لها وقد علقتْ ذميلاً بأخفافٍ لزجري سامعات

٨. سأنزلُ عنك في مرعىً خصيبٍ وماءٍ باردٍ عذبِ الفرات
٩. بأرضِ مُدَافعٍ مأوى الأماني وقتّالِ السنين المجدبات

II

١. نحن كلانا يضمنا أدبٌ حُرْمَتُنا فيه حرمةُ النسبِ
٢. فعدِّ عمَّن معناكَ خالفَهُ في كلِّ فنٍّ تسلمْ من العَتَب
٣. واجنحْ إلينا فإن أُلفتنا تدفعُ باليُمْنِ حُرْفَةَ الأدب

III

أو يفْتَرِقْ نَسَبٌ يُؤَلف بَيْننا أدبٌ أقمناهُ مقامَ الوالدِ

IV

١. فوارةَ البحرين جَمَّعْتِ المنى عيشٌ يطيب ومنظرٌ يستعظم
٢. قُسِمَتْ مياهُكِ في جداولَ تسعةٍ يا حبذا جَرَيانها المتقسّم
٣. في ملتقى بحريك مُعْتَرَكُ الهوى وعلى خليجيكِ الغرامُ مخيِّم
٤. للّه بحرُ النخلتين وما حوى الـ بحرُ المَشِيدُ به المقامُ الأعظم
٥. وكأن ماء المَفْرَعَيْنِ وَصَفْوَهُ دُرٌّ مذابٌ والبسيطةُ عَندَمُ
٦. وكأن أغصانَ الرياضِ تطاولت ترنو إلى سَمْكِ المياه وتبسم
٧. والحوتُ يسبحُ في صفاءِ مياهها والطيرُ بين رياضها يترنَّمُ
٨. وكأنَّ نارنجَ الجزيرةِ إذ زها نارٌ على قُضُبِ الزبرجدِ تضرم
٩. وكأنما الليمونُ صفرةُ عاشقٍ قد بات من أَلَم النوى يتألم
١٠. والنخلتان كعاشقين استخلصا حَذَرَ العدى حصناً منيعاً منهم
١١. أو ريبةٌ علتقها فتطاولا يتهيبانِ ظنونَ من يتوهم
١٢. يا نخلتي بَحْرَيْ بلرمَ سقيتما صَوْتَ الحيا بتواصلٍ لا يُصْرَمُ
١٣. هنيتما مَرَّ لزمان ونلتما كلَّ الأماني والحوادثُ نُوَّمُ
١٤. بالله فيئا واسترا أهلَ الهوى فبأمنِ ظلكما الهوى يتحرم
١٥. هذا العيانُ بلا امتراءٍ إنما سَمْعُ الكيانِ زخارفٌ تتوهم

V

٣٦. ولو أنّ أرضي حُرّةٌ لأتيتُها بِعَزْمٍ يعدُّ السيرَ ضربةَ لازب

٣٧. ولكنّ أرضي كيف لي بفكاكها	من الأسرِ في أيدي العلوج الغواصب
٣٨ . لئن ظفرت تلك الكلاب بأكلها	فبعد سكون للعروق الضوارب
٣٩ . أحينَ تفانى أهلها طوعَ فتنةٍ	يضرّم فيها نارَه كلُّ حاطب
٤٠ . وأضحت بها أهواؤهم وكأنما	مذاهبهم فيها اختلاف المذاهب
٤١ . ولم يرحم الأرحامَ منهم أقاربٌ	تروّي سيوفاً من نجيع أقارب
٤٢. وكان لهم جَذبُ الأصابع لم يكن	رواجبُ منها حانياتِ رواجب

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DALLA *POLITICA* DI ARISTOTELE ALL'‘AVERROISMO POLITICO' UNA VICENDA PARADOSSALE

FROM ARISTOTLE'S *POLITICS* TO 'POLITICAL AVERROISM' A CURIOUS STORY

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Abstract

A partire dal primo Novecento si è diffuso il concetto di 'averroismo politico', con riferimento soprattutto a Dante Alighieri e a Marsilio da Padova. Di questo concetto, che presenta forti motivazioni di ordine teorico e ideologico, viene qui ricostruita la genesi più remota, che si può ricondurre essenzialmente a due elementi: il ruolo centrale occupato dalla riflessione politica in seguito alla Rivoluzione francese e l'assunzione di Averroè a figura-simbolo, anticipatrice del razionalismo moderno.

Parole chiave

Aristotelismo politico, Averroè, Averroismo politico, Marsilio da Padova, Razionalismo moderno.

Abstract

From the early twentieth century onwards, the concept of 'political Averroism' has become widespread, especially with reference to Dante Alighieri and to Marsilius of Padua. It is our intention here to establish and delineate the remotest origin of this concept, which can be fundamentally traced back to two elements: the central role accorded to political reflection as a consequence of the French Revolution, and the adoption of Averroes as a symbol and figure anticipating modern rationalism.

Key Words

Political Aristotelianism, Averroes, Political Averroism, Marsilius of Padua, Modern Rationalism.

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Nel 1872 Franz Susemihl, professore di filologia classica all'Università di Greifswald, pubblicava a Lipsia l'edizione critica della traduzione latina della *Politica* compiuta da Guglielmo di Moerbeke intorno al 1260 (è noto che di un'altra traduzione medievale della *Politica*, anonima, ci sono pervenuti solo i primi due libri). Nel 1884 il barone Georg von Hertling, docente all'Università di Monaco, futuro *leader* del Partito di Centro e cancelliere dell'Impero di Germania dal 1° novembre 1917 al 30 settembre 1918, pubblicò sul *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* un articolo di una decina di pagine sulla *Politica* di Aristotele nel medioevo: muovendo dalle indagini di Wilhelm Oncken, di Jules Barthélemy St. Hilaire, di Franz Susemihl, di Amable e Charles Jourdain, lo studioso tedesco menzionò Tolomeo da Lucca e Pietro d'Alvernia, Guglielmo di Moerbeke, Guglielmo di Tocco e Nicola Oresme, soffermandosi in particolare sui commentari alla *Politica* di Tommaso d'Aquino e di Alberto Magno.[1] Cinquant'anni dopo, Martin Grabmann riservò 164 pagine al tema dell'influenza del pensiero aristotelico sulle dottrine ecclesiologico-politiche, dando poi alle stampe uno studio di un'ottantina di pagine sui commentari medievali alla *Politica*.[2] Sul finire del Novecento (1992) lo studioso svizzero Christoph Flüeler ha pubblicato sulla fortuna medievale della *Politica* un'opera in due tomi per un totale di 544 pagine.[3]

Questi pochi richiami bibliografico-numerici bastano a dare un'idea dello sviluppo assunto dagli studi sulla fortuna medievale della *Politica*, cui si è venuta affiancando la discussione metodologica e storiografica, che ha investito il concetto stesso di 'aristotelismo politico' così com'è stato applicato alla storia culturale del tardo medioevo, ma anche della prima età moderna. Sono al riguardo significative le domande poste a suo tempo da Enrico Nuzzo con riferimento al periodo rinascimentale, in cui la 'sterminata serie di "influenze" [...] assunte dall'Aristotele politico nella storia del pensiero occidentale sembrerebbe a prima vista più che legittimare una spontanea consuetudine

1 Georg von Hertling, 'Zur Geschichte der aristotelischen *Politik* im Mittelalter', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 39 (1884), pp. 446–457, rist. in Id., *Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie*, Kempten–München: Kösel, 1914, pp. 20–31 (rist. Hamburg: Severus Verlag, 2011).

2 Martin Grabmann, 'Studien über den Einfluß der aristotelischen Philosophie auf die mittelalterlichen Theorien über das Verhältnis von Kirche und Staat', *Sitz. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Abt., 1934, Heft 2, pp. 1–164; Id., 'Die mittelalterlichen Kommentare zur P*olitik* des Aristoteles', *Sitz. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1941, Heft 2, pp. 5–83.

3 Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen 'Politica' im späten Mittelalter*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia: B. R. Grüner, 1992. Fra i numerosi studi sull'aristotelismo politico medievale apparsi in seguito vanno segnalati i fascicoli monografici di *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 21 (2000), pp. 3–88 e *Vivarium* 40/1 (2002), pp. 1–136.

all'uso del concetto di aristotelismo politico.' Ma ad uno sguardo più ravvicinato il quadro si rivela assai più sfumato e problematico, facendo scaturire una serie di quesiti cui è impossibile fornire una risposta univoca:

> Appartengono alla stessa stregua a una generale 'tradizione', o a diverse 'tradizioni' dell'aristotelismo politico sia le utilizzazioni, tante volte del tutto estrinseche e pragmatiche, da parte degli autori più svariati, di singole tematiche, teorie, dottrine, argomentazioni, esemplificazioni, attinte alla *Politica*, sia i tentativi di sistematica assunzione e riproposizione di intere problematiche o di essenziali principi teorici? D'altro canto, debbono essere ascritti a una più sostanziosa 'tradizione' politica aristotelica in modo privilegiato quegli indirizzi che sono rivolti al *corpus* del pensiero aristotelico con intenzioni maggiormente sistematiche e dottrinarie (la scolastica medievale, ad es., ancora la seconda scolastica, o le pratiche di insegnamento e di studio ancora fermamente debitrici verso la filosofia aristotelica, ad es. vigenti nella cultura tedesca a tutto il XVII e XVIII secolo)? O con ciò si rischia di lasciare fuori esperienze intellettuali magari più fedeli allo 'spirito intimo' di insegnamenti aristotelici (come, ad es., tendenze dell'umanesimo civile o della scienza politica cinque-seicentesca)?[4]

Dal canto suo in quegli stessi anni Cary J. Nederman ha sottolineato la 'evident heterogeneity' e la 'paradoxical quality' dell'aristotelismo etico e politico del medioevo, che si trova 'everywhere and yet nowhere'.[5] Tale categoria si può infatti intendere in senso ampio (qualsiasi ricorso al testo e alle dottrine di Aristotele, o più semplicemente al suo linguaggio) oppure in un senso più specifico (la ripresa di temi di fondo della concezione etica e politica di Aristotele, che, com'è noto, costituisce un insieme organico, senza soluzione di continuità). Nederman propende decisamente per questa seconda prospettiva.[6] Come valutare allora il *Defensor pacis* di Marsilio da Padova, che è solitamente presentato 'as a quintessentialy Aristotelian work'?[7] Nederman non ha dubbi al riguardo: 'Where Marsiglio departs profoundly from basic Aristotelian premises is in his failure to connect the good order to the civil body with any deeper

[4] Enrico Nuzzo, 'Crisi dell'aristotelismo politico e ragion di Stato. Alcune preliminari considerazioni metodologiche e storiografiche', in Enzo Baldini (ed.), *Aristotelismo politico e Ragion di Stato*, Firenze: Olschki, 1995, pp. 11–52, rist. in Enrico Nuzzo, *Il declino della quiete. Tra aristotelismo politico e ragion di Stato a Napoli dal primo Seicento a Vico*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2014, pp. 1–60: 14–15. Per un diverso approccio a questo tema cf. Enrico Berti e Linda M. Napolitano Valditara (ed.), *Etica, Politica, Retorica. Studi su Aristotele e la sua presenza nell'età moderna*, L'Aquila: Japadre, 1989, in particolare i contributi di Giuseppe Longo e Gian Franco Frigo.

[5] Cary J. Nederman, 'The Meaning of "Aristotelianism" in Medieval Moral and Political Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57 (1996), pp. 563–585: 564 e 569.

[6] Ibid., p. 573: 'The necessity of both moral and political principles summarizes, in my way, the unique character of medieval Aristotelianism as a moral and political philosophy.'

[7] Ibid., p. 572.

conception of a human good construed in ethical terms', preferendo invece concepire in termini strettamente biologici e materiali l'autosufficienza della *civitas seu regnum*. Nonostante il diffuso impiego nel *Defensor pacis* di citazioni e di terminologie aristoteliche, Marsilio si pone pertanto al di fuori dell'aristotelismo medievale.[8] Una riprova della sostanziale estraneità a questa tradizione di pensiero, che viene usata da Marsilio in senso puramente strumentale, è costituita dal fatto che nel *Defensor minor*, composto parecchi anni dopo il *Defensor pacis*, Marsilio riassume le sue tesi ecclesiologico-politiche, limitandosi però a un'unica citazione di Aristotele.[9]

Questa posizione di Nederman ha una sua coerenza, ma suscita notevoli perplessità metodologiche se ci collochiamo sul piano della *intellectual history* e non su quello del rapporto fra etica e politica, posto ambiguamente a mezza via fra l'indagine propriamente storica e la riflessione filosofico-politica. In effetti viene da chiedersi se nella storia delle idee sia più rilevante la fedele ripresa (da parte di un commentatore della *Politica*) del nesso aristotelico fra etica e politica oppure il discostarsi da tale tema ad opera di un autore che conosce bene questo testo e lo usa in maniera sistematica per i suoi obiettivi, siano essi astrattamente teorici oppure ideologico-politici. Anziché soffermarsi ad assegnare o a negare patenti di aristotelismo *doc*, a mio avviso sarebbe invece opportuno distinguere fra due tipi di approccio parimenti legittimi allo studio dell'aristotelismo politico: una cosa è ricercare (e quindi privilegiare) la persistenza negli autori medievali del nesso aristotelico fra etica e politica (un nesso dall'indubbia valenza teorica, ancor oggi spendibile sul mercato delle idee come ha mostrato Alasdair MacIntyre, che non a caso è menzionato da Nederman);[10] altra cosa è storicizzare questo nesso, ossia ricostruirne l'evoluzione, la trasformazione, la deformazione e anche l'eventuale 'tradimento' più o meno consapevole, ma compiuto sempre partendo dal testo e dall'*auctoritas* dello Stagirita. È evidente che con questo secondo approccio, che corrisponde alla storia della fortuna della *Politica* nella sua accezione più ampia, il buon Marsilio rientra a pieno titolo fra gli 'aristotelici politici', pur avendo fatto un uso strumentale del testo aristotelico, anzi, proprio per questo. Quanto alla scomparsa di Aristotele dal *Defensor minor*, essa si spiega col fatto che i destinatari di tale opera (e quindi la funzione che ad essa è assegnata) sono diversi da quelli del *Defensor pacis*: una conferma del fatto che il *magister* Marsilio intendeva essere uno scrittore politico, che tiene adeguatamente conto delle circostanze e del *target*, e non un puro e semplice espositore della *Politica*.

[8] Ibid., p. 583.
[9] Ibid., p. 572.
[10] Ibid., p. 567.

Si è visto come nel saggio sopra citato Cary Nederman abbia posto in risalto la 'paradoxical quality' dell'aristotelismo tardo-medievale. Rimanendo nell'ambito del pensiero politico, se da Aristotele ci spostiamo al suo più famoso commentatore medievale ci troviamo di fronte a una vicenda ancor più paradossale. Si tratta del cosiddetto 'averroismo politico', che non è riducibile—come potrebbe apparire di primo acchito—a un'immagine speculare o complementare dell'aristotelismo politico, ovvero a un suo derivato. Certo, nel pensiero islamico-giudaico e ancor più nel pensiero dell'Occidente latino la fortuna di Aristotele appare strettamente congiunta con quella di Averroè, il *commentator* per eccellenza. È emblematica, a questo riguardo, l'immagine della 'filosofica famiglia' nell'Inferno dantesco, ove la rassegna (quasi un *défilé*) dei grandi filosofi e uomini di scienza che, non avendo conosciuto il cristianesimo, sono ospitati nel 'nobile castello' del Limbo insieme con alcuni famosi condottieri e alcune grandi figure femminili (gli 'spiriti magni'), si apre con il 'maestro di color che sanno', ovvero con il *Philosophus* per antonomasia, e si chiude con 'Averoìs che'l gran comento feo' (*Inf.* IV, 131 e 144).[11] Uniti nel successo e nella rinomanza, i due pensatori figurano uniti pure nella caduta rovinosa, quando con l'avvento della *nouvelle philosophie* e della scienza sperimentale la crisi del peripatetismo travolse anche il *Commentator*. Ma il movimento delle idee, si sa, è costellato di trionfi, di cadute e di rinascite, e destini a prima vista indissolubili finiscono a volte per scindersi o addirittura per contrapporsi. Non sempre le critiche ad Aristotele furono infatti congiunte a quelle rivolte ad Averroè, anche perché non sempre il filosofo di Cordova fu visto come un semplice commentatore dello Stagirita, come invece l'aveva presentato, ad es., Malebranche nella sua *Recherche de la vérité* (1674), ove il lavoro del *Commentator* è giudicato 'peu digne d'un homme d'esprit'.[12]

Sul piano della filosofia politica si assiste anzi a una divaricazione fra i due pensatori e all'emergere, in tempi a noi più vicini, di un'immagine autonoma della posizione dottrinale di Averroè, condensata per l'appunto nella formula 'averroismo politico', assai efficace e suggestiva. Ricostruiamo qui brevemente le tappe di questa vicenda che presenta aspetti singolari, anzi paradossali, in ordine al rapporto con la fortuna medievale e moderna dell'Aristotele politico. È noto infatti che il commentatore per eccellenza di Aristotele non commentò la *Politica*, per il semplice motivo che non disponeva della traduzione araba di tale opera,[13]

[11] Sugli 'spiriti magni' (i *megalopsychoi* di cui Aristotele tratta in *Ethica Nicomachea* IV.3, 1123a34–1125a35) si veda Fiorenzo Forti, 'Il Limbo dantesco e i *megalopsichoi* dell'*Etica Nicomachea*', in Id., *Magnanimitade. Studi su un tema dantesco*, Bologna: Pàtron, 1977 (rist. Roma: Carocci, 2006), pp. 9–48.

[12] Nicolas Malebranche, *De la recherche de la vérité*, II, II, 6, éd. Geneviève Rodis-Lewis, in André Robinet (éd.), *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Vrin, 1958–1970, vol. I, p. 295.

[13] Cf. Rémi Brague, 'Note sur la traduction arabe de la *Politique* d'Aristote. Derechef, qu'elle n'existe pas', in Pierre Aubenque (éd.), *Aristote politique*, Paris: PUF, 1993, pp. 423–433.

per cui ripiegò sulla parafrasi o 'commento medio' della *Repubblica* di Platone (anzi di un *abrégé* di tale opera, attribuito a Galeno). L'originale arabo di questa parafrasi è andato perduto; in compenso ci è giunta la sua traduzione ebraica, compiuta nella prima metà del sec. XIV da Semu'el ben Yehudah di Marsiglia e tradotta poi in italiano dall'ebreo cretese Elia del Medigo durante il suo soggiorno fiorentino (1484–1486).[14] D'altro canto la comparsa negli ambienti universitari della traduzione latina della *Politica* diede bensì luogo a una serie di commentarii e di *quaestiones* (e qui è d'obbligo rinviare al citato lavoro di Christoph Flüeler), che però in nessun caso furono considerati 'averroisti' dai contemporanei né presentano ai nostri occhi elementi tali da poter parlare di un 'averroismo politico', tant'è vero che lo stesso Flüeler cita fuggevolmente Averroè.[15] Di Sigieri di Brabante si sa tramite il suo allievo Pierre Dubois che stese anche una *expositio* della *Politica* oltre che dell'*Ethica*, ma il testo non ci è pervenuto o non è stato finora identificato.[16]

In realtà la nascita di questa categoria storiografica e la sua rapida affermazione avvennero in tempi a noi assai vicini, nel primo Novecento, anche se le premesse furono poste nel secolo precedente. Fu infatti Ernest Renan che nella sua celebre monografia su Averroè e l'averroismo (1852) menzionò un passo dell'averroista parigino Jean de Jandun in cui questi afferma di avere ricevuto, tramite l'amico *magister* Marsilio, una copia del commentario di Pietro d'Abano ai *Problemata* di Aristotele (in realtà pseudoaristotelici).[17] Questa notizia biografica avrebbe poi indotto il padre Pierre Mandonnet a stabilire un collegamento anche dottrinale fra Marsilio e l'averroista Jean de Jandun, al punto da affermare con tono deciso che i due 'étaient des averroïstes notoires'.[18] Poco importava che, come s'è sopra ricordato, Averroè non avesse mai avuto fra le mani il testo della

[14] Cf. Erwin I. J. Rosenthal (ed.), *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's* Republic, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956, 1966[2], 1969[3]; Ralph Lerner (ed.), *Averroes on Plato's 'Republic'*, Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974, 2005[2]; Averroè, *Parafrasi della 'Repubblica' nella traduzione latina di Elia del Medigo*, a cura di Annalisa Coviello e Paolo Edoardo Fornaciari, Firenze: Olschki, 1992; Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *ad-Darūri fī al-siyāsa—mukhtaṣar kitāb al-siyāsa li-Aflāṭūn*, Arabic retroversion from the Medieval Hebraic translation of the *Paraphrase of Plato's* Republic, ed. Ahmad Shahlan, Beirut: Markaz dirāsāt al-wahdat al-'arabiyya, 1998; Ibn Rushd (Averroes), *Talkhīṣ al-Siyāsah li-Aflāṭūn: muḥāwarat al-Jumhūrīyah*, ed. Ḥasan Majīd ʿUbaydī and Fāṭimah Kāẓim Dhahabī, Beirut: Dār al-Talīʿah, 2nd edition, 2002.

[15] Cf. Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen* Politica, p. 10.

[16] Cf. Ferdinand van Steenberghen, *Maître Siger de Brabant*, Louvain–Paris: Publications Universitaires–Vander-Oyez, 1977, pp. 189 e 389.

[17] Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme. Essai historique*, Paris: Auguste Durand, 1852, pp. 269–270, nouvelle édition, avec une préface d'Alain de Libera, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1997. Sul ruolo di Renan nella ricostruzione storica del pensiero medievale si veda ora Catherine König-Pralong, *Médiévisme philosophique et raison moderne de Pierre Bayle à Ernest Renan*, Paris: Vrin, 2016, in particolare pp. 47–48 e 83–97.

[18] Pierre Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIIIe siècle*, Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1911–1908, vol. I, p. 188 nota.

Politica, che invece fu massicciamente utilizzato da Marsilio nella I *dictio* del *Defensor pacis*; il legame di amicizia fra Marsilio e l'averroista Giovanni di Jandun e la condanna di entrambi nella bolla *Licet iuxta doctrinam* portavano infatti a ritenere che il *Defensor pacis* fosse una espressione—anzi, *la* espressione per eccellenza—di un orientamento dottrinale (l'ʻaverroismo' nella sua versione politica) che assunse tosto l'autonomia e la consistenza proprie dei cosiddetti –*ismi*, ovvero di categorie interpretative che, nate come semplici contenitori di posizioni dottrinali riscontrabili in più soggetti pensanti, finiscono col diventare entità dottrinali a sé stanti cui i singoli soggetti storici vanno confrontati, commisurati e alla fine subordinati. La formulazione del concetto di 'averroismo politico' agli inizi del secolo scorso risale a Bruno Nardi, il quale, discutendo sull'averroismo di Dante, collegò significativamente a Marsilio la concezione politica del grande poeta fiorentino, che aveva posto l'averroista Sigieri di Brabante in Paradiso:

> Col rivendicare l'autonomia dell'Impero, e per esso delle comunità inferiori che a quello metton capo, di fronte alla Chiesa, coll'assegnare allo Stato un suo proprio fine naturale da raggiungersi in questa vita, e collo stabilire, infine, che la norma da seguirsi, per il raggiungimento di questo fine, sono i *documenta philosophica* contrapposti ai *documenta revelata* o *spiritualia*, Dante rivendicava implicitamente l'autonomia della ragione e della filosofia di fronte alla fede e alla teologia, e giungeva così, con un'affermazione arditissima, a quella specie di averroismo politico che doveva essere, invece, il punto di partenza , poco più di un decennio più tardi, di Marsilio da Padova.[19]

Questa formulazione ebbe successo e fu accolta anche da Étienne Gilson, il quale definì il *Defensor pacis* 'un exemple d'averroïsme politique aussi parfait qu'on le peut souhaiter', pur riconoscendo che il contorno dottrinale di tale pensiero è tutt'altro che definito, a parte il generico richiamo all'applicazione in campo politico della netta separazione fra ragione e fede, collegata alla dottrina della 'doppia verità'. Quest'ultima viene così applicata al piano pratico e politico, per cui la separazione fra ragione e rivelazione si traduce in separazione fra temporale e spirituale, fra autorità civile ed autorità religiosa, fra Chiesa e Stato.[20] Dal canto suo Erminio Troilo, studioso di Spinoza e professore di filosofia teoretica e morale all'Università di Padova, diede una formulazione quasi

[19] Cf. Bruno Nardi, 'Il concetto dell'Impero nello svolgimento del pensiero dantesco' (1921), rist. in Id., *Saggi di filosofia dantesca*, Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1967, pp. 215–275: 255–256.

[20] Étienne Gilson, *La philosophie au moyen âge*, deuxième édition revue et augmentée, Paris: Payot, 1944, pp. 691–692. Va tenuto presente che nella I edizione di quest'opera Marsilio è fuggevolmente menzionato nel capitolo sugli averroisti quale 'collaborateur politique' e 'compagnon' di Jean de Jandun, senza alcun riferimento al suo pensiero; cf. Étienne Gilson, *La philosophie au moyen âge, de Scot Érigène à G. d'Occam*, Paris: Payot, 1925, p. 298.

geometrica a questo passaggio dal piano speculativo al piano politico. Nel convegno svoltosi a Padova nel 1942 in occasione del VI centenario della morte di Marsilio il Troilo rilevò che la prospettiva averroista condusse Marsilio a una vera e propria rivoluzione sul piano politico, ancora più radicale di quella che si sarebbe compiuta nella filosofia della natura. Infatti nel Padovano

> la *doppia verità* trova il suo corrispettivo politico nella *doppia autorità* (religiosa e politica), che dialetticamente ha il suo esito ultimo in una *unica autorità*, intesa nel senso storico e politico della pura umanità o mondanità (o, che è lo stesso, della pura razionalità): *lo Stato.*[21]

Con un ardito passaggio teorico il Troilo vide inoltre nella dottrina dell'Intelletto unico separato il fondamento del 'populismo' di Marsilio, per cui lo Stato, in quanto massima espressione della comunione umana, è visto come 'una specie anch'esso, si potrebbe dire, d'Intelletto agente reso immanente nella forma di intendimento e di volere collettivo'.[22] A sua volta Eric Voegelin, in quegli stessi anni, fornì una rigorosa veste concettuale alla nozione di averroismo politico, muovendo dalla posizione teorica di Sigieri di Brabante, che per la prima volta contrappose alla visione cristiana dell'umanità quale corpo mistico di Cristo una 'intramundane conception of man', ove l'umanità è vista come 'a collective unit, biologically as well as intellectually'. Egli sottolinea così, accanto al *monopsyschism* (sviluppato poi sul piano politico da Dante Alighieri) un vero e proprio *monosomatism*, che è posto alla base della teoria politica di Marsilio da Padova e quindi della moderna concezione dello Stato.[23] Né va dimenticata, in ambito marxista, la valorizzazione di Averroè quale espressione di un 'aristotelismo di sinistra', in cui la riflessione politica di Marsilio da Padova trova un posto di rilievo.[24]

Nel corso del secondo Novecento l'entusiasmo per la categoria storiografica dell'averroismo politico si è ridimensionato: basti pensare alla cautela

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[21] Erminio Troilo, 'L'averroismo di Marsilio da Padova', in Aldo Checchini e Norberto Bobbio (ed.), *Marsilio da Padova. Studi raccolti nel VI centenario della morte*, Padova: CEDAM, 1942, pp. 47–77: 62-63.

[22] Ibid., p. 63.

[23] Eric Voegelin, 'Siger de Brabant', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 4 (1944), pp. 507–526: 523–525. Sulla lettura di Sigieri proposta da Voegelin cf. Mariano Pérez Carrasco, 'En el giro moderno hacia la inmanencia (A propósito del *Siger de Brabante* de Eric Voegelin)', *Deus mortalis* 11 (2015), pp. 185–209.

[24] Cf. Hermann Ley, *Studie zur Geschichte des Materialismus im Mittelalter*, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1957, pp. 445–462. Sull'interpretazione sovietica del pensiero islamico si rinvia a Iva Manova, 'Soviet Historiography of Medieval Arabic Philosophy: Avicenna and Averroes', in *Writing a Universal History of Philosophy: Soviet Philosophical Historiography in a Comparative Perspective*, International Conference (Padua, October 27–28, 2016) [*Rivista di storia della filosofia* 73 (2018)], in corso di stampa.

manifestata al riguardo da Georges de Lagarde nella nuova edizione, interamente rifatta, della sua monografia su Marsilio, nonché da Alan Gewirth, che si è anche mostrato perplesso sulla tendenza a individuare una 'logica' connessione fra teorie filosofiche e dottrine politiche.[25] Da parte mia parecchi anni fa ho cercato di mostrare come la nozione di 'averroismo politico' corrisponda in realtà a un mito storiografico, che, al pari di tutti i miti, non è facile scalzare o rimuovere.[26] Negli ultimi decenni, infatti, all'abbandono o a un uso più cauto di tale nozione fa *pendant*, in alcuni studiosi, il tentativo di riproporla con qualche aggiustamento, magari in altra veste e non attribuendola più a Marsilio.[27] Il rapporto fra Dante e Marsilio da Padova all'insegna della comune adesione all'averroismo è stato ad

[25] Cf. Georges de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, vol. II: *Marsile de Padoue ou le premier théoricien de l'État laïque*, Saint-Paul-Trois-Chateaux–Wien: Drome–Béatrice, 1934, pp. 78–95; Id., *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, vol. III: *Le 'Defensor pacis'*, Louvain–Paris: Nauwelaerts–Béatrice, 1970, pp. 305–328. Dal canto suo Alan Gewirth, l'altro importante studioso di Marsilio a metà Novecento, ha affrontato questo tema nella sua monografia del 1951, riprendendolo poi con grande lucidità in un'apposita *Appendix* a conclusione della sua traduzione inglese del *Defensor pacis*: 'The concept of "political Averroism" is a recent construct of historians of medieval thought. They have used it to characterize the political attitude resulting from the emphases implicit in the Averroists' doctrines of the contrariety between reason and faith [...]. Most of these emphases are also to be found in Machiavelli, and accordingly it has been suggested that the close affinity between Marsilius and Machiavelli has this common Averroist source. But much further research must be undertaken in the political writings of the Averroists before it can be established what was the relation between their philosophic emphases and their specifically political doctrines'. Cf. Alan Gewirth, *Marsilius of Padua, the Defender of Peace*, vol. I: *Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy*; vol. II: *The 'Defensor pacis', translated with an introduction*, New York: Columbia University Press., 1951–1956; vol. II, pp. 440–441; vd. inoltre vol. I, pp. 39–44.

[26] Cf. Gregorio Piaia, '"Averroïsme politique": anatomie d'un mythe historiographique', in Albert Zimmermann (Hrsg.), *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 17), Berlin–New York: W. De Gruyter, 1985, pp. 288–300; rist.: '"Averroismo politico": anatomia di un mito storiografico', in Gregorio Piaia, *Marsilio e dintorni. Contributi alla storia delle idee*, Padova: Antenore, 1999, pp. 79–103.

[27] Cf. Mario Grignaschi, 'Indagine sui passi del *Commento* suscettibili di aver promosso la formazione di un averroismo politico', in *Convegno internazionale. L'averroismo in Italia (Roma, 18-20 aprile 1977)*, Roma: Accademia dei Lincei, 1979, pp. 237–278; Charles E. Butterworth, 'What is Political Averroismus?', in Friedrich Niewöhner und Loris Sturlese (Hrsg.), *Averroismus im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1994, pp. 239–250; Wolfgang Hübener, 'Unvorgreifliche Überlegungen zum möglichen Sinn des Topos "politischer Averroismus"', in Ibid., pp. 222–238; Ovidio Capitani, 'L'averroismo politico nella recente storiografia', in Arianna Arisi Rota e Massimiliano De Conca (ed.), *Aristotelismo e platonismo nella cultura del medioevo*, Pavia–Como: Ibis, 1996, pp. 15–32; Julio Antonio Castello Dubra, 'Nota sobre el aristotelismo y el averroismo político de Marsilio de Padua', *Veritas* 42 (1997), pp. 671–677; Bernardo Bayona Aznar, 'La incongruencia de la denominación "averroísmo político"', in José Luis Canton Alonso (ed.), *Maimónides y el pensamiento medieval*, Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba. Servizio de publicaciones, 2007, pp. 329–340; Francisco Bertelloni, 'La filosofía explica la revelación. Sobre el "averroismo político" en el *Defensor pacis* de Marsilio de Padua', *Educação e Filosofia* 25/50 (2011), pp. 475–500.

esempio rilanciato da Maurice-Ruben Hayoun e Alain de Libera, giocando in maniera suggestiva ma un po' troppo disinvolta sul 'paradosso' di un Dante che avrebbe intuito per conto proprio ciò che non aveva mai avuto occasione di leggere:

> C'est comme théologien impérial, théoricien de la nécessaire unité du pouvoir temporel, bref comme tenant du laïcisme politique, que Dante est 'averroïste', non dans les détails d'une psychologie philosophique et d'une théorie de l'âme qui doit autant à Albert le Grand et aux philosophes arabes en général qu'au seul Averroès. Le paradoxe de la pensée de Dante est qu'il a retrouvé un des sens authentiques de l'averroïsme—la politique—sans avoir pu fréquenter les textes qui l'exposaient. L'averroïsme politique, né avec Dante, n'est pas mort avec lui. On en retrouve l'essentiel dans l'œuvre de [...] Marsile de Padoue, que l'on peut considérer comme le fleuron de la transposition impériale du monopsychisme.[28]

Ma le suggestioni insite nel rapporto fra l'averroismo e la politica hanno assunto anche altri sbocchi: vi è chi, tentando di mantenersi in bilico fra l'indagine storico-filosofica e la riflessione sulla filosofia della storia e della politica, è giunto alla conclusione che, per meglio comprendere l'atteggiamento politico di Averroè (anzi di Ibn Rushd) e il suo rapporto con un potere totalitario qual era quello degli Almohadi, sarebbe 'paradossalmente' più opportuno istituire un confronto non sincronico (ove diverrebbe inevitabile la comparazione con Marsilio da Padova), bensì diacronico, e in particolare con il filosofo marxista György Lukács, che si misurò criticamente con il totalitarismo sovietico e che nel 1956 durante l'insurrezione ungherese fu ministro della cultura nel governo di Imre Nagy.[29]

In tempi più recenti Emanuele Coccia ha preferito accantonare *tout court* la formula 'averroismo politico' nella sua accezione tradizionale (tant'è vero che egli menziona Marsilio da Padova una sola volta e *en passant*)[30] e ha proposto una rilettura globale del nesso fra Averroè, l'averroismo e la politica entro una prospettiva teorica che mira a problematizzare la dimensione del 'politico' nei suoi rapporti da una parte con l'esercizio del 'pensare' e dall'altra con l'istituzione della 'legge' e con la relativa osservanza. Pur ammettendo che 'l'averroismo non produsse mai, forse, una teoria che abbia per oggetto la *polis*, la città e la forma della convivenza umana', Coccia mira ad andare oltre il piano strettamente storiografico (da lui confinato nella 'lunghissima ricerca d'archivio' e nella 'erudizione'), puntando a un più profondo livello di comprensione storica

[28] Maurice-Ruben Hayoun et Alain de Libera, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, Paris: PUF, 1991, pp. 112–113.

[29] Cfr. Dominique Urvoy, 'Ibn Rushd et le pouvoir almohade', in André Bazzana, Nicole Bériou et Pierre Guichard (éd.), *Averroès et l'averroïsme (XIIe-XVe siècle). Un itinéraire historique du Haut Atlas à Paris et à Padoue*, Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005, pp. 121–130: 130.

[30] Emanuele Coccia, *La trasparenza delle immagini. Averroè e l'averroismo*, introd. di Giorgio Agamben, Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2005, p. 186 nota 2.

e insieme teorica, al fine di far emergere le 'segrete ragioni speculative'—e qui il discorso si fa decisamente intrigante—che hanno conferito un 'immediato spessore politico' al 'destino storico cui [l'averroismo] fu condannato'.[31] Questo 'immediato spessore politico' è dedotto a partire dalla critica di fondo che nel § 78 del *De unitate intellectus contra averroistas* Tommaso d'Aquino muove alla dottrina dell'intelletto unico, che, sottraendo al singolo individuo la volontà e quindi la responsabilità, finirebbe col togliere ogni base all'agire morale nonché al sistema di leggi che rende possibile ogni civile convivenza.[32] Alla base della critica mossa da Tommaso vi è, secondo Coccia, il nesso logico (ricorrente nella storia del pensiero a partire per lo meno da Platone) fra noetica e politica, per cui

> il diritto è, prima ancora che una scienza dell'ordinamento dei viventi, delle loro forme e dei loro movimenti, una noetica; e viceversa, una precisa immagine circa la natura del pensiero è la condizione di possibilità di ogni diritto, di ogni etica, di ogni legge.

Ebbene, questo nesso

> [...] ha spesso trasformato la vita filosofica nell'opera di integrale assimilazione alla legge, e il pensiero alla semplice facoltà di sussunzione esaustiva del vivere nella norma, alla potenza di produzione di una vita integralmente normata, realtà animata della giustizia. Di questo incubo [*sic*], in cui la filosofia non si stanca di cadere, l'averroismo rappresenta un felice risveglio. Del resto, è nella stessa tradizione filosofica araba che si trovano le più diffuse dimostrazioni di come la vita filosofica coincida con l'impossibilità di obbedienza alla legge.[33]

La nozione corrente di 'averroismo politico', sulla quale ci siamo sopra soffermati, risulterebbe così rovesciata: la dottrina dell'intelletto unico, con la conseguente separazione fra la 'soggettività del pensiero' e la 'soggettività dell'individuo psico-somatico', condurrebbe infatti alla

> più radicale affermazione dell'originaria anomia del pensiero. Non solo l'esercizio del pensiero non mira alla costituzione di una *polis*, di una vita cioè integralmente

[31] Ibid., pp. 20–21 e 186–187. Ricco di attualizzazioni filosofico-politiche è anche il saggio di Augusto Illuminati, 'Ibn Rushd: unità dell'intelletto e competenza comunicativa', in Id. (ed.), *Averroè e l'intelletto pubblico. Antologia di scritti di Ibn Rushd sull'anima*, Roma: Manifestolibri, 1996, pp. 7–125 (si veda in particolare, alle pp. 94–95, la 'rilettura attuale' del monopsichismo di Averroè alla luce del *general intellect* di Karl Marx, qui definito 'un eminente seguace moderno dell'aristotelismo'). Sulla 'confluenza fra analisi politologiche e dottrina della congiunzione con l'intelletto agente' si veda pure, dello stesso autore, *'Completa Beatitudo'. L'intelletto felice in tre opuscoli averroisti*, Chiaravalle (An): L'orecchio di Van Gogh, 2000, pp. 46–49.

[32] Coccia, *La trasparenza delle immagini*, pp. 187–189.

[33] Ibid., p. 190.

> definita dalla legge, risolta nella sua attualizzazione e nel suo compimento, ma ne comporta addirittura—questo è quanto lo stesso Tommaso deduce dalla dottrina averroista—l'immediata distruzione, la necessaria rovina. All'accordo necessario e intemporale di pensiero e legge—che la speculazione latina, sulla falsariga di Filone di Alessandria, non si è mai stancata di dimostrare—l'averroismo sembra opporre una originaria *apolitia* del pensiero; l'esistenza del pensiero, il fatto stesso di pensare testimonia della possibilità di una comunità anteriore all'esistenza e indifferente alla sopravvivenza di ogni *polis* [...], una comunità non più definita da un *nomos* ma da una potenza generica e non attribuibile ad alcunché.[34]

Non è il caso, in questa sede, di proseguire oltre nell'esporre l'interpretazione proposta da Coccia, che si richiama alla nota distinzione tra *felicitas speculativa* e *felicitas politica* in Jean de Jandun (nella quale distinzione, come ebbi modo di rilevare molti anni fa, si coglie una forma di 'averroismo politico' diversa ed anzi opposta a quella solitamente attribuita all'amico Marsilio da Padova: e qui i conti non tornano...).[35] Verrebbe semmai da chiedersi che cosa vi sia ancora di 'aristotelico' in questa ideale posizione antipolitica o quanto meno a-politica di Averroè, costruita attraverso una serie di confronti e deduzioni che denotano un notevole acume, ma che sul piano metodologico offrono il fianco a forti obiezioni, a partire dall'iniziale richiamo alla critica rivolta da Tommaso alla dottrina dell'intelletto unico: una critica che si basava sulla 'rigorizzazione' di un autore, ovvero sul condurre alle estreme conseguenze talune sue enunciazioni teoriche, facendone così emergere il non-detto o il non-ancora-detto, ovvero gli esiti 'coerenti' e 'impliciti', con la conseguente demolizione e demonizzazione di un pensiero ritenuto errato e pericoloso. Si tratta di un metodo assai usato nelle controversie filosofiche e teologiche di un tempo, e che Coccia accoglie senza esitazione alcuna, forse perché esso si ritrova anche in un approccio storico-filosofico assai in uso tra il finire dell'Ottocento e il primo Novecento, che consisteva per l'appunto nel trarre le 'logiche conseguenze' di una certa posizione dottrinale, che veniva fatta oggetto di una critica radicale (è il caso, ad esempio, del pensiero kantiano) oppure di una convinta adesione personale da parte dello studioso, che si rispecchiava in tali esiti. La novità dell'interpretazione proposta da Coccia consiste semmai nell'impostare la valutazione dell'averroismo latino in una prospettiva fortemente 'politica', presentando tale corrente di pensiero 'innanzitutto come un episodio di natura politica, come un evento cioè iscritto innanzitutto nella storia politica dell'Occidente latino, prima ancora forse che in quella del suo pensiero', anziché ridurlo alla 'facile, ingenua e consumata dialettica tra fede e ragione', la quale induce invece a trascurare 'la natura

[34] Ibid., p. 191.

[35] Cf. Gregorio Piaia, 'L'averroismo politico e Marsilio da Padova', in Carlo Giacon (ed.), *Saggi e ricerche* [...], Padova: Antenore, 1971, pp. 33–54: 41–48.

politica di ogni teologia'.[36] È una novità interpretativa che può apparire tale alla generazione di studiosi nati, come Emanuele Coccia, dopo il 1968 e dintorni, ma che agli studiosi più anziani, che hanno vissuto direttamente quella stagione politica e culturale, appare come un inconsapevole *repêchage* in chiave storica e teorica a un tempo di uno *slogan* ('tutto è politica') che in Italia alimentò a lungo i dibattiti senza fine e l'accesa lotta politica (e non solo politica) di quegli anni ormai lontani.

Come interpretare questa persistenza di un forte interesse per il nesso, variamente declinato e interpretato, fra l''averroismo' e il 'politico'? Per evitare discussioni infinite quanto improduttive si dovrebbe anzitutto prendere atto della pluralità di significati, e quindi di approcci (apologetico, polemico, storico, teorico, sociologico...) che la nozione di 'averroismo' ha ricevuto nel corso dei secoli.[37] Nel caso specifico, accanto a un rinnovato interesse per il pensiero politico islamico-giudaico (al-Fārābī, Ibn Bājja, Ibn Rushd, Maimonide),[38] ci troviamo di fronte alla personificazione simbolica di una *Weltanschauung* teorica e ideologica che vede in Averroè il proprio capostipite ma che con l'Averroè storico (e anche con l'*averroistica secta* dell'Occidente latino) ha poco a che fare. Mi chiedo allora ironicamente, richiamandomi alla domanda provocatoria di Oliver Leaman, poi ripresa da Anna Akasoy:[39] siamo proprio sicuri che Averroè (o meglio Ibn Rushd) fosse un 'averroista' sul piano politico? Invece di continuare a discutere se, come e perché si possa o si debba continuare a parlare di 'averroismo politico' ovvero del rapporto tra filosofia e politica in Averroè e nei suoi seguaci veri o presunti, proporrei allora di impostare la questione in altri termini: come, e cioè in quale contesto storico-culturale, è nato questo interesse storiografico dall'indubbio spessore teorico e attualizzante? Si tratta cioè di mettere a fuoco il momento storico e le modalità che hanno segnato un mutamento significativo nel modo di guardare all'averroismo tradizionalmente inteso, creando così le condizioni per l'affermarsi di quella sorta di *neo-averroismo* cui, propriamente parlando, andrebbe ricondotto il cosiddetto averroismo politico, la cui origine, s'è

36 Coccia, *La trasparenza delle immagini*, p. 185.

37 Cf. Dragos Calma, *Études sur le premier siècle de l'averroïsme latin. Approches et textes inédits*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, cap. 1: 'L'averroïsme se dit en plusieurs sens', pp. 9–21.

38 Cf. Miriam Galston, *Politics and Excellence. The Political Philosophy of Alfarabi*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990; Muhsin S. Mahdi, *Alfarabi and the Foundation of Islamic Political Thought*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001; Howard Kreisal, *Maimonides' Political Thought. Studies in Ethics, Law, and the Human Ideal,* New York: Suny Press, 1999.

39 Cf. Oliver Leaman, 'Is Averroes an Averroist?', in Niewöhner und Sturlese (Hrsg.), *Averroismus im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, pp. 9–22; Anna Akasoy, 'Was Ibn Rushd an Averroist? The Problem, the Debate, and Its Philosophical Implications', in Anna Akasoy and Guido Giglioni (eds), *Renaissance Averroism and Its Aftermath: Arabic Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*, (Archives internationales d'histoire des idées/International Archives of the History of Ideas, 211), Dordrecht: Springer, 2013, pp. 321–347.

visto, è tutta moderna e non trova riscontro (a parte forse le accuse mosse congiuntamente da Tommaso Campanella a Marsilio da Padova, agli aristotelici del Cinquecento e a Machiavelli)[40] nel pur vario campionario di anatemi lanciati in passato contro Averroè e i suoi seguaci. Ho sopra ricordato la genesi ottocentesca della nozione di averroismo politico, ma per meglio comprendere tale genesi credo si debba risalire più indietro nel tempo e tener conto per lo meno di due fattori che a mio avviso hanno svolto un ruolo determinante. Il primo è rappresentato dallo spostamento del giudizio sull'averroismo dal piano essenzialmente apologetico-religioso (l'accusa di ateismo e poi di spinozismo) a quello più propriamente filosofico. Intendiamoci: non si tratta, almeno all'inizio, di una inversione di giudizio, poiché in entrambi i piani la valutazione permane negativa; tuttavia, mentre l'accusa di empietà, di ateismo e di spinozismo squalifica e pone, per così dire, fuori mercato il pensiero che si richiama ad Averroè, la critica di stretto ordine speculativo, che lascia sullo sfondo le tradizionali preoccupazioni di ordine religioso, riconosce in ogni caso la dignità e la rilevanza filosofica di tale pensiero (non ha senso, infatti, criticare una dottrina insignificante o inconcludente); ed è questa la premessa per il possibile futuro rovesciamento di un giudizio inizialmente negativo. Si pensi, ad es., alla critica che in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–1791) Johann Gottfried Herder mosse a Kant (pur senza menzionarlo espressamente) per la sua visione antropologica ed etica, che fondandosi sull'*a priori* tende a privilegiare l'aspetto universale rispetto a quello individuale. Dopo avere rilevato che l'"educazione del genere umano' si riferisce a una 'catena' di singoli individui che interagiscono fra loro e non a un 'genere' o a una 'specie', che sono soltanto dei 'concetti generali' e quindi astratti (infatti non esiste l'"umanità', così come non esiste 'l'animalità o la pietrità o la metallità in genere'), Herder fa entrare in scena la teoria averroistica dell'intelletto unico, che egli considera evidentemente l'esatto opposto della sua concezione dell'uomo: 'La nostra filosofia della storia non deve incamminarsi sulla via di questa filosofia *averroistica* secondo cui l'intero genere umano possiede soltanto un'unica anima [...]'.[41] È noto che Kant, punto sul vivo, reagì vivacemente alla critica mossagli dall'antico allievo, ma in questa sede non è il caso di soffermarsi sul presunto

[40] Cf. Gregorio Piaia, *Marsilio da Padova nella Riforma e nella Controriforma. Fortuna ed interpretazione*, Padova: Antenore, 1977, pp. 356–360.

[41] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Idee per la filosofia della storia dell'umanità*, a cura di Valerio Verra, Bari: Laterza, 1992, libro IX, cap. 1, pp. 156–157; cfr. Id., *Werke*, hrsg. Martin Bollacher, VI, Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1989, p. 338: 'Auf diesem Wege der Averroistischen Philosophie, nach der das ganz Menschengeschlecht nur eine und zwar eine seher niedrige Seele besitzet, die sich dem einzelnen Menschen nur Teilweise mitteilet, auf ihm soll unsere Philosophie der Geschichte nicht wandern.'

'averroismo' del filosofo di Königsberg, su cui esiste una specifica letteratura.[42] Interessa qui sottolineare come questa discussione (che non si può liquidare come una semplice rievocazione da parte di Herder del tradizionale 'spettro averroista')[43] abbia contribuito, per così dire, a sdoganare sul piano filosofico l'averroismo, che nel primo Settecento sembrava ancora destinato a fungere da sentìna dei peggiori errori filosofici e religiosi, dal 'fatalismo' all'ateismo e allo spinozismo.

Di per sé questo richiamo di Herder ad Averroè non ha certo alcunché di strettamente 'politico', ma non va dimenticato che esso si colloca all'interno di una compiuta filosofia della storia, ossia di una struttura concettuale nuova rispetto alla tradizionale teologia agostiniana della storia e che, proprio perché ha a che fare con la storia vista essenzialmente *sub specie humanitatis* e non *sub specie aeternitatis*, si carica ben presto di una forte valenza politica, sino a fare tutt'uno con un grandioso progetto politico (si pensi all'*Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* del Condorcet, 1794–1795). Ed è qui che interviene il secondo fattore: mi riferisco al profondo mutamento del quadro filosofico (e dello stesso immaginario culturale) provocato dalla Rivoluzione francese, con l'emergere e l'imporsi di una prospettiva (quella politica) che la Scolastica medievale ed anche il pensiero della prima età moderna avevano posto in secondo piano, dato che la riflessione politica apparteneva alla *philosophia secunda*, ovvero alle applicazioni della *philosophia prima*. In effetti è in seguito alla Rivoluzione francese (il richiamo al Condorcet non è casuale) che i temi politico-sociali assumono un posto centrale nel dibattito filosofico, non solo in Francia ma anche e soprattutto in Germania, invertendo un rapporto di subordinazione che per molti secoli era apparso naturale (basti pensare al ruolo che il 'politico' occupa in Marx e nel marxismo).[44] Si obietterà che già con Machiavelli il tema politico aveva assunto un ruolo importante, ma tale rilevanza non sposta i rapporti interni alle discipline filosofiche, tant'è vero che il Brucker, il maggiore storico della filosofia del primo Settecento, nel trattare, all'inizio dell'età moderna, il tema 'De emendatione philosophiae in singulis eius partibus', esamina la *philosophia civilis* per ultima, riservandole meno della metà delle pagine che in precedenza aveva dedicato, nell'ordine, alla *reformatio* della 'filosofia razionale', alla 'emendazione' ed incremento della 'filosofia naturale', ai

[42] Su questo tema cf. Marco Sgarbi, 'Immanuel Kant, Universal Understanding, and the Meaning of Averroism in the German Enlightenment', in Akasoy and Giglioni (eds), *Renaissance Averroism and Its Aftermath*, pp. 255–269 e la bibliografia ivi citata.

[43] Coccia, *La trasparenza delle immagini*, p. 28.

[44] Cf. Jean-François Kervégan, 'Politica', in Luca Illetterati e Paolo Giuspoli (ed.), *Filosofia classica tedesca: le parole chiave,* Roma: Carocci, 2016, pp. 347–364: 347–348.

'più recenti cambiamenti' della metafisica e della 'pneumatologia', e al rinnovamento della *philosophia moralis.*[45]

Alla luce della nuova e diversa sensibilità che caratterizza il pensiero dell'Otto-Novecento appariva dunque 'logico' (e presso alcuni studiosi continua ad apparire tale) che un pensiero speculativamente forte e dirompente come quello dell'averroismo avesse avuto una ricaduta o un'applicazione anche sul piano politico, salvo poi annaspare nel tentativo di far tornare i conti sul piano storiografico. È questo, a ben vedere, il remoto retroterra della riabilitazione di Averroè e dell'averroismo avviata da Renan. Del processo storico e culturale che ha condotto alla piena secolarizzazione e al sempre più avanzato progresso civile della società occorre infatti ricercare i precursori, figure emblematiche e simboliche: una di queste figure è Averroè, che risulta assai più caratterizzato (e quindi più affidabile) di quell'Aristotele che, certo, aveva creato non pochi problemi alla cristianità medievale, ma che era stato in qualche maniera sterilizzato e inglobato in quel sistema peripatetico-scolastico che aveva dominato per secoli ed era stato poi, nel corso dell'Ottocento, rimesso alla base della filosofia ufficiale della Chiesa cattolica. I destini del 'maestro di color che sanno' e di colui 'che'l gran comento feo' risultano così scissi anche sul piano del pensiero politico, con buona pace dell'Alighieri.

[45] Johann Jacob Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae a mundi incunabulis usque ad nostra aetatem deducta,* Lipsiae: apud Bernh. Christoph. Breitkopf, 1742–1744; rist. Hildesheim–New York: G. Olms, 1975, vol. IV.1, pp. 777–803 (su Machiavelli: pp. 784–791).

ARISTOTELIAN THEORIES IN ABRAHAM IBN EZRA'S COMMENTARIES TO THE BIBLE*

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Abstract

Some of Abraham ibn Ezra's philosophical ideas exposed in his biblical commentaries are the same as those of Aristotle. The purpose of this article is to analyse some of the Aristotelian ideas appearing in Abraham ibn Ezra's biblical commentaries and explain how he adapts the Aristotelian concepts to the explanation of the specific biblical verses. Ibn Ezra uses these concepts in his explanation of the structure of the Universe as found in some Psalms, the creation of the world in Genesis 1, and the origin of evil according to the book of Ecclesiastes. This paper also attempts to provide a hypothesis on how Ibn Ezra was able to apprehend Aristotelian philosophy.

Key Words

Aristotle, philosophy, astrology, medieval science, Bible exegesis.

The philosophical ideas of Abraham ibn Ezra (*c.* 1089–*c.* 1161) are not contained in specific philosophical treatises, but included in numerous comments and remarks scattered throughout his many diverse writings, mainly in his biblical commentaries, astrological works and theologian treatises.

Abraham ibn Ezra is often characterized as one of the earliest representatives of Neoplatonism in medieval Jewish philosophy, although it is more precise to situate him within some of the larger intellectual currents of his day in the process of reconciliation of Greek philosophy with Jewish tradition. As Howard Kreisel has pointed out, medieval Jewish and Islamic thinkers of the Middle Ages

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tended to combine 'Neoplatonism' with 'Aristotelian' conceptions in a variety of ways.[1] In this sense, 'eclecticism' should be a more precise term to define medieval 'Neoplatonic' philosophy. Some of Ibn Ezra's philosophical ideas can only be understood on the basis of the appropriation and transmission of Aristotelian philosophy in medieval times.

The purpose of this article is to analyse some of the Aristotelian ideas appearing in Abraham ibn Ezra's biblical commentaries and explain how he adapts the Aristotelian concepts to the explanation of the specific biblical verses. This paper also attempts to provide a hypothesis on how Ibn Ezra was able to apprehend Aristotelian philosophy. The question to what extent his Aristotelianism is mixed with Neoplatonism is beyond the limits of this article.

Although Abraham ibn Ezra never cites Aristotle in his biblical commentaries, the Greek philosopher is cited in his astrological writings. In the second version of his *Book of Reasons*, Ibn Ezra refers to him as 'the wise Greek'. In the first version of this book, Ibn Ezra refers to Aristotle's *De Anima* as a source on which he drew to learn about some astrological aspects of the animal soul.[2]

As Steven Harvey affirms, before Maimonides and Abraham Ibn Da'ud in the second half of the twelfth century, there is little sign that most of Aristotle's major writings were carefully studied by Jewish authors.[3] In this sense, Abraham ibn Ezra's use of Aristotelian ideas marks one of the earliest stages in the integration of Aristotle's philosophy in the Jewish thought.

The Structure of the Aristotelian Cosmos

One of Ibn Ezra's commentaries in which the influence of Aristotelian theories is more evident is his commentary on Psalm 148.[4] Ibn Ezra affirms that this psalm is very honored, for it contains very deep secrets. The concept of 'secrets' in Ibn Ezra's thought means that Biblical texts contain hints or allusions to scientific matters.[5] According to him, this psalm speaks of the existence of two worlds: the

1 Howard Kreisel, 'On the Term *Kol* in Abraham Ibn Ezra: A Reappraisal', *Revue des Études Juives* 153 (1994), pp. 29–66, at p. 33.

2 Shlomo Sela, *Abraham ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, p. 174, n. 70.

3 Steven Harvey, 'The Greek Library of the Medieval Jewish Philosophers', in Cristina D'Ancona (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists. Proceedings of the Meeting of the European Science Foundation Network 'Late Antiquity and Arabic Thought. Patterns in the Constitution of European Culture'*, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 493–506, at p. 501.

4 For the Hebrew text of Ibn Ezra's commentary on Psalms, see Menachem Cohen (ed.), *Mikra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'. Psalms*. A Revised and Augmented Scientific Edition of 'Mikra'ot Gedolot' Based on the Aleppo Codex and Early Medieval Mss., 2 vols, Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2010.

5 Miriam Sklarz, 'Ibn Ezra's Secrets in Nachmanides' Commentary: Affinities in Terminology and Exegetical Contexts', in Michael Avioz, Elie Assis and Yael Shemesh (eds), *Zer Rimonim: Studies in*

upper world, which is described as wide and big; and the lower world, which is defined as the imaginary point at the centre of the big circle. The lower world is thus the earth and the upper world is the rest of the Universe.

Even the structure of the psalm represents, according to Ibn Ezra, such a division: the first part of the psalm (verses 1-6) deals with the upper world; the second part (verses 7–14) with the lower world.

Moreover, Ibn Ezra finds in the order of the verses of the first part of the psalm, the order of the heavenly beings in the upper world from the highest to the lowest. The psalm begins mentioning the *angels* (Ps. 148:2), those that have no body, below them *all his host* (Ps. 148:2) is placed. According to Ibn Ezra, the expression *all his host* are pure bodies, not composed of the four elements; they refer to all the fixed stars placed in the sphere of constellations.[6] Below them, the Sun and the Moon, explicitly mentioned in the psalm (Ps. 148:3), are placed. According to Ibn Ezra, the Sun and the Moon in the psalm are representative of all of the seven planets. In order to justify why only these two among the seven planets are mentioned in the psalm, he explains that they are considered *ha-moshelim* (the dominants), the planets that exert more influences on the earthly beings than the rest of the planets. They are called in the psalm the *shining stars*, because they both have a stronger light than the rest of the planets for they are close to the earth.

Below the Sun and the Moon, the *highest heavens* (Ps. 148:4) are placed. Ibn Ezra finds in this expression an allegory to the sphere or circle of fire which is below the Moon. Below the sphere of fire, the *waters above the heavens* are placed. Ibn Ezra finds in this expression a reference to 'the sphere of rain (*ha-sagrir*).'[7] He finishes the description of the first part of Psalm 148 by saying, 'this is the limit of the superior world.'

In the second part of Psalm 148 (verses 7–14), according to Ibn Ezra, the earthly beings are mentioned in an order contrary to the heavenly beings: the heavenly beings are placed from the highest to the lowest, but the earthly beings are mentioned from the lowest—*the sea monsters*, mentioned in verse 7—to the highest—*the people of Israel*, the highest people in rank, mentioned in verse 14.

Biblical Literature and Jewish Exegesis Presented to Professor Rimon Kasher, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013, pp. 503–523; Shaul Regev, 'Ta'amei Ha-Mitzvot in R. Avraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary: Secrets', in Fernando Díaz Esteban (ed.), *Abraham Ibn Ezra y su tiempo. Actas del Simposio Internacional*, Madrid: Asociación Española de Orientalistas, 1990, pp. 233–240; Hannah Kasher, 'Ibn Kaspi's Commentary to the *Secrets of Ibn Ezra*', in Moshe Hallamish (ed.), *'Alei Shefer. Studies in the Literature of Jewish Thought Presented to Rabbi Dr. Alexandre Safran*, Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990, pp. 89–108.

6 Sela, *Abraham ibn Ezra and the Rise*, pp. 218–219.

7 In Psalm 104:3, the expressions *the upper chambers in the waters* and *the clouds* also refer, according to our author, to the sphere of rain.

In his commentary on Psalm 148, Ibn Ezra reproduces the Aristotelian structure of cosmos: a great sphere divided into an upper and lower region by the spherical shell in which the moon is situated. Above the moon is the celestial region; below is the terrestrial region with the four elements of nature placed in the following order: fire, air, water and earth. The terrestrial or sublunary region is the world of generation and corruption and of transient changes of all kinds; the celestial or superlunary realm, by contrast, is a region of eternally unchanging cycles.

Ibn Ezra, however, does not represent the Aristotelian cosmos exactly as the Greek philosopher described it, but he introduces some changes for exegetical reasons to fit with the meaning of the biblical verses. Ibn Ezra includes the angels in the upper world for they are explicitly mentioned in the psalm.

For exegetical reasons, Ibn Ezra affirms that the limits of the upper world are from the angels to the sphere of rain, which is below the sphere of fire, which is below the sphere of the Moon. The sphere of rain corresponds to the sphere of water in the Aristotelian cosmos, and belongs to the sublunary world, as the other three spheres of the elements fire, air and earth. Ibn Ezra, however, considers that the universe is divided into two regions, the lower region is only the earth and everything that it contains, and the upper region is formed by the spheres of the other three elements—water, air, and fire, in this order—, the sphere of the Moon and those of the other planets, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the celestial world of angels.

According to Ibn Ezra, the expression *He (God) established them forever and ever* (Ps. 148:6) means that the heavenly beings are eternal and unchangeable, because they are pure bodies, not composed of the four elements, and therefore not subject to generation and corruption. It is a clear reference to the eternity of the Universe. The expression *He set a law that cannot pass away* (Ps. 148:6) refers to the eternal law that regulates the motions of the planets: each planet has a specific orbit around which he circles the earth and, since its motion is cyclical, it never ends.

The Aristotelian idea that the planets and stars are not composed of the four elements, but of a fifth element, is repeated several times by Ibn Ezra in his astrological treatises and in his biblical commentaries.[8] In his long commentary on Exod. 33:21, Ibn Ezra affirms:

> Do not think that the four elements are in heaven and that there is heat in the Sun and coldness in the Moon and Saturn. Heaven forbid. The creations that are high

[8] For his astrological treatises, see, for example, Abraham ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons*. A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text by Shlomo Sela, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2007, pp. 34–35, 120, 184–185, and 268. See also Sela, *Abraham ibn Ezra and the Rise*, pp. 255, and 370–371.

> and above are glorious. Scripture says concerning them, *for He commanded and they were created* (Ps. 148:5), *He established them forever and ever; He set a law that cannot pass away* (Ps. 148:6). They were created in this way only because of those whom they affect.[9]

According to Ibn Ezra, the heavenly bodies were created only to have the effects hot and dry, and cold and wet on earth, but they were not created as natural properties of themselves. Thus, the Sun is said to be hot and dry only because it produces these effects on the earth.

Following Aristotle, Ibn Ezra sustains that the heavenly bodies are neither made out of the four sublunary elements nor inherently possess the natural and physical properties of sublunary bodies, but they have the ability of generating astrological influence, thereby affecting the corresponding natural and physical properties of sublunary bodies.

What Ibn Ezra wants to prove is that the biblical text of Psalm 148 describes the structure, composition and laws of the Universe according to the principles of Aristotelian cosmology. Even the order of the verses of the psalm and the heavenly beings mentioned in them are parallel to the heavenly beings in the Aristotelian cosmos. Ibn Ezra follows Aristotle in one of the most controversial ideas in medieval Jewish philosophy: the eternity of the Universe.

The creation of the world

The influence of Aristotelian cosmological doctrines is also present in Ibn Ezra's comments on the creation of the world. He wrote at least two commentaries on Genesis, the first one in Lucca, between 1142 and 1145, and the second one in Rouen, between 1155 and 1156.[10]

The most relevant point in Ibn Ezra's both commentaries on the creation of the world, according to Genesis 1, is that the creation described in this biblical text does not refer to the entire universe, but only to the formation of the firmament and the earth. In Aristotelian terms, creation in Genesis only refers to the sublunary world and it must be understood from an earthly point of view.[11]

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[9] Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perushe ha-Torah*, ed. Asher Weizer, Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1976, vol. II, p. 218. For the English translation, Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Exodus (Shemot)*, trans. and annot. H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver, New York: Menorah, 1996, pp. 700–701.

[10] On this chronology, see Shlomo Sela and Gad Freudenthal, 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Scholarly Writings: A Chronological Listing', *Aleph* 6 (2006), pp. 13–55.

[11] For the Hebrew text, see Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Perushe ha-Torah*, vol. I, pp. 11–19, 147–149. For an English translation of the second commentary, see Abraham ibn Ezra, *Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis (Bereshit)*, trans. and annot. H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver, New York: Menorah, 1988, pp. 21–48. For an analysis of Ibn Ezra's commentaries on creation, see

According to our author, the word *heaven* in Genesis 1:1 refers only to 'the heaven visible to human beings', that is, the firmament. Ibn Ezra explicitly affirms that 'in my opinion, the heaven and the earth spoken of in our verse refer only to the firmament and the dry land.'

The meaning of the first two verses of Genesis, according to Ibn Ezra's interpretation, is: 'When the creation of the firmament and the dry land took place, the earth was in chaos because it was covered with water.' Ibn Ezra then adds that 'God created the earth in such a way that by the laws of nature it would be below the waters.' (commentary on Gen 1:2). Ibn Ezra's expression 'by the laws of nature' must be understood here as equivalent to 'according to Aristotle's natural philosophy.' In the Aristotelian cosmos, the earth is placed immediately below the sphere of the elemental water. Thus the first verses describe, in Ibn Ezra's opinion, the primordial state of the sublunary world, with earth and water as the primeval elements, which were the starting point of subsequent meteorological processes.

According to Ibn Ezra, the expression *God's wind swept over the face of the waters* (Gen 1:2) means that 'the wind was the medium employed by God to dry the land.'

In his first commentary on *And God said: "Let there be a firmament in the middle of the waters, and let it separate waters from waters"* (Gen 1:6), Ibn Ezra explains that this verse demonstrates how the firmament was created: 'the firmament is the air, because when the light shone very strongly upon the earth and a wind dried the earth, the flame turned into the firmament.' According to Ibn Ezra, light plays a relevant creative role in the process of the formation of the world.

In his second commentary on this same verse, Ibn Ezra is more precise in the description of the coming-to-be of the firmament: the earth was covered by water, the wind dried the water over the earth, and the earth was visible. Ibn Ezra cites Gen 8:1 to prove that the same action happened at the end of the flood, when God made a wind which blew over the earth and dried the waters. Ibn Ezra continues by affirming the following:

> The firmament, which is the atmosphere that is above the earth, exists because of the light. When the light of the Sun touches upon the earth, it returns upwards because of the thickness of the earth and thus the air which is contact with the earth is heated.

Shlomo Sela, 'La creación del mundo supralunar según Abraham Ibn Ezra: un estudio comparativo de sus dos comentarios a Génesis 1,14', *Sefarad* 63 (2003), pp. 147–181 and Tamás Visi, 'The Early Ibn Ezra Supercommentaries: A Chapter in Medieval Jewish Intellectual History', Ph.D. Diss., Central European University, Budapest, 2006, pp. 151–159.

The light is the means that creates the firmament by reflecting on the Earth and returning from it, thus heating the atmosphere that is placed between the Sun and the Earth. The natural phenomena described in Genesis did not take place by the direct action of the divine power, but by natural causes commanded by the divine power. Ibn Ezra explains this point as follows:

> Scripture describes creation as coming about by God's word, because it wants to teach us that the heaven and the earth came into being without any labour on God's part. We may compare this to a king assigning certain tasks to his servants. (Commentary on Gen 1:3)

Following Aristotle's *Meteorology*, Ibn Ezra provides a naturalistic explanation of the creation: God did not do any labour, He simply commanded the elements of nature to change themselves and become the different parts of the world: the earth, the firmament, and everything that is contained in them.

With what phenomena of nature spoken of in Aristotle's *Meteorology* should we identify Ibn Ezra's explanations? In *Meteorology* I.4 we read:

> When the sun warms the earth the exhalation which takes place is necessarily of two kinds, not of one only as some think. One kind is rather of the nature of vapour, the other of the nature of a windy exhalation. That which rises from the moisture contained in the earth and on its surface is vapour, while that rising from the earth itself, which is dry, is like smoke. Of these the windy exhalation, being warm, rises above the moister vapour, which is heavy and sinks below the other.[12]

According to Aristotle, the region close to the earth is the host-moist region. It is the region in which the air is mixed with the moist exhalation that ascends from the sea. This region is hot because it is warmed by the rays of the sun that strike the earth and return from it to the lower part of the air.

Ibn Ezra's explanations of the creation of the firmament according to the biblical text are based on Aristotle's *Meteorology*: by a combination of the actions of the wind and the light that was created on the first day of creation, the water covering the earth was transformed into the air of the atmosphere, and the firmament was created.

Isaac Abravanel (1437'1508) was one of the first authors in the Middle Ages who saw a clear influence of Aristotle's *Meteorology* on Abraham ibn Ezra's interpretation of the creation of the firmament. Abravanel criticised fiercely Ibn Ezra's point of view:

[12] Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 559, 341b.

> When he was stirred by the topic of the firmament, Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote that the appearance of the dry land was the cause for the generation of the firmament, [...] because in this he was drawn after the view of the Philosopher in the *Meteorology*. [...] But the words of the Philosopher [suppose] that nature runs its course, because they [the philosophers] had no conception of the creation of the world. But the words of Abraham Ibn Ezra, of whom we said: 'under his shadow we shall live' (Lam. 4:20) in explaining the Torah—see how far they have retreated from the truth of the Torah in denying the story of the Creation.[13]

Abravanel considers that, by being influenced by Aristotle, Ibn Ezra was as a defender of the idea of eternity of the world, and for this reason he criticizes him.

Abraham Ibn Ezra also considers that the text describing the creation of the world in Genesis 1 is parallel to that of Psalm 104. According to his interpretation, in psalm 104, King David describes the creation of the world in consonance with the description of Genesis 1. The first thing that was created was light, mentioned first in the psalm in the expression *You [referring to God] are wrapped in light as with a garment* (Ps. 104:2), then the other elements in the world such as the firmament and the earth are created by the action of the light. As the word *heaven* in the text of Genesis, Ibn Ezra explicitly mentions that the *heavens* in the expression *You stretch out the heavens like a tent* (Ps. 104:2) are the firmament on which there is water, fire, snow and wind. Therefore, the firmament is the atmosphere, where the meteorological phenomena of nature occur. Also as in the text of Genesis 1, Ibn Ezra explicitly mentions that the earth in the expression *You set the earth on its foundations* (Ps. 104:5) refers to the dry land.

In addition to this, Ibn Ezra wants to demonstrate that Psalm 104 recognizes that wind and fire played an active part in the creation of the world. The expression *You make the winds your messengers, fire and flame your ministers* (Ps. 104:4) proves that wind and fire were used by God as his active agents to create the world. Also as in the case of Genesis 1, the creation of the world was not performed by God himself, but by the elements of nature, which, by God's commands, acted as agents to become the different parts of the world.

According to Abraham Ibn Ezra, Genesis 1 and Psalm 104 describe the creation of the world according to the principles of the elements of nature contained in Aristotle's *Meteorology*. The wind and the light of the Sun played an important role in the process of creation, because through their cation the water was transformed into the atmosphere and the dry land appeared.

[13] Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on the Torah: Genesis*, Jerusalem: Benei Arbel, p. 47a. For the English translation, see Aviezer Ravitzky, 'Aristotle's *Meteorology* and the Maimonidean Modes of Interpreting the Account of Creation', *Aleph* 8 (2008), pp. 361–400 (p. 371).

The laws of nature

Abraham ibn Ezra wrote his commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes (or Qohelet, in Hebrew) in Rome in 1140.[14] It is the first biblical commentary he ever wrote in his life. It is preceded by an introduction, in which Ibn Ezra explains one of the most relevant ideas of the biblical book: the origin of evil in the world.

Ibn Ezra writes that 'the origin of evil is in the imperfection of the recipient'. To clarify this idea, Ibn Ezra uses an analogy:

> We observe that clothes spread out in the sun are bleached while the launderer's face turns black. But should not one cause have one effect? The effects are different because the natures of the recipients are different.

According to Ibn Ezra, the recipients here are material created beings, which 'receive' and are affected by certain powers and influences from the superior world. Ibn Ezra uses here the Hebrew word *toledet*, normally translated as 'nature', to refer to the combinations of the four elements—earth, water, air and fire—which form the nature of earthly beings.[15] Ibn Ezra means to say that, since the combination of the elements is different in each earthly being, each one has an innate natural disposition to be affected by the influence of the superior beings. Ibn Ezra thereby drives to the point that evil was not created by God, but is rather a natural consequence of the materiality of the earthly beings.

Ibn Ezra goes on to mention several kinds of these influences on human beings:

> The thoughts of human beings vary depending on the temperaments of their respective bodies; and these temperaments vary depending on the changes in the heavenly configurations, in the position of the sun, in that which receives its influences, and in states, laws, and foods.

As a consequence of such a variety of influences—Ibn Ezra suggests—, all human misfortunes, calamities, and miseries in this world have a natural cause, namely, the imperfect nature of created human beings.

Ibn Ezra concludes his introduction by focusing on the uselessness of human actions. If all human actions depend on the influence of the heavenly beings, everything that we do in this world is vanity and makes no profit. This is precisely, according to Ibn Ezra, the meaning of the book of Ecclesiastes: it states

[14] For the Hebrew text and a Spanish translation of this commentary, see Abraham Ibn Ezra, *El Comentario de Abraham Ibn Ezra al libro del Eclesiastés*, ed. Mariano Gómez Aranda, Madrid: CSIC, 1994.

[15] On the use of the term *toledet* by Ibn Ezra, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise*, pp. 130–137 and Abraham Ibn Ezra, *The Book of Reasons*, pp. 115 and 387.

a scientific verity that there is no profit in all works done under the sun. Is there any worthwhile activity in this world? Ibn Ezra affirms that 'the works of human beings are emptiness and vanity, except for the fear of God.' Here Ibn Ezra arrives to the same conclusion as the book of Ecclesiastes: nothing makes sense, except the fear of God.

The influence of heavenly on earthly beings is implied in several of Aristotle's statements in some of his works, and specially in his *Meteorology*:

> The whole world surrounding the earth, the affections of which are our subject, is made up of these bodies (meaning, the four elements). This world necessarily has a certain continuity with the upper motions; consequently all its power is derived from them. [...] We must treat fire and earth and the elements like them as the material causes of the events in this world—meaning by material what is subject and is affected—, but must assign causality in the sense of originating principle of motion to the power of the eternally moving bodies (*Meteorology* I.2)[16]

According to Ibn Ezra, the book of Ecclesiastes is a book dealing with the laws of nature, that is, with Aristotelian natural science. In his explanation of the first verses of Ecclesiastes, Ibn Ezra wants to prove that the biblical text conforms to the rules of natural science.

The verse *what has been is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done; there is nothing new under the sun* (Eccl. 1:9) is interpreted by Ibn Ezra as follows:

> *What has been refers* to the spheres and their hosts, because they are like wheels turning constantly around, and their beginning is like their end and their end like their beginning. *What has been done is what will be done* refers to the genera which are preserved, like the human species, the equine species, and every animal and vegetable species, the generation of which depends on the motions of the heavenly bodies. If the heavenly bodies are eternal, so also are the genera, because they are structured by the celestial configurations. The meaning is that although I cannot count the individual, the genera persist, are known, and can be counted. In this way, it is seen that upper and lower worlds persist in the same manner and *there is nothing new under the sun.*[17]

The most important question posed in the biblical text is why it is said that there is nothing new under the sun. To respond to such a question, Ibn Ezra makes use of the rules of natural science in an attempt to prove that the biblical text conforms to them.

Mutations in the physical beings are constant, cyclical and perpetual. The generation process owes these characteristics to the intervention of a cause

[16] Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, pp. 555–556, 339a.
[17] Abraham Ibn Ezra, *El Comentario*, pp. 14*–15* and 21–22 (Spanish translation).

external to the mutable things themselves. This external cause is the heavens and the celestial bodies, whose nature and motion are unchanging and uniform. In other words, the heavenly bodies, composed of a fifth element and in perpetual motion as a natural result of their constitution, exert their influence unceasingly. Generation and corruption therefore are cyclical and perpetual in the physical world, thus paralleling the perpetuity of the moving cause.

Ibn Ezra also explains here the Hebrew word *ha-kelalim*, which literally means 'principles,' 'general principles' or 'general entities.' In this context *ha-kelalim* is a technical term referring to 'species.' According to his explanation, the fixicity of species in the world depends on the fixed stars. In consequence, when the Bible affirms *what has been done is what will be done* is in fact reproducing the scientific theory that the species of earthly beings will always be the same for they depend on the heavenly beings which are unchangeable.

Ibn Ezra's explanations on Eccl. 1:9 reproduce the Aristotelian principles in his book *De generatione et corruptione* (*On Generation and Corruption*). According to Aristotle, 'circular motion, that is, the revolution of the heavens, is eternal' and eternal motion is the cause of generation:

> Since the change which is motion has been proved to be eternal, the continuity of coming-to-be follows necessarily from what we have established; for the eternal motion, by causing the generator to approach and retire, will produce coming-to-be uninterruptedly. [...] God [...] fulfilled the perfection of the universe by making coming-to-be uninterrupted. [...] That coming-to-be should itself come-to-be perpetually is the closest approximation to eternal being. The cause of this is circular motion, for that is the only motion which is continuous. (*De generatione* II.10)[18]

According to Aristotle, generation, understood as the transformation of the elements of nature into another, is continuous, and in consequence, as the text of Ecclesiastes says, *there is nothing new under the sun.*

Another scientific explanation based on Aristotelian thought is given by Ibn Ezra in his comments on *all streams run to the sea, but the sea is not full; to the place where the streams flow, there they continue to flow* (Eccl. 1:7):

> Although all the streams flow into the sea, it does not overflow, so as to transgress the law and cover the earth, because the waters which flow into it return constantly to their own place, for there is evaporation constantly rising from the sea to the sky, and this evaporation forms the clouds. Only the sweet waters ascend because of their lightness, and the vapour is converted into rain, as is written He (referring to God) calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them out on the surface of the earth (Amos 5:8). The waters of the springs are from the rain,

[18] Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, pp. 550–552, 336a–337a.

> and the streams are from the springs, as we see in time of drought that most of the springs are dried up. This explains how the streams return again from the place to which they went.[19]

Ibn Ezra's observations are very similar to the explanations given by Aristotle in *Meteorology* II.13 on the origin of rivers:

> The water is raised by the sun and descends in rain and gathers below the earth and so flows from a great reservoir, all the rivers from one, or each from a different one. No water at all is generated, but the volume of the rivers consists of the water that is gathered into such reservoirs in winter. Hence rivers are always fuller in winter than in summer, and some are perennial, others not. Rivers are perennial where the reservoir is large and so enough water has collected in it to last out and not be used up before the winter rain returns. Where the reservoirs are smaller there is less water in the rivers, and they are dried up and their vessel empty before the fresh rain comes on.[20]

Ibn Ezra's explanations also reflect the influence of Aristotle's explanations in *Meteorology* II.3 on why the sea is salty: the sun dries up the sweet water and raises it up through evaporation. By condensation, the sweet water is transformed into clouds and descends to the earth in rain. Aristotle then adds:

> The sea is there and some of it is continually being drawn up and becoming sweet; this returns from above with the rain. But it is now different from what it was when it was drawn up, and its weight makes it sink below the sweet water. This process prevents the sea, as it does rivers, from drying up except from local causes (this must happen to sea and rivers alike). On the other hand, the parts neither of the earth nor of the sea remain constant but only their whole bulk. For the same thing is true of the earth as of the sea: some of it is carried up and some comes down with the rain, and both that which remains on the surface and that which comes down again change their situations.[21]

According to Abraham ibn Ezra, the book of Ecclesiastes reproduces the laws of nature, that is, the laws of Aristotelian natural science. By these laws, the origin of evil in this world—one of the most relevant ideas in the biblical text—can be explained: it was not created by God, but it is a natural consequence of the imperfect nature of the earthly beings, which makes them vulnerable to the influence of the heavenly beings.

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19 Abraham Ibn Ezra, *El Comentario*, pp. 12*–13* and 18–19 (Spanish translation).
20 Aristotle, *The Complete Works*, p. 570, 349b.
21 Ibid., pp. 582–583, 358b.

The sounds of stars

Abraham Ibn Ezra not always agrees with Aristotle on all the characteristics of the heavenly beings. He disagrees with the Aristotelian theory that the heavenly bodies produce no sound. In *De Caelo* II.9, Aristotle rejects the Pythagorean idea that stars emit pleasant sounds:

> From all this it is clear that the theory that the movement of the stars produces a harmony, i.e. that the sounds they make are concordant, in spite of the grace and originality with which it has been stated, is nevertheless untrue. Some thinkers suppose that the motion of bodies of that size must produce a noise, since on our earth the motion of bodies far inferior in size and in speed of movement has that effect. Also, when the sun and the moon, they say, and all the stars, so great in number and in size, are moving with so rapid a motion, how should they not produce a sound immensely great?[22]

In his attempt to provide a rational explanation on the verse *More majestic than the sounds of mighty waters... is the Lord* (Ps. 93:4), Abraham ibn Ezra finds in the expression *the sounds of mighty waters* a reference to the idea that the motion of the celestial spheres produces mighty sounds: 'this [verse] is an indication that spheres produce sounds.' He then cites the verse *I heard the sounds of their wings like the sound of mighty waters* (Ezek. 1:24) as a proof that the expression *the sound of mighty waters* refers allegorically to the sound of the spheres, as in the case of Psalm 93:4. Ezekiel perceived the sound of the wings of the creatures in the chariot as the sound of the celestial spheres.

Ibn Ezra also adds, that 'those unable to hear these sounds are deaf, in the same manner as those who are unable to see the deeds of God are blind.'[23] Hearing and seeing in this context should be interpreted as characteristics of intelligent human beings. As Ibn Ezra explains in his commentary on Isaiah 42:18, 'hearing and seeing originate in the heart: those that are deaf and blind in their hearts are, therefore, called here *deaf and blind*.'[24] Therefore, Ezekiel was able to perceive the sounds of the spheres as he was an intelligent human being, capable of perceiving the extraordinary phenomena created by God in the celestial realm.[25]

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22 Ibid., p. 479, 290b.

23 Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise*, p. 309, n. 196.

24 Abraham Ibn Ezra, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, ed. Michael Friedländer, London: Society for the Promotion of Hebrew Literature, 1873, pp. 72 and 191 (translation).

25 This is one of the few references to the account of the chariot in Ibn Ezra's commentaries; for other references to this biblical passage in Ibn Ezra's works, see Howard Kreisel, 'From Esotericism to Science: The Account of the Chariot in Maimonidean Philosophy Till the End of

In *Guide* 2:8, Maimonides deals with the controversy between Aristotle and the Pythagorean philosophers on the possibility of celestial sounds. Maimonides interprets that the sages in the Talmud are in favor of the Pythagorean notion that the motion of stars in heaven produces sound. Some Jewish philosophers like Samuel Ibn Tibbon, Gersonides, Joseph Ibn Kaspi, Moses Narboni and Profiat Duran, in interpreting Maimonides' explanations on the celestial sounds, arrive to the conclusion that Ezekiel ascribes sounds to the celestial spheres.[26] The existence of the same idea in Abraham ibn Ezra's comments on Psalm 93:4 proves that they might have been influenced by this author.

Abraham Ibn Ezra's Aristotelian sources: a hypothesis

How could have Ibn Ezra become acquainted with Aristotelian natural science? As is well known, he lived in al-Andalus from 1089 until 1140, then moved to Italy and spend the rest of his life until he died in 1165 travelling through Italy, France and England. Most probably he knew Aristotelian theories through some of the works of Aristotelian philosophers and scientists that he might have known while living in al-Andalus.[27]

I will now take into consideration Avicenna and Abu Ma'shar as the most possible channels through which Ibn Ezra had access to Aristotelian knowledge. A detailed analysis of the connections between Ibn Ezra and Avicenna and Abu Ma'shar goes beyond the limits of this article. However, I formulate my hypothesis based on the similarities between Ibn Ezra's explanations in his biblical commentaries studied above and some of the Aristotelian theories exposed by Avicenna and Abu Ma'shar.

Ibn Ezra and Avicenna

The connections between Avicenna and Aristotelian philosophy have been widely studied by Dimitri Gutas.[28] That Abraham Ibn Ezra knew Avicenna's works is proved by the fact that Ibn Ezra's *Hay ben Mekitz* is an adaptation of Avicenna's

the Thirteenth Century', in James T. Robinson (ed.), *The Cultures of Maimonideanism: New Approaches to the History of Jewish Thought*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2009, pp. 21–56 (pp. 31–33).

[26] Charles Touati, 'Le problème de l'inerrance prophétique dans la théologie juive du Moyen Age', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 174 (1968), pp. 169–187 (pp. 180–182); see also Ofer Elior, 'Ezekiel Is Prefereable to Aristotle: Torah and Science in Four Interpretations of Ezekiel's 'I Heard'', *Pe'amim* 139–140 (2014), pp. 55–80 [Hebrew]. On Samuel Ibn Tibbon's interpretation of Ezekiel's perception of celestial sounds, see Kreisel, 'From Esotericism', pp. 48–49.

[27] For Abraham Ibn Ezra's life, see Israel Levin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra. His Life and His Poetry*, Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1969 [Hebrew].

[28] Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014.

Hayy ibn Yaqzan. As Aaron W. Hughes noted, Ibn Ezra's *Hay* follows the structure of Avicenna's *Hayy* and, in terms of the characters and the plot, both works are almost identical.[29] According to some modern scholars, Avicennian theories are present in some of Ibn Ezra's interpretations of the biblical text, especially in Ibn Ezra's interpretation of God as the Necessary Existent in the first of the Ten Commandments[30] and in his exegesis on the account of creation.[31] Resianne Fontaine has also pointed out that Abraham ibn Ezra's ideas that the imperfection of the recipient is the origin of evil and that it is not fitting for superior wisdom to preclude the greater good because of small evil, as stated in his commentary on Ecclesiastes, are similar to Avicenna's conception of evil as privation and as something that is found only in the sublunary world due to the existence of matter.[32]

The influence of Avicenna on Abraham ibn Ezra was already suggested by some medieval scholars. In Guadalajara in 1370, Samuel ibn Motot wrote a work entitled *Meguillat Setarim*, which is in fact a super-commentary on Abraham ibn Ezra's commentaries on the Torah.[33] In his introduction, Samuel ibn Motot affirms the following:

> Ibn Ezra's opinions are like those of Aristotle's and in the secret of creation he followed Avicenna. For this reason, his words are hidden and his secrets are marvellous.[34]

[29] For a comparison between Ibn Ezra's *Hay ben Mekitz* and Avicenna's *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, see Aaron W. Hughes, *The Texture of the Divine: Imagination in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Thought*, Bloomington–Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004. There are, however, major differences between these two works, as exposed by Aaron W. Hughes, 'A Case of Twelfth-Century Plagiarism? Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Hay Ben Meqitz* and Avicenna's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 55 (2004), pp. 306–331.

[30] Warren Z. Harvey, 'The First Commandment and the God of History: Halevi and Crescas Vs. Ibn Ezra and Maimonides', *Tarbiz* 57 (1988), pp. 203–216 [in Hebrew] and Steven Harvey, 'Avicenna's Influence on Jewish Thought: Some Reflections', in Y. Tzvi Langermann (ed.), *Avicenna and His Legacy: A Golden Age of Science and Philosophy*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2009, pp. 327–340, esp. p. 329.

[31] Gad Freudenthal and Mauro Zonta, 'Avicenna among Medieval Jews: The Reception of Avicenna's Philosophical, Scientific and Medical Writings in Jewish Cultures, East and West', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 22 (2012), pp. 217–287, esp. p. 254.

[32] Resianne Fontaine, '"Happy Is He Whose Children Are Boys": Abraham Ibn Daud and Avicenna on Evil', In Dag Nikolaus Hasse and Amos Bertolacci (eds), *The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, Berlin–Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012, pp. 159–175, at p. 164.

[33] On super-commentaries of Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentaries, see Uriel Simon, 'Interpreting the Interpreter: Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Commentaries', in Isadore Twersky and Jay M. Harris (eds), *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra: Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath*, Cambridge, Massachusetts–London: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 86–128.

[34] Samuel Ibn Motot, *Meguillat Setarim*, Venice 1553, p. 1b.

Samuel ibn Tibbon wrote his *Maamar Yiqqavu ha-Mayim* in Provence in the 1220s. In this book, Ibn Tibbon gives a scientific interpretation of the creation of the world, which, at some points, resembles the explanations given by Ibn Ezra. Ibn Tibbon's interpretation, however, is much more detailed.[35]

As Ibn Tibbon explains, the creation of the world as exposed in Genesis 1, deals with a situation in which the entire surface of the earth was covered by water. By God's command, *Let the waters... be gathered... so that dry land may appear* (Gn. 1:9), water moved out of its primordial natural place so that dry land emerged.

As in the case of Ibn Ezra, Ibn Tibbon attributes a primordial role to light in the process of creation. Ibn Tibbon also cites Psalm 104:2 to prove that the light was the first physical entity to appear. The ray of light that came to be on the first day is the first cause that the earth ceased to be in a state of chaos, that is, entirely covered by water. The light produced heat, which caused the evaporation of water and produced the firmament. After affirming that this information is found in several biblical and rabbinical texts, Ibn Tibbon adds: all these texts 'agree with what has been described by Avicenna'.[36]

In a sermon on the unity (*al-Khuṭbat al-gharrā'*) delivered by Avicenna on the praise of God, Avicenna attributes light a significant role in the creation of physical forms. After speaking on the qualities of nature, heat, cold and moisture, Avicenna continues by saying:

> You created Heat expanding in its essence, Cold contracting in its qualities, Moisture for preserving the bodies from being decomposed. From these [qualities] You created the primal elements, and the hottest of them You have stationed on the higher places (i.e. the heavens) which, were it Cold, would have been heated by the heavenly motion and no being had remained but perished, on account of the Heat spread over all the elements in potentiality and space. You created the higher [heavenly] elements (i.e. Fire, Air, Water) naturally transparent, otherwise no luminous ray could have passed through them. You created the Earth dust-coloured, otherwise the light, which is the cause of the Instinctive Heat, active in creating physical forms, would not have paused over it [but would have passed through]. So You created from the Earth, minerals, vegetables, and animals of different kinds, which became generator and corruptor, begetter and begotten.[37]

[35] On a detailed analysis of Samuel Ibn Tibbon's explanations on creation, see Gad Freudenthal, 'Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Avicennian Theory of an Eternal World', *Aleph* 8 (2008), pp. 41–129.

[36] Samuel Ibn Tibbon, *Ma'amar Yiqqawu Ha-Mayim*, ed. Mordecai Loeb Bisliches, Pressburg: Anton Edlen v. Schmid, 1837, p. 133.

[37] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964, pp. 208–209.

In *Physics* 3:12, Avicenna explains how the Sun causes evaporation during its motions. Also in this work, Avicenna deals with the question of the alteration and transformation of the elements into one another 'in that very same region that is proper to its whole'. As a consequence—Avicenna explains—, air, while in the region of air, might undergo alteration so as to become rain or water, or, conversely, large quantities of water, while in the region of water, might be heated so as to become steam, or air.[38]

Avicenna's ideas on the role of light in the creation of physical beings and on the transformation of the elements of nature into one another served Ibn Ezra to interpret the creation of the world as described in the biblical texts. It may be possible that through the knowledge of these Avicennian theories, Ibn Ezra became acquainted with Aristotle's meteorological doctrines.

As Mauro Zonta affirms, before 1150, there are very few references to Avicenna by Jewish philosophers, although he was not totally unknown by some of them. Traces of Avicenna's philosophy can be found in Yehudah Halevi' *Book of the Khazar* and Joseph Ibn Saddiq's *Microcosm*.[39] Since Abraham Ibn Ezra left al-Andalus in 1140, he is one of the first Jewish authors to have became acquainted with Avicennian thought. Ibn Ezra could have known his works during his formation in al-Andalus or through his close relationship with Yehudah Halevi.

Ibn Ezra and Abu Ma'shar

Abraham Ibn Ezra's knowledge of Aristotle may also have come from Abu Ma'shar, the most important authority in astrology in the Muslim world.[40] Ibn Ezra mentions Abu Ma'shar in his *Liber de rationibus tabularum* as one of the *magistri probationum*, and also in his *Keli ha-Nehoshet* (*Treatise of the astrolabe*). The influence of Abu Ma'shar is especially relevant in Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-'Olam* (*The Book of the World*), where he is considered as the most important authority in astrological matters referring to the history and future of the nations of the world, and specifically in the astrological implications of the conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn.

Abu Ma'shar's *Introduction to Astrology*, written in Baghdad in 848 was well known in al-Andalus in Ibn Ezra's times. In fact, it was translated into Latin by John of Seville in 1133. Ibn Ezra may have coincided with John of Seville during his wanderings in al-Andalus, visiting Toledo and Seville, among other cities,

[38] Avicenna, *The Physics of the Healing*. A Parallel English-Arabic Text, trans. and annot. Jon McGinnis, Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2009, vol. II, pp. 371–379.

[39] Mauro Zonta, 'Avicenna in Medieval Jewish Philosophy', in Jules Janssens and Daniel de Smet (eds) *Avicenna and His Heritage: Acts of the International Colloquium*, Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2002, pp. 267–279 (pp. 267–268)

[40] I am very grateful to Shlomo Sela, from Bar-Ilan University in Israel, for this suggestion.

before leaving the country in 1140.[41] In fact, it has been suggested that Abraham Ibn Ezra and John of Seville were working closely together.[42] Through John of Seville, Ibn Ezra may have had access to the original Arabic text of Abu Ma'shar's *Introduction*.

As proved by Richard Lemay, Abu Ma'shar's *Introduction to Astrology* contains many characteristic features of Aristotelian physics and cosmology, and its influence of the intellectuals in the Middle Ages marked the starting point of the medieval interest in Aristotelian science, cosmology and even metaphysics.[43]

A relevant part of this work is an attempt at a scientific justification of astrology by the use of Aristotle's natural philosophy. For Abu Ma'shar, astrology is a valid science rooted in the principles of natural science and proved by experimentation.

As an astrologer, Abraham ibn Ezra was very interested in Abu Ma'shar's use of Aristotelian doctrines to justify the validity of astrology.

Many points in common can be found between Abu Mashar's explanations and Ibn Ezra's interpretations of some biblical verses, specially those dealing with astrological matters in his commentary on Ecclesiastes.

Abu Ma'shar based on Aristotle's natural philosophy to demonstrate the two principal premises of astrology: first, that the motions of the heavenly bodies are the source of all activity in the physical universe; and second, that the bodies of the inferior world have an innate disposition to receive such influences which are the causes of their own motions.[44] The same ideas are exposed by Ibn Ezra in his introduction to his commentary on Ecclesiastes as well as in his own commentary on Ecclesiastes 1:9 (see above).

Abu Ma'shar also explained that although the motions of the planets are in themselves natural and uniform, they nevertheless present a great variety of possible combinations. Such varieties of influences are received by the elements of nature in the sublunary world. Whenever out of these combinations of influences a suitable and perfect result occurs, we understand that the planets have acted favourably, and the elements fully responded. However, when reluctant and unwilling nature is prevailed, we conclude that the planets acted unfavourably.[45] These ideas are the base for Ibn Ezra's explanations on the origin of evil as stated in his introduction of his commentary on Ecclesiastes.

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41 For this period of Abraham Ibn Ezra's life, see Levin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, pp. 14–15.

42 Charles Burnett, 'John of Seville and Limia', in Charles Burnett and Pedro Mantas España (eds), '*Ex Oriente Lux': Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Córdoba-London: Universidad de Córdoba–The Warburg Institute, 2016, pp. 11–17 (p. 12).

43 Richard Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century: The Recovery of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy through Arabic Astrology*, Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962, pp. 41–132.

44 Ibid., p. 49.

45 Ibid., pp. 97–98.

Basing on Aristotle's *Physics*, Abu Ma'shar also explained that the circular motion of the superior bodies surrounding the world and circling it move the terrestrial bodies. The perfect motion is the cause of the imperfect one. This motion is a force originating in the superior bodies and reaching down to the bodies of the inferior world. The terrestrial bodies receive such action from the superior bodies because they are linked to them by the bond of their native disposition.[46] These ideas are the basis of Ibn Ezra's explanations of the first verses of the book of Ecclesiastes.

Following Aristotle, Abu Ma'shar states that the nature of the superior beings is of a different kind than that of the four elements, and concludes that the celestial sphere and the planets were made of a fifth essence.[47] This is precisely the interpretation of Ibn Ezra in his commentary on Psalm 104 and in other several exegetical and astrological contexts.

These connections between Ibn Ezra and Abu Ma'shar are sufficient to lead us to the conclusion that Abu Ma'shar's *Introduction to Astrology* was one of the main sources through which Ibn Ezra had access to Aristotelian doctrines.

Conclusions

Abraham ibn Ezra uses the Aristotelian structure of the universe divided in the superlunary and sublunary worlds to explain the structure and the contents of the Psalm 148. For exegetical reasons, Ibn Ezra adapts the Aristotelian division to the structure of this psalm. According to Ibn Ezra, the first part of the psalm (verses 1–6) represents the heavenly beings of the upper world in decreasing order. The second part of the psalm (verses 7–14) represents the earthly beings of the lower world in ascending order. Ibn Ezra uses Psalm 148:6 to prove that, according to the Bible as well as to Aristotelian philosophy, the heavenly beings are eternal because they are made of a fifth element; the earthly beings, however, are subject to generation and corruption for they are composed of the four elements of nature. Ibn Ezra follows Aristotle in defending the idea of the eternity of the Universe.

The influence of Aristotle's *Meteorology* is relevant in Ibn Ezra's comments on the Creation of the world as described in Genesis 1 and in Psalm 104 as well. According to Ibn Ezra, the creation in Genesis 1 refers only to the creation of the firmament and the dry land. This was a natural process in which the air, acting as a God's agent, dried the water that was covering the earth. By the action of the light, created on the first day of creation, the water covering the earth was heated, evaporation was produced and the atmosphere was created. These

[46] Ibid., p. 62.
[47] Ibid., pp. 58–59, 92–93.

interpretations are based on Aristotle's descriptions of the phenomenon of the evaporation of water by the action of the sun in his *Meteorology*.

Aristotelian theories on the influence of heavenly beings on earthly beings are used by Ibn Ezra in his introduction to his commentary on Ecclesiastes and in his explanation of some verses from this biblical book. According to Ibn Ezra, this book deals with the laws of nature, that is, with Aristotelian natural science. Everything that happens in this world, the world of generation and corruption, depends on the eternal circular motions of the heavenly beings.

Not always Abraham Ibn Ezra agrees with the Greek philosopher in scientific matters. Against Aristotle, Ibn Ezra defends the idea that the motion of the spheres in heaven produces sounds. Basing on this concept, he explains that in the vision of the chariot, prophet Ezekiel was able to perceive the sound of the wings of the creatures he saw as the sound of celestial spheres, as he was an intelligent man. It is possible that Ibn Ezra have known this principle in Aristotle's criticism to the Pythagoreans in *De Caelo*.

Abraham ibn Ezra may have become acquainted with Aristotelian theories through Avicenna in the case of the theories on the creation of the world and through Abu Ma'shar in the case of the astrological explanations.

In my opinion, Abraham ibn Ezra's ultimate goal in using Aristotelian theories in his biblical commentaries is not only to prove that the Bible can be explained according to Aristotle, but also to demonstrate that the scientific Aristotelian theories can be found in the Bible, and that, in consequence, the study of Aristotle is legitimized by the sacred book.

A MISSING LINK IN EUROPEAN TRAVEL LITERATURE
BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION'S DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT*

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Abstract

This article offers a first study and edition of Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Egyptian section'. This text—hitherto almost completely neglected by scholars—provides a detailed account of Egypt, and is preserved in its entirety in two manuscripts, following Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. The present work provides an analysis of the contents and characteristics of this text, of the cultural context in which it was composed, and of its reception in medieval and early modern times. Appendix 1 includes a provisional edition of Burchard's account of Egypt. Appendix 2 offers an edition of the final part of a shortened version of this text which is significant from the point of view of the history of its reception.

Key Words

Burchard of Mount Sion, Egypt, Travel literature, Nile, pilgrimage.

The number of medieval Latin travel accounts describing Egypt preceding the end of the Frankish or Crusader period is very limited. Indeed, for the period of Latin dominance in Syria (1099–1291) only one such text reached us. This is

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Burchard of Strasbourg's description, dating to 1175,[1] to which may be added several brief and partial accounts of this region by Franks who visited Egypt.[2] Against this background, it is very significant that there exists a highly elaborate thirteenth-century Latin travel account of Egypt, which has hitherto remained almost completely neglected by scholars: this text was composed by Burchard of Mount Sion and appears, in some manuscripts, following his extremely well-known description of the Holy Land, or *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*. Burchard was a Dominican friar who traveled in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 1280s, at least occasionally, as a diplomatic envoy. As we shall see below, he seems to have been strongly connected to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and may have belonged to the Dominican province of the Holy Land.[3]

The aim of this article is to present for the first time Burchard's account of Egypt, examining its content and characteristics, but also looking at what this text can tell us about Burchard's work as an author as well as about his cultural environment. As will be seen, the shift from the description of the Holy Land to that of Egypt represents an important moment in the history of Western travel literature. The final sections of the article are devoted to the reception of Burchard's account of Egypt in medieval and early modern times. Two appendices are attached to this article: the first includes a tentative edition of Burchard's account of Egypt, and the second presents an edition of the final part of a shortened version of this text which is studied below and referred to as the 'abbreviated version'.

That the discussions of Western writing concerning Egypt make no mention of Burchard's Egyptian section is easy to explain:[4] Laurent's edition, which is the

1 For Burchard of Strasbourg's work, see Paul Lehmann and Otto Glauning, 'Mittelalterliche Handschriftenbruchstücke der Universitätsbibliothek und des Georgianum zu München', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 72 (1940), pp. 61–73 [referred to below as 'Burchard of Strasbourg, *Itinerarium*']. A version of it also appears in: Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johann M. Lappenberg, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, 21), Hanover: Hahnianus, 1869, pp 235–241. The description of Egypt is found at pp. 236–239.

2 Among the authors of these accounts, one should mention Jean de Joinville, who accompanied King Louis IX on his Seventh Crusade and included in the text he later composed considerable information concerning Egypt. See, for example, his discussion of the Nile: Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. and trans. Jacques Monfrin, Paris: Garnier, 2010, pp. 92–95, pars. 187–191. Similarly, Jacques de Vitry also spent some time in Egypt and included comments concerning it in both his letters and the *Historia orientalis*. See, in particular, Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, pp. 584–588.

3 For the only critical edition of this text (which does not include Burchard's account of Egypt), see Johann C. M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1864, pp. 3–94. For biographical information on Burchard, see Jonathan Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A Newly Discovered Extended Version', *Crusades* 13 (2014), pp. 173–190.

4 See, for example, Burnett's discussion of travel accounts of Egypt in Charles Burnett, 'Images of Ancient Egypt in the Latin Middle Ages', in Peter Ucko and Timothy Champion (eds), *The Wisdom of Egypt*, London: UCL Press, 2003, pp. 68–70. Burchard's work is also not mentioned in John P.

only critical edition of Burchard's work, does not provide it, and so scholars were unlikely to suspect that the *Descriptio* ever included such a text. Laurent himself was aware that some textual witnesses of Burchard's work present an account of Egypt, but rejected its authenticity on the basis of a comment, placed at the beginning of the text, where Burchard states that his work was limited to the description of the Holy Land.[5] The publication of a textual witness which provides the 'abbreviated version' of Burchard's account of Egypt—in 1903, by Henri Omont—did not clarify this question, since his article was limited to one manuscript and did not shed light on the textual tradition of the *Descriptio*. Thus, scholars who were aware of this publication nevertheless remained hesitant as to the authenticity of this section.[6]

Recent studies on some previously neglected manuscripts of the *Descriptio* provide a clear solution to this doubt. I have recently published a part of a manuscript, now in London (British Library, Add. 18929, referred to below as 'MS London'), which provides, following a text roughly parallel to that published by Laurent, an account of Burchard's travels to Egypt, Sicily, Italy and then back to the East.[7] An additional manuscript (MS Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, 1.12.5, referred to below as 'MS Zwickau') includes most of these sections, including the description of Egypt, but ends with the account of Lucca.[8] That the sections dealing with Burchard's travels outside the Holy Land are indeed authentic and

Cooper, *The Medieval Nile: Route, Navigation and Landscape in Islamic Egypt*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014. This text is also not utilized in a very detailed paper on the traditions and sites related to Christ and his family's sojourn in Egypt: Beatrice Saletti, 'La sacra famiglia in Egitto: Pellegrini europei al Cairo tra XIV e XVI secolo', *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 98/3 (2014), pp. 909–960. Notably, the only scholars who seem to have hitherto used this text are those who worked on Egypt's image in medieval German literature. However, the text they used, a 1584 German printed edition, is so far removed from Burchard's original work that its study is hardly instructive for understanding the actual medieval composition. See Abbas Amin, *Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus: Ägypten in der deutschen Reiseliteratur, 1175–1663*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013; Aleya Khattab, *Das Ägyptenbild in den deutschsprachigen Reisebeschreibungen der Zeit von 1285–1500*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1982.

5 Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 12.

6 Henri Omont, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 64 (1903), pp. 490–553. Baumgärtner, who was not only aware of Omont's publication, but also identified an additional manuscript which transmits a section concerning Egypt, remained skeptical as to whether this part of the work was penned by Burchard; see Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4/1 (Spring 2013), pp. 14–15.

7 Rubin, 'Burchard', pp. 173–190.

8 For the ending of MS Zwickau, see fol. 144v, and cf. Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 189. Both MSS were alluded to by Rotter in a paper of which I was unaware when I published my 2014 paper: Ekkehart Rotter, 'Windrose statt Landkarte. Die geografische Systematisierung des Heiligen Landes und ihre Visualisierung durch Burchardus de Monte Sion um 1285', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 69 (2013), pp. 47, n. 8; 70–71, n. 77 et passim. Rotter, however, did not study these MSS in detail or publish sections from them.

were authored by Burchard seems unquestionable. This is made clear by the dates which are provided throughout the London/Zwickau version of the *Descriptio* and which together produce a coherent picture of Burchard's movements around the Mediterranean.[9] It is hard to see why a later scribe/editor would have been interested in making up such a sequence, and how he would have been able to produce one. Furthermore, various details concerning Burchard's biography and, in particular, his status as a Dominican friar, are also attested to in different sections of the London manuscript: at the beginning of the text as transmitted by this manuscript Burchard refers to himself as 'ego Burchardus ordinis predicatorum' ('I Burchard of the Order of Preachers'). Later, as he describes his visit to Rome, he describes two Dominican institutions—Sancta Maria in Minerva and Sancta Sabina in monte Aventino—as places 'ubi stant fratres' ('where there are friars').[10] Additionally, one reads in the London text that Burchard went to Bologna in 1285 to meet the head of the Dominican order. Indeed, this seems to further confirm the authenticity of this text, since the Dominicans held their general chapter in the city that year.[11] To these points one should add some considerations of stylistic nature: several forms of expression appear in both the *Descriptio* as published by Laurent and in the 'new' parts of the text, suggesting that they were all written by the same person. Among these are: 'stupor est videre' and 'quantum potui... consideravi/indagavi/investigavi'.[12] It is thus certain that the Egyptian section as provided by the London and Zwickau manuscripts was indeed composed by Burchard, although, as is often the case, it may also include some later scribal interventions.[13]

[9] Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 181.

[10] Ibid., p. 178.

[11] Georgina R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216–1360*, Manchester: University Press, 1925, p. 254.

[12] See, respectively, Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, pp. 25, 88 and Appendix 1, l. 176; Ibid., pp. 20, 25, 45, 63, and Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 186.

[13] A complete detailed and updated list and survey of all extant manuscripts of the *Descriptio* remains a desideratum which the author of this paper hopes to fulfill. Of the twenty manuscripts which I have hitherto been able to explore only London and Zwickau include the complete Egyptian section, while several others include the 'abbreviated version' to which we shall return toward the end of this paper. This conclusion is supported also by Rotter, who examined a very considerable number of manuscripts and included them in his (incomplete) list. Indeed, he writes that only the London and Zwickau manuscripts transmit Burchard's travel from the Holy Land back to the West; see Rotter, 'Windrose', p. 70, n. 77 (the manuscript lists appear at pp. 103–106). For previous lists of manuscripts of the *Descriptio*, see Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin: Reuther, 1890, pp. 56–58; Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols, Rome: Ad S. Sabinae, 1970–1993, vol. I, pp. 257–260.

Characteristics and Content of the Egyptian Section

Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, as known to scholars through Laurent's 1864 edition, is a very detailed account of biblical geography of the Holy Land, related to contemporary actuality on the basis, at least in part, of the author's own experience, and often commended for being extraordinarily systematic. Taking Acre as the 'centre', Burchard drew four imaginary lines in conformity with the cardinal points, and then divided each of the quarters thus created into three subsections.[14] The greater part of his text, as provided by Laurent's edition, is made up of the detailed description of these sections, followed by three thematic chapters: on the length and breadth of the Holy Land, on its fruits and animals, and on the religious groups inhabiting it. Thus, Burchard's composition, as represented by Laurent's edition, could have justly been seen as a well-ordered and carefully preconceived discussion of the Holy Land.

But this major characteristic of the *Descriptio* does not apply to the newly discovered sections, which appear in the London and Zwickau manuscripts, the first of which provides the account of Egypt. Here one finds no introductory comments of the sort Burchard provided for his discussion of the Holy Land and no thematic or geographical plan can be recognized, except the sequence of his movement through space. Notably, the shift from a text based on a preconceived geographical logic to a narrative which follows the author's itinerary occurs within the text published by Laurent. However, since the text is truncated, this move could not have been appreciated for what it was. The discovery of the sections following the *Descriptio* as published by Laurent makes such an analysis possible for the first time. Given its significance for both the understanding of Burchard as an author and, as we shall see below, for the appreciation of an important moment in the history of Western travel literature, it is expedient to look at it in some detail.

Having described the Holy Land's various religious groups, Burchard argues that the great majority of population in the East, except Arabia and Egypt, is Christian, and it is only because these Christians are ruled by non-Christians that these territories are considered Muslim.[15] In order to support this argument, Burchard shares with his readers experiences from his sojourn in Armenia, thus breaking both with his original intention to restrict his work to the Holy Land

[14] Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, (Crusade Texts in Translation, 23), Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 48–49. For Burchard's description of his method of dividing the Holy Land to geographical units, see Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 21. The text provided in MS London (fol. 2r) and in MS Zwickau (fol. 113v) is essentially the same.

[15] Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 90.

and with the structure of the text's earlier sections.[16] This is reflected by the comment that bridges between his extensive comments on Armenia and the brief description of his journey to Egypt:

> Multa alia vidi et perambulavi in terra illa que per omnia scribere longum esset. Steti autem hac ultima vice apud regem a festo Iohannis ante portam lat[inam][17] usque in crastinum Margarete[18] et sic redii in Aycium civitatem maritimam, et ascensa navi processi iuxta Mamistram in Mallotam civitatem opinatissimam, de qua legitur in Iudith, et inde per Adenam et Tharsum Cilicie veni Kurcum ubi habundat crocus bonus. De Curco veni Seleuciam Maritimam que est in Capadocia, transitaque Capodocea navigavi Cyprum et applicui Salomine. Peractis negociis apud regem Cypri navigavi in Syriam. Veni Thyrum et inde Ptholomaidem transactis 7 ebdomadibus postquam de Armenia navigavi. In kalendis Septembris ascensa galea ut navigarem in Egiptum de Ptholomaide veni ad montem Carmeli in Caypham inde Dothan que nunc Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur, inde Cesaream Palestine.[19]

Providing the dates of Burchard's stay in Armenia as well as his itinerary toward Egypt, this comment epitomizes the shift from a systematic description of the Holy Land to a travelogue. Furthermore, this comment also reveals that Burchard updated his work, at least occasionally, as time went by. This is confirmed by the

[16] For Burchard's initial commitment to restrict his text to the Holy Land, see Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 31: 'Distat autem locus iste [Valania] ab acconensi civitate per VIII dietas [....] et licet ultra processi in terra ista eam contemplando, tamen de ea nichil scribo, quia non propono de aliis terris scribere aliquid, nisi de terra sancta.' This comment appears in slight changes in MS London, fols 7v–8r; MS Zwickau provides a somewhat different text: 'Distat autem locus ille a civitate Achonense per 8 dietas, de Ierusalem vero per 15 dietas [....] et licet multum ultra processerim versus Gurgiam que olim Capadocia dicebatur et Armeniam et Syciliam tamen de terris illis nichil scribo quia tota mea intencio versatur circa descripcionem terre sancte' (fols 118r–118v).

[17] May 6.

[18] The feast of St. Margaret is July 20. Placed within the sequence of dates provided by Burchard, it becomes clear that he refers here to 1284; see Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 181.

[19] Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 183: ['I travelled through that country and saw there many other things which would have been too long to fully put in writing. This last time I stayed with the king from the feast of John before the Latin Gate to the day following the feast of Saint Margaret [6 May–21 July] and thus returned to Ayas, the maritime city, and, having embarked a ship proceeded by Mopsuestia to Mallos the illustrious city, about which we read in Judith, and from there through Adana and Tarsus of Cilicia I reached Corycos where good crocus abounds. From Corycos I came to maritime Seleucia which is in Cappadocia, and having crossed Cappadocia I sailed to Cyprus and landed in Salamis. Having completed my business with the king of Cyprus I sailed to Syria. I came to Tyre and from there to Acre seven weeks after I had sailed from Armenia. On the first of September, having embarked a ship so that I would sail to Egypt, I went from Acre to Mount Carmel, to Haifa and from there to Dothan which is now called Castrum peregrinorum [mod. 'Atlit] and from there to Caesarea of Palestine.'] Laurent's text is far less detailed here, notably omitting the dates. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 93.

fact that the London text mentions another visit to Armenia which took place during the summer of 1285.[20] The expression 'ultima vice' ('last time') in the above-quoted phrase therefore indicates that these words must have been written before that later visit, and thus serves as evidence that the complete version of the *Descriptio* represented by the London/Zwickau text should be read at least partly as a notebook into which Burchard kept adding materials as time went by.

The notebook quality of the part of the *Descriptio* which follows the account of Armenia is evident in the Egyptian section of Burchard's work. It is this characteristic of his text that explains why, for example, the author discusses local Christianity (Appendix 1, ll. 85–89), leaves this subject in order to discuss a range of other themes, finally returning to this topic (Appendix 1, ll. 150–156) providing further, but also contradictory, information. Thus, in the first discussion he says that he had heard from Christians and Muslims that there were more than 300,000 Christians in Egypt, but in the second he speaks of over 600,000.[21] Perhaps more significantly, only in his second discussion of local Christians does Burchard refer to the extreme pressure exerted on them to convert. Given the similarity in the wording employed in the two discussions—which makes it difficult to argue that one of them reflects a later interpolation rather than Burchard's own text—the best explanation for this is that, as Burchard continued his journey in Egypt, he accumulated additional information concerning Egypt's Christian community, which he then added into his notebook. A similar phenomenon can be noted with regard to Burchard's comments on the pyramids: having mentioned them briefly in the context of his description of the Nile (Appendix 1, ll. 64–66), Burchard returns to them, this time in a more elaborate manner, toward the end of his account of Egypt (Appendix 1, ll. 187–193). Such examples can be multiplied, so that one can safely conclude that beginning with his discussion of Armenia, Burchard's *Descriptio* ceases to be a planned portrayal of a specific territory and begins to resemble a travelogue, at least occasionally updated as its author continues his travels.[22]

It is noteworthy that while Burchard's manner of working took a clear turn between his discussion of the Holy Land and his account of Egypt, the attitudes guiding him remained much the same. His portrayal of the Nile reveals a perspective similar to that which characterizes his depiction of the Holy Land: an attempt to provide a complete picture of a geographical unit rather than a linear portrayal of the sites and geographical elements which he actually saw. In that, Burchard's Egyptian unit differs, for example, from the accounts of Egypt penned

[20] Rubin, 'Burchard', pp. 181, 189-90.

[21] For the second figure, I rely on the reading provided by MS Zwickau. See Appendix 1, l. 152.

[22] It is, of course, possible that Burchard meant to later edit this section and was unable to do so, or, alternatively, that such an edited version exists but has not yet been discovered.

by authors such as Burchard of Strasbourg, who wrote about a century earlier, or William of Boldensele, who wrote several decades later. Both of these authors were certainly curious about the Nile, but neither of them made an attempt of the sort Burchard did to provide a comprehensive picture of the Nile's various branches (Appendix 1, ll. 37–64).[23] Burchard of Mount Sion's relatively critical outlook, which characterizes his account of the Holy Land, is also revealed in his discussion of the origins of the Nile, as he chooses to leave this as an unresolved question rather than to repeat the widely held belief that the river comes out of paradise.[24]

Given the fact that, as we have seen, Burchard composed his account of Egypt while traveling, adding information as he advanced, it is more expedient, in order to gain an understanding of its contents, to look at the main kinds of data it provides than to follow its narrative. These can be described as follows:

1. Itinerary: the text provides, though in a partial and at times only implicit manner, a picture of Burchard's movements through Egypt. Burchard left the Holy Land at the coastal al-Darum. From there he went to Al-'Arish, Ras Karum and Farama (Pelusium). From there he went to Tinnis and from there to Damietta. From Damietta, Burchard traveled toward Cairo through Miniet abu-Abdallah, Mansura and Sammanud. Having visited Heliopolis, he went further south to Cairo and to the pyramids at Giza. Burchard also visited the balsam garden, but it is unclear at what stage of his journey he did that, and was also taken to a sort of zoo the location of which is not provided by the text. From Egypt Burchard travelled to Sicily but he offers no information as to his route from Cairo back to the Mediterranean. It is improbable that he traveled through the western part of the Delta, his knowledge of it being considerably inferior to that of its eastern part. It is also very difficult to believe that had he visited Alexandria he would not have provided his readers with at least some comments about it.

[23] Burchard of Strassburg, *Itinerarium*, pp. 64-67; Carl L. Grotefend, *Die Edelherren von Boldensele oder Boldensen*, Hannover: Hofbuchdruckerei der Gebr. Jänecke, 1855, pp. 36-44 [referred to below as 'Boldensele, *Itinerarius*'].

[24] For several examples of authors writing that the Nile originated in paradise, see Burchard of Strassbourg, *Itinerarium*, p. 66; Boldensele, *Itinerarius*, p. 39; Jacopo da Verona provides further evidence for the uniqueness of Burchard's perspective as he says nothing of the Nile's branches, and refers to it as one of the four rivers of paradise. *Pellegrinaggio ai luoghi santi: Liber peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona*, intr. and trans. Vittorio Castagna, ed. Ugo Monneret de Villard, Verona: Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere, 1990, p. 280. Notably, this notion survived well into the sixteenth century. Benjamin Arbel, 'Renaissance Geographical Literature and the Nile', in Haggai Erlich and Israel Gershoni (eds), *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, London: Lynne Rienner, 2000, p. 109.

2. Egypt's Population: Burchard presents his readers with considerable information concerning Egypt's inhabitants. He is concerned, first and foremost, with the country's Christians, providing, as was already noted, different estimates as to their number in two places in this section. He also refers to the great number of churches on the one hand and to the persecutions to which these communities are subject on the other. But Burchard is also interested in Egypt's non-Christian populations. In this context he describes the division between Bedouins, Saracens and Turks. Interestingly, he thought that the Bedouins are more numerous than the members of the other groups, and that while the Saracens rule the country, the Turks are superior as the sultans come from their ranks and they make better soldiers. He was also impressed with the country's great population.
3. Geographical Information: much of Burchard's text is devoted to various aspects of Egypt's geography. Firstly, a considerable part of the text is devoted to Burchard's attempt to describe the Nile's branches. But his geographical interests were not limited to the Nile, and he also discusses Egypt's size and shape, names the regions bordering it, provides distances between various sites in it and enumerates its ports.
4. Biblical Geography of Egypt: in his description of Egypt, Burchard refers to several sites as connected to biblical traditions. Of central importance in this respect are locations considered to be related to the Exodus of the Hebrews, and to Mary and Christ's flight to Egypt. It is noteworthy, however, that in contrast to the part of the *Descriptio* which is devoted to the Holy Land, these sites do not take a central position in Burchard's account of Egypt.
5. Egypt's Economy: Burchard shares with his readers considerable information concerning substances which can be found in Egypt and comments also about those which cannot be found there and for which Egypt is dependent on import from other regions. Timber for the construction of boats is particularly significant in this context, as are also various metals. The difficulty of finding stones suitable for building houses brings Burchard to also characterize local structures.
6. *Mirabilia*: Burchard included in his description of Egypt several discussions of wonderful things he saw there. These include the pyramids, animals that he saw in a zoo he visited (particularly, the giraffe, which he had never seen before), the balm garden at Heliopolis and a festival, led by the sultan, in which the relics of Saint John are said to have played a central role.

Written Sources and Cultural Context

In describing the Holy Land, Burchard was working within an established Latin tradition, and, as was already mentioned, following a clear, systematic, plan. He is also likely to have sat down to compose this text having developed at least a general picture of what he intended to include in it. Furthermore, as he used for his work on this part of his project a considerable number of texts,[25] one may assume that he was working in, or within reach of, a library, plausibly that of one of *Outremer*'s Dominican convents.[26] With Egypt, the circumstances were very different. Firstly, while it is possible that there circulated at the time accounts of Egypt which have not reached us, the number of Latin texts describing that region which were available in the 1280s must have been much more limited than that of descriptions of the Holy Land. Secondly, as we have seen above, Burchard seems to have composed this section while travelling, so that books would have been much less accessible to him. Indeed, while it is difficult to prove that he made use of no text at all, several indications point in this direction. Firstly, his account of the Nile's branches does not closely resemble any of those studied by Cooper.[27] The fact that Burchard's description of the Delta's eastern part, which he in fact visited, is much better than that of the West further supports the hypothesis that his knowledge of the Nile is based on personal observation and on contacts with people he met on his way. Secondly, while Burchard mentions Jacques de Vitry's work as a major source for his description of the Holy Land,[28] a comparison between Burchard and Jacques de Vitry's accounts of, for example, the balsam garden or Farama shows that these are unrelated.[29] Arabic accounts, which, theoretically at least, would have been much more useful for Burchard, are unlikely to have been accessible to him, since it is improbable that he was able to read Arabic.[30] That he did not use Arabic sources is confirmed by the fact that a very limited number of Arabic place names appear in the text.

While there is no evidence that Burchard used specific texts as he was working on his account of Egypt, some pieces of information included in it must have originated in Latin works which Burchard had consulted earlier in his life.

25 Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 50.

26 Evidence in support of this hypothesis is presented below.

27 Copper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 265-277.

28 Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 23.

29 Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. and trans. Jean Donnadieu, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, pp. 194, 346.

30 MS Zwickau, fol. 113v provides a comment with regard to Burchard's use of translators, which makes it likely that he knew very little, or no Arabic at all: 'a Syris vel a Sarracenis et aliis terre ipsius habitatoribus quos ductores et interpretes frequenter mecum habui diligentissime de omnibus investigans.'

Such is, for example, Burchard's mention of the Theban Legion, probably based on one of the texts recounting the martyrdom of this renowned Roman army unit.[31] It is particularly likely that Burchard's comment in this regard is founded on William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, where the toponym Thebes is tied to a region neighboring Cairo on the one hand and to the famous Roman legion on the other.[32] Burchard's notion that the Nile has seven branches probably also goes back to earlier texts: this was a very common idea which appears in Western literature since ancient times and which was shared by authors much closer to Burchard in time, such as William of Tyre and Joinville.[33] The confusion between Bilbeis and Pelusium seems to also belong to this category, as it appears in earlier Latin works.[34] Burchard's reference to the unique astronomic attributes of Meroe and Aswan (Appendix 1, ll. 69–71) points to the same direction. Comparing it with its most likely sources, it is evident that it is corrupt.[35] This may be the result of difficulties in the transmission of the *Descriptio*, but it is probably at least partly due to the fact that Burchard wrote these comments out of memory rather than consulting a written work.

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31 For an early version of this story, see Eucherius of Lyon, *Passio Acaunensium martyrum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 3), Hannover: Hahnianus, 1896, pp. 20–41. Another version of this appears in: Ernst Dümmler, 'Sigebert's von Gembloux *Passio sanctae Luciae virginis* und *Passio sanctorum Thebeorum*', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Berlin: Realschul-Buchhandlung, 1893, vol. II, pp. 210–219.

32 Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63a), Turnhout: Brepols, 1986, vol. II, p. 897: 'Nos autem, antiquum eius vocabulum non tenentes, opinamur priscis temporibus Thebaidam dictam, unde sanctorum Thebeorum legio, que sub Diocletiano et Maximiano Augustis apud Agauno martyrio coronata est, fuisse dicitur, cuius primicerius magnus martyr Mauricius legitur fuisse.'

33 Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 30, 35 and elsewhere; Joinville, *Vie*, pp. 92–93; Willelmus, *Chronicon*, vol. II, pp. 894–895, though note that William thought this view was erroneous.

34 Willelmus, *Chronicon*, vol. II, p. 883; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, p. 194.

35 The closest parallel passages I have been able to identify are these: 'Simili modo tradunt in Syene oppido [...] solstiti die medio nullam umbram iaci [...] constatque in Berenice urbe Trogodytarum, et inde stadiis quattuor milibus DCCCXX in eadem gente Ptolemaide oppido [...] hoc idem ante solstitium quadragenis quinis diebus totidemque postea fieri, et per eos XC dies in meridiem umbras iaci. Rursus in Meroe [...] bis anno absumi umbras, sole duodevicesimam tauri partem et quartamdecimam leonis tunc obtinente' (Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London: William Heinemann, 1958, vol. I, p. 316); 'In Syene solsticiali die medio nulla fit umbra [...] Apud Trogoditas xlv diebus ante solsticium, et totidem postea, umbra penitus absumitur, et his xc diebus umbra in meridiem iacitur. In Meroe, insula Nili, bis in anno absumitur umbra, cum sol est in xii parte Tauri et in xiiii Leonis' (Valerie I. J. Flint [ed.], 'Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 49 [1982], p. 97). Bede provides a text which is somewhat further removed. See Beda Venerabilis, *De natura rerum liber*, ed. Charles W. Jones and Frances R. Lipp, (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 123a), Turnhout: Brepols, 1975, pp. 231–232.

While it is questionable whether Burchard used written sources in his Egyptian section, it is clear that this part of his work relied, to a considerable extent, on oral exchanges he had with members of various cultural groups that he encountered. This is made clear by numerous explicit references in the text to such exchanges (Appendix 1, ll. 85–87, 114, 150–151, 157, 160–161, 182).

The discovery of the London and Zwickau manuscripts, both of which shed significant new light on Burchard's career, also enables us to place him more firmly within a cultural or intellectual context. In particular, they present evidence that his connection to *Outremer* was much deeper than that of a standard pilgrim, providing clear indications that Burchard's sojourn in this territory spread over a considerable period of time,[36] and that he was personally acquainted with major figures in the kingdom such as both the Latin and Greek patriarchs of Jerusalem.[37] Terms he employs also suggest that he was deeply influenced by the Frankish culture that developed in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Firstly, in his description of the Holy Land, he frequently uses *leuca*, a term typical of Frankish *Outremer*, as a unit of distance.[38] Similarly, he employed the word *bercile*, which is a Latinized form of the Arabic word for pool (برکة), used by the Franks of *Outremer*.[39] Burchard's connection to the kingdom's culture also settles very well with the above-presented hypothesis that as he travelled in Egypt he recalled information from William of Tyre's *Chronicon*. More evidence for Burchard's ties to *Outremer* is possibly provided by the Zwickau manuscript:[40]

> Verum, ego frater Burcardus ordinis fratrum predicatorum, videns quosdam affici desiderio ea saltem aliqualiter ymaginari, que non possunt presentialiter intueri, et cupiens eorum desiderio satisfacere quantum possum, ipsam terram, quam pedibus meis pluries pertransivi et [quam] per x annos, quibus

[36] Rubin, 'Burchard', p. 181.

[37] Ibid., p. 179.

[38] Emmanuelle Vagnon, *Cartographie et représentations de l'Orient méditerranéen en Occident: du milieu du XIIIe à la fin du XV siècle*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, p. 107, n. 35. It is noteworthy that in the Egyptian section things are more complex as *miliare* appears more frequently than *leuca* (10 and 6 times respectively, in addition to one mention of *miliaria teutonica*). This may be the result of exchanges Burchard had, during his travels in Egypt, with Italians who would have preferred *miliare*. For such contacts see below, Appendix 1, ll. 160–161 and 179–182.

[39] Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, pp. 33, 67; Laura Minervini, 'Les emprunts arabes et grecs dans le lexique français d'Orient (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)', *Revue de linguistique romane* 301-302 (Janvier-Juin 2012), p. 111.

[40] MS Zwickau, fol. 113v: ['Truly, I brother Burchard of the Order of Preachers, seeing that some people are affected by a desire to picture for themselves in some degree at least those things that they are unable to look upon face to face, and wanting to satisfy their wish as far as I can, have both recorded and studiously described that land through which I have frequently passed on foot and which I have diligently inspected in so far as I have been able during the ten years in which I was a brother of that province.']

> frater provincie illius fui, quantum potui consideravi diligenter, et notavi et studiose descripsi.

Most of this paragraph appears also in the London manuscript, but the crucial words 'et [quam] per x annos, quibus frater provincie illius fui' are unique to the Zwickau manuscript.[41] If it is indeed trustworthy, Burchard should be seen a long-time member of the Dominican province of the Holy Land, and firmly placed within *Outremer*'s intellectual milieus. But, as we have seen, even if one disregards these phrases, the extant evidence clearly shows that Burchard was strongly related to the Holy Land and, in all likelihood, to its Dominican province.

Bearing in mind that Burchard was at least partly working within the intellectual environment which developed in Frankish *Outremer*, it becomes easier to contextualize his account of Egypt. Firstly, as we have seen, the notion that Christians are very numerous in Egypt is repeated twice in this section. This claim should probably be connected to the argument which, as was already noted, Burchard makes at the beginning of his discussion of Armenia, according to which the population of the East is mostly Christian. But this line of thought is not Burchard's innovation. Writing several decades earlier, Jacques de Vitry, Acre's renowned bishop, made a similar argument.[42] Furthermore, Burchard's own comments also imply that the question of whether or not Christians made the majority among the inhabitants of the East was discussed at the time, since he argues that while some disagree with his view others support it.[43] Additionally, one may assume that information—of varying levels of accuracy—concerning the population of the East circulated in places such as Acre which was, at the time, an important gateway for Westerners traveling into Asia. That the East was mainly Christian may have also been an important notion for the Franks of *Outremer* in view of their continuing inability to effectively face Mamluk military power, as it would have possibly provided them with a reason for optimism.

Burchard also treats, in his account of Egypt, an additional subject which was central in the discourse of the kingdom of Jerusalem. This is the assistance provided to the Mamluks by Western merchants. In two places in his account of Egypt, Burchard mentions substances which are not found in Egypt and argues

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41 Cf. MS London, fol. 2r.

42 Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 576. In another place Jacques argues that even in Egypt there are more Christians than Muslims. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, p. 585.

43 MS London, fol. 39r: 'Sciendum autem quod in rei veritate licet quidam aliter senciant qui parum vel nichil sciunt quid loquantur quod oriens totus ultra mare usque Indiam et Ethiopiam omnino nomen Christi confitetur et predicat [...] ita quod pro certo assero sicut per memeth ipsum vidi et ab aliis quibus note erant omnes regiones audivi quod semper pro uno Sarraceno 30 Christianos poteris estimare in omni loco et regione preterquam in Egipto et Arabia...' Cf. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 90.

that if Western merchants would cease to bring them there, Egypt would no longer be able to sustain itself (Appendix 1, ll. 163–170; 178–182]. These comments should be understood as a part of a much wider discourse on the support provided by Latin merchants to *Outremer*'s Muslim foes. One aspect of the Latin engagement with this issue is the recurrent papal bans against such commercial activities, but it is also clear that this was a subject often discussed in places such as Acre which, on the one hand, saw a great number of merchants and, on the other, was very vulnerable to Mamluk attacks.[44] Evidence for this is provided by the discussion of these commercial ties by Fidenzio of Padova, who had spent a long time in the city before returning to the West where he completed, shortly before the final fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem, a text titled *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*.[45]

Burchard's strong connection to the intellectual milieus in the kingdom of Jerusalem can perhaps also help to contextualize the complex nature of his work, and, in particular, his shift from the composition of a systematic description of the Holy Land to the writing of a travelogue documenting a journey through a range of other territories. This shift epitomizes what has been referred to as 'the ultimate relocation of the paradigm of travel from the ideal of pilgrimage to those of empirical curiosity and practical science' and dated to 1250–1450.[46] In other words, Burchard's decision to neglect his initial commitment to discuss in his work only the Holy Land and to provide his readers with abundant information concerning other regions resulted in the production of a text which captures the precise moment of such a move by an individual author. But how can one explain this radical change in Burchard's perception of his own work? It is likely that it was in *Outremer* that Burchard became exposed to this new inclination: one of the most prominent pioneers of the new trend was none other than William of Rubruck, who composed his *Itinerarium* in 1255 while teaching in Acre's Franciscan convent. The *Itinerarium*, like the part of the *Descriptio* that follows the section on Armenia, includes descriptions of territories through which its author traveled providing ample geographical and ethnographic information. Furthermore, like Burchard, William kept updating his work as he

[44] For a general discussion of these bans, see Sophia Menache, 'Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63/2 (April 2013), pp. 236–259.

[45] For this text, see Fidentius de Padua, *Liber recuperationis terre sancte*, in Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols, Florence: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913, vol. II, pp. 1–60. For references to his treatment of Western commercial ties with the Mamluks, see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, pp. 95, 98–99.

[46] Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Introduction', in Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds), *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, London: Reaktion Books, 1999, p. 31.

advanced.[47] It seems likely that a pathbreaking project such as William's would have left a mark on Acre's culture for a long time, and that Burchard would have become aware of it as he worked in the city during the 1280s. Additionally, even if he would not have known William's work, Burchard is likely to have encountered in the kingdom of Jerusalem other texts which share this new trend. Burchard of Strasbourg's above-mentioned description of Egypt should, for example, also be tied to this new literary tradition and is very likely to have been available in Acre.[48] Thus, it is very likely that at least some of the notions which drove Burchard to continue writing as he traveled out of the Holy Land were related to the works of earlier authors which he encountered in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Egyptian Section and the Descriptio*'s Manuscript Tradition*

While, as was already noted, a survey of all extant manuscripts of the *Descriptio* remains a desideratum which lays outside the scope of the present article, a preliminary survey of twenty of them does enable us to make some conclusions with regard to the manuscript reception of the Egyptian section.[49] As we shall soon see, the conclusions of this partial survey are significant not only with regard to the way in which this section was treated by scribes/editors working on manuscripts of the *Descriptio* but also for the future reconstruction of this work's transmission history.

At the current state of research, it is possible to identify three groups of manuscripts which reveal different treatments of Burchard's account of Egypt. One group, which, as far as one can presently tell, includes only the two above-mentioned manuscripts (London, British Library, Add. 18929 and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, 1.12.5), provides the complete Egyptian section and, as stated in the beginning of this article, forms the basis for the discussion above, as well as for the edited text in Appendix 1.

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47 Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, ed. and trans. Paolo Chiesa, Milan: Mondadori, 2011. Reaching Acre, William settled down to edit his work into the form in which he sent it to Louis IX and in which it reached us. Guglielmo di Rubruk, *Viaggio*, pp. XLII–XLV, 316.

48 That this text was available in Acre is supported by the fact that from an early stage a description of Egypt, clearly based on Burchard of Strasbourg's text, circulated with a report, written in Acre at the request of Pope Innocent III, by Raoul de Mérecourt, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the masters of the Hospitaller and Templar knights. See, for example, Prague, National Library, XIV C 16, fols 23r–25r; Jacques Bongars (ed.), *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 2 vols, Hanau: Typis Wechelianis, apud heredes I. Aubrii, 1611, vol. I, pp. 1125–1129.

49 For the existing lists of the manuscripts of the *Descriptio*, see above, n. 13.

A second group includes manuscripts which end at the point in which the text provided by Laurent does:[50]

> Inde veni Damiatam, que antiquitus Memphis dicitur. Hec est terra Yesse, in qua olim filii Israel morabantur, Pharaoni in luto et latere servientes. In hac eciam postea lapidatus est Ieremias.

Reading these phrases, it becomes clear that this cannot have been the way Burchard planned to complete his elaborate, systematic and well-ordered text. It ends much too abruptly, with Damietta reached and mentioned but not described and with no concluding remarks made. The slight variations occurring between textual witnesses ending at this point are instructive in this regard. Some scribes who produced a text ending at this point clearly felt that something was missing in the text they copied. Thus, for example, a manuscript now in Lilienfeld, adds at this point the words 'non plus inveni' ('I found no more').[51] Additionally, the very last phrases appearing in several manuscripts suggest that some scribes actually had before them a text that went on for at least several additional words which, gradually becoming unintelligible, were omitted. Thus a manuscript now in Prague adds at this point the words 'et sic ista sufficiant' ('and thus these shall suffice') which implies that the copy used by this scribe went further on.[52] The final text of a manuscript now in Zwettl reads 'Dothapius nevus[?] in Memphis et inde', which is probably a corruption of 'De Taphnis [Tinnis] venimus in Memphis' ('from Tinnis we came to Memphis').[53]

A third group provides a text of the *Descriptio* which closes with an account of Egypt, albeit one which is much shorter than that provided by the London/Zwickau text. The description of Egypt transmitted by this group, to which we shall refer as the 'abbreviated version', is important since, as we shall soon see, it enjoyed a considerable reception, a fate not shared by the complete Egyptian account, and because its analysis sheds light on the transmission of the *Descriptio*.

Before we examine the contents of the abbreviated section, it would be expedient to compare the beginning of this redaction with the parallel text in the London/Zwickau redaction:

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[50] Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, p. 94. For an English translation, see Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 320: 'From there I came to Damietta, which in antiquity was called Memphis. This is the land of Jesse, in which the children of Israel once dwelt, serving Pharaoh in mortar and brick. In it Jeremiah was also later stoned.'

[51] MS Lilienfeld, Monastery Library, 145, fol. 192r. MS Vienna, National Library, 3341, fol. 15v, similarly ends with the words 'non inveni plus'.

[52] MS Prague, National Library, XIV C 16, fol. 56v.

[53] MS Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 76, fols 225v–256r. A very similar phrase is provided by MS Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Pap. -Hs. 152, fol. 46v.

MS London, fol. 42r[54]	Vatican Urb. lat. 393 [referred to below as MS Vatican], fol. 15r[55]
In kalendis Septembris ascensa galea ut navigarem in Egiptum de Ptholomaide veni ad montem Carmeli in Caypham, inde Dothan que nunc Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur, inde Cesaream Palestine. [Inde navigavi] per Antypatridem et Ioppem et Iamniam, per Azotum et Ascolonem, per Gazam et Dorre, que est principium solitudinis, et inde ad gulfum Larisse, ubi est primus portus Iudee. De gulfo isto in Rasencasse, que est prima civitas Egipti in solitudine Pharan, et inde Pharamiam civitatem pulcram et munitam, sed non habitat in ea homo quia serpentes eiectis habitatoribus eam penitus possederunt.	Et post[56] dies aliquot inde navigans per littus Palestine sive Phylistim pertransivi Caypham, montem Carmeli, Doram, Cesaream Palestine, Antipatridam, Ioppen, Iamniam, Accaron, Azotum,[57] Ascalonem, Gazam, descitum[58] totum[59] arenosum[60] usque[61] ad ostia Nili fluminis ubi sita est civitas Pharamia murata[62] quidem et bene edificata[63] sed non est in ea[64] aliquis habitator quia serpentes eam penitus possiderunt[65]....

[54] 'On the first of September, having embarked a ship so that I would sail to Egypt, I went from Acre to Mount Carmel to Haifa and from there to Dothan which is now called Castrum Peregrinorum [mod. 'Atlit] and from there to Caesarea of Palestine. From there I sailed through Antipatris and Jaffa and Yibna, through Ashdod and Ascalon, through Gaza and Al-Darum [?] which is the beginning of the desert and from there to the gulf of Al-'Arish where the first port of Judea is. From that gulf to Ras Kasrum which is the first city in Egypt in the desert of Pharan and from there to Farama, the beautiful fortified city, but no man lives in it because, its inhabitants having been driven out, snakes completely occupied it.' For the variants in MS Zwickau, and for the identification of the various sites mentioned, see the text in Appendix 1.

[55] I provide variants from MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Hist. e. 1, fols 29v–30r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fol. 42r; Philadelphia, UPenn Ms. Codex 60, fol. 40r. Orthographic variations were generally ignored. These manuscripts are referred to below respectively as MSS O, BnF and Ph: ['And after several days, sailing from there along the coast of Palestine or Philistim, I passed through Haifa, Mount Carmel, Dora, Caesarea of Palestine, Antipatris, Jaffa, Yibna, Accaron, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gaza [and] all of the sandy desert as far as the mouths of the Nile river where the city Farama, indeed walled and well built, is located. But no one lives in it because snakes occupied it completely.']

[56] per BnF

[57] Azotum *om.* Ph

[58] desertum, BnF, O, Ph

[59] totum *om.* O, Ph

[60] O inserts here what is clearly a misplaced *titulus*: 'De officio misse orientalis'. Ph has a more appropriate *titulus*: 'De descriptio [sic] terre Egypti'.

[61] Perveni usque O; Perveni denique usque Ph

[62] munita O, Ph

[63] hedifica BnF

[64] non est ibi O

[65] possederunt BnF, O, Ph

Comparing the texts, it becomes clear that the London/Zwickau version is more complete and, in all likelihood, closer to the original. The text provided by the abbreviated version results from the work of an editor who was both less interested in Burchard's personal story, thus omitting the date of his journey to Egypt, and less knowledgeable about the geography of the Levant, thus leaving out the reference to Al-'Arish and Ras Kasrum. That two of the kingdom of Jerusalem's most important sites, Acre (Ptolemais) and 'Atlit (Castrum Peregrinorum), are not mentioned in the text provided by the abbreviated version may imply that the editor was not familiar with the late thirteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean and, also, perhaps, that he was working after the kingdom's fall in 1291. In any case, it is extremely unlikely that Burchard himself, who constructed his description of the Holy Land around Acre, would have omitted it from a discussion of his travel along the coast. It is thus most probable that the account of Egypt, as provided by the abbreviated version, represents a reedited text based on the London/Zwickau redaction.

It is worthwhile to compare these two paragraphs also to the text provided by Laurent's edition at this point:[66]

> Inde navigavi in Syriam et veni Tyrum, et post dies aliquot inde navigans per littus Palestine seu Philistiim pertransivi Caypham, montem Carmelum, Doram, Cesaream Palestine, Antipatridam, Ioppen, Iamniam, Accaron, Azotum, Ascalonem, Gazam, desertum totum arenosum usque ad ostia Nili fluminis. Inde veni Damiatam...

This paragraph shares with the abbreviated version the omission of Acre and 'Atlit as well as Al-'Arish. It is thus likely that the text presented in Laurent's edition is dependent on that provided by the manuscripts of the abbreviated version. This conclusion may be applicable to the whole of the *Descriptio* and should thus be taken into account in any future attempt to reconstruct the text and its tradition.

What are the contents of this section? Following the opening paragraph cited above, the abbreviated version follows the text provided by the London/Zwickau redaction, with minor variants, up to the subsection which deals with the balsam garden. Here, with the words 'et quia fons iste modicus est' ('and because that spring is small'), the two traditions again separate, with the abbreviated version

[66] Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, pp. 93–94. For an English translation, see Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 319–320: 'From there I sailed to Syria and came to Tyre; and after a few days, sailing from there along the coast of Palestine or of the Philistines passed by Hayfa, Mount Carmel, Dor, Caesarea of Palestine, Antipatris, Joppe, Yibna, Ekron, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gaza and the whole sand desert as far as the mouth of the Nile. From there I came to Damietta...'.

providing four paragraphs which differ in significant ways from the parallel text in the London/Zwickau redaction.

The first of these four paragraphs (which are edited below in Appendix 2), in both the London/Zwickau text and in the abbreviated version, discusses the Muslim attempt to increase the amount of water available to watering the balsam garden. In both texts a well is dug from which bulls draw water. Through a canal the water is then led to the holy spring to be mixed with its water. By these means the water of the new, artificial well, acquires the original spring's unique ability to fertilize the garden. The abbreviated version text differs from that of London/Zwickau only in that it mentions a stage in which the Muslims thought that, as the well they dug was near the spring, its water would share the unique quality of the water originating from the holy spring. Only once they had seen that this was not the case, they dug a canal in order to have the water of the well mix with that provided by the original spring.

The second paragraph describes a miracle associated with the bulls drawing water from the well: these refuse to work between Saturday at noon and sunrise on Monday. This description does not appear in a complete form in the parallel place at the London/Zwickau section. Rather, a note appears here which refers to an earlier discussion of this miracle in the text: and indeed, this phenomenon is mentioned much earlier in Burchard's work, in the section devoted to Ein-Gedi. There he writes:[67]

> Dixerunt mihi cultores orti quod boves qui trahunt aquam pro irrigando orto a meridie diei sabbati usque in diem lune numquam trahere volunt aquam propter celebritatem diei dominice etiam si conciderentur.

It is noteworthy that the wording of the Ein-Gedi passage and the Egyptian section with regard to this miracle is almost identical, which suggests that at some stage a scribe/editor working on the abbreviated version simply copied these words from the earlier part of the *Descriptio*. On the other hand, while in the Ein-Gedi section Burchard only attests that he was told about the miracle, the abbreviated version says that its author actually saw it (Appendix 2, ll. 13–14).

The third paragraph focuses on bathing in the holy spring. The author says that he bathed in it as do Christians and Muslims. He continues, saying that the Muslims have a terrible stench that can only be effaced by baptism and, in

[67] MS London, fol. 22r: ['The cultivators of the garden told me that the bulls who draw water for the irrigation of the garden never wish to draw water, even if they would have been beaten to pieces, between Saturday at noon and Monday, because of the renown of Sunday.'] A very similar phrase appears in the discussion of Ein-Gedi in the above-mentioned Vatican manuscript (fol. 8r): 'Dixerunt mihi cultores orti quod boves qui trahunt aquam de fonte ipso a meridie sabbati usque ad diem lune nullo modo volunt aquam trahere etiam si in frustra conciderentur.'

particular, baptism in that spring. However, he continues, while Muslims baptize their children and sometimes themselves there, that is not done in order to receive the benefits of the sacrament, but rather in order to get rid of the aforementioned odor. This paragraph has no parallel in the London/Zwickau text and one wonders whether it is indeed authentic. Perhaps it is related to Burchard of Strasbourg's account, as here we read that Muslims venerate the balsam garden spring and bathe in it.[68]

The fourth paragraph, which closes the text of the abbreviated version, describes a miracle which is narrated further down in the London/Zwickau redaction (Appendix 1, ll. 142–149). Both texts describe an annual event, attended by Muslims, in which a chest containing relics related to Saint John is taken out of a church in Cairo and then carried several *leucae* downriver. Placed in the Nile's water, it is seen miraculously moving upstream to the place from which it was taken. The differences between the two texts are, however, noteworthy. While in the London/Zwickau text the aim of the placing of the chest in the Nile is to predict the river's inundation, in the abbreviated version, the purpose of the ceremony is to reveal whether the saint wishes to return to its original place. Further differences include the parties involved. Most notably, the London/Zwickau text mentions only Muslims as participants in this ceremony and argues that it is attended by the sultan himself, while the abbreviated version refers generally to Christians and Muslims as taking part in the ceremony and makes no mention of the sultan. It should also be noted that while in the London/Zwickau redaction this paragraph is separated from the discussion of the balsam garden by the description of the zoo, the abbreviated version omits the latter altogether so that the account of this miracle directly follows the paragraph concerning the bathing in the balsam garden spring.

These differences seem to support the hypothesis according to which the abbreviated version represents the work of an editor who reshaped Burchard's original work.[69] Most notably, it is likely that while Burchard, who visited Egypt, and carefully studied the Nile, was aware of the great significance of its inundation for the country's inhabitants, this was completely alien, and of negligible meaning, for the later editor. Indeed, it is most likely that the ceremony which Burchard had in mind was related to the river's inundation: while I was unable to find sources which describe a celebration identical to that described by the London/Zwickau redaction, the closest available evidence, related to the Coptic festival of the martyr, is indeed connected to the great

[68] Burchard of Strassbourg, *Itinerarium*, p. 65.

[69] For simplicity's sake, we refer in the discussion below to one hypothetical scribe/editor. It should be noted, however, that the abbreviated version may well be the cumulative result of the work of several scribes/editors.

river's flooding.[70] Thus, the editor who produced the abbreviated version distanced the text from the reality of Egypt in the 1280s.

Perhaps more significantly, the editor who produced the abbreviated version of Burchard's account of Egypt thought that much of the material provided by the London/Zwickau text was of little interest and therefore stopped copying the manuscript he had before him in the midst of the account of that region, following the description of the miracle associated with the relics of Saint John. Not only did this editor thus abbreviate the portrayal of Egypt, but he also omitted everything that follows in the London/Zwickau text, including the description of Burchard's travels through Sicily and Italy and then back to the East. One can thus assume that this was an editor who was primarily interested in holy sites and miracles, and much less so in, for example, Egypt's economy, or in Burchard's comments on the volcanoes at the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The Abbreviated Version: Reception and Circulation

While the complete account of Egypt, as transmitted by the London and Zwickau manuscripts, seems to have been completely forgotten for centuries, the abbreviated version never disappeared from Western discourse. Firstly, it was extensively used by Marino Sanudo in his *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*. In fact, much of the content of the chapter which appears under the title 'Continet dispositionem regni Aegypti' ('Includes the disposition of the Kingdom of Egypt'; book III, part xiv, ch. 12, pp. 259–262) is copied directly from Burchard's Egyptian section. This can be seen through phrases such as this:[71]

> Tampnis fuit antiquitus civitas valde munita, et firmo loco sita, sed hodie omnino est destructa et pauci Beduini, propter pascua et terrae ubertatem, habitant in ruinis eius, et abundat piscibus et avibus supra modum.

Clearly, however, Sanudo did not have before him the complete version of Burchard's account of Egypt, but rather the abbreviated account. This can be seen through his discussion of the miracle associated with the relics of Saint John:[72]

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[70] See n. 35 in Appendix 1.

[71] Bongars, *Gesta*, vol. II, p. 259, and cf. Appendix 1, ll. 16–19. For an English translation of Sanudo's text, see Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p. 413 [with slight emendations]: 'In ancient times Tampnis was a strongly fortified city, built on firm ground, but today it is totally destroyed and a few Bedouins live in the ruins for its pasture and the fruitfulness of the land. In addition, it abounds in fish and birds beyond measure…'.

[72] Bongars, *Gesta*, vol. II, p. 260; cf. Appendix 1, ll. 141–149; Appendix 2, ll. 20–33. For an English translation, see Marino Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets*, pp. 414–415 [with slight emendations]: 'In

> In Babylone quoque est miraculum memoria dignum: in monasterio enim ibidem constructo ad honorem beati Iohannis Baptistae est scrineum cum reliquiis eius...post celebrationem vero Missae scrineum in flumine ponunt, experiri volentes ubi Sanctus reliquias suas manere velit, in hoc videlicet loco an potius in priori...

The discussion of Egypt which Alonso Tostado, a fifteenth-century exegete, included in his commentary on Matthew also presents significant phrases and even paragraphs taken from Burchard's account of Egypt. Most notably, Tostado copied into his work the description of the balsam garden and that of the miracle associated with the relics of Saint John.[73] Furthermore, Tostado explicitly refers to Burchard's work as a source he used.[74] Looking at Tostado's comments regarding both the balsam garden and the relics miracle it becomes clear that he too used the abbreviated version of Burchard's account of Egypt rather than that provided by the London/Zwickau text.[75] It is also noteworthy that while Tostado also made use of Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, he must have known Burchard's work independently, as he cites from it phrases which do not appear in the Venetian's book.[76]

The abbreviated version of Burchard's account of Egypt remained present in Western discourse for centuries also through the printing of textual witnesses of the *Descriptio* which, like the above-mentioned Oxford, Paris, Philadelphia and Vatican manuscripts, included that section (although not always in its entirety).[77] Indeed, most of the editions of the *Descriptio* published hitherto include a unit

Babylon too there is a miracle worthy of record. In a monastery built there in honour of the blessed John the Baptist there is a chest with his relics [...] After the celebration of mass they put the chest in the river, wishing to discover where the saint wishes his relics to remain, that is in this place or in the former.'

73 *Alphonsi Tostati commentaria in primam partem Matthaei*, Venice: Apud Io. Baptistam et Io. Bernardum Sessam, 1596, fol. 133r–133v.

74 '...sicut scribit frater Brocardus Theutonicus...'; 'Et testatur in libro suo frater Brocardus se vidisse, cum non crederet omnibus asserentibus...' *Alphonsi Tostati commentaria*, fol. 133r.

75 Thus he includes the phrase 'Sed deceptos se videntes...' (*Alphonsi Tostati commentaria*, fol. 133r) which is a part of the abbreviated section (Appendix 2, l. 4) but does not appear in the London/Zwickau text (cf. Appendix 1, ll. 125–130). Similarly, describing the relics miracle, he says, as does the abbreviated version, that this ceremony takes place in order to discover whether or not the relics of Saint John wish to remain in the site to which they were taken or to return to the place from which they were removed. *Alphonsi Tostati commentaria*, fol. 133v.

76 For example, in his description of the balsam garden Sanudo says nothing of the additional well dug in it (p. 260). Tostado does include this detail in a manner practically identical to that of the abbreviated section. Cf. Bongars, *Gesta*, vol. II, p. 260; *Alphonsi Tostati commentaria*, fol. 133r.

77 See above, n. 55.

devoted to Egypt.[78] In all of these cases, the text provided is based on the abbreviated version rather than on the London/Zwickau redaction. Furthermore, one can identify two major families among these editions as far as the account of Egypt is concerned. The first branch includes all four subsections which appear in Appendix 2, and ends with the words 'Id retulerunt mihi Christiani et Sarraceni bona fide' (cf. Appendix 2, ll. 32–33).[79] This is followed by an extraordinary autobiographical paragraph which, in all likelihood inauthentic, implies that in the sixteenth century a person such as Burchard would have been perceived as an early explorer.[80] The text provided by the second family ends with the digging of the new well in the balsam garden, thus omitting paragraphs 2-4 provided by Appendix 2.[81] Perhaps this version resulted from the work of an author who was skeptical with regard to miracles.

Conclusion

Having examined the early-modern printed editions of Burchard's account of Egypt, we can now return to Laurent's edition with which we have begun this article. As was noted, Laurent was aware of the existence of a section dealing with Egypt in the 1519 edition of the *Descriptio* but rejected its authenticity on the basis of Burchard's statement that he would only describe the Holy Land. The

[78] The following comments are based on the editions listed in Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 58–59. Unfortunately, Kappelli's list (Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, vol. I, pp. 257–260) does not include a list of printed editions.

[79] The editions included in this group are: *Veridica Terre Sancte regionumque finitimarum ac in eis mirabilium descriptio*, Venice: in edibus Joannis Tacuini de Tridino, 1519; *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae et regionum finitimarum auctore Borchardo...* Magdeburg: Paulus Donatus, 1587; *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae*, Magdeburg: Paulus Donatus, 1593.

[80] 'Peractis per decennium hiis longis et certe laboriosis peregrinationibus, nam non nisi navi vel pedibus tot regiones peragravi, querens et sepe mendicans extrema victui necessaria, incepi corpore gravescere tum propinquante senectute tum arduis laboribus perpessis. Quas ob causas statui gradum sistere, nec ultra proficisci. Erat enim mens etiam ultimos adire Indos. Revertendum igitur mihi persuasi in propriam patriam, ubi in residuo vite mee ac senectute quiescens que oculis vidi fidelibus enunciarem ac posteris describens eternam rei memoriam relinquere possem. Quod conceperam Deo clementissimo favente assecutus sum. Tibi honor, tibi gratiarum actio beatissima trinitas. Amen.' (*Veridica ... descriptio* [no page numbers]). The 1587 and 1593 editions provide very similar readings of this paragraph.

[81] This branch includes the following editions: *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basel: apud Io. Hervagium, 1532, repr. Basel, 1537; *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae exactissima autore Brocardo Monacho*, Antwerp: in aedibus Ioannis Steelsii, 1536; *De dimensione terrae autore Casparo Peucero*, Wittenberg: publisher not mentioned, 1554; *De dimensione terrae autore Casparo Peucero*, Wittemberg: ex typographia Simonis Gronenbergii, 1587; *Palaestina seu descriptio Terrae Sanctae solertissima*, Cologne: ex Officina Ioannis Crithii, 1624; *Onomasticon urbium et locorum sacrae scripturae ... accessit huic editioni Brocardi monachi descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, Amsterdam: Franciscus Halma, 1707.

evidence presented above from the London and Zwickau manuscripts reveals that Burchard certainly did include in his work an account of Egypt as well as of several other regions through which he traveled, and that Laurent's argument in this regard should be rejected. What Laurent saw as evidence that the account of Egypt is inauthentic actually bears testimony to a unique moment in Burchard's work as an author, a moment in which he decided to continue documenting his travels even as he left the Holy Land. As we have seen, this specific shift should be seen within the context of a significant trend in late medieval Western travel literature, a trend to which Burchard may have become exposed in Acre. Furthermore, departing from the Holy Land, Burchard changed not only his subject matter but, to a considerable degree, also his manner of working: while his account of the Holy Land was written according to a carefully preconceived plan, his description of Egypt is a work whose structure results from the author's movement through space and the order in which various pieces of information reached his ears. Perhaps, however, this switch was too radical for Burchard's audience: as we have seen, the complete account of Egypt lay forgotten for centuries, during which an abbreviated version, which stressed holy sites and miraculous events, remained dominant, until it was rejected as inauthentic by Laurent. Within this context, the present article attempted to rescue from oblivion Burchard's complete account of Egypt and to shed light on its development and reception.

Appendix 1

The tentative edition of Burchard's 'Egyptian section' presented here is based on the only two manuscripts which are currently known to include a complete version of this part of his work: London, British Library, Add. 18929 and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibl. 1.12.5. This is the first time that this text is published in its entirety. Parts of it have, however, been printed before: the first part of the text, as provided by the above-mentioned abbreviated version, was published by Omont, but, as we have seen, this redaction is considerably different from the parallel text of the London/Zwickau version and is the result of a significant reediting effort. Furthermore, Omont's publication, based on a sole manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 781) also includes numerous flawed readings. For example, Omont repeatedly uses the form Taphyus instead of Taphnis for Tinnis, and provides 'regem huius Ethyopie in Babilonia vidi' instead of 'Regem Ethiopie huius in Babilonia captivum vidi'.[1] Omont's text is also hard to use as it does not include identifications of the various sites mentioned. The second part of the text presented here (following l. 132) was published, using only the London manuscript, in an article devoted to a preliminary presentation of this manuscript.[2] The text provided here is that of MS London while the apparatus presents the variants of the Zwickau manuscript [Zw]. As a rule, orthographic variations are ignored. Numbers appear as they are in the manuscript (at times Arabic and at others Roman). [ ] = my addition; < > = redundant letters/words in MS.

[London, fol. 42r; Zwickau, fol. 140v] In kalendis Septembris ascensa galea[i] ut navigarem in Egiptum de Ptholomaide veni ad montem Carmeli in Caypham, inde Dothan[ii] que nunc Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur, inde Cesaream Palestine. [Inde navigavi] per Antypatridem et Ioppem et Iamniam,[3] per Azotum[4] et Ascolonem, per Gazam et Dorre,[5] que est principium solitudinis, et inde ad gulfum Larisse,[6] ubi est primus portus Iudee. De gulfo isto in Rasencasse,[7iii] que est prima civitas

1 Omont, 'Manuscrits', pp. 499–500; MS Vatican, fol. 15r.
2 Rubin, 'Burchard', pp. 184–185.
3 Yavne, Yibna, Ibelin.
4 Ashdod.
5 Al-Darum?
6 Al-'Arish.
7 Ras Kasrum, *olim* Casius mons. See Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Carte, Carte marine et portulan au XIIe siècle. Le Liber de existencia riverierarum et forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei* (Pise, circa 1200), Rome: École française de Rome, 1995, pp. 124, 125.

Egipti in solitudine Pharan, et inde Pharamiam[8] civitatem pulcram et munitam, sed non habitat in ea homo quia serpentes eiectis habitatoribus eam penitus possederunt. Anno domini 1284[iv] in die nativitatis beate virginis,[9v] intrans Egiptum veni in Pharamiam ubi sunt [fol. 42v] hostia Nili fluminis. Hec[vi] civitas murata [est] quidem et bene edificata sed non est in ea aliquis habitator quia serpentes eam penitus possederunt.[vii] De Pharamia[viii] in Taphnim[10] sunt 20 leuce; hec est Taphnis de qua dicitur in Psalmis 'fecit mirabilia in terra Egipti in cam[po] Than[eos]',[11] et in qua filii Israel fuerunt commorati, etiam[ix] est terra[x] Yessen.[12] De Taphnis usque Memfis, que nunc Damiata dicitur, sunt 15 leuce; que distat a[xi] mari per leu[cas] 2,[xii] Pharamia vero inmediate supra mare [est]. Taphnis fuit antiquitus[xiii] valde munita, et firmo loco sita, sed hodie penitus est destructa, et pauci Bodiwini propter ubertatem terre et pascua ibi habitant in ruinis eius, et habundant[xiv] piscibus et avibus supra modum.[13] Damiata insuper antiqua penitus est destructa, sed fecerunt Sarraceni iuxta eam aliud casale, longum quidem sed inmunitum ad naves collocandas et merces, et habundat frumento, fructibus,[xv] piscibus et aliis que ad cibum pertinent, sicut Taphnis.[14] Et separatur in occidentali eius <in>[xvi] parte inter eam et veterem Damiatam rivus unus de vero alveo Nili, et[xvii] procedit contra aquilonem in Taphnis, et inde per fretum quoddam, quod Bayera[15] dicitur, usque Pharamiam, et ingreditur ibi mare.[16]

Et iste[xviii] est primus portus Egipti versus Terram Sanctam. Ipse vero maior rivus Nili ad 2 leucas de Damiata intrat mare, et iste[xix] est secundu[s]. Tertius est portus[xx] in Allexandria, ubi ingreditur mare[xxi] maior pars Nili, qui locus distat a[xxii] Pharamia, ubi primus rivus ingreditur per 200 miliaria et 30 et hec[xxiii] [est] longitudo Egipti iuxta mare. De Alexandria usque in Babiloniam sunt similiter cc miliaria et 30[xxiv] per fluvium Nilum ascendendo. De Pharamia vero per Thaphnim et Damiatam usque Babiloniam sunt[xxv] cc miliaria tantum, per fluvium ascendendo. De Babilonia vero usque Syemem,[17xxvi] que est civitas ultima Egipti

8 Farama, Pelusium. The demise of the city was a result of Crusader attacks in 1118 and 1150. Copper, *The Medieval Nile*, p. 212.

9 September 8.

10 Tinnis.

11 Ps. 77.12.

12 Land of Goshen, Cf. Judith 1:9 in the Vulgate. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 320.

13 The Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil ordered the destruction of the city in 1227, probably because of fear that the Franks might be able to get hold of it. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, p. 218. The continuation of William of Tyre mentions a 'chastel de Thannis' (*Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux*, vol. II, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1859, p. 597.

14 For further evidence for the desctruction of Damietta and the foundation of a 'new Damietta', see Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, p. 224. Note that the location of the older Damietta is unknown.

15 Unidentified.

16 A channel seems to have existed between Damietta and Lake Tinnis. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, pp. 221, 225–226. In any case, it could not have gone North.

17 Aswan.

contra austrum et Ethiopiam, sunt miliaria ccxl. Ista Ethiopia proprie dicitur Nubia et est tota Christiana, in qua beatus Matheus apostolus[xxvii] predicavit. Regem Ethiopie huius[xxviii] in Babilonia<m>[xxix] captivum vidi.

De Damiata per Nilum ascendendo veni in Abdela[18] [fol. 43r] et inde Mansoram, in quo[xxx] dividitur Nylus et vadit minor rivus, sicut superior, ad fretum quod est iuxta Pharamiam, et iungitur illi quod ibidem intrat mare, sicut dictum est supra.[19] Inde iuxta villam quandam bonam valde, que dicitur Semenuch,[20] separatur iterum alius rivus, et iste[xxxi] est tercius, et vadit contra aquilonem, intrans mare iuxta [erased word?][xxxii] villam que dicitur Phathures, sed non est navigabilis rivus iste.[xxxiii] Item inde ascendendo, antequam perveniatur in Phiton[xxxiv] [et] Ramasses, separatur quartus rivus et vadit similiter ad aquilonem, intrans mare iuxta villam que Sturion appellatur. Inde, hoc est de rivo ipso usque in Phiton et Ramesses, sunt 5 leuce, et sunt iste[xxxv] due[xxxvi] super rivum hinc inde site bone.[xxxvii] Inde ad 30 miliaria est locus qui vocatur Delta grece, quia ibi Nilus dividitur et in diversa fluens totam[xxxviii] Egiptum facit insulam in modum delte litere triangulam; et procedit maior rivus contra Alexandriam, alter in Damiatam, ut dictum est supra. Ecce habes v rivos. De Delta usque in Elyopolim[21] sunt 3 miliaria, et ibi recedit sextus rivus, qui procedit contra aquilonem usque ad civitatem Pelbis,[22] que quondam Pelusium dicebatur.[23] Et inde vadit per desertum versus Terram Sanctam et intrat mare iuxta civitatem Larys, a qua mare illud gulfus Leyrisse nuncupatur. Inde est[xxxix] una dieta usque Gazam et Bersabee. Iste rivus vocatur in Scriptura proprie rivus Egipti, et in ipso erat terminus sortis Iude, sicut dicitur in libro Numerorum;[24] dicitur autem a quibusdam Rinoconula,[xl25] a quibusdam vero Syor fluvius Egipti; non potest autem navigari. Elyopolis est villa multum bona et dives, sed non est munita, sicut nec aliqua villa in terra Egipti, preter Alexandriam et Babyloniam, sed habundat fructibus et omnibus deliciis mundi; cassia fistula in magna quantitate crescit ibidem. Inde per 7 leucas est civitas Babylonia magna valde et bene munita, sita supra Nylum fluvium in littore eius orientali; transit tantum[xli] rivus unus de eodem fluvio per medium eius et per civitatem Kayrum[xlii] competenter magnus et revertitur ad rivum principalem in Kayro. De Babylonia ad 5 leucas[xliii] sunt quedam pyramides triangule multum alte [fol. 43v], que dicuntur horrea

[18] Miniet Abu-Abdallah. See Jean Richard, *The Crusades c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 349.

[19] This seems to refer to the Tinnis branch of the Nile. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, figure A2.14.

[20] Samannud. Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, p. 295.

[21] Heliopolis.

[22] Bilbeis.

[23] The channel referred to here is probably the canal of Dhanb al-Timsah (Cooper, *The Medieval Nile*, figure A2.14). The identification of Bilbeis and Pelusium is clearly wrong.

[24] Num. 34.5.

[25] Al-'Arish.

Ioseph fuisse, et iuxta illas sunt ruine civitatis Thebe ad 2 leucas. De ista[xliv] fuit legio Thebeorum, cui adiacet desertum Thebaydos,[26] in quo fuit antiquitus multitudo magna monachorum. Supra Babyloniam Nilus habet i rivum tantum usque Syenem[xlv] per miliaria cclx.[xlvi] Syene sub ipso tropico estivo sita est, unde et ibi absumitur umbra<m>[xlvii] primo gradu cancri et tunc Meroe[xlviii] proicit umbram in meridie contra austrum.[27] Ortus vero Nili sciri non potest ultra, nisi usque ad montes qui sunt a sinistro Nubie, per quos descendit, et est ultra locus immeabilis, ut mihi dixerunt Nubiani.

De situ Egipti[xlix]

Terra Egipti fere inaccessibilis est. Ab aquilone enim habet mare magnum, ubi non est accessus, nisi per naves; contra Affricum est desertum Lybie Pylenorum,[28] quod habet in latitudine et longitudine dietas plures scilicet xl. Ab austro est desertum Ethiopie per 25 dietas et plus usque[l] Nubiam; ab oriente desertum Thebaydos[li] usque ad mare rubrum per 3 dietas ad locum qui Beronice[29] dicitur, et est portus Egipti in littore rubri maris[lii] volenti[liii] versus Indiam navigare. Contra vulturnum vero et septentrionem est desertum magnum usque ad Terram sanctam, in quo filii Israel recedentes de Egipto morati sunt xl annis.

Et dixerunt mihi Sarraceni, etiam[liv] Christiani qui sunt in Egipto idem fatebantur presentibus Sarracenis, quod amplius quam ccc milia Christianorum sunt in Egipto, et ecclesie et claustra multa. In Babylonia vero et in Kayro sunt ecclesie xl et amplius, et in aliis civitatibus et villis Egipti sunt ecclesie plures, quas etiam[lv] causa orationis intravi cum essem ibi.

Sunt etiam in Egipto casalia multa et populus multus valde, qui non potest estimari. Sunt ibi Bodiwini, qui multitudine ceteros habitatores terre vincunt; Sarraceni tamen dominantur in terra, sed timent plurimum Bodiwinos. Turci vero, sive Turkomanni, sunt superiores Sarracenis pro eo quod soldani per tempora longa[lvi] fuerunt de gente illa, et melior militia que est in Egipto est de gente illa.[lvii]

[fol. 44r] Egiptus fere est triangula, duobus lateribus equalibus, tertio breviore; et sunt in tribus cornibus huius trianguli site civitates s. iste,[lviii] Laris, Babilonia, Alexandria. Volvit aut[em] Egiptus in gyro de Laris per Babyloniam in Alexandria[m][lix] et inde iterum in Laris 950 miliaria; de Babilonia vero usque Syenem et inde usque in Meroen, licet sit longitudo magna, latitudo fere[lx] nulla est, quia via illa procedit per ascensum Nili, qui habet montes altos hinc inde, et

[26] Cf. Willelmus, *Chronicon*, vol. II, p. 897 and see the discussion above.
[27] See the discussion above.
[28] Burchard probably had in mind Arae Philaenorum.
[29] Berenice.

terram omnino desertam, nisi super ipsum fluvium; sed et[lxi] illa loca sunt barbare habitationis.

In Elyopoli et in[lxii] Babylonia ostenduntur loca in quibus Virgo[lxiii] mansit cum puero Ihesu, quando a facie Herodis fugit in Egiptum, et casus ydolorum et templorum, secundum prophetiam Ysa[ie].[30] Sana est terra[lxiv] Egipti, et aer sanus et cibi convenientes; et est terra multa[lxv] temperata, immo temperatior[lxvi] Syria et Palestina, cum tamen secundum situm locorum deberet merito contrarium inveniri. Inter Babyloniam et Elyopolim medio loco fere est ortus balsami de quo dictum est prius,[lxvii31] et habet terram fere albam. Erat autem eo tempore cum essem ibi, scilicet in festo Michahelis,[32] lignum balsami satis humile, scilicet palme et dimidie in altitudine, habens folia modica sicut ruta, sed parum albiora, et tuli de ipsa[lxviii] in bona quantitate mecum. Modum eciam colligendi balsamum cultores ostenderunt mihi; decerpebant enim folium de ipso stipite, quia folia stipiti adherent sicut in ysopo[33] et unum tantum stipitem habet, licet plures in uno stent cespite, interdum 6 vel 7 vel plures. Decerpto autem folio contra radium solis, statim de ruptura ipsa egreditur gutta lucidissima odorifferra valde; et iste[lxix] est liquor balsami, qui colligitur in phialis vitreis, et preparatur modo debito et balsamus efficitur. Et si folium illud decerperetur alibi quam contra radium solis, nichil[lxx] distillaret. Rigatur autem ortus iste[lxxi] de quodam fonte parvo sed ubertim[lxxii] effluente, in quo [fol. 44v] beata virgo puerum Ihesum dicitur pluries baptizasse[lxxiii] et pannos eius lavisse, cum esset in Egipto, et est ibidem lapis in quo dicitur eos siccasse. Et hec omnia in veneratione[lxxiv] habentur a Christianis et Sarracenis.

Et quia fons iste[lxxv] modicus est ita quod non sufficeret[lxxvi] irrigare totum ortum, Sarraceni fecerunt alium profundum fontem[lxxvii] iuxta illum, de quo boves per rotam trahunt aquam, quam Sarraceni per canalem currere faciunt ad fontem Christi sperantes quod ex commixtione cum aqua[lxxviii] fontis Christi accipiat virtutem fecundandi ortum balsami. Nec spe sua fraudantur. Nunc enim per aquas istas[lxxix] fecundatur ortus balsami quod alias non fieret ullo modo. De hiis bubus quomodo feriam servant in Dominica dixi[lxxx] supra.

De Babylonia recedens ductus sum ad locum ubi erant 6 leones et 6 elephantes et 60 strutiones in curia et onager[i] plures. Vidi etiam ibi quoddam mirabile animal,[lxxxi] quod scraph Arabica[lxxxii] dicitur, dispositionis mirabilis super[lxxxiii] modum. Habet enim in longitudine pedes 16 vel amplius, pellem sicut iuvenis capreolus[lxxxiv] maculosam,[lxxxv] s[cilicet] rubeum colorem albo permixtum. Priores

30 Cf. Isaiah 19:1–2.

31 Burchard refers here to the balsam garden which is discussed below in detail, but to which he also refers earlier in his account of Ein-Gedi. Cf. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 61; MS London, fol. 22r. See also above, n. 67.

32 29 September.

33 Hyssopus.

pedes et crura ita sunt alta, et collum ita longum, quod pro certo dico quod tectum ecclesie vestre in Magedeburc tangere posset ore. Posteriora vero crura demissa sunt, et corpus similiter, ita ut modico ibi sic altius quam camelus. Est autem animal[lxxxvi] in multis terris rarum et invisum.[34]

Item vidi ecclesiam Sancti Iohannis Baptiste ibidem, in qua sunt reliquie eius. Istas tollunt Sarraceni cum soldano singulis annis in festo eius,[lxxxvii] et portant eas ad v leucas infra civitatem Babiloniam, et astante soldano ponunt eas in fluvium Nilum, qui est inpetuosus supra modum, et mox, ipso soldano cum toto populo vidente, scrinium in quo sunt ipse reliquie[lxxxviii] cum tanta[lxxxix] celeritate contra impetum aque [fol. 45r] currit usque in Babyloniam in pristinam ecclesiam redeundo, quod nec soldanus cum suis potest tam cito in equis illuc currere ullo modo. In hoc[xc] facto Sarraceni prenosticantur[xci] fluvium amplius[xcii] crescere et terram uberius[xciii] irrigare.[35]

Multi Christiani sunt in Egipto, et dixerunt mihi 8 sacerdotes Christiani in Ramesses presentibus Sarracenis, et Sarraceni hoc verum esse fatebantur, quod essent ibi pro certo 6000[xciv] milia Christianorum, qui sunt devoti satis et multe abstinentie, et[xcv] pro nomine[xcvi] Ihesu multi[xcvii] in Egipto hodie martirio coronantur. Quidam enim nolentes negare nomen Christi usque ad mortem flagellantur. Quidam et[xcviii] crucifiguntur, quidam comburuntur, quidam[xcix] decollantur, perfodiuntur et ceteris suppliciis affecti regna celestia assecuntur.

Videtur autem mihi,[c] et idem est iudicium plurium, quod Babylonia[ci] duplo excedit[cii] magnitudinem Parisiensis civitatis adiuncta Kayro preter campum qui coniungit eas. In populositate non est comparatio, nec credo sub celo in una civitate tantum esse populum sicut in Babylonia. [I]mmo dicunt mercatores pro certo quod tota Tuscia non habet tantum populum, et miror quod tota Egiptus potest tantum populum sustentare.

Certissimum tamen est quod nec ipsa posset subsistere si non esset subsidium aliarum regionum. Nichil autem[ciii] habundat in Egipto nisi panis et aqua et fructus

[34] For evidence on Cairo's medieval menagerie, see Thierry Buquet, '*Animalia extranea et stupenda ad videndum*. Describing and Naming Exotic Beasts in Cairo Sultan's Menagerie', in Francisco de Asís García García, Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo and María Victoria Chico Picaza (eds), *Animals and Otherness in the Middle Ages: Perspectives Across Disciplines*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013, pp. 25–34.

[35] I have found no reference to any similar account. The closest description seems to be that of the Coptic festival of the martyr, though it differs in significant points from that provided by Burchard. For example, in the festival of the martyr it was the finger of a Coptic martyr that was being placed in the Nile rather than relics of Saint John. However, this Coptic festival does resemble that which is depicted by Burchard in the connection created between the placing of a relic in the Nile and the river's inundation. The presence of prominent Mamluks, though not of the Sultan himself, is also attested to in a Muslim source describing this festival. Huda Lufti, 'Coptic Festivals of the Nile: Aberrations of the Past?', in Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 263–268.

et sal; Fructus dico poma, arangia, lemones,[civ] poma paradisi, cucurbite,[cv] cucumeres, cytrulli, pepones, cepe et allium. Ceterum, pira, poma, nuces, cerasa,[cvi] brunella penitus non sunt ibi. Ligna pro edificiis vel pro navibus fabricandis non sunt ibi, nec posset tota Egiptus de suis lignis construere navem unam, nisi ligna ab extraneis portarentur, vel etiam ipse naves, et ideo lata est[cvii] sententia contra tales.

Lapides penitus non sunt ibi, nisi in Babylonia [fol. 45v] et in Kayro, nec habet tota Egiptus domum lapideam nisi ille due civitates. Tamen edificia sunt ibi quantum[cviii] ad apparentiam pulcra nimis, sed materia eorum vilis est.[cix] Sunt enim parietes edificiorum in civitatibus facti de harundine et calce optime liniti intrinsecus et extrinsecus supra lutum et desuper picti[cx] auro et lazurio et opere musivo[cxi] ita pulcre quod stupor est videre, et domus que foris apparet vilissima, postquam intraveris eam[cxii] crederes paradysum.

Monete[cxiii] auri,[cxiv] argenti, stagni,[cxv] plumbi, ferri, cupri, non sunt ibi.[36cxvi] Oleum, mel, vinum,[cxvii] panni lanei non sunt ibi.[cxviii] Certissimum est quod nisi mercatores de Veneciis, Pysis, Genua, Massilia, Messana, Brundusio, et civitatibus aliis maritimis ista apportarent,[cxix] Egiptus non posset habitari,[cxx] et si isti[cxxi] cohiberentur non posset subsistere uno anno. Hoc[cxxii] mercatores ipsi[cxxiii] fatentur. Ville non possunt habere domos harundineas, sed de luto in modum clibani faciunt sibi domos, nec est in tota Egipto aliqua municio civitatis vel castri quod c militibus posset resistere dimidio die, nisi Alexandria, Babylonia et Kayrum, et una ex istis capta, Egiptus perdita esset tota.

Horrea Ioseph ibi vidi excelsa supra modum ita ut ad dietam et ad ½ miliare videantur.[cxxiv] Incole vocant ea Horrea Ioseph, sed mihi videntur esse sepulcra sive tytuli sepulcrorum. Sunt enim pyramides triangule tres in uno loco habentes ab angulo usque ad angulum 180 cubitos virilis stature et tante altitudinis quod nullo modo potest arcus usque ad summum iacere licet sit sepius attemptatum. Ego credo esse pyramides[cxxv] Alexandri Magni qui in veritate ibi fuit[cxxvi] mortuus et sepultus et quorumdam regum aliorum. Horrea tamen Ioseph credo iuxta [fol. 46r] eundem locum fuisse quia adhuc apparent ibi signa[cxxvii] quedam edificii amplissimi[cxxviii] que sunt fere[cxxix] arena obruta, vento eam illuc[cxxx] iaciente[cxxxi] de deserto Thebaydos, quod ibidem incipit ad unum miliare. In quo sancti patres antiquitus morabantur. Facte sunt pyramides de maximis lapidibus[cxxxii] ita quod non vidi maiores in edificio unquam poni. Distat autem a Babylonia[cxxxiii] fere per 3 miliaria teutonica.[cxxxiv] Multa miranda[cxxxv] alia vidi in Egipto que scribere longum esset.[cxxxvi]

[36] This comment is difficult to understand, as there was regular minting activity in Egypt during the Mamluk period save in specific periods. Warren C. Schultz, 'The Monetary History of Egypt, 642–1517', in Martin W. Daly (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, vol. I, pp. 333–334. Perhaps in this case, MS Zwickau's reading, according to which no mines can be found in Egypt, should be preferred.

i. galeha Zw
ii. Doram Zw
iii. Rasecasse Zw
iv. mlxxxiiii Zw
v. Marie virginis Zw
vi. predicta *add.* Zw
vii. inde scilicet *add.* Zw
viii. usque *add.* Zw
ix. etiam *om.* Zw
x. et in terra Zw
xi. de Zw
xii. per 2 leucas Zw
xiii. civitas *add.* Zw
xiv. habundat Zw
xv. et *add.* Zw
xvi. in *om.* Zw
xvii. et *om.* Zw
xviii. ille Zw
xix. ille Zw
xx. tertius vero portus est Zw
xxi. mare *om.* Zw
xxii. de Zw
xxiii. est Zw
xxiv. 200 et 30 miliaria Zw
xxv. sunt *om.* Zw
xxvi. Syenen Zw
xxvii. apostolus *om.* Zw
xxviii. huius Ethiopie Zw
xxix. Babylonia Zw
xxx. loco *add.* Zw
xxxi. ille Zw
xxxii. Zw does not have anything between the words 'iuxta' and 'villam'.
xxxiii. ille Zw
xxxiv. et *add.* Zw
xxxv. ille Zw
xxxvi. ville *add.* Zw
xxxvii. valde *add.* Zw
xxxviii. totum Zw
xxxix. enim *add.* Zw
xl. Rynoconsa? Zw
xli. tamen Zw
xlii. et *add.* Zw
xliii. laucas London, leucas Zw
xliv. illa Zw
xlv. Senen Zw
xlvi. ccxl Zw. Zw then adds: 'et inde usque ad meroen [Meroë] civitatem sunt similiter miliaria ccxl'.
xlvii. umbra Zw
xlviii. Merore Zw
xlix. Zw omits *titulus*
l. in *add.* Zw
li. Theabydos London, Thebaidos Zw
lii. maris rubri Zw
liii. voluenti Zw
liv. et Zw
lv. et Zw
lvi. longa tempora Zw
lvii. 'et melior...de gente illa' *om.* Zw
lviii. ille Zw
lix. Alexandriam Zw
lx. vero Zw
lxi. et *om.* Zw
lxii. in *om.* Zw
lxiii. Maria *add.* Zw
lxiv. Sana terra est terra [sic] Zw
lxv. multum Zw
lxvi. temperantior Zw
lxvii. supra Zw
lxviii. de ipso ligno Zw
lxix. ille Zw
lxx. 'sti' *add.* and deleted Zw
lxxi. ille Zw
lxxii. ubere Zw
lxxiii. balniasse? Zw
lxxiv. in *om.*; veneracioni Zw
lxxv. ille Zw
lxxvi. suffeceret London, sufficeret Zw
lxxvii. fontem *om.* Zw
lxxviii. tamquam replaces two last words Zw
lxxix. illas Zw
lxxx. dictum est Zw
lxxxi. animal mirabile Zw
lxxxii. arabice Zw
lxxxiii. super *om.* Zw
lxxxiv. capreolus iuvenis Zw
lxxxv. imiraculosam Zw
lxxxvi. illud *add.* Zw
lxxxvii. ipsius Zw
lxxxviii. reliquie ipse Zw
lxxxix. tota Zw

xc. festo *add.* and deleted Zw
xci. pronosticantur Zw
xcii. currere *add.* and deleted Zw
xciii. melius instead of uberius Zw
xciv. sexcenta Zw
xcv. multi *add.* Zw
xcvi. domini *add.* Zw
xcvii. multi *om.* Zw
xcviii. et *om.* Zw
xcix. quidam *om.* Zw
c. Babylonia *add.* Zw
ci. quod Babylonia *om.* Zw
cii. excedere Zw
ciii. enim Zw
civ. et *add.* Zw
cv. cocrobite London, cucrobite Zw
cvi. cerusa London, Zw
cvii. est lata Zw
cviii. quam Zw
cix. est vilis Zw
cx. picte? Zw
cxi. et...musivo *om.* Zw
cxii. esse Zw
cxiii. minere Zw
cxiv. vel *add.* Zw
cxv. stangni London, Zw
cxvi. item *add.* Zw
cxvii. vel vinum; mel *om.* Zw
cxviii. et *add. Zw*
cxix. egiptiis *add.* Zw
cxx. inhabitari Zw
cxxi. mercatores *add.* Zw
cxxii. hec Zw
cxxiii. ipsi mercatores Zw
cxxiv. supra modum ita ut dicam [last three last words seem to have been deleted by the scribe] Zw
cxxv. pyramidem Zw
cxxvi. fuit ibi Zw
cxxvii. Zw has here a word which I am unable to read instead of *signa.*
cxxviii. edificia amplissima Zw
cxxix. omnino *add.* Zw
cxxx. Zw seems to have originally had 'hic', which was then changed into 'illuc.'
cxxxi. iacentem Zw
cxxxii. autem pyramides ille de lapidibus maximis Zw
cxxxiii. et distant de Babilonia et de Karo Zw
cxxxiv. ut videtur *add.* Zw
cxxxv. miranda *om.* Zw
cxxxvi. que que [sic] longum scribere esset Zw

Appendix 2

This appendix includes a tentative edition of the four final paragraphs of Burchard's account of Egypt as provided by the abbreviated version. This text was previously edited by Omont on the basis of one manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 781.[1] As we have seen, this part of the abbreviated version differs markedly from the parallel section of the complete account transmitted by the London and Zwickau manuscripts. The text presented below is that of Vatican, Urb. lat. 393, with variants from the following MSS provided by the apparatus:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Hist. e. 1, fols 31r–31v [O].
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. lat. 288, fols 44v–45r [BnF].
Philadelphia, UPenn Ms. Codex 60, fols 42r–42v [Ph].

I also refer in the apparatus to Omont's edition [Omont].

[15v] Et quia fons iste est modicus[i] admodum ita quod[ii] non sufficeret irrigare ortum totum,[iii] Sarraceni fecerunt alium[iv] profundum iuxta illum de quo quatuor boves[v] per rotam quandam aquam trahunt sperantes quod propter vicinitatem fontis[vi] illius[vii] sortiretur virtutem ampliorem, sed deceptos se videntes <se deceptos>[viii] fecerunt canalem de suo fonte[ix] ad fontem Christi, et per ipsum canalem[x] fecerunt[xi] transire aquas[xii] fontis sui[xiii] per[xiv] aquas[xv] fontis Christi, immo per ipsum fontem, sperantes quod ex commixtione cum aqua fontis Christi aqua fontis[xvi] sui haberet virtutem ortum balsami fecundandi, nec eos fefellit opinio. Nunc enim[xvii] per istas aquas fecundatur ortus[xviii] quod non fieret alias ullo modo.

Est preterea aliud[xix] mirabile et[xx] attestans veritati[xxi] fidei Christiane sicut dictum est supra quod a meridie sabbati usque ad ortum solis in die lune boves qui trahunt aquam ipsam[xxii] cessant a labore[xxiii] et nullo modo volunt amplius[xxiv] aquam[xxv] trahere etiam si in frustra conciderentur. Istud oculis meis vidi cum tamen haberem[xxvi] ad idem[xxvii] testimonium Christianorum et Sarracenorum.[xxviii]

In fonte isto[xxix] ego lavi totum corpus meum. Similiter faciunt Christiani et Sarraceni. Sarraceni etiam[xxx] quendam fetorem teterimum habent[xxxi] quem[xxxii] nullo modo possunt[xxxiii] abolere nisi baptizentur[xxxiv] et maxime in fonte isto.[xxxv] Unde pueros suos[xxxvi] et interdum semet ipsos[xxxvii] baptizant non ut effectum baptismi sacramentalis consequantur sed ut fetorem istum[xxxviii] valeant abolere.

Est[xxxix] etiam aliud miraculum in Babylonia memoria dignum. Est enim ibidem quoddam monasterium[xl] in honore beati Johannis baptiste[xli] factum et habetur ibi scrinium quoddam[xlii] non magnum in quo sunt incluse reliquie eiusdem sancti.[xliii]

[1] Omont, 'Manuscrits', pp. 502–503.

Consuetudo autem est non solum Christianis sed etiam Sarracenis in festo eius[xliv] frequentare locum istum.[xlv] Sarraceni enim multum honorant[xlvi] Johannem baptistam. Unde similiter[xlvii] cum christianis tollunt[xlviii] scrinium istud[xlix] cum reliquiis istis deportantes illud per quinque[l] [16r] leucas per descensum fluminis Nyli[li] ad aliam ecclesiam[lii] monachorum similiter in honore eius[liii] factam, et, postquam ibidem[liv] fuerit[lv] missa dicta ponunt[lvi] scrinium in fluvium[lvii] probare volentes utrum beatus Johannes velit ibi reliquias suas manere[lviii] vel ad locum[lix] reducere priorem. Sed mox in oculis omnium scrinium[lx] contra inpetum Nyli qui utique valde est violentus[lxi] tanta velocitate sursum currit[lxii] et redit ad locum suum quod nec hii qui in equis currunt illuc valeant citius pervenire.[lxiii] Istud retulerunt[lxiv] omnes Egyptii et Christiani et Sarraceni bona fide. Explicit.[lxv]

i. modicus est BnF, O, Ph, Omont
ii. ut O
iii. ad rigandum totum ortum O; ad irrigandum totum ortum Ph
iv. ortum *add.* O
v. boves iiii O
vi. aque BnF, Omont
vii. propter vicinitatem eius Ph
viii. The redundant words appear only in the Vatican manuscript.
ix. fonte *om.* O, Ph
x. canale BnF, Omont
xi. ferunt BnF
xii. aquam O, Ph
xiii. sui fontis O, Ph
xiv. super BnF, Omont
xv. aquam O
xvi. Christi aqua fontis *om.* Omont
xvii. enim *om.* BnF, Omont
xviii. balsami *add.* O, Ph
xix. id O; istud Ph
xx. et *om.* BnF, Omont
xxi. veritati *om.* O, Ph
xxii. ipsam *om.* O
xxiii. a labore cessant Ph
xxiv. amplius *om.* O, BnF, Omont
xxv. istam *add.* O; aquam amplius Ph
xxvi. haberet O
xxvii. illud O
xxviii. et Sarracenorum *om.* O, Ph
xxix. isto fonte O
xxx. etiam *om.* O; et *instead of* Sarraceni etiam Ph
xxxi. fectorem [sic] habent teterrimum BnF; fetorem habent teterimum Omont
xxxii. quem *om.* O
xxxiii. hunc *add.* O; possent BnF, Omont
xxxiv. baptiçarentur BnF, Omont
xxxv. isto *om.* O
xxxvi. ibi *add.* Ph
xxxvii. se ipsos BnF, Ph; seipsos O
xxxviii. illum O
xxxix. The word 'Est' is preceded with a titulus 'miraculum' O, Ph
xl. monasterum [sic] BnF
xli. baptiste *om.* BnF, Omont
xlii. quoddam scrineum Omont
xliii. factum ubi sunt reliquie eiusdem sancti recluse [incluse Ph] in quodam scrineo non magno O, Ph; sancti *om.* Omont
xliv. The Vatican manuscript has 'eiusdem' with the last three letters deleted; eiusdem O; eius BnF, Omont, Ph
xlv. istum *om.* Ph
xlvi. beatum *add.* O, Ph
xlvii. simul Bnf, O, Omont, Ph
xlviii. colunt BnF, O, Ph
xlix. illud O
l. vi O
li. et *add.* Omont
lii. ecclesiam aliam O
liii. eiusdem BnF
liv. ibi BnF
lv. fuerit ibidem O; fuerit ibi Omont
lvi. portant BnF; ponut [sic] Ph
lvii. flumine O, Ph
lviii. reliquias ibi manere BnF; reliquias suas ibi manere Omont; permanere O, Ph
lix. suum *add.* BnF, Omont; eas *add.* Ph
lx. scrineum *om.* BnF, Omont
lxi. violenus est O
lxii. curr[it] sursum O
lxiii. pervenire citius valeant O
lxiv. mihi *add.* BnF, Omont
lxv. Explicit prefactum opus, Deo gratias, Amen BnF; Deo gratias. Amen Omont; Amen. Ego frater Brocardus Theotonicus ordinis predicatorum composui librum hunc ut supra describitur Ph

ARISTOTLE, HIS COURSE ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE ARABIC TRADITION

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Abstract

The article consists of three parts. The first examines the Arabic translations of Aristotle's Physics; the second analyses the history of the translation by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, that is the only extant and was subject to various commentaries; and the third focuses on the beginning of Book VII. There are two versions of the Greek text for this passage, and there is evidence that Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn relied on a text closer to *β*-version for his translation.

Key Words

Greek into Arabic, Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, Aristotle's Physics, Versions *α* and *β* of the beginning of Physics VII.

I

In contrast to its attitude towards Plato's works, the Arab world was very receptive to those of Aristotle. Not only was Aristotle's *corpus* translated into Arabic but many Greek commentaries—among them, those of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius and John Philoponus—were so appreciated, that they were appended to many of the translations.[1]

The Arabic listings of scholars, their lives and works provide us with quite accurate information about the Arabic translations. The oldest history of this genre, by Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [Ibn] al-Nadīm (d. 990) comprehends

[1] I am much obliged to Prof. Owen Goldin, Marquette, for editing the English. Of course, all remaining errors are my own.

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the masters of the sciences of the Koran, including grammarians, historians, poets, and jurists, as well as of the sciences of the Ancients, on which there is a chapter on Aristotle.[2] There he explains Aristotle's life and works. The book was translated into English by Bayard Dodge.[3] When Ibn al-Nadīm comes to Aristotle's *Physics*, he names it *al-Samāʿ al-Ṭabīʿī* ('Natural Hearing'), 'The Course on Natural Philosophy', which is the literal translation of *Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις*, and mentions three Arabic versions that included commentaries as well:[4]

(A) *Treatise on the Hearing of the Physics*. With the commentary by Alexander [of Aphrodisias], eight books. Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq [Ibn al-Nadīm] says that following commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias are found:

> [Alexander commented on] Aristotle's First Book in two volumes, the first and part of the second of which are extant. Abū Rawḥ the Sabean [al-Ṣābiʾ] translated it and Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī corrected the translation. Aristotle's Second Book in one volume; Ḥunayn translated it from Greek into Syriac and Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī from Syriac into Arabic. [Alexander's] commentary on Book III of Aristotle is not extant. He commented on Book IV in three volumes, the first and the second are extant, as part of the third, up to the treatise on time. Qusṭā translated it [but] al-Dimashqī's translation that has been kept is the known one. [His commentary on] Book V exists in one volume, translated by Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā. Book VI is one volume, a little over half of which is extant. Book VII is one volume, which Qusṭā translated. Book VIII is one volume, only a few leaves of which exist.[5]

(B) *Treatise on the Hearing of the Physics*, with the Commentary of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī [John Philoponus] of Alexandria:

> The part of this book which Qusṭā [Ibn Lūqā] translated is in the form of lessons (*taʿālīm*), but that part which Ibn Nāʿima [ʿAbd al-Masīḥ] translated is not. Qusṭâ translated the first half, which is in four volumes, and Ibn Nāʿima the last second half, which is the other four volumes.

Taʿālīm plural of *taʿlīm* likely expresses a didactical way of organizing Aristotle's text.

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2 Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, ed. Reza Tajaddud, Teheran: Marvi Offset Printing, 1971, pp. 307–323.

3 Id., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm,* trans. Bayard Dodge, New York: Columbia University, 1970, pp. 594–606.

4 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, pp. 310–311. The English translation is mine.

5 Id., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, pp. 602–603. Bayard Dodge observes that the passage is confused, because the word *al-maqāla* is used both to refer to the original eight books of Aristotle's *Physics* and also to the parts or volumes of the commentary.

(C) *Treatise on the Hearing of the Physics*, with commentaries of various philosophers.

> [According to Abū ʿAlī] Porphyry's commentary on the first, second, third, and fourth Books is extant. Basīl translated it. Abu Bishr Mattā wrote a commentary in Syriac of Themistius' commentary on this book. Part of Book I in Syriac is extant. Abu Ḥāmid Ibn Karnīb wrote a commentary on part of the Book I and part of Book IV, as far as the discourse on time. Thābit ibn Qurra produced a commentary on part of the first section, while [Abū ʿAlī] Ibrahīm ibn al-Ṣalt translated the first section of this book. I saw it written in the handwriting of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī. Abū al-Faraj Quddāma ibn Jaʿfar ibn Quddāma also wrote a commentary on part of Book I of the *Hearing of the Physics*.

The *Fihrist* provides biographical information of most of the aforementioned translators and commentators; indeed, these biographies constitute a helpful source for our understanding of the process of translation:

(A) Those involved in the *Physics* with the commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias (*fl.* 200 CE), who became head of the Peripatetic school at Athens, are the following:

Abū Rawḥ the Sabean was a secretary of ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 946), vizier of the caliph al-Muqtadir (*r.* 908–929).[6]

Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), a disciple of Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 940), he was a Jacobite Christian, translator, commentator and apologetic philosopher.[7]

Ḥunayn [Ibn Isḥāq al-ʿIbādī] (d. 873) is the well-known translator of Galen, mainly of his medical works, from Greek into Syriac. He was a Nestorian Christian physician who moved to Baghdad at the time of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.[8]

Qusṭā [Ibn Lūqā al-Baʿalbakī, d. 912], a Melchite Christian, from Syria; he was a physician and translator.[9]

[Abū ʿUthmān] al-Dimashqī (d. *post* 914) again a physician and translator; he enjoyed the patronage of ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the aforementioned vizier.

(B) The one involved in the *Physics* with the commentary by Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī—Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī is the Arabic name of John the Grammarian, John Philoponus, (d. ca. 575), one of the most influential late Greek philosophers; he was a Christian Nestorian who commented on Aristotle and argued against his doctrine of the eternity of the world:

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6 My information comes from Francis Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus: The Oriental Translations and Commentaries of the Aristotelian Corpus*, Leiden: Brill, 1968, p. 34.

7 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, p. 322.

8 Ibid., pp. 352–353.

9 Ibid., p. 353.

Ibn Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī, a Christian from Syria (*fl. c.* 835) belongs to the so-called al-Kindī's circle, and therefore, to the first stage of translations. The Muslim philosopher al-Kindī (*c.* 800–870) was close to the Abbasid caliph al-Muʿtaṣim.[10]

(C) Those involved in the third translation of the *Physics* with 'commentaries of various philosophers'—two Greek commentators are mentioned among them: Porphyry (d. *c.* 305 CE), the disciple of Plotinus, and Themistius (d. *c.* 387), also a Neo-Platonist:

Basīl, Basilios, is no doubt a Christian, and Peters links him to Ḥunayn's circle.[11]

Abū ʿAlī could be Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī, a Muʿtazilite *mutakallim*, whose death occurred in 916;[12] he cannot be the philosopher Abū ʿAlī Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 1027), who was biographized by Miklos Stern,[13] because Ibn al-Nadīm had died in 990 CE.

Ibn Karnīb, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī al-Ḥusayn Isḥāq, is also a *mutakallim*[14] and since he wrote a treatise against Thābit Ibn Qurra regarding his views on motion and rest, we can assume that he belonged to the Muʿtazilite school. Dodge translates 'He was one of the most eminent of the theologians, upholding the doctrines of the natural philosophers'.[15]

Thābit Ibn Qurra (d. 901), the Sabaean astronomer, is not biographized by Ibn al-Nadīm; nevertheless, he is often quoted in the *Fihris*.

[Abu Nūh] Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ṣalt lived in the ninth century, and translated into Syriac and Arabic. He is credited with the translation of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* 'that Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq revised' and some of Galen's medical writings.

Abū l-Faraj Quddāma (d. 948) was close to the vizier al-Faḍl ibn al-Furāt (d. 938). The vizier Fadl had converted to Islam from Zoroastrianism and entered the service of the caliph Hārun al-Rashid and his son al-Maʾmūn. Abū l-Faraj Quddāma converted to Islam under the sponsorship of the caliph al-Muktafī bi-Allāh (902-908).[16]

The three translations with their commentaries belong to three stages. Translation (B) belongs to the earliest stage, within al-Kindī's circle in the eight century; (A) follows, being related to Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq, founder of a school; (C) is close to (A) insofar as Basīl was a disciple of Ḥunayn. What we see is that while

[10] Ibid., p. 304.
[11] Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, p. 34.
[12] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, pp. 217–218.
[13] Samuel Miklos Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥ', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1/2 (1956), pp. 31–44.
[14] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, p. 321.
[15] Id., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, p. 629.
[16] ʿUmar Rīḍa Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn*, 4 vols, Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1994, vol. II, p. 657 [11.108].

difficulties in a translation might have been the cause for making a new one, more significantly, the need for commentaries was an incentive for new translations.

After Ibn al-Nadīm we should turn to Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 1248), who basically repeats him but adds some observations, for instance, about the title: he mentions that the work is also known as *Sam' al-Kiyān*, calque of the Syriac *šem'ā kyānāyā*[17] or that Abū Rawḥ the Sabean was translating from Syriac. When reporting on Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī [John the Grammarian], Ibn al-Qifṭī writes:

> Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī commented [on the Physics] and [his commentary] was translated from Greek into Arabic. It is a large work and once I had it in my hands. It makes ten volumes; Jūrjīs al-Yabrūdī added marginal notes he took from Themistius. The volumes belonged to ʿĪsā, the son of the vizier ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Jarrāḥ. [ʿĪsā] read them to Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī and added marginal notes containing useful observations made by Yaḥyā, while he was reading to him. [Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's] wording is best in quality and clarity.[18]

We have already encountered ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Jarrāḥ: he was the vizier of the caliph al-Muqtadir, and also the patron of Abū Rawḥ the Sabean and of Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashqī, and now we read that his son was a disciple of Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī. No doubt both Yaḥyā's—Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī and Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī—played a key role in the transmission of Aristotle's *Physics*. While John the Grammarian was essential in the interpretation of the book, the latter was very influential in spreading the *Physics* in the Abbasid milieu.

Another observation that we should not neglect concerns the Syriac contribution to the study and translation of the *Physics*. In two places Ibn al-Nadīm points to the Syriac tradition: For (A) 'Ḥunayn translated it from Greek into Syriac and Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī from Syriac into Arabic', and for (C) 'Abu Bishr Mattā wrote a commentary in Syriac of Themistius' commentary on this book. Part of Book I in Syriac is extant'.[19] Yury Arzhanov and Rüdiger Arnzen have authored a very thorough research paper, in which they highlight the Syriac contribution;[20] we shall return to them later.

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17 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Julius Lippert and August Müller, Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903, p. 38.

18 al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, p. 39.

19 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, pp. 310–311.

20 Rüdiger Arnzen and Yury Arzhanov, 'Die Glossen in Ms. Leyden Or. 583 und die syrische Rezeption der aristotelischen Physik', in Elisa Coda and Cecilia Martini Bonadeo (eds), *De l'antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge: études de logique aristotélicienne et de philosophie grecque, syriaque, arabe et latine offertes à Henri Hugonnard-Roche*, Paris: Vrin, 2014, pp. 415–464

II

Not one of the translations with commentaries on which Ibn al-Nadīm reported is extant. By contrast a translation by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn is preserved in a manuscript of the Warner collection n. 583, in Leiden;[21] ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān Badawi edited it in 1959.[22] Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn (d. *c.* 910–911) was the son of the aforementioned Ḥunayn and translated philosophy from Greek into Arabic.[23]

The Leiden colophon reads that the copy was finished in Baghdad on 1st of Dhū l-Qaʿda 524 H, equivalent to 6 October 1130[24] but the colophon is not the only place where information on the translation is given.

At the end of Book I we find following account:

> The first book has ended. Translation by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, praise be to God who deserves all praise. [The copy] was finished in Khuzistān, in Qaṣr [Rūnash] on 1st of Ṣafar de 524 of the Hegira (14 January 1130).
>
> [On the left margin:] It has been collated, praise be done to God.
>
> [On the right margin:] Handwritten notice of the sheikh Abū l-Ḥusayn (Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī): 'I finished copying and commenting on it in the month of Ṣafar 395 Hegira (November 1004)'.
>
> [On the left margin:] Written in his own hand, on the title-side of the first and second part:[25] 'I collationed (*ʿāraḍtu*) this part of the text with the copy of Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī, who says that he copied it from the original text of Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, and that he collationed it three times, and even a fourth time when he collationed it with the Syriac text. Those amendments and marginal glosses marked by 'ḥā' belong to Yaḥyā's copy'.
>
> [On the title-page of the first part:] First part of Aristotle's *Physics Hearing*. Translation by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, it contains a commentary by Abī l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Samḥ. [Abū l-Ḥusayn] Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī followed it (*ʿaliqa ʿanhu*).
>
> He added 'words of Mattā' to the title-page of the third part, 'words of Abū Bishr Mattā' to the title-page of the fourth part, and 'words of Yaḥyā' and 'words of Abū Bishr Mattā' to the title-page of the fifth part.
>
> Abū l-Ḥakam remarked: 'This is all I have transmitted according to what is written in the original copy from which I copied it in Karkh, Jumādā II 470 [December 1077].' I changed only the date as it is the one appropriate to this

[21] Pieter De Jong and Michael Jan de Goeje, *Catalogus codicum orientalium bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. III, Leiden: Brill, 1865, pp. 310–312.

[22] Arisṭūṭālīs, *Al-Ṭabīʿa* [henceforth, *Al-Ṭabīʿa*], ed. ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān Badawi, Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣrīya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1965.

[23] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, p. 356.

[24] *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 937.

[25] I literally translate *juz'* as 'part.' Stern translated *juz'* as 'fascicle' and Giannakis preferred the term 'quire'. Giannakis says that the codex consisted of twenty-two unbound quires; see Elias Giannakis, *Philoponus in the Arabic Tradition of Aristotle's Physics*, Oxford: British Thesis Service, 1992, pp. 23–27.

> copying. I neither added nor removed any single letter. Who reads my text is like one who reads the original one which was copied from the translator's own copy.[26]

The copyist was careful to write down the place and the date when he finished any book, and when it came to Book II, he wrote: 'The copy was finished in Jundī Shābūr, in the Khuzistān, on 22nd of Ṣafar 524'.[27]

When he completed the copy of Book III, he wrote: 'Copying was carried out in Rabīʿ I in 'Askar Makram', a place again in the Khuzistān'.[28]

In the colophon of Book IV, we read: 'The commentary (*taʿlīq*) on Book IV of the Physics Hearing by the sheikh the imam the sage Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Baṣrī ended. Praise be given to God. The copy was finished on the last day of Rajab 524 in Baghdad'.[29] A marginal gloss states here: 'It was compared (*qūbilat*) with God's help, may He be praised'.[30]

At the end of Book V, the copyist wrote: 'Copying ended on 20th of Shaʿbān in Baghdad. Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī made it for himself'.[31] It is not clear whether the *nisba* is al-Maghribī or al-Maʿarrī, as Badawi prints it, since the manuscript is not decisive to my view.[32]

At the end of Book VI, another marginal gloss reminds: '[The copy] was compared (*qūbilat*) with the original with God's praise in the month of Shawwāl 524'.[33]

At the end of Book VII, the information reads: 'The commentary was completed, praise to be done to God the One and prayers for Muhammad the prophet of the Compassionate and peace'[34] and on the margin: 'It was compared'.[35]

The copyist is not mentioned at the end of Book VIII; however, the other annotations give us significant information about his activity: Abū l-Ḥakam spent almost one year with copying, since he started on 1st of Ṣafar 524 Hegira (14 January 1130) and he finished on 1st of Dhū l-Qaʿda 524 (6 October 1130).

We are informed also about the places of his work: Khuzistān or Khuzestan, Karkh (Baghdad's quarter on the West side of the Tigris), Jundī Shābūr (also in Khuzestan, the town was founded by the Sāsānian king Shāhpūr [240–270 CE]), 'Askar Makram (Khuzestan), and Baghdad. Khuzestan was the region between the

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26 MS Leiden, fol. 15v.6–23. Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, pp. 76–77; Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥ', pp. 38–39.
27 MS Leiden, fol. 32r.3–8. Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 164.
28 *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 270.
29 Ibid., p. 485.
30 MS Leiden, fol. 113v.19–21.
31 *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 604.
32 MS Leiden, fol. 150r.15.
33 *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 732.
34 Ibid., p. 800.
35 MS Leiden, fol. 204v.14–15.

lower course of the Tigris and its joint estuary with the Euphrates, the Shat el-Arab, on the southwest, the head of the Persian Gulf, on the South, and the Zagros Mountains, on the northeast.

The Seljuq sultans of Hamadan exercised a kind of guardianship over the Abbasid caliph sitting in Baghdad. The Seljuq sultan Maḥmūd II (d. 1131) ruled over Southern Iraq and Khuzestan during the caliphate of al-Mustarshid (512–529/1118–1135),[36] so that when Abū l-Ḥakam worked on copying the manuscript in the year 524/1030 he could have been an officer in the service of Maḥmūd II, as data elsewhere confirm.

In his article on Ibn al-Samḥ, Miklos Stern gives us adequate information about him, which he had gathered from the classical bio-bibliographies.[37] Abū l-Ḥakam's full name was Abū l-Ḥakam ʻUbayd Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar bn ʻAbd Allāh al-Bāhilī, surnamed Tāj al-Ḥukamā'; his family was originally from Almeria. He himself was born in the Yaman in 486/1093–1094. He worked for a financial administrator (*mustawfī*) of Sultan Maḥmūd called al-ʻAzīz. When this *mustawfī* fell into disgrace, Abu l-Ḥakam left Iraq and settled in Damascus. He died in that city on the 4th of Dhū l-Qaʻda 549 (10 January 1155).

On the basis of the information supplied by the colophons, we can determine that the Leiden manuscript contains the translation by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn (d. *c.* 910–911) as its main body; the translation was commented on by Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 1027), a representative of the school of Yaḥyā Ibn ʻAdī, and others. It was compared with another manuscript and the variants are indicated by the siglum *ḥā'*. They belong to the copy owned by Yaḥyā Ibn ʻAdī (d. 974) which should be also the very translation made by Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn. Abū Yaʻqūb Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn was Ḥunayn's son and translated philosophy from Greek into Arabic, for which Ibn al-Nadīm honored him in his work.[38]

Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī al-Baṣrī appears in the context as the man who really did the critical edition, while Abū l-Ḥakan was the faithful and reliable copyist. Who was then Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī?

Stern searched for him in the biographical dictionaries and theological writings, and he identified him as Abū l-Ḥusayn (or Abū l-Ḥasan) Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī. He was born in Basra and studied in Baghdad with Abū ʻAlī Ibn al-Samḥ. Abū l-Ḥusayn was also an outstanding Muʻtazilite. He passed away on 5th of Rabīʻ II 436 (30 October 1044), in Baghdad.[39] Wilferd Madelung[40]

[36] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, 'The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (1000-1217)', in John Andrew Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 119–124.

[37] Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥ', pp. 34–36.

[38] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-l-Nadīm*, p. 356.

[39] Stern, 'Ibn al-Samḥ', pp. 36–38.

adds that Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī was a student of the great Qādī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), who systematized the Muʿtazilite doctrines. Giannakis remarks that he was also a disciple of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, who was his contemporary; he passed away one year before Abū l-Ḥusayn.[41]

His edition of the *Physics* is dated 1004 and in Baghdad, therefore its time and place match to his lifespan. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī did not know Greek as Ibn Nāʿima (*fl. c.* 835) and the first generation of translators did, but he mastered Syriac. Emilio Platti describes his edition as 'a classical instance of a critical edition in the school of Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī'.[42] And actually, the Leiden manuscript shows a long tradition of scholarship:

(1) The main body is made by the translation of Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn, following the recension of Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 1027).
(2) It was compared with the copy owned by Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), and variants are indicated with the siglum Ḥ. 57 (marginal notes have that mark).
(3) Comments ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias (*fl.* 200 CE)
(4) Comments ascribed to Themistius (d. 387)
(5) Comments ascribed to John the Grammarian (d. *c.* 570)
(6) Comments ascribed to Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 940)
(7) Comments ascribed to Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī (d. 974)
(8) Comments ascribed to Abū ʿAlī Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 1027)
(9) Comments ascribed to Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043)
(10) Rand glosses by Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī (d. 1044).

A few remarks should be made in regard to the list above:

(a) Elias Giannakis wrote his PhD dissertation at Oxford University (1992) with the title 'Philoponus in the Arabic tradition of Aristotle's *Physics*'. The first part studies de Leiden manuscript at length. One of his conclusions is that all quotations by Alexander of Aphrodisias could derive from Philoponus' commentary on the *Physics*;[43] similar results were obtained for Themistius.[44]

(b) Gerhard Endress identified the comments of John the Grammarian as well as those ascribed to Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī, and he realized that John Philoponus was the

[40] Wilferd Madelung, 'Abû l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Supplement*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, pp. 25–26.

[41] Elias Giannakis, 'The Structure of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Copy of Aristotle's Physics', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 8 (1993), p. 252.

[42] Emilio Platti, *Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī, philosophe chrétien et philosophe arabe: sa théologie de l'Incarnation'*, Bruxells: Peeters, 1983, pp. 28–29.

[43] Giannakis, *Philoponus in the Arabic Tradition*, pp. 75–80.

[44] Ibid., pp. 132–135.

author of many of the latter.[45] Philoponus was eclipsed by the Christian Arab thinker who founded his own school in Baghdad. Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī was no longer dependent on the favor of the caliphs whose power had diminished[46] and he was able to create a school that would last after his death and would be known as the Baghdadi Aristotelians.

(c) Arzanov and Arnzen highlighted the great importance that Syriac texts enjoyed in the school of Yaḥyā, and they point to two colophons of Arabic translations of Aristotle which confirm the use of Syriac versions of the texts. The first colophon belongs to the translation of the *Organon* and is preserved in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2346; the second is found in this manuscript, at the end of Book I and has been translated above: 'Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī (...) collationed it three times, and even a fourth time when he collationed it with the Syriac text (*bi-l-suryānī*)'. Arzanov and Arnzen have painstakingly recorded the passages of the Leiden manuscript where a Syriac source is recognized. They have observed, for instance, that one third of the glosses with Syriac origin are found in commentaries on Book VII, and there are motives for this profusion, as we will see. In regard to the initial account in this presentation:

> *Treatise on the Hearing of the Physics*. With the commentary by Alexander [of Aphrodisias], eight books. Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq [Ibn al-Nadīm] says that following commentaries by Alexander [of Aphrodisias] ...

the authors have credibly argued that there was a Syriac version of it, although modified and not literal, which should have fostered the Arab interest in the Aristotelian Physics.[47] The Leiden manuscript therefore witnesses not only the influence and liveliness of the Baghdadi Aristotelians but also the forgotten Syriac tradition. No matter how valuable such historical elements are, our core interest is the *Physics* of Aristotle itself and its Arabic translation and, since the only translation available is Isḥāq's, his endeavor will now be the object of our study.

III

Omne quod movetur necesse est ab aliquo moveri are the Latin words translating the proposition with which Aristotle begins Book VII: 'Everything that is in motion must be moved by something' (241b34–241b24). Book VI is one of the places in

[45] Gerhard Endress, *The Works of Yaḥyā Ibn ʿAdī*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1977, pp. 36–37.

[46] Mohd Nasir Bin Omar, 'The Life of Yahya Ibn 'Adi: A Famous Christian Philosopher of Baghdad', *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6 (2015), pp. 307–314.

[47] Arnzen and Arzhanov, 'Die Glossen in Ms. Leyden Or. 583'.

Aristotle where this principle is discussed, a principle which has theological implications[48] but is also related to the problem of *inertia* and medieval discussions on projectile motion.[49]

However the affirmation in this place that 'Everything that is in motion must be moved by something' (241b34) does not seem to be related to the arguments of Book VI, where Aristotle concluded that 'No motion can be infinite in respect of the time that it occupies, with the single exception of circular locomotion'.

Indeed, this book raises difficulties in regard to its content as well as to its codicological tradition. In 1841, Leonhard von Spengel analyzed the Greek manuscripts, read what the Ancient and Renaissance commentators had written on the issue, and described the two versions for the first three chapters of the book, one as the one generally accepted, and the other, widely disputed since Simplicius, who called it *ἕτερον βιβλίον* ('the other book').[50]

Concerning its content, W. David Ross considered the various aspects and asserted: 'Book VII does stand outside the main structure of the *Physics*. Books V, VI and VIII form a unity which it interrupts'.[51] Book VII is of an earlier date, as Simplicius had already sustained.[52]

Robert Wardy does not agree with most of the scholars and claims that 'Book VII.1's proof (deepened and clarified by the discussion of VII.2-5) legitimates the argument of VIII.1'.[53] There is also disagreement regarding the respective value or version *α* and *β*: while many scholars see *α* as the original work of Aristotle and *β* as a remake of *α*, Wardy asserts that the two are of equal value or at least that the *ἕτερον βιβλίον* is 'the response of an early Peripatetic student to his reading of *α*'.[54] Wardy's views have not gone uncontested and Thomas Olshewsky has objected to both tenets with good arguments.[55]

The relevant fact is that Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn relied on a text closer to *β*-version for his translation. Averroes (d. 1198) read this translation, as we can see in the

[48] James A., Weisheipl, 'The Principle *Omne quod movetur ab alio movetur* in Medieval Physics', *Isis* 56 (1965), pp. 26–46.

[49] André Goddu, *The Physics of William of Ockham*, Leiden: Brill 1984, pp. 193–205.

[50] Leonhard von Spengel, 'Über das siebente Buch der Physik des Aristoteles', *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1841, pp. 305–349.

[51] W. David Ross (ed.), *Aristotle's Physics*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1936, p. 17.

[52] Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Physics* 7, trans. Michael Hagen, London: Duckworth, 1994, p. 11.

[53] Robert Wardy, *The Chain of Change: A Study of Aristotle's Physics VII*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 89.

[54] Ibid., p. 249.

[55] Thomas M. Olshewsky, 'Self-Movers and Unmoved Movers in Aristotle's *Physics* VII', *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 45/2 (1995), pp. 389–406.

printed editions of Michael Scotus' translation from Arabic into Latin[56], and Thomas Aquinas relied also on *β*-version.[57]

(a) Isḥāq's vocabulary has well defined *technical terms* as we see in the sample and also through all the translation of the *Physics*. Motion and derivative terms abound in the book and they are consistently translated, as we can see in the sample 241a24–33: *κίνησις* ('motion'), *τὸ κινοῦν* ('the mover'), *τὸ κινούμενον* ('the movable'), *κινεῖν* ('to move'), *ὑπό τινος κινεῖσθαι* ('to be moved by something'), *στῆναι / ἠρεμεῖν* ('to be at rest').

Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn uses following terms:

κίνησις is built with the suffix *σι-*, a suffix expressing an abstract meaning.[58] The Arabic translation uses the *maṣdar* form *ḥaraka*. *Maṣdar* means literally the source of all forms, verbal as well as nominal, deriving from a semantical root.

κινεῖν is active and transitive: 'to cause motion.' The Arabic finds its way to express this transitive aspect using the intensive form *fa''ala* from the derived forms: *ḥarraka*.

ὑπό τινος κινεῖσθαι is in the passive voice with the agent in the prepositional genitive. The Arabic has a passive voice which, however, excludes the agent and for this reason is called the unknown, *majhūl*. Since the translator was well aware of the need to point to the agent he found the solution again in the derived forms: in the form *tafa''ala*, *taḥarraka,* which is the reflexive construction of the *fa''ala* form, and in the use of the particle *'an* denoting origin, reference or cause for the agent.

τὸ κινοῦν as an active participle is matched by the *fā'il* ('name of agent') of the intensive/causative form: *muḥarrik*, *al-muḥarrik*.

τὸ κινούμενον is middle and passive in form, and Arabic can use *mutaḥarrik* the name of agent of the reflexive *tafa''ala* form to translate it.

τὸ στῆναι, and *τὸ ἠρεμεῖν*, in the substantiated infinitive mood, are translated by the so called 'name of origin' *maṣdar*, here: *wuqūf*. The pattern *fu'ūl* belongs to verbs of motion.

(b) As for the way on how complex *sentences* and chains of reasoning are translated here, follow the first five paragraphs:

§ 1

(241b34–241b24) Ἅπαν τὸ κινούμενον ὑπό τινος ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι.[59]

[56] Averroes, *Aristotelis De Physico Auditu libri octo cum Averrois Cordubensis variis in eosdem commentariis.* Quartum Volumen. Venice: Apud Iunctas, 1562, 305 M–306 A.

[57] Olshewsky, 'Self-Movers and Unmoved Movers', p. 392.

[58] Herbert Weir Smyth, *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*, New York: American Book Company, 1920, n. 865.

Everything that is in motion must be moved by something.[60]

كل متحرك فواجب ضرورة أن يكون يتحرك عن شيء ما.

Every movable must necessarily move because of something.[61]

The Greek construction of subject and elliptic verb *ἀνάγκη* [*ἐστί*] 'necessity is' requiring an infinitive form is reformulated into a construction where the subordinate clause becomes the subject of the main one, the predicate of which is a participle *wājib*^{un} ('binding') accompanied by an adverb, *ḍarūrat*^{an} ('necessarily') intensifying the sense.

Shay'^{um} *mā* (literally, 'a certain thing') is the periphrasis of an inexistent indefinite pronoun in Arabic.

§ 2

(*β*, 241b24–26) Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀυτῷ μὴ ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως, φανερὸν ὅτι ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινεῖται (ἄλλο γὰρ ἔσται τὸ κινοῦν)

For if it has not the source of its motion in itself it is evident that it is moved by something other than itself, for there must be something else that moves it.

فأما إن لم يكن مبدأ حركته فيه فظاهر أنه إنما يتحرك عن شيء آخروذلك أن المحرك له يكون غيره.

For if the principle of its motion is not in it[self], it is evident that it moves by the action of something else (another thing), because what moves it (its mover) will be another.[62]

The conditionals are parallel in both languages: In Greek, the protasis uses the indicative present, and the protasis the indicative future, in Arabic, the protasis uses the jussive mood because the sentence is negative, and the apodosis, *yakūnu*, the imperfect of *kāna* in order to render ἔσται.

Greek particles are very difficult to translate, *οὖν* becomes -ف, *fa-*. The opposition *μὲν* – δε is approximately أما - وأما .

§ 3

Εἰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰλήφθω ἐφ' οὗ τὸ AB ὃ κινεῖται καθ' αὐτό, ἀλλὰ μὴ <τῷ τῶν> τούτου τι κινεῖσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ AB ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι

[59] The text is reproduced according to Wardy's edition.

[60] Aristotle, *Physics,* trans. R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye (ed. by Jonathan Barnes, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, vol. I, Princeton: Princeton UP 1984). URL = <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/physics.html> (Accessed June 2017).

[61] MS Leiden, fol. 185v.4; Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 733.

[62] MS Leiden, fol. 185v.4–6; Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 733.

διὰ τὸ ὅλον τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ μηθενὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἄν εἴ τις τοῦ ΔΕ κινοῦντος τὸ ΕΖ καὶ αὐτοῦ κινουμένου ὑπολαμβάνοι τὸ ΔΕΖ ὑφ'αυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ συνορᾶν πότερον ὑπὸ ποτέρου κινεῖται, πότερον τὸ ΔΕ ὑπὸ τοῦ ΕΖ ἢ τὸ ΕΖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ΔΕ (*β*, 241b26–33)

I reproduce Wardy's translation of version *β* as well as Hardie and Gaye's, who follow version *α*:

If alternatively it does have the origin of change in itself, take an object AB that is changed per se and not by one of its parts being changed. First, to suppose that AB is changed by itself on the grounds that it is changed as a whole and that it is changed by nothing external to it is similar to the case in which, should DE change EF and itself be changing, someone were to suppose that DEF is changed by itself, on the grounds that he could no detect which is changed by which, whether DE is changed by EF or EF by DE (*β*, Wardy).[63]

If on the other hand it has the source of its motion in itself, let AB be taken to represent that which is in motion of itself and not in virtue of the fact that something belonging to it is in motion. Now in the first place to assume that AB, because it is in motion as a whole and is not moved by anything external to itself, is therefore moved by itself –this is just as if, supposing that KL is moving LM and is also itself in motion, we were to deny that KM is moved by anything on the ground that it is not evident which is the part that is moving it and which the part that is moved (*α*, Hardie and Gaye).

وأما إن كان مبدأ حركته فيه فلنأخذ* الذي عليه **أ ب** حتى يكون يتحرك لا من** قبل أن شيئاً*** منه يتحرك . وأقول أولاً إن توهمنا أن **أ ب** ليس يتحرك عن شيء ما من قبل أنه بأسره يتحرك، وليست حركته عن شيء من خارج أصلاً يشبه توهم متوهم إذا كان **د ه** يحرّك **ه ز** ويتحرك [هو نفسه] أن **ه ز** ليس يتحرك عن شيء ما لأنه لم يقف أيهما يحرك أيهما: هل **د ه** يتحرك عن **ه ز****** أو **ه ز** عن **د ه*******؟

Or, if the principle of its motion is in itself, let us take* which is to represent AB so that it does not** move by one*** of its parts moving. First, I say that if we suppose that AB does not move because of something by moving as a whole, and that its motion is not at all by anything external, this is similar to if someone were to suppose that if DE moves EZ and [itself] is moving, EZ does not move because of something for the reason that one could not verify which moves which, whether DE moves because of EZ or EZ**** because of DE*****?[64]

63 Wardy, *The Chain of Change*, 1990, p. 41.

64 MS Leiden, fol. 185v.6–9; Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, pp. 733–734.

[هو نفسه][itself] is inserted by Badawi. The stars * refer to five marginal notes in the manuscript marked by different sigla. Badawi read and printed them, but none of them corrects 'that EZ does not move' with 'that DEZ does not move'; Badawi corrected it introducing the Greek text. One of the marginal notes, EZ****, is a textual variant related to Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī who could have seen another translation because the copyist added: 'In the copy of Ibn 'Adī *aw 'an DM*, and there is not *HZ*'.[65]

(i) As for the technique of translation we observe that the passive perfect imperative *εἰλήφθω*, with a present meaning is rendered with a personal form, the jussive of *akhadha* (*λαμβάνω*) preceded by the particle *fa-l* ('let us take').

(ii) Further, *ὑπολαμβάνειν* is translated as *tawahhama* which is closer to 'imagine'; the construction *ἄν εἴ τις ὑπολαμβάνοι* (present optative) is successfully converted into *tawahhum*^{u} *mutawahhim*^{in}, literally 'the supposition of someone who supposes'.

(iii) In Greek the genitive absolute expresses a rich variety of circumstances such as time, cause, condition, concern, etc. Since Arabic does not have this construction, the translators had to figure out its equivalent. Both genitive absolutes in the paragraph, *τοῦ ΔΕ κινοῦντος τὸ EZ καὶ αὐτοῦ κινουμένου*, have a conditional character. Isḥāq built with *idhā* a conditional period 'if DE moves EZ and itself is moving'.

(iv) Greek particles always raise difficulties. The contrastive *μὲν – δε* is often neglected. The particle *οὖν* modifies *πρῶτον* and the translator may have echoed it when he wrote 'First, I say'.

(v) Greater difficulties arise from the Greek syntax and its concentric way of subordinated sentences. The Greek article with the infinitive mood is used to encapsulate sentences as we see here: *τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ AB ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ὅλον τε κινεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ μηθενὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν* ('the assumption that (AB is moved by itself) because the whole is moved and that it is not moved by anything external to itself').

The Arabic equivalent to the Greek article, *al-*, does not have this capacity and it is basically a determinant particle. On the other side, the equivalent to the infinitive mood, the *maṣdar*, is more limited. The underlying issue is that Greek has a concentric syntax while Arabic, a lineal one.

§ 4

Ἔτι τὸ ὑφ'αὑτοῦ κινούμενον οὐδέποτε παύσεται κινούμενον τῷ ἕτερόν τι στῆναι κινούμενον. Ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, εἴ τι παύεται τῷ ἕτερόν τι στῆναι, αὐτὸ ὑφ'ετέρου

[65] MS Leiden, fol. 185v.10, marg.; Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 734, n. 2.

κινεῖσθαι. Τούτου δε φανεροῦ γενομένου ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον κινεῖσθαι ὑπό τινος (*β*, 241b33–242a5).

Again, something changed by itself will never cease from changing as a consequence of another thing's having stopped changing. Accordingly it is necessary, if anything ceases from changing as a consequence of another thing's having stopped, that it is changing by something other than itself. Once this becomes evident, then it is necessary that everything that is changed is changed by something (version *β*, Wardy).

In the second place that which is in motion without being moved by anything does not necessarily cease from its motion because something else is at rest, but a thing must be moved by something if the fact of something else having ceased from its motion causes it to be at rest. Thus, if this is accepted, everything that is in motion must be moved by something (version *α*, Hardie and Gaye).

وأقول أيضاً إن ما كان لا يتحرك عن شيءٍ ما فليس يكف أصلاً عن حركته بوقوف شيءٍ ما آخر عن الحركة فيجب ضرورة إن كان شيء يكف عن حركته بوقوف شيء ما آخر فذلك الشيء إنما يتحرك عن شيء ما آخر. فإنّ ذلك إذا كان ظاهراً وجب ضرورة | أن يكون منقسماً لأن قد بينا أن كل متحرك فمنقسم.

Again, I say that if that which does not move because of something does not cease from its motion at all by something else ceasing from its motion. It necessarily must [follow] if something ceases from motion by something else ceasing from its motion, such thing moves because of something else. Therefore, if this has become evident it must necessarily be divisible because we have proved that every movable is divisible.[66]

Badawi inserted where there is the mark |:

أن يتحرك عن شيء ما. لأنه إذا فرض أن **أب** يتحرك فلا بدّ

and of course, he indicated the insertion. He introduces the sentence 'that it is changed by something because if it is assumed that AB is moved, it must' after 'it must necessarily'. However, the Leiden manuscript is clear and does not have it. Wardy gives one manuscript with a similar reading in his apparatus, although not exactly identical: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 1853, a very old manuscript. Averroes read: *Quoniam, hoc si fuerit manifestum, necesse erit quod omne motum, cum sit divisibile, moueatur ab aliquo* ('Because, if this were evident, it would be necessary that every movable is moved by another as it is divisible') and he never could have read the Leiden manuscript.[67]

[66] MS Leiden, fol. 185v.10–13; Cf. *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, p. 734.
[67] Averroes, *Aristotelis De Physico Auditu*, 306 M.

(i) Since the article in Arabic does not have the capacity to create a substantive clause the verb of which is an infinitive or a participle, if the Greek has constructions as *τὸ ὑφ'αὑτοῦ κινούμενον* and *τῷ ἕτερόν τι στῆναι κινούμενον*, it has to render them by other ways. The first syntagma is not found in Isḥāq who translates according to version α: *τὸ μὴ ὑπό τινος κινούμενον* and uses the pronoun *mā*: 'that which does not move because of something'. The second, *τῷ ἕτερόν τι στῆναι κινούμενον*, shows the use of the Arabic equivalent to the infinitive mood, i.e., the *maṣdar* word *wuqūf* and it makes it similar.

(ii) Isḥāq Ibn Ḥunayn estimated a conditional meaning in the absolute genitive: *Τούτου δε φανεροῦ γενομένου* ('once this has become evident') and he translated it as a protasis: *inna dhalika idhā kāna ẓāhir*^{an}.

(iii) For the conditional sentences, the middle present tense *εἴ τι παύεται*, in the protasis, is translated with a periphrasis of *kāna, in kāna yakuffu*, that is not frequent but it is admissible.[68] The clause in the former paragraph, *inna dhalika idhā kāna ẓāhir*^{an}, shows another use of *kāna* to express *γίγνομαι.*

(iv) *Yajibu darurat*^{an} and *wajaba darurat*^{an} are verbal forms with meaning similar to the participle *wājib*^{un} 'binding' *darurat*^{an} that has been explained before.

The long tradition of study of Aristotle's works and, and of the *Physics* in particular, should not lead us to underestimate the task of the translators. We have to assume that the Greek manuscripts they could read were riddled with errors and they were aware of it. They tried to go as close as possible to the original sources and they were faithful to them. Once the text was understood, they had to overcome lexical and syntactical difficulties, and they succeeded. By coining new terms they created a philosophical vocabulary and while struggling with the Greek syntax, they developed an argumentative discourse that enriched the Arabic culture. The examples taken here should show their success and we should be grateful to their effort.

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[68] William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1896, vol. II, p. 16C.

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ET VOCATUM EST NOMEN EIUS IESVS L'ONOMASTIQUE DIVINE DANS LA PENSÉE CABBALISTIQUE CHRÉTIENNE DE NICCOLÒ CAMERARIO*

THE NAMES OF GOD IN THE CHRISTIAN KABBALAH OF NICCOLÒ CAMERARIO

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Abstract

Cet article prend en considération les théories hétérogènes de la Cabbale chrétienne sur les différents noms de Dieu et de Jésus dans le contexte de la pensée syncrétique de la Renaissance. En particulier, on prendra en examen les textes de Niccolò Camerario (1469–1532). Son épitre sur le nom de Jésus et la *Nova Expositio super Evangelio* peuvent être considérées comme des exemples de la lecture chrétienne du Tétragramme et d'une interprétation christologique des doctrines cabbalistiques juives.

Mots-clés

Niccolò Camerario, Tétragramme, Nom de Jésus, Cabbale, Cabbale chrétienne.

Abstract

The article examines the theories by the early Christian Kabbalists about the different names of God and of Jesus in the context of the Renaissance syncretistic thought. The study focused especially on the writings of Niccolò Camerario (1469–1532). His letter on the name of Jesus and the *Nova Expositio super Evangelio* are some examples of a Christian reading of the Tetragrammaton as expression of new Christological interpretations to Jewish Kabbalistic doctrines.

Key Words

Niccolò Camerario, Tetragrammaton, Name of Jesus, Kabbalah, Christian Kabbalah.

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Introduction

Les humanistes qui, à la fin du XVe siècle, pratiquaient une lecture 'cabbalisante' des dogmes chrétiens et une interprétation chrétienne des doctrines cabbalistiques juives, avaient élaboré une théorie du 'Nom' divin mêlant le symbolisme et la linguistique.[1] Le phénomène qu'on voudrait ici mettre en lumière présente des solutions interprétatives qui, par l'effet de certaines permutations alphabétiques, permettent de considérer le Tétragramme—c'est-à-dire le Nom ineffable de Dieu—comme le noyau du nom de Jésus (*Iesus*) et le nom de Jésus comme l'achèvement du Nom ineffable de Dieu.[2] Ce passage du Tétragramme au Christogramme, que Moshe Idel a considéré comme la plus importante acquisition christologique de la cabbale chrétienne,[3] a été abordé par les humanistes de façon différente. Et de fait, la projection de la christologie dans

1 L'expression 'cabbale chrétienne' désigne un courant de pensée qui fait son apparition à la fin du XVe siècle dans les cercles des savants humanistes et dont la paternité a été attribuée à Jean Pic de la Mirandole (1463–1494); cela malgré quelques antécédents de la littérature apologétique chrétienne au Moyen Âge, par exemple dans le *Pugio Fidei* du dominicain espagnol Raimond Martin (*v.* 1215–*v.* 1285) qui, à la fin du XIIIe siècle, se sert de la littérature juive pour démontrer la divinité du Christ; ou encore dans les ouvrages d'Abner de Burgos (1270–1346), de Pedro de la Caballeria et de Pablo de Heredia, qui transmettent indirectement la cabbale juive. Sur la cabbale chrétienne, voir entre autres nombreux titres: François Secret, *Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris: Dunod, 1964; Joseph L. Blau, *The Christian Interpretations of the Cabalah in the Renaissance*, Port Washington: Columbia University Press, 1965, tr. it. Fabrizio Lelli, *Le origini della Cabala*, Nardò: Controluce, 2010; Gershom Scholem, 'Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Christlichen Kabbala', dans Leo Baeck (ed.), *Essays presented to Leo Baeck on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, London: East and West Library, 1954, pp. 158–193, tr. fr. par Jean-Marc Mandosio, 'Considérations sur l'histoire des débuts de la cabale chrétienne', dans Chaim Wirszubski, *Pic de la Mirandole et la cabale*, Paris–Tel-Aviv: Éditions de l'éclat, 2007, pp. 435–473; Collectif, *Cahiers de l'Hermétisme. Kabbalistes chrétiens*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1979; Jean-Pierre Brach, 'Umanesimo e correnti esoteriche in Italia: l'esempio dell'inizio della «qabbalah cristiana» (XV-XVII secolo)', dans Gian Mario Cazzaniga (ed.), *Storia d'Italia. Annali. 25: Esoterismo*, Torino: Einaudi, 2010, pp. 257–288; Fabrizio Lelli (ed.), *Giovanni Pico e la cabbalà*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2014.

2 Sur ce sujet voir Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 'History and Prehistory of the Cabala of JHSUH', dans Giulio Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin–Latin to Hebrew. The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism. Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute, London, October 18-19, 2004*, Torino: Aragno, 2006, pp. 223–241; Robert J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God. Form the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 2015; Michael T. Miller, *The Name of God in Jewish Thought. A philosophical analysis of mystical traditions from apocalyptic to Kabbalah*, New York: Routledge, 2016.

3 Cf. Moshe Idel, *La Cabbalà in Italia (1280-1510)*, Firenze: Giuntina 2007, p. 284.

la tradition cabbalistique et l'appropriation des techniques linguistiques encouragent les humanistes à essayer de comprendre autrement le sens du mystère chrétien.[4]

Il nous faut prendre en considération les théories qui ont été élaborées par Niccolò Camerario.[5] Ecclésiastique et auteur de textes cabbalistiques, Camerario a lié son activité au cardinal Gilles de Viterbe, avec lequel il a établi un dialogue constant sur la tradition mystique juive.[6] *Archipresbyter* de l'église de Bénévent—une enclave pontificale où, à l'époque, fleurissait une communauté juive persécutée en 1519 par l'Inquisition[7]—il mettait son talent d'orateur au service de la communauté civique[8] pour en défendre les lois municipales. Les quelques

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4 On peut signaler un autre thème fondamental 'christianisé' par les humanistes: la doctrine des *sefirot*. Les manifestations ou émanations divines, dont la nature hypostatique se laisse identifier ou différencier par rapport à la source émanative, deviennent chez les cabbalistes chrétiens une manifestation du dogme trinitaire (Jean Pic de la Mirandole) ou une expression sotériologique chrétienne (Gilles de Viterbe). Idel (*La Cabbalà in Italia*, p. 284) remarque à cet égard que 'l'intero sistema delle *Sefirot* è inteso come un *deus revelatus* (in alcuni casi solo una delle *Sefirot*), cioè come Cristo'.

5 François Secret (*Schechina e Libellus de litteris hebraicis*, Roma: Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, 1959, p. 12) avait remarqué l'importance de ce personnage inconnu qui a contribué à la 'vulgarisation' et à la diffusion de la cabbale. Sur Camerarius vd. aussi Id., *I cabbalisti cristiani del Rinascimento*, tr. it. Roma: Arkeios, 2011, p. 117 et Flavia Buzzetta, 'La cabbale vulgarisée au XVIe siècle: Niccolò Camerario un cabbaliste oublié', *Accademia* 16 (2014), pp. 121–134.

6 Figure exemplaire de la Renaissance, le cardinal Gilles de Viterbe a adapté la pensée juive à la doctrine chrétienne en contribuant au développement de la cabbale chrétienne. Dans une période où les chrétiens découvrent l'*Hebraica Veritas* et les juifs s'ouvrent aux *studia humanitatis*, la curiosité intellectuelle du cardinal prend la forme d'une *judaïsation* du christianisme et d'une *christianisation* du judaïsme. Ses traités cabbalistiques, c'est-à-dire le *Libellus de litteris hebraicis* (1517) et la *Schechina* inachevée (1530), sont des exemples de la production littéraire cabbalistique du cardinal. Sur Gilles de Viterbe cabbaliste voir les études de François Secret, 'Egidio da Viterbo et quelques-uns de ses contemporains', *Augustiniana* 16 (1966), pp. 371–385 ; Id., 'Le symbolisme de la kabbale chrétienne dans la *Schechina* d'Egidio da Viterbo', *Archivio di Filosofia* 27 (1958), pp. 131–154 ; Id., 'Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo', *Augustiniana* 27 (1977), pp. 205–237. On peut faire référence aussi à Brian P. Copenhaver and Daniel Stein Kokin, 'Egidio da Viterbo's Book on Hebrew Letters: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67/1 (2014), pp. 1–42; Daniel Stein Kokin, 'Entering the Labyrinth: On the Hebraic and Kabbalistic Universe of Egidio da Viterbo', dans Ilana Zinguer, Abraham Melamed and Zur Shalev (eds), *Hebraic Aspects of the Renaissance*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011, pp. 27–42; Emma Abate, 'Filologia e Qabbalah. La biblioteca ebraica di Egidio da Viterbo alla Biblioteca Angelica di Roma', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 26 (2014), pp. 409–446; Flavia Buzzetta, 'Variazioni semantiche del Golem in alcune traduzioni latine del primo Rinascimento italiano', *Accademia. Revue de la Société Marsile Ficin* 14 (2012), pp. 65–78, en particulier pp. 70–78.

7 Entre autres, on peut signaler Baruch de Bénévent, savant juif lié à Gilles de Viterbe et auquel est attribuée une traduction du *Zohar*. À cet égard voir les remarques de Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter, cf. Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebraïschen und Aramäischen Studien*, Munich: T.Ackermann, 1884, p. 180.

8 Cf. *Memorie Istoriche della Pontificia Città di Benevento dal Secolo VIII al Secolo XVIII. Divise in tre parti raccolte, ed illustrate da* Stefano Borgia, pt. II, Roma 1764, pp. 407–408: 'Pochi anni dopo accadde

témoignages de sa production littéraire sont l'exemple d'une tentative incessante d'expliquer le dogme chrétien sur une base cabbalistique. Sa tension vers le divin s'exprime par une transmission de la connaissance à travers les traductions en vulgaire de textes cabbalistiques juifs (qu'il offre à Gilles de Viterbe) et par une conception de la cabbale chrétienne visant à justifier le mystère de l'Incarnation.[9]

La lettre sur le Nom de Jésus

Camerario reste un cabbaliste relativement inconnu ayant consacré à la question du Nom essentiellement deux textes: une épître adressée à Gilles de Viterbe et un commentaire à l'Evangile de Luc, la *Nova Expositio super Evangelio*.[10]

Selon une vision unitaire qui prétend harmoniser les vérités chrétiennes et juives, Camerario s'efforce d'expliquer la sacralité du nom de Jésus, sa signification et le symbolisme des lettres dont il se compose. Datée entre 1517 et

che essendosi perduto l'originale degli statuti, ed avendolo la città rappresentato a Paolo III per mezzo di Niccolò Camerario, e di Giulio de' Sindici, a tal'uopo destinati oratori presso il pontefice, questi con Breve del 1535 ordinò all'Arcidiacono della Chiesa Beneventana che insieme con tre o quattro probi Consiglieri maturamente esaminasse gli statuti che v'erano, e quando riconosciuti li avesse per giusti e ragionevoli, gli diè facoltà di confermarli con autorità Apostolica (*tom.* 2 *num.* 81 *dell'Archivio*). Sotto lo stesso Paolo III dai Consoli e Comune di Benevento si accrebbe di nuovi statuti il corpo delle leggi Municipali, i quali, previa la moderazione fattane dal Cardinale Alessandro Farnese, vennero confermati dal Papa con Breve del 1548 diretto ai medesimi Consoli (*tom.* 2 *num.* 82 *dell'Archivio*).'

9 Ses traductions—si toutefois il en est l'auteur—ont été transmises par le manuscrit latin 44 de la Bibliothèque Angelica et par le manuscrit 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense. J'ai pu constater que le manuscrit 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense correspond à une sélection de textes du manuscrit Lat. 44 de la Bibliothèque Angelica, qui transmet des gloses en latin de Gilles de Viterbe—ce qui nous permet d'y reconnaître l'original. Sur ces manuscrits voir Buzzetta, 'La cabbale vulgarisée au XVIe siècle'; Emma Abate e Maurizio Mottolese, 'La *qabbalah* in volgare: manoscritti dell''atelier' di Egidio da Viterbo, dans Stefano U. Baldassarri e Fabrizio Lelli (ed.), *Umanesimo e cultura ebraica nel Rinascimento italiano*, Firenze: Angelo Pontecorboli Editore, 2016, pp. 15–40. Ces traductions sont l'un des tout premiers exemples historiques de l'usage du vulgaire italien dans l'élaboration et l'interprétation des thèmes cabbalistiques avec les manuscrits en sicilien de la BnF, Parisien Italien 443, du XVe siècle, et le manuscrit 8526 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, que j'ai découvert pendant une résidence de recherche à l'Institut d'Études Avancées de Paris (2015–2016). Ce dernier manuscrit, le *Tratati belli de Zacarias*, dont je prépare l'édition transmet des versions siciliennes de l'*Imrei Shefer* d'Aboulafia et du *Commentaire au Sefer Yetsirah* de Joseph ben Shalom Ashkenazi, glosées et annotées par Pier Leone da Spoleto, le médecin de Laurent le Magnifique.

10 Niccolò Camerario, *Nova Expositio super Evangelio*, Fr. Da Sabbio, Venise 1523. J'ai redécouvert ce traité pendant une résidence de recherche à l'Institut d'études avancées de Paris (2015–2016). Ces recherches ont été effectuées grâce au soutien de l'État français dans le cadre du programme 'Investissement d'avenir' géré par l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR-11-LABX-0027-01 Labex RFIEA+). Seulement trois exemplaires de cette petite *cinquecentina* sont conservés dans les bibliothèques italiennes: Biblioteca Roberto Caracciolo (Lecce), Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana (Faenza) et Biblioteca Angelica (Rome).

1523, la lettre à Gilles de Viterbe est transmise par le MS Lat. 44 de la Bibliothèque Angelica (ff. 1r–2v) et par le manuscrit 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense (ff. 1r–1v). La mention, dans l'*incipit*, de Gilles de Viterbe alors cardinal (*Egidius Viterbiensis cardinalis*) nous permet d'établir le *terminus post quem*, étant donné que Gilles fut investi du cardinalat en 1517: Camerario lui écrit donc nécessairement après cette date. Par ailleurs, le *terminus ante quem*, c'est-à-dire 1523, correspond à la date de publication de la *Nova expositio super Evangelio*, dont la lettre n'est qu'une sorte d'avant-propos.

Dans ce texte Camerario essaie de répondre à une question spécifique qui lui a été posée par Gilles de Viterbe et qui concerne l'attribution problématique du nom de Jésus au Messie. Le prêtre se demande:

> [...] quibus ex locis veteris scripturae extrahitur hoc nomen Jesus hebraice ישו.[11]

Cette question pose le problème du rapport entre Ancien et Nouveau Testament, que Camerario voudrait harmoniser à la lumière de cette vertu salvatrice de Jésus, dont témoigne son nom de Sauveur. Il rapporte donc le texte biblique dans son ensemble à la tradition chrétienne. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, l'Ancien Testament préfigure le Nouveau Testament:

> Dominus noster IHVS[12] Christus in suo evangelio Simoni dixit: omnis scriba doctus in regno celorum similis est patri familias qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera: theologus igitur doctus esse debet in utroque testamento, ut proferat de suo thesauro nova et vetera: ponitur hic regnum celorum per sacra pagina, ut sua Dominus Rex novit profert ergo doctus theologus nova et vetera ut vetera que figura fuere novis [...].[13]

Comme théologien, Camerario voit dans les images vétérotestamentaires du Christ une manifestation de son nom. Sa recherche est axée sur l'examen des *figurae* et des passages de l'Ancien Testament où émerge la présence du Nom. Cette présence permet d'apprécier la variété des appellations attribuées au Messie:

> Lucas scribit, quod angelus dixit Marie virgini: et vocabis nomen eius Jesus; et Matheus et vocabitur nomen eius IHS et iterum Lucas et vocatum est nomen eius IHVS. Dubium facit Isaias dicens de Christo et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel, quod interpretatur nobiscum deus: et idem in alio loco et vocabitur nomen eius

[11] MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, f. 1r. Le texte a été établi sur la base d'une comparaison entre les versions transmises par le manuscrit 44 de la Bibliothèque Angelica et le manuscrit 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense.

[12] J'ai choisi de maintenir dans la transcription les abréviations du nom de Jésus.

[13] MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, f. 1r.

> admirabilis consiliarius deus fortis princeps pacis, pater futuri seculi, propheta dicit quod vocabitur Innon: Moyses in suo cantico vir pugnator est nomen eius, secundum litteram latinam.[14]

Le manque apparent de cohérence onomastique entre Ancien et Nouveau Testament relativement au Christ, est relevé par Camerarius dans cette remarque:

> dicendum ne esset quod angelus mentitus est, aut Maria, vel evangelista, absit error iste a cordibus nostris; aut forsan Isaias et alii prophetae mentiti sunt, hoc est erroneum.[15]

À son avis, l'hétérogénéité des appellations du Christ ne s'explique que par rapport à la nature essentielle du nom de Jésus, parachevant la rédemption annoncée par les prophètes. 'Il faut appeler le rédempteur'—dit Camerario—'avec son nom propre, c'est-à-dire Jésus en hébreu **ישו**'.

Ce nom est nouveau par rapport à sa signification mais non par rapport à sa graphie, dont la transposition en grec et en latin a engendré des erreurs d'interprétation. À cet égard Camerarius observe:

> Sed quod latini proferant forsan dicant quod hoc nomen IHVS est nomen novum quod deus nominavit ut Isaias dicit et vocabitur nomen eius novum quod os domini nominavit: dicunt ebrei quod hoc nomen IHVS non est novum, cum multi in testamento veteri nomine vocati sunt sicuti fuit Jesus Navi, Jesus Sirach, et Jesus Josedech; aut fortasse dicant theologi quod hoc nomen IHVS dictum fuit ab Habacuc in suo cantico ibi: ego autem in domino gaudebo et exultabo in Deo IHV meo [Hab. 3, 18] dicent ad hoc nobis Judei et Greci quod non est recta translatio in latinum facta; nam iudei in eorum libro sic aiunt ישעי et greci *τὸ σωτύριμον* et in multis aliis locis habetur simile vocabulum quod in latinum vertitur salvatori meo.[16]

Jésus en tant que *Salvator*, *σωτήρ*[17], ישע (salut, *salus*) est l'accomplissement du message divin du salut, intégralement contenu dans la Bible.

[14] MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, f. 1r.
[15] MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, ff. 1v–2r.
[16] MS Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 44, ff. 2r–2v.
[17] La *Septante* traduit le passage d'*Habacuc* 3, 18: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀγαλλιάσομαι, χαρήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου*. Dans la *Vulgate* on peut lire: *ego autem in Domino gaudebo exultabo in Deo Iesu meo*.

Les graphies du Nom dans l'épître

Mais quelles sont les différentes graphies du nom de Jésus selon l'interprétation de Camerario? À l'instar du Tétragramme—disparu au cours de sa réception chrétienne comme l'a remarqué Robert J. Wilkinson[18]—le nom de Jésus en hébreu, en grec et en latin n'a pas une écriture certaine.[19] Cette variabilité des graphies se retrouve aussi chez Camerario qui utilise deux graphies du nom de Jésus en hébreu et trois en latin. Les variantes hébraïques se présentent sous une forme trigrammatique composée des lettres *iod*, *shin*, *vav* (ישו) et sous une tétragrammatique composée de *iod*, *shin*, *ayin*, *iod* (ישעי).[20] Ces deux variantes expriment l'idée du salut et de la rédemption, qui remonte à la racine juive du mot Messie, מושיע c'est à dire ישע indiquant l'action du Christ. Ce nom a la vertu de sauver l'humanité en l'affranchissant de ses péchés. Or, Camerario développera cette question dans la *Nova Expositio*.

Par contre, notre auteur utilise trois écritures latines du nom de Jésus, qui sont le fruit d'une transposition de l'hébreu au latin par la médiation du grec: IHS, IHVS, IHV. Ces typologies graphiques sont en effet des abréviations ou des symboles du nom du Christ, dont le plus répandu est IHS. Ce nom est appelé christogramme ou monogramme puisqu'il symbolise le Sauveur Jésus Christ.[21] C'est une transcription des trois caractères grecs *iota*, *eta*, *sigma* qui figurent dans le nom ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (*Ἰησοῦς*). On sait que l'on doit au franciscain Bernardin de Sienne (1380–1444) la diffusion iconographique du trigramme IHS, qui fit l'objet d'un culte controversé.[22]

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[18] La rencontre du monde chrétien avec le *nomen proprium* de Dieu est caractérisée par ce que Wilkinson a considéré comme 'the eclypse of the Name'. Cf. Robert J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God. Form the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*, Leiden–New York: Brill, 2015, pp. 45 ss. Sur la vocalisation du Tétragramme en grec voir Pavlos Vasileiadis, 'Aspect of rendering the sacred Tetragrammaton in Greek', *Open Theology* 1 (2014), pp. 56–88; Id., 'The pronunciation of the Sacred Tetragrammaton: An Overview of the *Nomen Revelatus* that became a *Nomen Absconditus*', *Judaica Ukrainica. Annual Journal of the Jewish Studies* 2 (2013), pp. 5–20.

[19] Sur la richesse graphique et sémantique de Jésus chez les juifs voir Thierry Murcia, *Jésus dans le Talmud et la littérature rabbinique ancienne*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, en particulier pp. 389–394.

[20] Il faut remarquer que la tradition juive atteste surtout deux graphies de Jésus: ישוע et son abreviation ישו. Voir Ibid.

[21] Stéphane Toussaint dans son article 'Il Cristo di Pico. Dalla Croce al Trigramma', dans Antonella Del Prete e Saverio Ricci (ed.), *Il tempo del Figlio. I filosofi e il Cristo all'inizio dell'età moderna*, Firenze: Le Lettere, 2014, pp. 77–96, a examiné le rapport entre le nom du Christ et la croix, considérée comme un sceau chargé de pouvoir.

[22] À cet égard voir l'étude d'Isabella Gagliardi, 'Figura Nominis Iesu: in margine alla controversia De Jesuitate (1427–1431)', *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 113 (2011), pp. 209–249, qui prend en considération le reproche de crypto-judaïsme adressé à Bernardin de Sienne. Les cabbalistes chrétiens, à commencer par Pic, condamné en 1487 pour hérésie, seront accusés de verser dans le judaïsme.

Camerario emploie les appellatifs IHVS et IHV en se référant à l'Ancien Testament et en particulier au passage d'*Habacuc* ainsi modifié: *ego autem in domino gaudebo et exultabo in Deo IHV meo*. Dans ce contexte, le nom IHV remplace l'hébreu ישעי qui signifie la protection de Dieu. Cette variante du nom de Jésus correspond au théonyme YHW (*Iαω* en grec) qui était utilisé à la place du Tétragramme dans les cercles des juifs en Égypte, comme en témoignent les papyrus d'Élephantine.[23] En outre, la forme IHVS semble constituer une variante chrétienne du Tétragramme divin par l'insertion de la lettre *s*, le *shin* qui représente le Christ.[24]

On retrouve souvent chez les cabbalistes chrétiens la graphie trigrammatique du nom de Jésus. Par exemple, quelques années après Camerario, Francesco Zorzi dans les *Problemata* (1536) analyse la composition alphabétique du nom du Christ sous forme de trigramme et de tétragramme. Le nom trigrammatique est regardé comme une forme abrégé du Tétragramme divin, sans les deux *he* et avec un *shin* qui serait une manifestation de la paix du Christ, dans son rapport avec le *shabbat*.[25]

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[23] Pavlos Vasileiadis dans son étude 'The god *Iao* and his connection with the biblical God with special emphasis on the manuscript 4QpapLXXVev[b]', *Vetus Testamentum et Hellas* 4 (2017), pp. 1–20, a examiné cette version du Tétragramme par rapport au grec *Iαω*.

[24] Les cabbalistes chrétiens attribuent une valeur symbolique aux composantes alphabétiques du nom de Jésus. En particulier, le *shin* est considéré comme l'élement permettant le passage du Tétragramme au Pentagramme Christique, ce qui rend prononçable le nom ineffable de Dieu. Pic, par exemple, dans une glose au *Livre de Job*, transforme le Tétragramme en YHSWS, et Johannes Reuchlin dans le *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) en YHSWH. Sur le symbolisme de la lettre *shin* on peut faire référence au *Libellus de litteris hebraicis* de Gilles de Viterbe (Secret, *Schechina e Libellus de litteris hebraicis*, cit.) et à ses annotations au *Sefer ha-Temunah* qui ont été transmises par le manuscrit Lat. 527 (1) de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, qui transmet aussi un *Alphabetum Temunah*. Le langage adopté, la formulation des théories et l'institution d'une doctrine cabbalistique chrétienne sur le Nom sont des exemples d'une *koinè* qui caractérise et unifie le savoir humaniste à l'aube de la Renaissance.

[25] Cf. Francesco Zorzi, *In Scripturam Sacram Problemata*, Paris, 1622, p. 164: 'in nomine ישו Iesu duae literae tetragrammi includuntur. י iod, videlicet, quae est litera patri competens (vt norunt antiqui Theologi, qui vocant ipsum patrem coronam supremam) et ו vau, quae est vita, & arbor vitae, vel panis vitae designans filium. Duo vero ה he significantia Spiritum sanctum (alterum in eo quod est nexus patris et filij : alterum in eo quod est opifex et medium quo pater & filius se nobis communicant) mutata fuere in ש schim, quod est principium Sabat, id est requiei'. Dans la foulée de Camerario, Zorzi examine aussi la forme tétragrammatique du nom de Jésus, c'est à dire *iod*, *shin*, *vav ayin* (ישוע) et sa fonction, en y voyant l'accomplissement du tétragramme divin. Arcangelo da Borgonovo s'alignera sur la position de son maître Francesco Zorzi. Dans la *Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Giesù secondo gli Hebrei Cabalisti, Greci, Caldei, Persi et Latini, YHWH YSW* (1557), il considère le nom du Christ comme un Trigramme installé au centre de l'arbre séfirotique, en l'identifiant avec *Tipheret* (Ibid., p. 41). Ce nom *iod*, *shin vav* a été donné pour la 'salute loro [ebrei] e non per la liberatione della captività mondana' (Ibid., p. 54). Arcangelo relie les spéculations sur le nom de Jésus à la doctrine des *sefirot*.

Comme nous l'avons dit, Camerario apporte donc sa contribution au débat cabbalistique chrétien en essayant d'harmoniser des traditions différentes dans une perspective spéculative et linguistique renouvelée. En vue d'une constante *translatio studiorum*, l'auteur vise à mettre en dialogue les religions, comme le montre très clairement la *Nova Expositio*, dont nous allons nous occuper tout de suite.

Nova Expositio super Evangelio

Publiée en 1523 à Venise par les frères Niccolini da Sabbio (actifs dans cette ville à partir de 1521)[26], la *Nova Expositio super Evangelio* n'est qu'un dévéloppement analytique de la lettre que Camerario avait adressée à Gilles de Viterbe. Si en effet dans la lettre Camerario avait envisagée une nouvelle perspective pour la recherche sur le nom de Jésus, dans le commentaire à l'Evangile il précise sa position en matière de cabbale chrétienne et propose une lecture qui, à l'aide des mystères de la cabbale, essaie de dévoiler la divinité du Christ cachée dans son nom. Le destinataire de cette spéculation n'est plus Gilles mais le conseiller de la duchesse de Francavilla auquel Camerario expose son interprétation de l'épisode de l'Annonciation (Luc 1, 26–38).[27] Il faut remarquer que cette interprétation est présentée par Camerario sous forme d'illumination divine. Comme il l'écrit dans sa prolusione: 'Id divine sapientie acceptum refero'.[28]

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[26] Sur les éditions des frères Niccolini da Sabio voir Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1924, pp. 293–298; Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani tipografi, incisori, librai-editori*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1958, p. 110; Enrica Follieri, *Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento*, in *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1969, pp. 119–164; Evro Layton, *The sixteenth century Greek book in Italy. Printers and publishers for the Greek world*, Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1994, p. 402; Id., 'Andreas Kounadis and the Niccolini da Sabio', dans Triantaphyllos E. Sklavenitis and Konstantinos S. Staikos (eds), *The Printed Greek Book 15th-19th Century. Acts of the International Congress, Delphi 16-20 may 2001*, Athens: Oak Knoll Press, 2004, pp. 69–79; Élise Boillet, *L'Aretin et la Bible*, Genève: Droz, 2007, pp. 116–117. Au cours de ma recherche, j'ai pu vérifier que les frères Sabbio n'avaient publié ni des œuvres en hébreu, ni des œuvres cabbalistiques.

[27] Dans la dedicace (*Nova Expositio*, p. 1) Camerario écrit: 'Illustrissime Domine Consiliarius Ducisse Franchaville, Nicolaus qui supra Servulus'. Sur le fief de Francavilla voir *Memorie Istoriche della Pontificia Città di Benevento dal Secolo VIII al Secolo XVIII. Divise in tre parti raccolte, ed illustrate da* Stefano Borgia, pt. III, vol. I, Roma 1769, p. 464.

[28] Niccolò Camerario, *Nova Expositio*, p. 1: 'Et si negotiis forensibus occupatus eram tamen te horante ac impellente pro mei ingenii mediocritatis segmen illud evangelii luce: cuius est exordium: Missus est quodamodo enarrandum, explicandumque curavi. Quo circa illud qualecumque est tue amplitudini dedicavi: in quo quidem si quid a me recte dictum est. Id divine sapientie acceptum refero: siquid vero erratum siquidem homo sum id tue Exactissime ferule ac perspicacissime censure subitio. Vale unicum Mulierum et totius honestatis ac pulchritudinis spectatissimum iubar.'

Inspirés par une révélation divine, ses mots ont donc une autorité sacrée. La réception de la 'divine connaissance' permet au prêtre de se faire interprète et médiateur du divin. Nous pouvons reconnaître ici le *topos* de la cabbale en tant que savoir d'origine divine: par là, Dieu se manifeste à l'homme et lui permet de comprendre ses mystères. Selon les cabbalistes chrétiens—et donc selon Camerario—la cabbale est en effet une 'science révélée' qui peut rapprocher l'homme des vérités cachées et surnaturelles. Cette science divine conserve les mystères et les secrets concernant la nature de Dieu.[29] Si l'homme ne peut participer que passivement de cette révélation, il se fait en même temps véhicule de la vérité dans la transmission du message divin. Il ne faut pas oublier que le mot hébreu *qabbalah* signifie 'réception': la racine *qof bet lamed* (קבל) indique l'action passive de recevoir. Ainsi, selon une perspective commune aux œuvres cabbalistiques juives et chrétiennes, la 'réception' est assumée comme une 'tradition', c'est-à-dire comme une transmission d'un savoir révélé ou d'un savoir 'secret' concernant le divin.[30] D'où la possibilité d'une double modalité de transmission/réception du savoir: de Dieu à l'homme et de l'homme à l'homme. Camerario explique donc et transmet lui-même cette connaissance par des moyens humains dans les limites imposées à l'homme. C'est pourquoi il ajoute: 'si quid vero erratum siquidem homo sum'.[31] La cabbale en tant que *scientia revelata*,[32] comme l'appelle Jean Pic de la Mirandole, trouve ses fondements doctrinaux *a priori* dans la révélation divine ou angélique et chez Camerario, cette révélation

[29] Cet aspect de la cabbale revient souvent dans les traités cabbalistiques, traduits en vulgaire par Camerario. Par exemple, on peut faire référence au f. 39v du MS 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense: 'Li segreti son chiamati cabala e quelle non son pubbliche come hanno detto molte volte per simili cose. Questa è cosa ricevuta e cosa ricevuta non haveva audito lui; e così la cabala per quelle persone che son di anima idest divine e spirituali come dice lo segreto di Dio a li temitori suoi.'

[30] Cette position était partagée par les premiers cabbalistes chrétiens qui consideraient le savoir mystique juif comme un savoir de nature divine par lequel Dieu se révèle à l'homme. À cet égard, au debut du XVIe siècle Jean Thenaud, aumônier de François I[er] qui a contribué à la naissance d'une cabale chrétienne en langue française, dans ses traités considère la cabbale comme une science divine acquise par une revelation. Une science qui, dit Thenaud, (*Traicté de la Cabale*, édition établie par Ian Christie-Miller avec la collaboration de François Roudaut et la participation de Claire César, Pierre Gauthier et Jean Timotéi, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007, p. 249): 'ne peut estre conquise ny sceue par sens exterieur, ny par experience, raison, demonstracion, silogisme, estude, ou par aultre voye humaine et raisonable mais par seulle foy, par illuminacion et revelacion celeste'. J'ai abordé cette question dans l'article 'Jean Thenaud et la cabale pratique', à paraître. Sur Jean Thenaud cf. Joseph Engels, 'Notice sur Jean Thenaud', *Vivarium* 8 (1970), pp. 99–122 ; Id., 'Notice sur Jean Thenaud (2)', *Vivarium* 9 (1971), pp. 138–156; Id., 'Notice sur Jean Thenaud (3)', *Vivarium* 10 (1972), pp. 107-123; Marie Holban, 'Autour de Jean Thenaud et de Frère Jean des Entonneurs', *Études Rabelaisiennes* 9 (1971), pp. 49–65.

[31] *Nova Expositio*, p. 1.

[32] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Apologia. L'autodifesa di Pico di fronte al Tribunale dell'Inquisizione*, a cura di Paolo Edoardo Fornaciari, Firenze: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010, p. 158.

procède de la deuxième *sefirah*, *ḥokmah*. C'est pourquoi le renvoi à la *divina sapientia* implique une allusion à l'illumination acquise par cette hypostase divine.[33] La lumière de la *divina sapientia* permet à Camerario d'expliquer la lumière de l'Évangile de Luc, qui annonce la conception et la naissance du Fils de Dieu.

Selon Camerario, rien ne sépare les Écritures canoniques juives du Nouveau Testament, parce que la loi vétérotestamentaire, le savoir cabbalistique et le Nouveau Testament remontent à la même (et unique) Révélation.[34] Par rapport à la *Lettre sur le Nom de Jésus*, la pensée de Camerario se montre ici plus définie et plus riche en images cabbalistiques, à tel point qu'il utilise souvent le mot *cabalistice* pour évoquer la typologie herméneutique appliquée à sa lecture de l'évangile, faisant explicitement de la cabbale un instrument et une méthode d'exégèse des Écritures.[35] Examiner *cabalistice* le texte de Luc revient à décomposer son verbe pour en extraire de nouvelles significations relatives à l'Incarnation.

Tout en exhibant une technique de permutation alphabétique très originale, Camerario s'appuie sur la *gematria* et le *notariqon* pour éclairer l'obscurité du texte

[33] Il faut remarquer que les traités traduits par Camerario, ou pour son compte, relèvent de la doctrine des *sefirot* développée selon les théories de la cabbale théosophico-théurgique. Le manuscrit 807 de la Bibliothèque Casanatense est composé de trois sections dont la deuxième (ff. 2r–2v), intitulée *Liber cabala*, est une synthèse schématique sur les *sefirot* et la troisième (3r–42v) contient trois traités sur les *sefirot* intitulés respectivement *sod eser sefirot* (**סוד עשר ספירת**, f.3r), c'est-à-dire le secret des dix *sefirot*, *perush eser sefirot* (**פרוש עשר ספירת** , f. 7r) ou bien commentaire aux dix *sefirot*, et une exposé sur les *eser sefirot* (**עשר ספירת**, f. 8v), c'est-à-dire les dix *sefirot*. La dernière partie (ff. 32r–40r) renferme une exposition sur les *sefirot* et la 'santa cabala' dans laquelle sont harmonisées des argumentations philosophiques et cabbalistiques.

[34] La fonction harmonisatrice de la cabbale était au cœur de la pensée de Pic de la Mirandole qui dans son *Oratio* (1486) avait mis en exergue la cohérence entre les Écritures et le savoir cabbalistique. Selon le *Discorso sulla Dignità dell'Uomo*, a cura di Francesco Bausi, Varese: Guanda, 2014, p. 128: 'vidi in illis (testis est Deus) religionem non tam Mosaycam, quam Christianam. Ibi Trinitatis mysterium, ibi Verbi incarnatio, ibi Messiae divinitas; ibi de peccato originali, de illius per Christum expiationem, de caelesti Hyerusalem, de casu demonum, de ordinibus angelorum, de purgatoriis, de inferorum paenis eadem legi, quae apud Paulum et Dionysium, apud Hieronymum et Augustinum quotidie legimus.'

[35] Les cabbalistes chrétiens considéraient la cabbale comme l'un des quatres sens de l'Écriture, le *sod*, le niveau secret du texte biblique. À cet égard Maurizio Mottolese (*La via della qabbalah, Esegesi e mistica nel 'Commento alla Torah' di Rabbi Bahya ben Ašer*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004, p. 25) remarque: 'quel sistema formale innovativo permetteva all'esegeta cabalista, da un lato, di preservare la molteplicità degli approcci interpretativi tradizionali, dall'altro di porre la lettura esoterica come il livello privilegiato e più alto. In sostanza, si riconosceva legittimità e validità (seppure di grado diverso) agli approcci degli antichi maestri, a quello degli esegeti letteralisti del Medioevo, e persino alle recenti prospettive filosofiche; ma poi, si attribuiva solo alla lettura cabalistica la possibilità di penetrare le verità nascoste e i segreti profondi della rivelazione divina. Un sistema interpretativo insieme pluralistico e gerarchico.'

biblique.[36] Camerario reconnaît dans le récit évangélique trois moments herméneutiques: l'identification de l'ange Gabriel avec Jésus Christ; la valeur du nom de Jésus; l'explication de l'incarnation du Verbe. Sans être vraiment évidente, cette tripartition confère en tout cas au discours de Camerario un rythme ascendant qui culmine dans la définition de la nature du Christ.

Onomastique divine et lecture cabbalistique

Comme dans la lettre, Camerario utilise deux graphies hébraïques du nom du Christ: la forme tetragrammatique *iod*, *shin*, *vav* et *ayin* (**ישוע**) et celle trigrammatique *iod*, *shin*, *vav* (**ישו**). Ces écritures sont adoptées pour signifier le message du salut qui s'accomplit par le Messie. Différemment de l'épître, la *Nova Expositio* inclut le trigramme et le tétragramme christique dans le cadre d'une interprétation cabbalistique. Pour expliquer la fonction rédemptrice du tétragramme christique Camerario propose une lecture *isopséphique* de l'*incipit* de l'évangile. Il écrit:

> In mense sexto, mensis iste sextus in ebreo est **אדר** adar inde venit **אדיר** adir idest mirabile in hac sanctissima incarnatione fuit quid mirabile ideo sequitur Missus est Gabriel Angelus; Mensis in hebreo dicitur **חודש** hodes idest renovatio fuit hoc in sexta renovatione idest in sexta mundi etate secundum opinione doctorum theologorum. Sextus dicitur etiam ratione sue perfectionis pro quo premittendum est quod christus conceptus fuit in anno mundi 3760 qui anni extrahuntur a suo nomine **ישוע** Iesus idest salus sive salvator quod nomen secum portat 3760. Paulus dicit at ubi venit plenitudo temporis litera hebrea que dicitur vau idest portatur in hebreo sex in numero et semper implet dictionem et facit eam perfectam [...][37]

Dans ce passage, la venue du Messie est annoncée en référence au sixième mois que Camerario prend comme une allusion au sixième âge du monde, à la rénovation et à l'accomplissement de l'histoire sainte. Tel est le le véritable sens du nom de Jésus, c'est-à-dire du tétragramme *iod*, *shin*, *vav*, *ayin* qui exprime le salut. La *plenitudo temporis* se cache en effet dans le *vav*, troisième lettre de la forme tétragrammatique du nom de Jésus, dont le six est le nombre équivalent. Ici Camerario évoque un passage du *Zohar* (*Zohar*, *VaYera* 119a) qui fait écho à la tradition talmudique et midrashique:

[36] *Gematria*, *notariqon* et *temurah* sont des techniques alphabétiques qui permettent de décerner la signification cachée des textes. Dans la *gematria* (*isopséphie* en grecque) les lettres de l'alphabet sont permutées selon une valeur numérique. Le *notariqon* est une typologie d'interprétation fondé sur les acrostiches.

[37] *Nova Expositio*, p. 2.

> Rebbi Shim'on opened: 'I will remember My covenant with יעקוב (Ya'aqov) (Leviticus 26:42)—spelled with a ו (vav), why? Because of a double-aspect mystery of wisdom. First, mystery of a rung of wisdom, realm of Jacob. But this verse was spoken regarding the exile of Israel, for though they are in exile, they will eventually be attended by Jacob, in the mystery of *vav*, namely, the sixth millenium.' [...] 'Afterward, small vav will arouse to unite, renewing souls that were ancient, rejuvenating the world. This is the meaning of: May the glory of YHVH endure forever—uniting fittingly. May YHVE rejoice in His works (Psalm 104:31)—bringing them down to the world, so that they all become new creatures, uniting all worlds as one.'[38]

Camerario adapte le symbolisme de la lettre *vav* à sa lecture du nom de Jésus. À cet égard, il faut remarquer qu'en 1513 Abraham ben Yitzhaq di Tivoli offre à Gilles de Viterbe une copie du *Zohar* et que Baruch de Bénévent en latinise certains extraits pour le cardinal.[39] Sur la base de ces textes, Gilles de Viterbe rédige la version du *Zohar* transmise par le manuscrit 527 (1) de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[40]

Le temps eschatologique du sixième millénaire est relié au perfectionnement de la nature humaine: c'est la rénovation dont parle Camerario dans le passage précédemment cité.[41]

Le second trigramme du nom de Jésus, composé des lettres *iod*, *shin* et *vav* (**ישו**), est utilisé dans la section consacrée à la question, plutôt difficile, de l'attribution du nom christique. Camerario écrit à ce sujet:

> Et propheta et evangelista simul conveniunt: dicit enim propheta: ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabit nomen eius Emanuel. Et Evangelista dicit: Concipies in utero et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Hic erit Magnus et filius altissimi vocabitur. [...] Dicit propheta Emanuel et evangelista dicit Iesum;

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38 *The Zohar*, vol. II, Translation and Commentary by Daniel C. Matt, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003, pp. 188–190.

39 Voir Emma Abate, 'Filologia e Qabbalah. La biblioteca ebraica di Egidio da Viterbo alla Biblioteca Angelica di Roma', *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 26 (2014), pp. 409–446, en particulier pp. 425–426. Publié à Mantoue et à Crémone v. 1558–1560, le *Zohar* a été traduit en français par Guillaume Postel et une première anthologie a été composée par Blaise De Vigenère. Sur la reception du *Zohar* chez les cabbalistes chrétiens voir François Secret, *Le Zohar chez les kabalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris: Mouton, 1964.

40 Comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le montrer ailleurs, Gilles de Viterbe se réfère aussi au sixième millénaire dans un glossaire transmis par le MS Lat. 596 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France dans lequel on peut lire au f. 393v à propos du *golem*: '*גולם* : imperfectio tolletur sexto Millenario Messie'.

41 Sur la notion de symbolisme dans la cabbale voir Moshe Idel, 'Symbols and Symbolopoiesis in Kabbalah', dans Flavia Buzzetta e Marco Golfetto (ed.), *Schede Medievali* 53 (2015), volume thématique *Il Simbolismo: La Grammatica del Sacro*, Atti del IV Seminario di studi 'Prospettive Sacre d'Oriente e d'Occidente' (Palermo, 3 marzo 2012), pp. 197, 247.

> quomodo invicem sonant sic que messias sive Christus grece multifariam et multis modis vocatus fuit per prophetas et sapientes homines in genesi vocatur scilo. David autem vocavit eum Innon; psalmus LXX. Iheremia: vocavit eum Adonay scilicet illud nomen mirificum יהוה CXXIII Isaia CVIIII vocavit eum quinque nominibus scilicet admirabilis consiliarius, Deus fortis, princeps pacis, pater futuri seculi, et iterum Isaia dicit et vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel.[42]

Comme l'on voit bien, le trigramme est fonctionnel à une explication cabbalistique du nom. En général, Camerario reprend ici la question déjà posée dans la lettre: quel est le rapport entre les noms attribués au Messie dans l'Ancien Testament et le nom de Jésus dans le Nouveau Testament ? Peut-on maintenir cette multiplicité dans la dimension unitaire du nom de Jésus ? Dans une certaine mesure, la solution adoptée par Camerario montre une certaine avancée par rapport à l'épître. L'auteur propose de distinguer les noms qu'il appelle essentiels des noms qualitatifs. Cette classification lui sert à démontrer la parfaite cohérence des Ecritures. S'inspirant de Platon, Camerario affirme que les noms expriment la propriété des choses ('Quia ut dicit philosophus: Nomina imponi debent secundum proprietatem rei'), ce qui autorise à voir dans le nom du Christ la signification du salut. Le nom de Jésus est conçu selon *proprietas et natura*:

> Et ratione proprietatis et naturae fuit sibi impositione hoc nomen Iesus quod interpretatur salus sive salvator venerat filius Dei ut salvum faceret populum suum: ut evangelista dicit ipse salvum faciet populum suum; et ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam de ipso loquentem salvum me fac Deus: et ibi Deus in nomine tuo salva me cum similibus.[43]

De même, le nom de Jésus est-il donc un nom significatif qui exprime l'essence de l'action exercée par le Messie comme Sauveur. En somme, cet aspect du nom permet à Camerario de réduire la variété onomastique de l'Ancien Testament à une signification unitaire: celle du Salut dont le nom de Jésus est le signe.

En revanche les noms vétérotestamentaires sont attribués au Christ selon les catégories de la qualité et de la similitude (*qualitas et cognatio*). À ces catégories appartiennent *scilo, Innon et Adonay* יהוה, *admirabilis consiliarius, Deus fortis, princeps pacis, pater futuri seculi.*

En ce qui concerne le nom d'Emmanuel comme appellatif du Christ, Camerario propose une interprétation suggestive de type cabbalistique (*cabalistice*):

> Quandoque imponitur nomen ab eventu ut mose qui dicitur abstractus eo quod fuit extractus ab aqua. Sic ad nostrum propositum Messiae hoc nomen Emanuel idest filius virginis quia natus est de virgine et colligitur per numerum

[42] *Nova Expositio*, p 8.
[43] Ibid., p. 9.

> arithmeticorum qui tantum sufflat ista dictione Emanuel in hebreo **עמנואל** scilicet 197 quantum iste in hebreo ben alma **בן עלמה** idest filius virginis et si litere implerentur huius dictionis Emanuel sic **עין מם נון ואו אלף למד** sufflarent numerum 534 et tantum sonant iste dictionis Iesu ben Elion **ישו בן עליון** latine Iesu filius altissimi hinc est quod ille Angelus qui fuit filius altissimi vocabitur.[44]

Le nom Emmanuel, utilisé par le prophète Isaïe (7, 14 et 8, 8) comme nom du Messie, recèle dans l'interprétation cabbalistique l'histoire de l'incarnation du Christ ainsi que sa nature divine. Pour dévoiler cette dimension significative de l'Emmanuel, Camerario explore le nom par les moyens de la gématria et de la permutation alphabétique. Le nom d'Emmanuel correspond numériquement à *ben alma* qui signifie 'fils de la vierge'. Cette interprétation arithmétique permet de justifier l'Incarnation et d'expliquer par l'enfantement divin l'équivalence entre Emmanuel et Jésus. La deuxième étape 'cabbalistique' déconstruit le nom d'Emmanuel en ses éléments alphabétiques, dont la valeur correspond à *Iesu ben Elion*, c'est-à-dire à Jésus Fils du Très-Haut.

Pour nous résumer: dans ce passage Camerario propose de réconcilier sémantiquement par la cabbale chrétienne des perspectives spéculatives plutôt hétérogènes. En synthèse, la méthode cabbalistique de Camerario l'encourage à mettre en lumière le paradoxe ontologique de l'essence divine et humaine du Christ. Du point de vue de la cabbale, on peut en effet démontrer que le nom de Jésus exprime la double nature du Messie, comme Fils de Dieu et Fils de l'homme:

> Sciebat enim virgo Maria quod quando Angelus dixit ei: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum quod istud nomen continebat Deum et hominem ut **האיש** que demostrat hominem et secundam personam in divinis que est illa litera **ה** de quo nomine propheta in principio primi Psalmus meminit dicens ascere hais latine beate vir: sed Cabalistice Iesu filius Dei vel Iesus deus et homo.

En conséquence, le mot hébreu **האיש**—qui signifie 'l'homme' et qui se compose de l'article *he* et du nom *ish*—devient un symbole de la nature humaine et divine du Christ.

Conclusion

Cette analyse des procédés de Niccolò Camerario a d'abord montré qu'il a su adapter la pensée cabbalistique à sa recherche linguistique. Ensuite, en considérant la greffe et la réélaboration de la tradition juive à la Renaissance

[44] Ibid., p. 9.

comme une hybridation conceptuelle,[45] on peut repérer, chez Niccolò Camerario, certains hybrides spéculatifs dans l'herméneutique cabbalistique du nom du Christ. Notre auteur utilise l'instrument cabbalistique pour approfondir le dogme chrétien, la christologie et l'eschatologie en relisant les Écritures à travers le filtre d'une *divina sapientia* juive. La recherche d'une preuve linguistique certaine de la divinité de Jésus, l'étude des composants alphabétiques des noms divins et de leur symbolisme, sont clairement fonctionnels à la spéculation de Camerario. Surtout, chez Camerario, le passage du Nom ineffable de Dieu à la chair pour ainsi dire linguistique du Christ s'accomplit dans la Vierge Marie, qui est le vecteur du Tétragramme divin.[46] À ce sujet, Camerario écrit dans un passage de la *Nova Expositio*:

> Ipsa continet omnem gratiam; Dominus tecum. In hebreo dicitur **יהוה** quod est illud nomen Tetragrammaton. Que verba dominus tecum magis verificat illud quod dictum est supra quod ille angelus fuit filius dei incarnandus maxime quantum est **מרים** Maria quantum **יהו אב בן רוח** pater filius spiritus sanctus.[47]

En accueillant dans son sein le Dieu nommé par le Tétragramme, Marie donne naissance au Fils de Dieu dans le monde au terme d'une transmutation du nom.[48] Autrement dit, le Nom ineffable de Dieu trouve dans la matrice de la femme le nid de son humanité originaire. Camerario écrit encore à ce sujet:

> Ecce Ancilla domini **יהוה** fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum quid verbum erat in principio apud vel ad Deum et illud verbum erat Deus et omnia per ipsum facta

[45] Sur la notion d'hybridation voir Flavia Buzzetta, 'La palingénésie spirituelle de l'homme entre *generatio divina* et *generatio mystica* du golem dans le *Crater Hermetis* de Ludovico Lazzarelli', *Accademia* 15 (2013), pp. 83–103; Stéphane Toussaint, 'Humanisme, Renaissance et Dialogue Religieux', dans Mariano Delgado et alii (éds.), *Orient-Occident. Racines spirituelles de l'Europe. Enjeux et implications de la 'translatio studiorum' dans le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'Islam de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque (16-19 novembre 2009)*, Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 2014, p. 426.

[46] Pour l'influence du culte de la Vierge sur la cabbale voir Arthur I. Green, '*Shekhinah*, the Virgin Mary, and the Song of Songs: Reflections on a Kabbalistic Symbol in its Christian Context', *Association of Jewish Studies Review* 26 (2002), pp. 1–52; Peter Schaefer, *Mirror of His Beauty. Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; Daniel Abrams, 'The Virgin Mary as the Moon that Lacks the Sun: A Zoharic Polemic against the Veneration of Mary', *Kabbalah* 21 (2010), pp. 7–52. Dans un tout recent article Moshe Idel ('The Divine Female and the Mystique of the Moon: Three-Phases Gender-Theory in Theosophical Kabbalah', dans Eugen Ciurtin [éd.], *Twenty Years of History of Religions in Bucharest, 1996-2016*, [= *Studia Archæus* 19–20 (2015-2016)], pp. 151–182) a elaboré un *gender model* pour aborder le thème du feminin.

[47] *Nova Expositio*, p. 6.

[48] Sur la notion de 'fils' chez les cabbalistes voir Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, London–New York: Continuum, 2007.

> sunt dicit per ipsum et non per alium. Et dicit omnia in quo termino includitur incarnatio verbi Dei.[49]

Dans le discours de Camerario, qui retourne aux fondements herméneutiques de la cabbale juive, la dimension linguistique, la dimension humaine et la dimension divine convergent finalement dans la fonction médiatrice de la Vierge.[50]

[49] *Nova Expositio*, p. 12.

[50] On pourrait considérer ici la Vierge en tant que *theophoric mediator*, selon l'expression utilisée par Idel dans *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 18–32. Francesco Zorzi dans son *De Harmonia Mundi* (Vd. Francesco Zorzi, *L'Armonia del Mondo*. Saggio introduttivo, traduzione, note e apparati di Saverio Campanini, Milano: Bompiani, 2010, p. 524 ss.) introduit une étude gématrique sur le nom de Marie, en instaurant une équivalence numérique entre le nom de la Vierge et le nom de Métatron. La correspondance entre l'ange Métatron et Marie est basée sur la fonction qu'ils exercent. Cet aspect a été examiné par Saverio Campanini dans son article '*Nomen officii non personae.* Peripezie d'angeli cabbalistici', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 47/3 (2011), pp. 573–594.

IBN SĪNĀ'S ARISTOTLE

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Abstract

Ibn Sīnā's reading of Aristotle is that of an Arabic and Neoplatonized Aristotle, but, above all, critical, as the two commentaries of his *Kitāb al-Insāf*, i.e., on *Lambda* 6-10 and the *pseudo-Theology*, show. Ibn Sīnā read Aristotle's works only in Arabic translation and was therefore influenced by their very wording. However, as his commentary on *Lambda* 6-10 shows, he looked at different translations, or even indirect testimonies, as e.g. Themistius' paraphrase. Moreover, Ibn Sīnā offers a Neoplatonic inspired interpretation of Aristotle's metaphysics, especially its theology. Such Neoplatonic reading is almost natural if one, as he does, considers the *Theology*, which mainly offers a paraphrase of Plotinus' *Enneads* IV-VI, as a genuine Aristotelian work, even if Ibn Sīnā suspects a manipulation of the text by dishonest people, in all likelihood some Isma'ilites. Eventually, Ibn Sīnā, despite his great reference for Aristotle, detects some flaws in the latter's thinking, or, at least, in its very wording. All in all, Ibn Sīnā reveals to be a critical commentator, who considered Aristotle as the father, or even Godfather, of philosophy, but who nevertheless placed the search for truth above all.

Key Words

Ibn Sīnā, Aristotle, Neoplatonism.

Gutas, in his seminal book *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian tradition*, has already outlined important aspects of Ibn Sīnā's attitude toward Aristotle.[1] He stresses in chapter four, where he presents Ibn Sīnā's conception of the history of

[1] Dimitri Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition. Introduction to Reading Ibn Sīnā's Philosophical Works*. Second, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Including an Inventory of Ibn Sīnā's Authentic Works, (IPTS, 89), Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014. Hereafter, I will briefly summarise a few major ideas, taken from chapter 4 till chapter 7, pp. 227–334. In order to avoid inutile repetition, I will not give for every single idea the precise page where Gutas has formulated it.

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philosophy, that the latter in all his works adhered to the common Aristotelian classification of the sciences. Ibn Sīnā did so fully in line with the Alexandrian tradition, in particular as transmitted through Paul the Persian, who highlighted the definition of philosophy as the medicine of souls.[2] However, Ibn Sīnā was the very first thinker who saw the real potential of the system, which the Alexandrians had adopted, namely the creation an 'Encyclopaedia of unified science' on the very basis of the *Posterior Analytics*.[3] Implied in this view was as well the idea that truth must prevail over any kind of submission to (earlier) authorities, an idea which clearly became very dear to Ibn Sīnā.[4] For this latter the idea of progress in the acquisition of truth is central, so that no single past doctrine is sacrosanct. In chapter five, Gutas specifies that for Ibn Sīnā, the history of philosophy is nothing else than the record of the progressive acquisition of knowledge, and, in chapter six, he points out that Ibn Sīnā has to

[2] Gutas observes that Paul's description of Aristotle's oeuvre as a 'course of treatment' might have been the source of Ibn Sīnā's title for *The Cure* (*ash-Shifā'*). Regarding Paul the Persian, see Dimitri Gutas, 'Paul the Persian on the Classification of the Parts of Aristotle's Philosophy: A Milestone between Alexandria and Baġdad', *Der Islam* 60 (1983), pp. 231–267, repr. in Id., *Greek Philosophers in the Arabic Tradition*, (Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS698), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. Gutas underlines that the medical metaphor ('philosophy is the medicine of souls') goes back to Aristotle himself. In an earlier work, i.e. Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation. A Study of the Graeco-Arabic* Gnomologia, (American Oriental Series, 60), New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1975, p. 385, he substantiated this view by referring to the seminal article of Werner Jaeger, 'Aristotle's Use of Medicine as Model of Method in his Ethics', *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 77 (1957), pp. 54–61. It is perhaps worthwhile to add that Jaeger indicates that Aristotle derived this idea from Plato (mainly *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*), but that he, contrary to Plato, did not apply it to philosophy as such, i.e. as an encompassing system of logos and bios (in line with Socrates), but limited it to practical philosophy. Hence, Paul the Persian seems to use the metaphor more according to a Platonic understanding than to Aristotle's, even if he applies it to the latter's system in its totality.

[3] Jonathan Barnes (tr.), *Aristotle. Posterior Analytics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, p. x.

[4] Here, I would like to draw attention to the additional fact that the qualification of blind trust in 'authorities' as a reprehensible attitude was already present in Greek thought, see e.g. Ammonius, *On Aristotle Categories*, trans. S. Marc Cohen and Gareth B. Matthews, (The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle), Matthews, London: Duckworth, 1991, Prolegomena, p. 16: 'In the tenth place, [...] one must inquire what sort <of person> a commentator on Aristotle's writings needs to be. [...] For one must not, so to speak, sell oneself completely and accept what is said and in all earnestness support everything one comments upon as true, even if it is not. Rather one must examine each point closely and, if it should turn out that way, *prefer the truth to Aristotle*' (my italics). Ammonius's commentary is mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (see Sha'bān Khalīfa and Walīd Muḥammad al-Awzaʿ, *Al-Fihrist li-Ibn al-Nadīm*, Cairo: al-ʿArabī, 1991, vol. I, p. 507), but, above all, a passage of his commentary, i.e. on 1a1 (more precisely, the use there of *legetai*), is present in Ibn Suwār's marginal notes to Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's Arabic translation (according to MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2346), see Khalil Georr, *Les categories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*. Beyrouth, 1948, p. 369, n. 4; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Manṭiq Arisṭū*, Kuwait–Beirut: Wikālat al-Maṭbūʿāt–Dār al-Qalam, 1980, vol. I, pp. 83–84, n. 4.

confront problems inherent in Aristotle's texts ('loose ends'), problems created by the 'commentators' and vicissitudes related to the transmission from Greek into Arabic, especially the existence of pseudepigraphs, as e.g., the *Theology*.[5] Eventually, in chapter seven, Gutas insists that Ibn Sīnā's attitude toward Aristotle never changed in essence but only in expression: it evolved from traditional adulation to critical appreciation and respect. In sum, in his late period, Ibn Sīnā became more and more independent of the previous (Peripatetic) tradition and considered himself more and more as 'another Aristotle'.

As for Wisnovsky, he particularly emphasises that Ibn Sīnā is the culmination of one period of synthesis, i.e. the Ammonian synthesis, during which philosophers succeeded in incorporating the larger Neoplatonic project of harmonising Plato with Aristotle, into the smaller Peripatetic project of harmonising Aristotle with himself. But he stresses also that Ibn Sīnā stands at the beginning of another period of synthesis, during which philosophers sought

[5] Worthwhile to note is as well Gutas's additional observation that Ibn Sīnā, thanks to al-Fārābī, understood that metaphysics is not only a theology, but also a study of 'being qua being', hence detected in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* both a 'metaphysica specialis' and a 'metaphysica generalis'. I agree with Gutas, as well as with Amos Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics' in Ibn Sīnā's* Kitāb al-Šifā'. *A Milestone of Western Metaphysical Thought*, (IPTS, 63), Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2006, pp. 44–45 and 88–95, that al-Fārābī, and more particularly his treatise *Fī aghrāḍ*, helped indeed Ibn Sīnā to better understand the purpose and subject matter of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. However, the story, as told in the *Autobiography* (see William Gohlman, *The Life of Ibn Sina.* A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation, Albany–New York: State University of New York Press, 1974, pp. 32.1–34.4), is manifestly anything but an historical account. First of all, when Ibn Sīnā states that he read Aristotle's *Metaphysics* forty times up to the point of having memorised it, but nevertheless without having understood it, it is obvious that the number 'forty' here has a purely symbolic value, indicating 'many times'. Furthermore, when he admits that he saw no utility in this work of the Stagirite, he clearly applies one of the basic criteria of what in the later tradition of the 'Commentators' became the 'Prolegomena', i.e. the utility implied in the work under consideration. Finally, the fact that he stresses that he understood Aristotle's text immediately (*fī l-waqt*) after having read al-Fārābī's treatise seems an illustration of his preferred method of intuition, *ḥads*. Even if al-Fārābī's treatise is not very long, and offers serious clues to a better grasping of Aristotle's text, it is certainly not of such a nature that it can resolve at once all the difficulties implied in this latter. By emphasising the extreme difficulty of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Ibn Sīnā wants in all likelihood to point out its particularly eminent status as the highest of all sciences. So, it is quite normal that in order to understand it one needs a teacher. With regard to Aristotle, who could be better than the venerable master al-Fārābī, 'the Second Teacher'? Of course, this latter is not Ibn Sīnā's teacher in a physical, but rather in an intellectual sense. But, given Ibn Sīnā's own extraordinary gift of intuition, even then he does not need to frequent his master's work(s) for too long. However, a comparative study between the works of both giants of Arabic philosophy shows Ibn Sīnā's clear debt toward his predecessor, and in an even more substantial way than the *Autobiography* suggests.

to fuse together the Arabic version of the Ammonian synthesis with the ontology and theology of the Muslim *mutakallimīn* ('theologians').[6]

In what follows I want to detail a few of these affirmations based on an examination of what Ibn Sīnā's attitude toward Aristotle reveals to be in his *Kitāb al-Insāf*, namely in the two commentaries on *Lambda* 6-10 and the *pseudo-Theology*, although with a greater focus on the former than on the latter. Both commentaries are relatively late works and therefore part of the mature thought of the late Ibn Sīnā. Our analysis will largely confirm Gutas's observations that Ibn Sīnā's attitude toward Aristotle was influenced by vicissitudes of the Stagirite's texts, and that Ibn Sīnā became more and more critical of Aristotle even if he remained very respectful of the latter. However, it will be shown that this critical attitude does not only imply the indication of 'weaknesses' in Aristotle's statements, but as well of 'mistakes'. With regard to the 'commentators', our analysis will show that Ibn Sīnā blames above all the Arabic (Christian) commentators rather than the Greek ones, insofar as these latter sometimes have clarified imprecisions in Aristotle's texts. Thus remains certainly in line with Gutas's qualification of Ibn Sīnā as considering himself in his later works no longer as a member of, but as an impartial judge of the Aristotelian commentators. But his attitude toward Aristotle himself reveals to be almost the same. Certainly, Aristotle remains in his eyes the greatest of all previous philosophers, but he was not infallible. So, the difference in critical attitude toward the (good) commentators and to Aristotle is at best one of (a very small) degree. Unless I would have overlooked it, this is a nuance that I did not find in Gutas. As to Wisnovsky' thesis of Ibn Sīnā's adherence to the Peripatetic project of harmonising of Aristotle with himself, it will receive further confirmation. However, regarding his thesis of the Neoplatonic project of harmonising Plato with Aristotle, a need for nuancing will show up. Even if Ibn Sīnā can be considered as being indebted to the Ammonian synthesis, as becomes evident by his presenting a 'Neoplatonised Aristotle', he nevertheless seems not fully and unconditionally adhere to the idea of a great synthesis between the two giants of Greek thought.[7] In fact, he finds the (Neo-)Platonic idea of the pre-existence of the soul utterly un-Aristotelian; in fact, its affirmation in the '*Theology*' is the reason why he suspects that someone has corrupted the original text of Aristotle's work.

[6] Rob Wisnovsky, *Ibn Sīnā's Metaphysics in Context*, London: Duckworth, 2003, passim.

[7] Gutas has already noted a serious switch in Ibn Sīnā's appreciation of Plato's thought: from a respectful attitude including the idea of the 'harmony between Plato and Aristotle' to a clear rejection of Plato, especially of the latter's theory of Ideas, see Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 323–324.

Ibn Sīnā's Kitāb al-Insāf

Before presenting this detailing, let me first briefly stress that there is no serious indication that Ibn Sīnā ever wrote much more than the fragments that have been preserved of the *Kitāb al-Insāf*. Certainly, this seems to be radically contradicted by what he says about the loss of this work in his letter to Kiyā, i.e. that he had written in a short time a work which, had it been transcribed clearly, would have comprised twenty volumes (and approximately twenty-eight thousand questions), but that its first draft was lost in the course of some route.[8] However, the only strong affirmation here is the loss of a 'first draft', nothing less, nothing more. All the rest is expressed in a conditional way. But, based on a passage in the *Mubāḥathāt*, where one finds quoted *Lambda* 1071b20–21, together with a laconic comment by Ibn Sīnā (which, however, is in line with many other actual passages of his commentary), one could believe that there indeed existed much more than this actually preserved commentary on *Lambda*.[9] However, when taking into account the larger context, it becomes likely that the author,

[8] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. Muḥsin Bīdārfar, Qom: Intishārāt-e Bīdārfar, 1413 HQ., 1371 HS, *al-Mulḥaq*, p. 375/ ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī in Id., *Arisṭū ʿinda l-ʿArab*. Cairo, 1947, repr. Kuwait: Wikālat al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1978, p. 121; English translation in Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 57–58. The same story is related as well in similar, although not completely identical account, in what Gutas labels '*Memoirs of a disciple (Ibn Zayla?) writing from Rayy*', see Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. Bīdārfar, pp. 80–81, §§ 127–129; English translation in Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 66–67 Contrary to Ibn Sīnā himself, the disciple gives very concrete ciphers, i.e. the work was composed in the period between the middle of the month of Dey and the end of the month of Ḥordād; it would came to six thousand folios in a written hand and ten thousand folios in a straight hand, and it would have contained over twenty-seven thousand lemmata. Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, p. 150, notes about these amazing figures ('amazing' insofar as they imply an actual writing of thirty-three folios each day): 'This may or may not be realistic, but in absence of any other information it is pointless to speculate on the matter'. But does Ibn Sīnā's own account not constitute an additional piece of information? It is extremely sober in comparison with the report of the disciple: it only mentions a first draft, a loss in the course of some route, and indicates that if it had been finished as planned it would have been voluminous, i.e. have covered twenty volumes. Nothing there indicates that it was already very voluminous at the time of the loss. Moreover, the loss of books (or parts of books) seems to be a trope, since e.g. Galen complains to have lost definitively several of his books in the fire of the Temple of Peace in Rome in 192 (although some of them are still accessible to us), as is perhaps as well the claim of having written an enormously voluminous work in a relatively small time, see e.g. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, who, in his autobiography, pretends to have written as many as twenty thousand pages in a script as minute as that used in amulets (see Arthur J. Arberry, *The Spiritual Physick of Rhazes*, London: John Murray, 1950, quoted by Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, p. 61, n. 6). All in all, the disciple's wording looks therefore not very trustworthy from an objective historical point of view.

[9] For the fragment, see Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. Bīdārfar, p. 321, n. 901/ ed. Badawī, p. 173, nos 265–266.

who is responsible for the recension that reached us, consciously dropped it.[10] Hence, the limited loss of one or another quire is undoubtedly a more plausible hypothesis, especially in view of the very fact that the absence of a commentary on many passages of both *Lambda* 6-10 and the *pseudo-Theology* can easily been explained by their entailing many doxographical considerations. This is fully in conformity with what Ibn Sīnā, in his letter to Kiyā, states, namely that he limited himself in the *Kitāb al-Insāf* to 'the difficult passages in the essential texts up to the end of the *Theologia Aristotelis*'.[11] Consequently, he, in this later phase of his research (*c.* 1028–1029), fully concentrates on expressing the truth in itself, and feels no longer any need to discuss older theories. This is clearly in line with Gutas's description of Ibn Sīnā as becoming more and more independent of the previous tradition, as earlier mentioned. Moreover, this attitude is characteristic of Ibn Sīnā's later ideal, called 'oriental philosophy', according to which—without including any serious rupture with his earlier thought—the focus was exclusively on the essential issues in philosophy.[12] Finally, it has to be observed that both commentaries deal with the highest parts of metaphysics, i.e. 'theology' proper, as articulated by Aristotle, although in a 'limited' way, in *Lambda*, and more precisely in *Lambda* 6–10 (of Kindian inspiration, but in line with a Neoplatonised Aristotelian view), and what Gutas has characterised as a 'metaphysics of the rational soul', a topic for which Ibn Sīnā could find an (in his view) 'Aristotelian' basis in the 'Plotinian inspired' *pseudo-Theology*.[13]

Ibn Sīnā's Arabic Aristotle

There exist two main—although not encompassing all books—translations into Arabic of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, namely by Usṭāth and Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn. When one looks at the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Shifā'*, it is clear that Ibn Sīnā largely used Usṭāth's translation, but now and then also Isḥāq's.[14] As far as *Lambda* is concerned, one finds besides these two translations still additional ones, i.e. those of Shamlī, Abū Bishr Mattā (one or two?—together with the commentaries of Alexander of

[10] Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda' de la 'Métaphysique' d'Aristote (chapitres 6–10)*, ed., trad. and annot. Marc Geoffroy, Jules Janssens and Meryem Sebti, (Études musulmanes, 43), Paris: Vrin, 2014, pp. 15–16. For the evidence of editorial work by a disciple, see Ibid., pp. 14–15 and Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, pp. 151–152.

[11] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. Bīdārfar, *al-Mulḥaq*, p. 375/ ed. Badawī, p. 121; English translation in Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian tradition*, p. 58.

[12] Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, p. 22.

[13] For a general survey of this work and its reception, see Maroun Aouad, 'La *Théologie d'Aristote* et autres textes du *Plotinus Arabus*', in Richard Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1989, pp. 541–590. As known, this work is largely based on part taken from Plotinus's *Enneads* IV-VI.

[14] Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics'*, chapter 8, especially pp. 310–316.

Aphrodisias and of Themistius) and Yahyā ibn 'Adī.[15] As stressed by Bertolacci, the high number of translations of *Lambda* is sign of a privileged attention to the theological side of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which characterises in different respects the metaphysical oeuvre of al-Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā.[16] Moreover, there exist an anonymous paraphrastic translation of *Lambda* 6-10, which was clearly present in Ibn Sīnā's library.[17]

In the commentary on *Lambda*, as was already the case in the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Shifā'*, Usṭāth's translation is the preferred one, as evidenced by the vast majority of literal quotations. But it is also clear that Ibn Sīnā, on occasion, uses in this commentary the anonymous paraphrase, as well as—and even in a more significant way—Themistius's commentary. It is undoubtedly worthy to observe that Themistius's commentary and the anonymous translation have elements in common, and therefore it is no real surprise that Ibn Sīnā derives elements from both. He employs them most of the time to clarify vague, ambiguous or difficult to understand, statements in Ustāth's translation. For example, Ustāth's translation of 1072a17 (i.e., 'wa-ammā 'illa bi-an takūna abadan bi-anwā' shattā fa-kilāhimā wa-huwa bayyin an al-ḥarakāt laysa ka-dhālik', 'the cause of being eternally of different kinds is both of them; it is clear that the motions are not so') is extremely literal, and as such ambiguous.[18] Moreover, it supposes a full

[15] Ibid., chapter 1, where one finds detailed references to major sources for this information, i.e. Ibn Al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and Averroes's *Great Commentary on the Metaphysics*. Let me add that there exists only one single testimony regarding a translation by Yahyā ibn 'Adī, namely in Averroes's commentary on Textus 13 of book *Lambda*, see Averroes, *Tafsīr mā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'at*, ed. Maurice Bouyges, (Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum, série arabe 7), Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1948, vol. III, p. 1463. The quoted fragment of Yahyā's translation covers the end of Textus 12 and the beginning of Textus 13, i.e. 1070a1–7. Compared to the translations of Abū Bishr Mattā and Usṭāth it has particularities of its own, which, at first sight, constitute a more faithful translation of the Greek text. Aubert Martin, *Averroès. Grand Commentaire de la 'Métaphysique' d'Aristote (Tafsīr mā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'at). Livre Lam-Lambda traduit de l'arabe et annoté*, (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 234), Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984, p. 101, n. 36, explicitly points to one case (*fa-min al-iḍṭirār idhan an naqifa* for Greek *ἀνάγκη δὴ στῆναι*) where Yahyā's translation is closer to the Greek vulgate than the two other translations. In addition, (at least) two other particularities of this translation can be referred to: (1) the presence of the conjunction *aw* in the formulation *bal mustadīr aw nuḥās* in full correspondence with the Greek text which has *ἢ*, and (2) the explicit addition of *fī al-ism* to *min al-muwāṭa'a* in an effort to translate in a very precise manner the Greek expression *ἐκ συνωνύμου*.

[16] Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics'*, p. 34.

[17] In the edition of the commentary on *Lambda*, one finds in the apparatus of the sources references to this translation on several occasions, see Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, e.g., p. 45, n. 3, p. 47, n. 1–1 and 6, etc. Let me add that in one manuscript this translation is ascribed to Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, but that there does not exist any further support for that ascription.

[18] Our translation is taken from Charles Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics. A Translation with Introduction of Ibn Rushd's Commentary on Aristotle's* Metaphysics, *Book* Lām, (IPTS, 1), Leiden: Brill,

point after the Greek word *ἄμφω*, as well as the readings *δῆλον ὅτι* instead of *δηλονότι* and *οὔκουν* instead of *οὐκοῦν*.[19] Ibn Sīnā, in his commentary, makes explicit what in Ustāth's Arabic translation is vaguely referred to by *fa-kilāhimā*, 'both': it specifies that this 'both' has to be understood as referring to two causes, *sababayn*, i.e. the 'stable' cause, *al-sabab al-thābit*, and the 'varying' cause, *al-sabab al-mukhtalif*. Only the anonymous paraphrase uses, as Ibn Sīnā does, *sabab* for translating *αἴτιος* in this context, whereas this latter Greek word is rendered by *'illa* in Themistius (as well as in all other Arabic translations).[20] However, both Themistius and the anonymous paraphrase mention explicitly two causes, as Ibn Sīnā does in his commentary: a cause of 'variety', *ikhtilāf*, and a cause of 'stability' (for Greek: *ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως*), but they express this latter in terms of *dawām (wa-bāqā')*, 'duration (and continuation)', whereas Ibn Sīnā instead uses *thābit*, 'stable', 'permanent'.[21] This seems to indicate that the latter had access to yet another Greco-Arabic translation (or another Greek commentary in Arabic translation).

Such access is also strongly suggested at other occasions, as e.g., with regard to the (somewhat paraphrasing) wording of 1075a12 where the Arabic term *mufāriq*, 'separate', perfectly corresponds to the Greek word *κεχωρισμένον*. This is a much more precise translation than the one chosen by Usṭāth, i.e. *mutamayyiz* ('distinguished'), or the one attested in the anonymous translation (and furthermore confirmed by the Hebrew Themistius), namely *munfasil mufrad* ('detached, isolated').[22]

1984, p. 144. In the Greek text one reads: *τοῦ δ'ἀεὶ ἄλλως ἄμφω δηλονότι. οὐκοῦν οὕτως καὶ ἔχουσιν αἱ κινήσεις* ('and evidently both together are the cause of eternal variety. This, accordingly, is the character which the motions actually exhibit'—Ross's translation).

19 See Pierre Thillet, 'Remarques sur le livre Lambda de la Métaphysique,' *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 70 (2003), pp. 361–400, pp. 388–390.

20 Marc Geoffroy, 'Remarques sur la traduction Ustāth du livre Lambda de la *Métaphysique*, chapitre 6,' *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 70 (2003), pp. 417–436, p. 430, n. 32. The ultimate inspiration for Ibn Sīnā's specifying the two causes in terms of stability and variability is, of course, already in Aristotle's text, i.e. at 1072a16, where it is stated: *καὶ γὰρ αἴτιον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως: τοῦ δ' ἄλλως ἕτερον*. ('for it was the cause of eternal uniformity, and something else is the cause of variety'—Ross's translation).

21 See *Faṣl fī ḥarf al-Lām min Kitāb mā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'a li-Arisṭūṭālīs al-faylasūf*, in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Arisṭū inda l-'Arab*, Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa al-miṣriyya, 1947, pp. 3–11, p. 5.3–4 and *Sharḥ Thāmisṭyūs li-ḥarf al-Lām*, in Ibid., pp. 12–21, p. 14.9–11.

22 See Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, p. 108, n. 1. For similar cases in the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Shifā'*, see Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics'*, pp. 311–312. According to Bertolacci, in these cases Ibn Sīnā probably used Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation. Of course, this is possible, but, as far as I can see, in the actual state of affairs one can only speculate about the source of these translations, and therefore it is better to leave open all possibilities.

On occasion, Ustāth's translation clearly influenced in a most substantial way Ibn Sīnā's interpretation.[23] Such is manifestly the case with regard to how Ibn Sīnā understands what Aristotle says in 1072b13-15: 'ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. διαγωγὴ δ'ἐστὶν οἵα ἡ ἀρίστη μικρὸν χρόνον ἡμῖν' ('On such a principle, then, depends the heavens and the world of nature. the world of nature. And it is a life such as the best we enjoy, and enjoy but for a short time'—Ross's translation). In Ustāth's translation this is rendered as follows: 'fa-idhan bi-mabda'in (bi-badwin) mithla hādhā 'ulliqat al-samā' wa-l-ṭabī'a lanā ka-ḥāl ṣāliḥa zamānan qalīlan' ('it is on such a principle then that the heaven and nature depend; [it is?] for us like a happy state for a short time').[24] Since the word *samā'* can be used both in the masculine and in the feminine gender, it can function as the sole subject of the third feminine person singular of the passively used verb *'allaqa*, 'to depend on', i.e. *'ulliqat*. Since, moreover, to start a new sentence with *lanā*, 'for us', is from a grammatical point of view far from evident, it is understandable that a reader as e.g., Ibn Sīnā, relates this characterisation to the preceding notion of *al-ṭabī'a*, 'nature'. According to this 'specific' reading, Aristotle's affirmation can be translated into English as follows: 'It is on such a principle then that the heaven depends, and nature is for us like a happy state for a short time'. All in all, it comes as no surprise that Ibn Sīnā is convinced that an entirely new sentence starts with *wa-l-ṭabī'a* and does not hesitate to split Aristotle's affirmation into two separate sentences (*fa-idhan [...] al-samā'* and *wa-l-ṭabī'a [...] qalīlan*), each of which he provides with a separate commentary.[25] Proceeding this way, he does not really contradict Aristotle's thought. However, he suggests the existence of a more profound difference between heaven and nature than the Greek text does.

Ibn Sīnā's Neoplatonized Aristotle

However, can all divergences between Ibn Sīnā and Aristotle be reduced to weaknesses in the Arabic translation(s)? This is certainly not the case. Ibn Sīnā's commentary on the beginning of chapter seven, namely on Aristotle's affirmation (1072a21) of the existence of something that is eternally moving,

[23] I already paid attention to this case in my 'Ibn Sīnā et sa "paraphrase-commentaire" du Livre Lambda (Kitāb al-Inṣāf)', *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 70 (2003), pp. 401–416, pp. 411–412.

[24] See Averroes, *Tafsīr mā ba'd aṭ-ṭabī'at*, vol. III, p. 1611.14–15. I quote here Ustāth's translation according to its wording inside the commentary, not as it is mentioned (in a mutilated way) in the inferior marginal note to Textus 38 (pp. 1608.4–1609.1)—see already my 'Ibn Sīnā et sa 'paraphrase-commentaire,' p. 411, n. 50. As for the English translation it is a slightly modified version of Genequand's (see Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics*, p. 156).

[25] In the critical edition more than 15 lines separate their respective quotation (Ibn Sīnā [Avicenne], *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, respectively, p. 55.125 and p. 56.142).

opens with a specification that a disciple has edited, and which runs as follows: '*Ankara 'alā Arisṭūṭālīs wa-l-mufassirīn fa-qāla*, he (=Ibn Sīnā), while reproaching Aristotle and the commentators, said: …'. This might give the impression that Ibn Sīnā simply rejects Aristotle's view. But this is not at all the case. In fact, the disciple's note clearly indicates that the commentators (*al-qawm*), not Aristotle himself (as previously thought in all contemporary research due to a mistake in Badawī's edition)[26], believed that to prove the existence of the First principle it suffices to show that this later is an (Unmoved) Mover. They—most unjustly—overlooked that God is not so much a principle of motion, but, above all, a principle of being. It is obvious that for Ibn Sīnā Aristotle is not guilty of a 'major' mistake. Ibn Sīnā, along clearly Neoplatonic inspired lines, stresses that if God is presented by Aristotle as the object of desire (1072a25), this cannot mean that something would have received from God only motion, and this clearly in line with Proclus's insistence in his *In Timaeum* on the First principle as the cause that moves the cosmos to love Him.[27] Ibn Sīnā, inspired by another Neoplatonic work, i.e. the *pseudo-Theology*, insists also that everything ascends toward God. But, in all likelihood, Ibn Sīnā was above all influenced by Ammonius's (lost) treatise on God as agent cause for Aristotle—Ammonius's treatise is mentioned by Simplicius in his commentaries on the *Physics* and the *Heavens*, and also in the (Farabian?) work *Harmony of the two sages* as well as the *Fihrist* of Ibn Al-Nadīm. Based on the fragments quoted by Simplicius, one has the strong impression that Ammonius reacted directly against Alexander of Aphrodisias, especially the latter's neglecting the idea of God as efficient cause, hence limiting God almost to an attractive final cause. Herein, one detects a clear parallel with the criticism that Ibn Sīnā here expresses against the 'commentators'. It is perhaps worthwhile to add that the idea of God as efficient, and not only final, cause is not only typical of a Neoplatonic approach, but is also natural in an Islamic context.

If Ibn Sīnā recognises such undeniably 'Neoplatonic' approach as genuinely Aristotelian, this is undoubtedly due to the transmission of both the *pseudo-Theology* and the *Kitāb al-khayr al-maḥḍ* (in the Latin world known as *Liber de Causis*) as books of 'Aristotle'.[28] As noted by D'Ancona, the *Enneads* contained

[26] See [Ibn Sīnā], *Sharḥ kitāb ḥarf al-lām li-l-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā*, in Badawī, *Arisṭū inda l-'Arab*, pp. 22–33, p. 23.23, where one finds *ithbāt* instead of *ithbāti-hi*, see Ibn Sīnā [Avicenne], *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, p. 87, n. 8. What follows in our recent exposition is largely based on this note as well as on some later notes (especially n. 15 and n. 27).

[27] Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, ed. Hermann Diels, Leipzig: Teubner, 1903, vol. I, p. 266.

[28] Regarding the former of these works, see *supra*, n. 13. As far as the latter (which has its ultimate source in Proclus's *Elementatio theologica*) is concerned, a basic outline, including all the relevant contemporary research literature, is now available in Dragos Calma, 'The Exegetical Tradition of Medieval Neoplatonism. Considerations of a Recently Discovered *Corpus* of Texts,' in Id. (ed.),

already 'Aristotelian' elements and these have been emphasised in the Arabic adaptation, i.e. the *pseudo-Theology*.[29] Regarding this latter, it has to be noted that Ibn Sīnā does not really doubt its being genuinely Aristotelian, even if he finds it 'suspect' in some sense.[30] However, what Ibn Sīnā finds 'suspect' is not the very attribution of the work to Aristotle, but the presence of a thesis that in his eyes is utterly un-Aristotelian, namely the affirmation of a pre-existence of the soul. Therefore, when he reads in the first *Maymar* of the *pseudo-Theology*: 'which (the intellect insofar as it is possessed by a desire) has seen in the Intellect', he qualifies this affirmation as resulting from a falsification by way of '*taḥrīf*', 'corruption of the text'.[31] Unfortunately, Ibn Sīnā gives no indication who formed the precise source of this 'falsification', but, since he mainly refutes in his commentary Isma'ilite authors, especially al-Sijistānī, he might have believed that a (or some) Isma'ilite author(s) consciously intervened in the very wording of Aristotle.[32] More particularly, they would have done it in such a way that it conforms to their idea of the fall of the soul, and hence its pre-existence which is implied in this idea. But why exactly was for Ibn Sīnā this doctrine of a pre-existence of the soul so deeply un-Aristotelian? Perhaps he had in mind Aristotle's undeniable affirmation of 'abstraction'. This latter would indeed become completely superfluous if the idea of the pre-existence of the soul in the higher intelligible realm is accepted. Certainly, Ibn Sīnā, as is commonly known,

Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages. I. New Commentaires on 'Liber de Causis' (ca. 1250-1350), (Studia Artistarum, 42.1), Turnhout: Brepols, 2016, pp. 11–52, especially pp. 13–21.

29 Cristina D'Ancona, 'Degrees of Abstraction in Avicenna. How to Combine Aristotle's De Anima and the Enneads', in Simo Knuuttila and Pekka Kärkkäinen (eds), *Theories of Perception in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy*, (Studies in the History of Mind, 6), Dordrecht: Springer, 2008, pp. 47–71, pp. 61–62.

30 See Plotino, *La discesa dell'anima nei corpi (ENN. IV 8 [6]). Plotiniana Arabica (Pseudo-Teologia di Aristotele, Capitoli 1 e 7; Detti del Sapiente Greco)*, ed. Cristina D'Ancona, (Subsidia Mediaevalia Patavina, 4), Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2003, p. 110; see also D'Ancona, 'Degrees of Abstraction in Avicenna', p. 60.

31 See [Ibn Sīnā], *Tafsīr kitāb Uthūlūjiyā min al-Inṣāf li-l-Shaykh al-Ra'īs Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā*, in Badawī, *Arisṭū inda l-'Arab*, pp. 35–73, p. 39.7; Plotino, *La discesa dell'anima nei corpi*, p. 125.1 (in her comment related to this passage, D'Ancona well explains the particular interpretation that the author of the *pseudo-Theology* offers of Plotinus's original affirmation, see Ibid., pp. 264–265). As to the notion of *taḥrīf*, it means essentially 'corruption'. Jews and Christians are commonly accused by Muslims of being guilty of it with regard to the texts of respected Torah and Gospels. However, some Muslim thinkers have understood it in the sense of a corruption of the very wording of these holy scriptures, while there have understood it as limited to a misinterpretation of those writings. In the present context, Ibn Sīnā clearly understand it as implying a direct intervention in the very wording of the text.

32 There is a (strong) possibility that Ibn Sīnā has in mind here Isma'ilite authors, see Daniël De Smet, 'La doctrine des deux faces de l'âme et ses racines ismaéliennes', *Studia Islamica* 93 (2001), pp. 77–89 (with regard to al-Sijistānī as a prominent source [at least, as far as the doctrine of the double face of the soul is concerned], see especially pp. 81–82).

accepts the idea of an illumination from the Agent Intellect, but he nevertheless wants to valorise in some way abstraction. He effectively mentions the very notion of *tajrīd*, 'abstraction', and with regard to it, he explicitly refers to both Aristotle's *De anima* and *De sensu et sensato*.[33] This acceptance of 'abstraction' creates undoubtedly some inner tension in his system given his ascription of the acquisition of intelligible realities to illumination by the Agent Intellect. However, it is obvious that Ibn Sīnā thought that the *pseudo-Theology* expressed genuine Aristotelian views, as e.g., on the supra-sensible causes.[34] Moreover, the *pseudo-Theology*'s exposition permitted him to justify how the soul can arrive at a conjunction with the higher world. He needs the possibility of such justification in order to be able to affirm the immortality of each human soul—immortality which he equates (at least, for the perfect human soul) with a conjunction with the Agent Intellect. Such ideas were completely absent from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *Lambda*. But in Ibn Sīnā's view they are part of the theological project of the metaphysics, insofar as they constitute 'a metaphysics of the rational soul' as said at the beginning.[35] Hence for Ibn Sīnā, Aristotle was not only the 'Aristotle' of the actual 'Aristotelian corpus', but an undeniably Neoplatonised Aristotle, whose authorship of such a work as the Plotinian inspired *pseudo-Theology* (and, in all likelihood, also the Proclean inspired *Kitāb al-khayr al-maḥḍ*) was not open to any fundamental doubt. Based on the evident presence of some un-Aristotelian elements, he did not reject Aristotle's authorship, but rather thought, as indicated above, that the text had been manipulated by some dishonest people, as, for example, the Isma'ilites. But, at the same time, it is obvious that he would have simply rejected Plotinus's Platonic inspired of a pre-existence of the human soul, not at least because it is in radical opposition with (what he believes to be) Aristotle's 'genuine' opinion.

If Ibn Sīnā might have suspected the Isma'ilites of having 'falsified' the text of the *pseudo-Theology*, in his commentary on *Lambda* he clearly indicates that the so-called (Christian) Baghdādī Aristotelians were the 'bad Aristotelians' *par excellence*. That Ibn Sīnā had a very low opinion of them is already evident from a

[33] See [Ibn Sīnā], *Tafsīr kitāb Uthūlūjiyā*, pp. 39.13–40.14. However, at first sight, he clearly found a basis for his conception of *tajrīd* in the *De sensu et sensato* (and also in the *pseudo-Theology*), but not really in the *De anima*. I owe this information to a provisory draft of a critical note that has been written in view of the critical edition (in collaboration between M. Chase, M. Geoffroy, J. Janssens and M. Sebti), together with French translation and annotation, to Ibn Sīnā's commentary.

[34] With regard to the clear presence of Aristotelian elements in the *pseudo-Theology*'s exposition of supra-sensible causes, see D'Ancona, 'Degrees of Abstraction in Avicenna', p. 66.

[35] The metaphysical significance of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is well illustrated by chapter seven of book nine of the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Shifā'*, where one finds a detailed account of the survival of each of the human souls in function of its intellectual (and/or moral) perfection/imperfection.

remark that is present in the *Memoirs of a Disciple writing from Rayy*. According to this remark, Ibn al-Ṭayyib, Ibn al-Khammār and Ibn al-Samḥ, all major members of the Aristotelian Baghdādī school, were weak thinkers who were 'satisfied with whatever they imagine to be the case [...], dismissing completely logic'.[36] In all likelihood, Ibn Sīnā judged their attitude not only weak as far as logic was concerned, but, as well, as they largely inscribed themselves in following the tradition of the 'Alexandrian commentaries', whereby they largely remained inside the framework of a (blind) imitation, not so much of Aristotle himself, but, above all, of the (early) Peripatetic commentators. In this sense, they missed, as did some of the Greek Peripatetic commentators as e.g., Alexander of Aphrodisias, the very idea of God as efficient cause and as cause of being. In other words, they seem to have missed the Neoplatonised Aristotle of Ammonius and the commentators after him. However, more detailed research is needed to settle this complex question in a precise way. But a first interesting indication with regard to the precise nature of Ibn Sīnā's criticism against these Baghdādī thinkers, can be found in his commentary on *Lambda*, namely in the quotation, and following critical evaluation, of a (small) dialogue between Abū Bishr Mattā and one of his disciples.[37] According to Ibn Sīnā, Abū Bishr Mattā defended the idea that the First cause's action is limited to maintaining the permanence of the celestial motion, while the latter is, in itself, necessary. In stating this, Abū Bishr forgot to make the basic distinction between a conditional necessity and a necessity in itself, and hence made himself guilty of a logical fallacy. More importantly, his affirmation implies that God would be responsible only for the sphere's (perpetually) moving, not for its very being. Ibn Sīnā, on the contrary, insists that it gives not only motion, but also being to each substance, hence that He is the principle of the essence of each substance. In accordance with his own metaphysical system, he concludes that everything, excepted for God himself, is necessary due to the relation it has with God as its principle.[38]

Ibn Sīnā's Imperfect Aristotle

Sometimes Ibn Sīnā points to weaknesses, or even mistakes in Aristotle's thought. As Bertolacci has shown, Ibn Sīnā does so in a disguised way, namely by

[36] See Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mubāḥathāt*, ed. Bīdārfar, pp. 81–82, §§ 132–133; English translation in Gutas, *Ibn Sīnā and the Aristotelian Tradition*, p. 63.

[37] Ibn Sīnā [Avicenne], *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, p. 55, ll. 112–114 (quotation) and ll. 115–124 (commentary). The disciple in question was probably Abū 'Amr al-Ṭabarī; see Ahmad Hasnawi, 'Un élève d'Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus: Abū 'Amr al-Ṭabarī', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 48 (1996) [= Dominique Mallet (ed.), *Études de philosophie arabe*. Actes du colloque Bordeaux, 17-19 juin 1994, Damas: Institut français de Damas, pp. 35–45.

[38] One here easily recognises Ibn Sīnā's famous distinction between the 'necessary in itself' and the 'possible in itself, necessary through another'.

using explicit indeterminate quotations, in his *Shifā'*, but he, in his later works, as e.g. his commentary on *Lambda*, clearly more openly criticises the Stagirite.[39] On several occasions in this latter work, Ibn Sīnā points out a serious lack of precision in Aristotle's very wording. A good illustration is found in the commentary on *Lambda* IX, more precisely on 1074b16–34.[40] Ibn Sīnā notes that Aristotle, when affirming God's intellection of Himself (b34), does not clearly indicate how this self-intellection has to be understood: does God need to know everything in order to know Himself, or does it mean that His understanding of all things other than Him is implied in His Self-knowledge? For Ibn Sīnā the former of the two alternatives is clearly false, since it would make God dependent upon His creatures. However, Aristotle remains completely silent on this issue. Even if the right opinion in the present case is rather evident, Ibn Sīnā nevertheless blames Aristotle for not having given any indication. Also on other occasions, he deplores that the Stagirite did not express his ideas in a clearer and more open way. It is striking that Ibn Sīnā, in a digression after a direct comment on 1072b13–14 (heaven depends on a principle like this), makes (p. 57, 135–141) a 'laudatio' of Themistius, because this latter openly said that the first principle intellects Himself, and this according to a self-knowledge that encompasses the knowledge of all things, without implying any move from one intelligible to another.[41] Themistius, moreover, rightly insisted that God needs nothing to perfect His essence, including the intellection of other things. It is obvious that for Ibn Sīnā Themistius only made explicit what already was implicit in Aristotle's text, but given the vagueness of the latter, Themistius's clarification is highly valid.

But it also happens that Ibn Sīnā finds an anomaly, and, as such, a mistake in Aristotle's actual wording. Such is, for example, the case with the latter's statement (IX, 1074b29) that 'a continuity of intellection is something tiring'. According to Ibn Sīnā, this cannot be correct given that Aristotle says elsewhere that the material intellect reinforces itself when it intellects.[42] Ibn Sīnā insists that the tiring is due to the needed use of the instrument of the passive intellect and that Aristotle never identified the human soul with an intellect in act. Everything indicates that Ibn Sīnā tries here to correct as much as possible Aristotle by Aristotle himself—showing his adherence to the minor Peripatetic

[39] Bertolacci, *The Reception of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics'*, pp. 319–320, and Id., 'Different Attitudes to Aristotle's Authority in the Arabic Medieval Commentaries on the *Metaphysics*', *Antiquorum Philosophia* 3 (2009), pp. 145–163, especially pp. 159–161.

[40] Ibn Sīnā [Avicenne], *Commentaire sur le livre 'Lambda'*, p. 71.261–266. The same passage is discussed by Bertolacci, 'Different Attitudes to Aristotle's Authority', p. 161, but with a particular attention to the methodological weakness of Aristotle's starting-point.

[41] Ibid., p. 57.135–141.

[42] Ibid., p. 69.245–250. Ibn Sīnā probably refers to *De anima* III.4, 429a31–b5, where Aristotle deals with the impassibility of the faculty of intellection.

synthesis of Aristotle with himself. Ibn Sīnā notes that Themistius has offered a precision, namely that the divine intellect is not subject to any kind of becoming tired, because it intellects its own essence.[43] However, this explanation is in his view not yet adequate. For Ibn Sīnā, the real reason for the absence of tiredness in God's intellection is the absence of any contrariety in the substance of the one who intellects. Hence, Themistius rightly 'corrected' Aristotle's statement in denying any kind of tiredness in (divine) intellection, but he missed the proper reason for this. Even if he moved in the right direction, he still failed to express the truth. However, the criticism Ibn Sīnā formulates against Themistius, is in my view no less severe than the one expressed with regard to Aristotle a few lines before.

Conclusion

The Aristotle of Ibn Sīnā is clearly not the one available in his Greek texts. It is obvious that Ibn Sīnā was directed (and, sometimes, misled) by the Arabic translations which he used for his examination of the Stagirite's thought. Moreover, his Aristotle was a Neoplatonised Aristotle. Clearly, this latter made it much easier for Ibn Sīnā to deal in a philosophical way with such religiously significant issues as e.g., the survival of the soul and 'providence', as is evidenced in his commentary on the *pseudo-Theology*. But Ibn Sīnā's Aristotle was above all a great thinker, and perhaps the greatest of all philosophers. Nevertheless, Ibn Sīnā avoids blind idolatry of 'the Philosopher' or to 'the First teacher'. In fact, he does not hesitate to indicate the existence of a few weaknesses in the latter's actual wording. But he is much more critical of some of the commentators, especially those who did not critically dealt with their sources, including Aristotle's texts. Acting this way, they simply stop doing what is essential in philosophising, i.e. an uninterrupted critical reflexion on and interrogation of reality. In this sense, he simply applies what Ammonius required of every serious commentator:

> He must know very well that which he is to comment on, and must also be an intelligent man, in order to present the Philosopher's thought and to examine closely the truth in what he says. For one must not, so to speak, sell oneself completely and accept all what is said and in all earnestness support everything one comments upon as true, even if it is not. Rather, one must examine each point closely and, if it should turn out that way, prefer the truth to Aristotle.[44]

[43] For this reference to Themistius, and the criticism related to it, see Ibid., p. 69.251–254.

[44] Ammonius, *On Aristotle: Categories*, p. 16, see supra, n. 4. Let me add that also Simplicius's commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* might have been a direct source of inspiration for Ibn Sīnā, since it is also attested in the *Fihrist* (and confirmed by Ibn Suwār, see Richard Walzer, 'New Light on the Arabic Translations of Aristotle', *Oriens* 6 (1953), pp. 91–142, pp. 103–104), and contains many ideas in common with Ammonius's wording (stressing *inter alia* that the

Had indeed Aristotle himself, in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (1096a15), not already emphasised that truth has always to be preferred, even if one has to sacrifice one's closest personal ties? The adagium 'Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas' became famous in Latin scholasticism.[45] Ibn Sīnā would have undoubtedly agreed with it, but instead of Plato, he probably would have said 'Aristotle'. For him this latter is the real father of philosophy, but nevertheless he is not infallible, hence: 'Aristotle is a friend, but truth is more friend to me than he is'.

commentator should not obstinately persist in trying to demonstrate that Aristotle is always and everywhere infallible—see Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Categories* I-IV, translated by Michael Chase, London: Duckworth, 2003, p. 23).

[45] Note, however, that the saying has its origins in late Greek thought, as shown by Elias's introduction to his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, where it is said: 'the author is a dear friend, but so also is truth, and when both stand before me truth is the better friend', translation Nigel Guy Wilson (*Scholars of Byzantium*, London: Duckworth, 1983, p. 47) as quoted in Christian Wildberg, 'Elias', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2016 Edition). Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/elias/>.

PTOLEMAIC ORBS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLAND
A STUDY AND EDITION OF THE ANONYMOUS *LIBER DE MOTIBUS PLANETARUM*

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Abstract

This article offers the first study and critical edition of the *Liber de motibus planetarum* (*Lmp*), a neglected Latin text on planetary theory that appears anonymously and without any clear indication of date or place of origin in nine manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. An analysis of its sources and parallels to other Latin treatises and translations from Arabic indicates that the *Lmp* originated in England in the third quarter of the twelfth century. A plausible *terminus post quem* is provided by the appearance of similar passages in the anonymous treatise *Ptolomeus et multi sapientum* (1145), which can be linked to Abraham Ibn Ezra and his astronomical tables for the meridian of Pisa. The *Lmp* would appear to be historically significant for its relatively detailed textual and diagrammatic presentations of Ptolemy's planetary models as composed of multipart physical orbs. While it is generally accepted that physicalized or 'orbed' versions of these models entered Latin astronomy through the influence of Ibn al-Haytham's *Maqāla fī hayʾat al-ʿālam (On the Configuration of the World)*, the early history of this idea in a Latin context has not been studied to any deeper extent. In this regard, the *Lmp* offers clear evidence that Ptolemaic orbs and diagrams representing them already were a part of Latin astronomy three centuries before Peuerbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum* (1454).

Key Words

Latin astronomy, Islamic astronomy, Latin translations, Ptolemy, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ibn al-Haytham.

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Introduction

The translation of Arabic scientific works into Latin and the ensuing Renaissance of the exact sciences in twelfth-century Europe led to such an outburst of intellectual productivity that only a small fraction of the relevant source material has ever received close scrutiny from modern scholars. Neglect of this sort has been especially common for anonymous texs in fields such as astronomy and mathematics, whose origin and date are often difficult to ascertain. A perfect example is the brief introduction to planetary theory with the incipit *Investigantibus astronomie rationes primo ponendum*, which in two of the nine extant copies carries the descriptive title *Liber de motibus planetarum*.[1] The main goal of the present article is to provide a critical edition of this obscure text, which to my knowledge has never been the object of any serious sort of study.[2] My edition will be preceded by an introduction in four parts. In the first I shall discuss one of the most intriguing features of the *Liber de motibus planetarum*—or *Lmp*, as I shall henceforth call it: its endorsement of physicalized versions of Ptolemy's planetary models, which are closely related to the multipart orb models described at much greater length in Ibn al-Haytham's *Maqāla fī hayʾat al-ʿālam (On the Configuration of the World)*. The *Lmp* does not merely allude to the existence of these physicalized models, but offers detailed descriptions and drawings of planetary diagrams that are meant to depict Ptolemy's epicycles and eccentric deferents as nested orbs or orb segments. In light of this feature, the *Lmp* may even be viewed as a hitherto unknown forerunner to the *Theoricae novae planetarum* by Georg Peuerbach, which popularized orb models of this type in the fifteenth century.

Part II seeks to establish that the *Lmp* originated in England in the third quarter of the twelfth century, more specifically between 1145 and 1176. For evidence to support this contention, I shall rely on textual parallels between the *Lmp* and other Latin astronomical works from the twelfth century. These include Walcher of

[1] The title *Liber de motibus planetarum* appears in MSS *E* and *S*. Similar labels are used in *P* (*De motibus planetarum secundum Abraham*) and *V* (*Theorica in motibus septem planetarum*). For sigla and descriptions of these and all the remaining manuscripts, see section IV below.

[2] The text was listed among the *dubia* of Robert Grosseteste by S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235–1253*, Cambridge: University Press, 1940, p. 235 (mentioning manuscripts *DRV*). See previously already Ludwig Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1912, p. 61*, n. 1, who knew *D* and *R*. Remarks on the text based on *F* appear in Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde: histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*, vol. III, Paris: Hermann, 1915, p. 316. The work's existence was again noted by Francis S. Benjamin, Jr, and G. J. Toomer, *Campanus of Novara and Medieval Planetary Theory*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971, pp. 88–89, who were the first to mention *BX*. Manuscripts of the *Lmp* are also noted in Fritz S. Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica in the Manner of the London Tables', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 60 (1990), pp. 199–318, at p. 199, n. 1, who knew all copies except *P*. I am very grateful to David Juste for bringing the latter to my attention.

Malvern's *De Dracone* (1120) and an anonymous treatise beginning with the words *Ptolomeus et multi sapientum* (1145), which is linked to Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Pisan Tables. Two works that appear to have drawn on the *Lmp* are Roger of Hereford's *Compotus* (1176) and an anonymous planetary *Theorica* from the later twelfth century, which features a similar set of opening words (*Investigantibus astronomiam primo sciendum*). The third part expands on this analysis by examining the *Lmp*'s use of two well-known sources translated from Arabic in the first half of the twelfth century: the Toledan Tables (together with their canons starting *Scito quod annus lunaris*) and al-Farghānī's *Elements of Astronomy*. The fourth and final part presents the nine extant manuscripts and uses their shared variants to reconstruct the *Lmp*'s transmission in the form of a stemma. This reconstruction will inform the critical edition attached to this article.

I. *A physicalized astronomy*

At first glance the *Lmp* is no more than a basic primer to the models describing the motions of the seven planets that Ptolemy had laid out in much greater geometrical and kinematic detail in his second-century *Almagest*. Our text begins with some elementary definitions of points, lines, and circles to obtain a coordinate system for describing the celestial spheres.[3] From there it moves on to a succinct account of the sphere of the Sun, which includes some remarks on the 'equation' used in calculating true solar longitudes. This section also touches upon the motion of the eighth sphere (sphere of the fixed stars), which is presented in terms of a trepidation model with an amplitude of 8° as opposed to Ptolemy's linear notion of precession. The text's descriptions of the model for the Moon, the model for Mercury, and the joint model for the remaining four planets are purely qualitative in nature. Specific rates of motion for the Sun, Moon, and Mercury are only provided in a brief summary towards the end (see ll. 365–389 in the edition below), for which the author drew on al-Farghānī's influential *Jawāmiʿ ʿilm al-nujūm* or *Elements of Astronomy* (see section IIIa below). Quantitative data for Venus and the three superior planets are left out altogether. Instead, the *Lmp* closes with some very brief remarks on the locations of the planetary apogees (*auges*) and ascending nodes (*geuzahar*), which can be used to infer a planet's direction in latitude.

[3] A similar type of description may be found in ch. 10 of the short version and ch. 16 of the long version of the *Liber de orbe* ascribed to Māshāʾallāh, which was translated into Latin in the 1130s. See Barbara Obrist, 'William of Conches, Māshāʾallāh, and Twelfth-Century Cosmology', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 76 (2009), pp. 29–87, at pp. 73–74. The author of the original text was Dūnash ibn Tamīm (d. after 955) according to the findings of Taro Mimura, 'The Arabic Original of (ps.) Māshāʾallāh's *Liber de orbe*: Its Date and Authorship', *British Journal for the History of Science* 48 (2015), pp. 321–352; Id., 'A Glimpse of Non-Ptolemaic Astronomy in Early *Hayʾa* Work—Planetary Models in ps. Mashāʾallāh's *Liber de orbe*', *Suhayl* 14 (2015), pp. 89–114.

Given this overall orientation of content, the *Lmp* fits into a category of didactic astronomical works known in the medieval Latin tradition as *Theoricae planetarum*, as is confirmed by the descriptive titles used in two of the extant manuscripts (*FV*). The best-known medieval *Theorica planetarum* survives in well over 200 copies and carries the incipit *Circulus eccentricus vel egresse cuspidis*.[4] Since the late Middle Ages, this text has sometimes been attributed to Gerard of Cremona, the prolific twelfth-century translator of texts from Arabic (d. 1187), yet no one has been able to demonstrate conclusively its existence prior to *c.* 1230, the approximate date of Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius*.[5] Despite the shared subject matter, the similarities between the *Lmp* and the pseudo-Gerardian *Theorica planetarum* remain relatively superficial. One case in point are the planetary diagrams that accompany both texts.[6] In the case of the *Lmp*, at least four such diagrams were intended by the author and have been preserved, to different degrees of completeness, in six of the known manuscripts (*DEFRVX*). They represent the kinematic elements of the Sun (Fig. 1), the Moon (Fig. 2), and (Fig. 3) Mercury as well as the joint model for Venus and the superior planets (Fig. 4), together with some lines indicating the

[4] For an edition of this text, see Francis J. Carmody, *Theorica Planetarum Gerardi*, Berkeley, CA, 1942. Some excerpts were printed in Lynn Thorndike, *Michael Scot*, London: Nelson, 1965, pp. 132–138. An English translation appears in Edward Grant (ed.), *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 451–465. For discussion, see Olaf Pedersen, 'The *Theorica planetarum*-Literature of the Middle Ages', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 23 (1962), pp. 225–232; Id., 'The Decline and Fall of the *Theorica Planetarum*: Renaissance Astronomy and the Art of Printing', in Erna Hilfstein, Paweł Czartoryski and Frank D. Grande (eds), *Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademij Nauk, 1978, pp. 157–185; Id., 'The Origins of the *Theorica Planetarum*', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 12 (1981), pp. 113–123; Id., 'The *Theorica Planetarum* and Its Progeny', in Graziella Federici Vescovini and Francesco Barocelli (eds), *Filosofia, scienza e astrologia nel Trecento europeo: Biagio Pelacani Parmense*, Padua: Il poligrafo, 1992, pp. 53–78; James Steven Byrne, 'The Stars, the Moon, and the Shadowed Earth: Viennese Astronomy in the Fifteenth Century', PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2007, pp. 110–155; Id., 'The Mean Distances of the Sun and the Commentaries on the *Theorica Planetarum*', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 42 (2011), pp. 205–221.

[5] The *Theorica planetarum* was incorporated in full in the 'long recension' of Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius* (lib. I = *Liber quatuor distinctionum*), as found in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10268, fols 74rb–77va, yet this copy only dates from *c.* 1320 and may have been augmented by later interpolations. The insertion is treated as authentic by Glenn M. Edwards, 'The Two Redactions of Michael Scot's *Liber Introductorius*', *Traditio* 41 (1985), pp. 329–340, at pp. 339–340. A twelfth-century origin of the standard *Theorica planetarum* has been defended by Graziella Federici Vescovini, 'Michel Scot et la *Theorica Planetarum Gerardi*', *Early Science and Medicine* 1 (1996), pp. 272–282; Ead., 'Autour de la *Theorica planetarum* Gerardi', in Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla-Guarda and Jean-François Gesnet (eds), *Du copiste au collectionneur: mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1998, pp. 169–174, but I find her argument unpersuasive.

[6] On the diagrams included in the standard *Theorica planetarum*, see Kathrin Müller, *Visuelle Weltaneignung: Astronomische und kosmologische Diagramme in Handschriften des Mittelalters*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008, pp. 253–271.

angles involved in the computation of true longitudes. In striking contrast to the standard *Theorica planetarum*, which refers to its diagrams in a very generic fashion (e.g., *sicut patet in figura*), the *Lmp* provides descriptions that are detailed enough to serve as instructions for how to draw these diagrams without an exemplar. Also, while the diagrams included in the pseudo-Gerardian *Theorica* and a myriad of other medieval astronomical manuscripts opt for a purely geometrical representation of planetary motions, the diagrams in the *Lmp* depict the physical orbs that encase and move the individual planets. The orb of the Sun, for instance, is described as being bounded by an outer and an inner surface marked by circles FGHI and KLMN, which are both concentric to the orb of the zodiac, ABCD (ll. 65–72). Within the orb of the Sun lies a smaller orb, eccentric to the main one, whose surface carries the body of the Sun itself. In the diagram, this eccentric orb is represented by the circle FOMP centred on point Q. It touches the outer and inner surface of the Sun's orb at points F and M, which serve as the model's apogee and perigee (ll. 72–79; see Fig. 1). While the deferent orb of the Sun is here reduced to a circle, the deferent orb in the diagrams for the Moon, Mercury, and the remaining planets each has a width that corresponds to the diameter of the epicycle that moves inside it (see Figs. 2–4).

The *Lmp*'s commitment to solid orbs is cloaked only slightly by its indiscriminate use of the term *circulus* to refer to both circles and orbs. For instance, in ll. 50–52 the text speaks of the 'outer' and 'inner' surface of a planetary *circulus*, the space between which defines the *spissitudo* ('thickness') of the *circulus* in question. Likewise, in ll. 132–136 the Moon is assigned a *circulus circulo signorum similis* with two surfaces, outer and inner, the space between which contains a *circulus excentricus*, 'which is placed in a sloping manner within [its] thickness' ('qui declive positus est in spissitudine circuli lune similis circulo signorum'). It goes without saying that this sort of statement makes sense only if *circulus* is understood to mean a three-dimensional orb. One conjecture worth making is that the ambiguity encountered in the *Lmp* with regard to *circulus* is due to the way an equivalent Arabic word was used in one of the source texts that underlie it. The most obvious candidate for the word in question is *falak*, which retains a double meaning of 'circle' and 'orb' in the eleventh-century *Maqāla fī hayʾat al-ʿālam (On the Configuration of the World)*, a work often attributed to the famous astronomer and mathematician Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (d. *c.* 1040), but more likely to have been written by his contemporary and namesake, the philosopher Muḥammad ibn al-Haytham.[7]

[7] See Y. Tzvi Langermann (ed. and trans.), *Ibn al-Haytham's on the Configuration of the World*, New York: Garland Publishing, 1990, repr. London: Routledge, 2016. Plausible arguments against the traditional ascription are provided in Roshdi Rashed, 'The Configuration of the Universe: A Book by al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham?', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 60 (2007), pp. 47–63.

In Ibn al-Haytham's text, the term *falak* in used indiscriminatly to denote circles or solid orbs, although the main focus is clearly on the three-dimensional quality of the planetary models and hence on orbs, which are described in ways similar to what we find in the *Lmp*.[8] For the total orb that contains within it the kinematic components of a given planet, Ibn al-Haytham uses the expression *al-falak al-mumaththal*, i.e. the 'assimilated sphere' in the sense of it being concentric to the sphere of the universe. It may be possible to discern in this term the source behind the expression *circulus similis circulo signorum*, which appears repeatedly in the *Lmp* (ll. 49–50, 68, 132–136, 141–143, 151–152, 217–218, 295, 381). The only twelfth-century Latin translation of Ibn al-Haytham's *On the Configuration of the World* that has been identified so far is the one woven into the *Liber Mamonis* written by Stephen of Pisa (*fl.* 1127) in the Crusader state of Antioch.[9] Stephen made a free translation of nearly the complete text of the *On the Configuration* and added to it his own commentary. It must be underlined, however, that the *Liber Mamonis* survives only in a single copy and there are as yet no signs that the text was used by other Latin authors in the twelfth century or later.[10]

Whatever the immediate source behind its elaborate diagrams and statements about the surfaces and thickness of different *circuli*, the *Lmp* provides us with valuable evidence to show that planetary models composed of multipart physical orbs were already known in twelfth-century Christian Europe. This is not a point generally recognized in the modern literature. Most studies trace Latin awareness of this type of model no further back than to Roger Bacon, who in or around 1267/68 used the expression *quaedam imaginatio modernorum* to introduce the theory in question.[11] Bacon does not identify any source for this *imaginatio*, but his

[8] Y. Tzvi Langermann, 'A Note on the Use of the Term *Orbis* (*Falak*) in Ibn al-Haytham's *Maquālah fī hayʾat al-ʿālam*', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 32 (1982), pp. 112–113, and Id., *Ibn al-Haytham's on the Configuration of the World*, pp. 5–7. On Ibn al-Haytham's orb models, see Willy Hartner, 'The Mercury Horoscope of Marcantonio Michiel of Venice: A Study in the History of Renaissance Astrology and Astronomy', *Vistas in Astronomy* 1 (1955), pp. 84–138, at pp. 122–127; Michel-Pierre Lerner, *Le monde des sphères*, vol. I, *Genèse et triomphe d'une représentation cosmique*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996, pp. 92–98.

[9] See most recently Dirk Grupe, 'Stephen of Pisa's Theory of the Oscillating Deferents of the Inner Planets (1h. 12th C.)', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 71 (2017), pp. 379–407, with references to further literature.

[10] The copy in question is MS Cambrai, Bibliothèque (Médiathèque) municipale, 930. I have seen no signs that the wording of this translation had any influence on the *Lmp*.

[11] The pertinent passages are edited in Pierre Duhem, *Un fragment inédit de l'Opus tertium de Roger Bacon: précédé d'une étude sur ce fragment*, Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1909, pp. 125–131; Roger Bacon, *De celestibus*, ed. in Robert Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. IV, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 437–443. For examples among a multitude of modern accounts, see Duhem, *Le système*, pp. 428–442; Reuven S. Avi-Yonah, 'Ptolemy vs al-Bitruji: A Study of Scientific Decision-Making in the Middle Ages', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 35 (1985), pp. 124–147, at p. 135; Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'Problèmes méthodologiques dans l'astronomie au début du XIVe siècle', in Gad Freudenthal (ed.), *Studies on Gersonides: A*

use of technical vocabulary suggests he may have seen a Latin translation of Ibn al-Haytham's *On the Configuration of the World* with the title *Liber Aboali ibin Hertam*, which survives in a late-thirteenth century manuscript.[12] Dag Hasse has recently argued that the Latin vocabulary in this translation points to it having been made by Michael Scot (d. in or after 1235),[13] which would confirm a thirteenth- rather than a twelfth-century origin.

An author contemporaneous with Michael Scot who showed some familiarity with orb models was William the Englishman (or William of Marseille), whose *Astrologia* of 1220 immediately follows upon the *Lmp* in *F* (fols 111vb–124vb). It is also found in the composite codex *E* (fols 1r–21r), in a neat copy made late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century.[14] At the end of a *Theorica*-style account of the motions of the Moon, William points out that 'each planet by its nature has a thick and solid sphere' and goes on to detail how the distance between the inner and outer surface of each sphere (*spera*) was determined by the apogees

Fourteenth-Century Jewish Philosopher-Scientist, Leiden: Brill, 1992, pp. 55–70, at pp. 62–64; Hugonnard-Roche, 'Contribution arabe à la cosmologie occidentale latine', in *Cieli e terre nei secoli XI-XII: orizzonti, percezioni, rapporti*, Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1998, pp. 89–109, at pp. 106–108; Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 277–281; Id., 'Celestial Motions in the Late Middle Ages', *Early Science and Medicine* 2 (1997), pp. 129–148, at pp. 136–138; Lerner, *Le monde des sphères*, pp. 115–118; Byrne, 'The Stars, the Moon, and the Shadowed Earth', pp. 66–78; Edith Dudley Sylla, 'The Status of Astronomy as a Science in Fifteenth-Century Cracow: Ibn al-Haytham, Peurbach, and Copernicus', in Rivka Feldhay and F. Jamil Ragep (eds), *Before Copernicus: The Cultures and Contexts of Scientific Learning in the Fifteenth Century*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017, pp. 45–78, at pp. 50–52.

12 MS Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10059, fols 37r–50r. The text is transcribed in full in José M.ª Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, Madrid: CSIC, 1942, pp. 285–312. Bacon's use of this translation was recently suggested by Dag Nikolaus Hasse, 'Averroes' Critique of Ptolemy and Its Reception by John of Jandun and Agostino Nifo', in Paul J. J. M. Bakker (ed.), *Averroes' Natural Philosophy and Its Reception in the Latin West*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, pp. 69–88, at p. 83.

13 Dag Nikolaus Hasse, 'Stylistic Evidence for Identifying John of Seville with the Translator of Some Twelfth-Century Astrological and Astronomical Texts from Arabic into Latin on the Iberian Peninsula', in Charles Burnett and Pedro Mantas-España (eds), *'Ex Oriente Lux': Translating Words, Scripts and Styles in Medieval Mediterranean Society*, Córdoba: UCOPress, 2016, pp. 19–43, at p. 37. *On the Configuration of the World* was translated into Castilian during the reign of King Alfonso X (1252–1284), presumably during the 1260s or 1270s. A Latin version of this lost Castilian text survives in a single manuscript edited by José Luis Mancha, 'La version alfonsi del *Fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (*De configuratione mundi*) de Ibn al-Haytham (Oxford, Canon misc. 45, ff. 1r–56r)', in Mercè Comes, Honorino Mielgo and Julio Samsó (eds), *'Ochava espera' y 'astrofísica': textos y estudios sobre las fuentes árabes de la astronomía de Alfonso X*, Barcelona: Instituto 'Millás Vallicrosa' de Historia de la Ciencia Árabe, 1990, pp. 133–207. Another translation of the text appears in MS Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Miscell. D 2° 13, fols 108va–119vb (s. XIV$^{2/2}$).

14 Other copies of this text appear in MSS Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CA 2° 394, fols 136ra–140vb; Seville, Biblioteca Capitular Colombina, 5-1-25, fols 1r–33r, 110v–128v (two copies; not seen); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5311, fols 42ra–52v.

and perigees of the eccentric deferent and epicycle.[15] A more fleshed out account of this basic idea had previously already been given in the *Lmp*, the existence of which calls us to revise our timeline of 'physicalized' planetary models in medieval Europe, at least in so far as concerns texts in the *Theorica planetarum* genre. Edith Dudley Sylla recently concluded an article on this topic by stating that 'works called *theorica planetarum* evolved from describing the motions of the planets using mathematical lines to describing them, at least in part, using physical orbs.'[16] Her account of the introduction of these physical orbs into the Latin astronomical discussion puts most of its emphasis on Ibn al-Haytham's *On the Configuration of the World*, which according to Sylla 'was transmitted to Latin-speaking Europe at the latest by the end of the thirteenth century'.[17] Sylla here ignores the aforementioned *Liber Mamonis*, but her overall chronology of events is also called into question by the *Lmp*, which shows us that the evolution of the *Theorica planetarum* genre was not so straightforward. Thanks to the *Lmp*, it is now clear that a *Theorica*-type text describing Ptolemy's models in terms of multipart physical orbs already circulated in the third quarter of the twelfth century and hence prior to the popular *Theorica planetarum* of pseudo-Gerard of Cremona.

It should be underlined that this holds true not just for textual descriptions, but also for diagrammatic depictions of the multipart orbs in question. While the extant Arabic manuscripts of Ibn al-Haytham's *On the Configuration of the World* are devoid of such diagrams, a full set of them appears in the aforementioned thirteenth-century translation into Latin (*Liber Aboali ibin Hertam*). Similar diagrams became a recurrent feature of late medieval Latin works such as the fourteenth-century revision of the common *Theorica planetarum* ascribed to Walter Bryt or the *Theoricae novae planetarum* by Georg Peuerbach, which go back to lectures first held in 1454 at the University of Vienna.[18] In light of a recent and not

[15] *E* (fol. 7v): 'Nec pretereundum est quemlibet planetam speram habere spissam et solidam in sui natura que se commetitur secundum sui quantitatem figure firmamenti et est concentralis mundo et eius spissitudo est tanta ut sufficiat continere excentricitatem et semidiametrum epicicli et semidiametrum corporis planete. Unde cum centrum epicicli fuerit in auge excentrici et corpus planete in auge epicicli, tangit corpus planete superiorem superficiem spere. Cum autem centrum epicicli fuerit in oppositione augis excentrici et corpus planete in oppositione augis epicicli, tangit corpus planete inferiorem superficiem spere. Et spera cuiuslibet planete secundum ordinem planetarum contingua est spere alterius.' This passage was first noted by Duhem, *Le système du monde*, pp. 289–290. See also Michael H. Shank, 'Rings in a Fluid Heaven: The Equatorium-Driven Physical Astronomy of Guido de Marchia (fl. 1291–1310)', *Centaurus* 45 (2003), pp. 175–203, at pp. 177–178.

[16] Sylla, 'The Status of Astronomy', p. 76.

[17] Ibid., p. 46.

[18] Olaf Pedersen, 'The Problem of Walter Brytte and Merton Astronomy', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 36 (1986), pp. 227–248, at p. 242; E. J. Aiton, 'Peurbach's *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*: A Translation with Commentary', *Osiris*, 2nd ser., 3 (1987), pp. 4–43; Isabelle Pantin, 'The First Phases of the *Theoricae Planetarum* Printed Tradition (1474–1535): The Evolution of a

particularly well-substantiated attempt to explain Peuerbach's use of orb diagrams as the heritage of later Arabic text such as al-Jaghmīnī's early-thirteenth century *Mulakhkhaṣ fī ʿilm al-hayʾa al-basīṭa*,[19] it may not be unimportant to draw scholarly attention to the *Lmp*, which offers grounds to believe that Peuerbach simply continued a pictorial tradition that had existed in the Latin world for three centuries by the time he composed his *Theoricae novae*.

II. *Date and place of origin*

My earlier claim that the *Lmp* was written in the third quarter of the twelfth century is obviously in need of some justification, since it does not follow straightforwardly either from the text itself or from its manuscript transmission. Of the nine complete or partial copies, most date from the period 1250–1350 and present the text without attribution. One chronological outlier is the copy in *R*, which is untitled and anonymous, but might go back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Another noteworthy exception is *D*, a copy from the mid-fifteenth century whose colophon reads *Explicit Lincolniensis in Theorica spere* (fol. 143r). This must be interpreted as an attribution of the preceding text to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, whose *Compotus* treatise from the 1220s comes immediately before the *Lmp* in manuscripts *F* (fols 87v–107r, s. XIV$^{1/2}$) and *V* (fols 44ra–62r, s. XIII$^{2/2}$). The only other copy to attach something like an author's name to the *Lmp* is *P* (s. XIII/XIV), where a marginal note from the hand of the main scribe identifies our text as *De motibus planetarum secundum Abraham* (fol. 418v). This calls to mind the multifaceted Jewish scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra (*c.*1089–*c.*1161), who began to exert a seminal influence on Latin astronomy and astrology upon his departure from his native Spain in *c.* 1140.[20] His influence is

Genre Observed through its Images', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 43 (2012), pp. 3–26; Michela Malpangotto, 'Les premiers manuscrits des *Theoricae novae planetarum* de Georg Peurbach: présentation, description, évolution d'un ouvrage', *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 65 (2012), pp. 339–380; Malpangotto, 'The Original Motivation for Copernicus's Research: Albert Brudzewo's *Commentariolum super Theoricas novas Georgi Purbachii*', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 70 (2016), pp. 361–411.

[19] Sally P. Ragep, 'Fifteenth-Century Astronomy in the Islamic World', in Feldhay and Ragep (eds), *Before Copernicus: The Cultures and Contexts of Scientific Learning*, pp. 143–161, at pp. 157–158.

[20] For Abraham Ibn Ezra and his influence on twelfth-century Latin astronomy, see Shlomo Sela, 'Contactos científicos entre judíos y cristianos en el siglo XII: el caso del *Libro de las tablas astronómicas* de Abraham Ibn Ezra en su versión latina y hebrea', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, Sección de Hebreo, 45 (1996), pp. 185–222; Id., 'Algunos puntos de contacto entre el *Libro de las tablas astronómicas* en su versión latina y las obras literarias hebreas de Abraham Ibn Ezra', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, Sección de Hebreo, 46 (1997), pp. 37–56; Id., 'Origins and Transmission of *Liber Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus*: A New Appraisal Based on the Scrutiny of the Available Manuscripts and Other Sources', *Revue des études juives* (forthcoming); Julio Samsó, 'El procés de la transmissió científica al nord-est de la península Ibèrica al segle XII: els textos

clearly detectable in a brief twelfth-century text with the incipit *Inter omnes recte philosophantes*, which dates itself to AD 1169 and follows immediately after the *Lmp* in manuscript *P* (fols 422v–423v). Large parts of this anonymous composition were apparently drawn from a much longer treatise, starting *Ptolomeus et multi sapientum* (hereafter shortened to *Ptolomeus*), which survives in a manuscript from the Meuse region, copied in 1175 or soon thereafter.[21]

At its core, *Ptolomeus* is a multi-part commentary written to accompany a set of astronomical tables for the meridian of Pisa that Ibn Ezra had adapted from the tenth-century tables of al-Ṣūfī.[22] Although there are several Latin works dealing with these Pisan Tables, *Ptolomeus* is the only one to reveal their date of composition, claiming that the tables were put together in AD 1143.[23] To judge from an example involving '1144 completed [years] before the present year', the text itself was written not very long thereafter, in AD 1145.[24] Both the early date and the level of detail on display would make it tempting to see in *Ptolomeus* a work by Abraham Ibn Ezra himself, were it not for the occasional reference to 'our Lord

llatins', in Joan Vernet and Ramon Parés (eds), *La ciència en la història dels Països Catalans*, vol. I, *Dels àrabs al Renaixement*, Valencia: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004, pp. 269–296, at pp. 286–293; Id., '*Dixit Abraham Iudeus*: algunas observaciones sobre los textos astronómicos latinos de Abraham ibn 'Ezra', *Iberia Judaica* 4 (2012), pp. 171–200; Renate Smithuis, 'Science in Normandy and England under the Angevins: The Creation of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Latin Works on Astronomy and Astrology', in Giulio Busi (ed.), *Hebrew to Latin, Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism*, Turin: Aragno, 2006, pp. 23–60.

21 See MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, which is described in Nigel Morgan and Stella Panayotova, *A Catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges*, pt. I, vol. II, London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009, pp. 12–13. The text of *Ptolomeus* begins on fol. 67r and continues at least until fol. 76v. Of the portions that follow until fol. 79r, some may be later accretions. The parts that correspond most closely to *Inter omnes recte philosophantes* in *P* appear on fol. 68r–v. Some of the following sections of *Ptolomeus* also survive in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 26, fols 122r–129v (s. XIII^{in}). The text here starts at the sub-incipit *Tabulas compositurus hoc ordine procedes* (fol. 68v in McClean 165). It breaks off prematurely at *tantum est remotus quanta fuit differentia partis* (fol. 72v in McClean 165) due to a loss of pages at the end of the codex.

22 On the astronomical tables and related texts associated with Abraham Ibn Ezra, see Raymond Mercier, 'The Lost Zij of al-Ṣūfī in the Twelfth-Century Tables for London and Pisa', in *Studies on the Transmission of Medieval Mathematical Astronomy*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, ch. VIII; John D. North, 'The Longitudes of Winchester', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 73 (2002), pp. 13–20; Fritz S. Pedersen, 'Astronomical Tables for Pisa in Ms. København K.B., GkS 277, Fol.', *Renaessanceforum* 3 (2007), pp. 1–16, and the literature cited in n. 20 above.

23 MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 70v: 'Tabule autem nostre, composite scilicet anno Christi 1143, habent secundum annum bissextilem.'

24 MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 70r: '...et incipere a quoto anno volueris, utpote a 1144 completis ante presentem annum.' Cf. Raymond Mercier, 'Astronomical Tables in the Twelfth Century', in Charles Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, London: The Warburg Institute, 1987, pp. 87–118, at p. 111, who wrongly reports this passage as mentioning '1149 (complete)'. The same error is repeated in Smithuis, 'Science in Normandy', p. 33.

Jesus Christ',[25] which indicates that the author was a Christian. It is still perfectly possible, however, that *Ptolomeus* was the product of a Christian student or collaborator of Ibn Ezra, who presented the Jewish master's doctrine in his own words. A well-known precedent for this *modus operandi* is the treatise *De Dracone* by Walcher of Malvern (1120), which according to its own title preserved the *Sententia Petri Ebrei*, that is, the astronomical doctrine of Walcher's Jewish teacher Petrus Alfonsi.[26] The expression *secundum Abraham* used in *P* for the title of the *Lmp* may have been intended to describe something similar—a text 'inspired by' or 'following the doctrines of', rather than 'written by' Abraham.

A comparison between the *Lmp* and Abraham Ibn Ezra's own Latin introduction to the Pisan Tables, the so-called *Liber de rationibus tabularum*,[27] does not reveal much by way of doctrinal influence. At most, one can point to the technical vocabulary used in discussing planetary equations. The *Lmp* is consistent in referring to the equation of centre of all planets as the *equatio puncti* and the equation of anomaly as the *equatio portionis*. This façon de parler is not too common in Latin astronomical texts, but it does characterize the corpus of extant texts connected to Ibn Ezra's Tables of Pisa.[28]

The one text within this corpus whose vocabulary converges most closely with the *Lmp* is the aforementioned *Ptolomeus*, which offers an in-depth account of planetary motions in the manner of a *Theorica planetarum*.[29] After dealing with stations and retrogradations as well as planetary latitudes, the text goes on to provide a series of definitions pertaining to the computation of true longitudes. It is worth noting that this section begins with a remark about the outer and inner surface of the *circulus similis circulo signorum*, which is reminiscent of some of the language used in the *Lmp* and indicates that the author of *Ptolomeus* thought of his planetary models as being composed of physical orbs.[30] More significant for our

[25] MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 68r: 'Sunt autem inter annos Alexandri et annos domini nostri Ihesu Christi 311 anni'. See also Ibid., fol. 70r.

[26] For an edition, translation, and commentary on this text, see C. Philipp E. Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern: 'De lunationibus' and 'De Dracone'*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017, pp. 46–55, 194–217, 271–297.

[27] See the edition of this work in José M.ª Millás Vallicrosa, *El libro de los fundamentos de las Tablas astronómicas de R. Abraham Ibn Ezra*, Madrid: CSIC, 1947.

[28] See, e.g., the *Liber de rationibus tabularum*, ed. Millás Vallicrosa, *El libro*, pp. 102–103, 112. See also the *Tractatus Magistri Habrahe de tabulis planetarum* in MS London, British Library, Arundel 377, fols 56va–63ra (s. XII/XIII), and the *Liber de equationibus planetarum secundum meridiem Pissanorum* in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 307, fol. 27r–v (s. XII$^{2/2}$). A similar vocabulary is used in a set of canons for the Toledan Tables starting *Scito quod annus lunaris*, which will be discussed in section IIIb below.

[29] MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fols 71r–76v. On the idiosyncratic lunar theory expounded in this section, see the remarks in Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica', pp. 214–215.

[30] MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 75v: 'Circulus augis est superior superficies circuli similis circulo signorum. Circulus oppositi auge est inferior eiusdem superficies.'

purposes are the text's definitions of the individual planetary equations, which in several cases pertaining to the longitude of the Moon are close to identical to those included in the *Lmp*:

Lmp (ll. 178–189): Equatio puncti est distantia capitum duarum linearum in superiori circumferentia epicicli, quarum una a centro terre et alia a centro excentrici circuli exeunt per centrum epicicli. Que equatio super portionem simplicem est addenda, si longitudo duplex est minor CLXXX gradibus, id est VI signis, vel minuenda ab eadem, si est maior. Que portio simplex post augmentum vel diminutionem equationis puncti 'portio coequata' nominatur. Equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis est distantia capitum duarum linearum in superiori circumferentia epicicli, quarum una exit a centro terre et alia a centro predicto, quod est inter terram et longitudinem propiorem excentrici, per centrum epicicli. Minuta proportionum sunt numeri proportionales quorum proportionalitate cum LX accipitur illud quod debet aggregari equationi portionis de equatione diversitatis diametri circuli brevis.	*Ptolomeus*:[31] Equatio puncti est arcus epicicli inter duas lineas ad eius centrum sectantes se, quarum una exit a centro zodiaci, altera centro ecentrici. Que equatio super simplicem portionem est addenda, si longitudo duplex minor est CLXXX gradus, que si maior, minuenda. Hec portio simplex post augmentum vel diminutionem equationis puncti 'coequata' dicitur. Equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis est arcus epicicli inter duas lineas in circulo brevi sese apud centrum intersecantes, quarum una exit a centro zodiaci, altera autem a puncto ad quem fit declinatio diametri circuli brevis extra conventum et oppositionem. [...] Minuta proportionalia sunt numeri proportionales quorum proportionalitate cum LX accipitur illud quod debet aggregari equationi portionis de equatione diversitatis diametri circuli brevis.
Lmp (ll. 194–197, 199–200): Equatio vero portionis est distantia capitum duarum linearum in circulo signorum exeuntium a centro terre, quarum una exit per centrum epicicli, alia vero per corpus lune in circumferentia epicicli transit. [...] Que equatio portionis equata debet aggregari medio cursui lune, si portio equata fuerit maior CLXXX gradibus, id est VI signis, vel minui, si minor.	Equatio portionis est arcus zodiaci inter duas lineas exeuntes a centro zodiaci, altera per centrum lune, altera per centrum epicicli. [...] Que equatio post augmentum debet aggregari medio cursui lune, si equata portio fuerit maior 180 gradus, vel minui, si minor, et habetur locus lune in circulo signorum.

[31] MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 76r.

It can be seen that the two texts share identical expressions not only for the Moon's equations of centre and anomaly, but also for the increment necessitated by the variation of epicyclic diameter, here referred to as the *equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis*. In the case of the *Lmp* (ll. 184–187), this *equatio* is introduced as 'the distance of the heads of two lines [located on] the upper circumference of the epicycle that go through the centre of the epicycle, one from the centre of the Earth and the other from the aforementioned centre, which lies between the Earth and the perigee of the eccentric [circle]'. Earlier on in the same discussion (ll. 174–176), the Moon's mean anomaly (*portio lune simplex*) is defined as the distance on the circumference of the epicycle between the body of the planet and the epicyclic apogee, as measured 'from a particular centre that lies between the perigee of the excentric [circle] and the centre of the Earth'. This is clearly the 'aforementioned centre' referenced somewhat later in the text as part of the definition of the *equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis* (ll. 185–187). In the corresponding diagram (Fig. 2), this centre is marked by point Q—what is sometimes known as Ptolemy's prosneusis point. A line that goes from this point through the centre of the epicycle will by definition intersect with the epicycle's upper circumference at the mean apogee, whereas the line that goes from the centre of the Earth through to the centre of the epicycle will identify the true apogee. It follows that in trying to define the diameter-increment of the epicycle, *Ptolomeus* and the *Lmp* instead give the correct definition for the equation of centre, or *equatio puncti*, which is the one that concerns the angle between the mean and true epicyclic apogee. In introducing the latter, both texts again offer a very similar definition, which in each case erroneously replaces the 'aforementioned centre' with the centre of the excentric deferent, which makes no sense in the context of Ptolemy's second lunar model.

Since the account of planetary equations in *Ptolomeus* is significantly more detailed than that provided in the *Lmp*,[32] it would appear that the *Lmp*'s mistakes in this area were inspired by the former text, not the other way around. If we accept this line of influence, we automatically obtain AD 1145, the *annus praesens* of *Ptolomeus*, as a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Lmp*. As for the *terminus ad quem*, a valuable hint can be gleaned from the text's treatment of the motion of the sphere of the fixed stars, which deviates somewhat from the standard Ptolemaic theory. Rather than depicting precession as a linear and unidirectional motion towards the east at a rate of 1° per century, our text claims that the sphere of fixed stars alternates between periods of eastward and westward motion, with a total amplitude of 8° (ll. 43–46). With regard to the period of

[32] This is true in particular for the remaining planets, but also for the Moon, where *Ptolomeus*'s discussion of the *numeri proportionales* used in calculating the diameter-increment (cf. ll. 189–194 in the *Lmp*) includes an account of the *modus operandi* followed by the makers of the Toledan Tables (*Arzacellus* and *Abenchahant*). MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 76r.

eastward or 'forward' motion, we are told that the eighth sphere moves from the beginning of Aries to 22° Pisces (ll. 44–45: 'movetur ante, id est versus orientem, VIII gradibus usque ad XXII gradum Piscium'). In order to makes sense of this statement, 22° Pisces must be interpreted as a sidereal degree on the eighth sphere, which comes to align with tropical 0° Aries (the vernal point) as the eighth sphere moves 8° to the east. Afterwards, the sidereal equivalent of 0° Aries will return to start, i.e. to tropical 0° Aries (l. 45: 'et inde revertitur'), and continue to move westward until tropical 0° Aries coincides with sidereal 8° Aries (ll. 45–46: 'et movetur iterum ab initio Arietis retro, id est versus occidentem, totidem gradibus, id est VIII'). This is then followed by another reversal of direction to bring the eighth sphere back to its starting point (l. 46: 'et rursum versus orientem').

The notion according to which the sphere of fixed stars undergoes back-and-forth shifts of 8° crops up in a number of Latin texts written or translated during the twelfth century, but most of these restrict this back-and-forth motion to a band of 8° (i.e., from 0° Aries to 22° Pisces and back to 0° Aries) without hinting at a total amplitude of 2 × 8° = 16° of the kind assumed in the *Lmp*.[33] Among the exceptions is the aforementioned treatise *Ptolomeus*, which credits the Indians with a theory that allows the heads of Aries and Libra to swing 'to the right and to the left' (*versus dextram et versus sinistram*) by 8°, thereby accounting for changes in the length of the tropical year.[34] What *Ptolomeus* does not do in the relevant passage is refer to the sphere of fixed stars as the *circulus accessionis et recessionis* (l. 47) on account of its bidirectional motion. An expression of this type instead crops up in the *Compotus* of Roger of Hereford, a work securely datable to 1176. In a manner strikingly similar to the *Lmp*, Roger attributes to certain unspecified 'philosophers' the opinion that the starry sphere can move by 8°, such that it goes from 0° Aries to 22° Pisces. Rather than proceeding to describe the ensuing motion in a westerly direction from 22° Pisces to 8° Aries, Roger concludes with a motion of 8° 'against

[33] See, e.g., ch. 52 of al-Battānī, *De motu stellarum*, Nuremberg: Petreius, 1537, fol. 80v; Abū Maʿshar, *De magnis coniunctionibus* (2.8.36), ed. Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, vol. II, Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 99–100; John of Spain, *Sententie de diversis libris excerpte*, ed. José M.ª Millás Vallicrosa, 'Una obra astronómica desconocida de Johannes Avendaut Hispanus', *Osiris* 1 (1936), pp. 451–475, at p. 467; Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Liber de rationibus tabularum*, ed. Millás Vallicrosa, *El libro de los fundamentos*, p. 77, l. 8; ps.-Aristotle, *De causis proprietatum et elementorum*, ed. in Stanley Luis Vodraska, 'Pseudo-Aristotle, *De causis proprietatum et elementorum*: Critical Edition and Study', PhD Diss., University of London, 1969, pp. 151–152 (ch. 9). The ultimate source behind these statements is Theon of Alexandria's *Little Commentary* on the *Almagest*. See Anne Tihon (ed.), *Le 'Petit commentaire' de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables faciles de Ptolémée*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978, pp. 236–237, and Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, pp. 285–286.

[34] MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fols 67v–68r. A variation by 8° in both directions ('ante et retro') is also alluded to in the *Liber ysagogarum Alchorismi*, ed. Bruce George Dickey, 'Adelard of Bath: An Examination Based on Heretofore Unexamined Manuscripts', PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1982, p. 328. See Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, p. 290.

the east'. The result reads very much like a contraction of the corresponding passage in the *Lmp*.

Lmp (ll. 37–39, 43–47):	Roger of Hereford:[35]
Sol itaque **secundum auctoritatem philosophorum** duos habet motus, quorum primus est essentialis ab occidente in orientem in suo excentrico circulo unaquaque die LIX minutis et VIII secundis. [...] **Et nota quod octava spera ab initio Arietis movetur ante, id est versus orientem, VIII gradibus usque ad XXII gradum Piscium, et inde revertitur et movetur iterum ab initio Arietis retro, id est versus occidentem, totidem gradibus, id est VIII, et rursum versus orientem. Unde 'circulus accessionis et recessionis' dicitur**.	**Dicunt enim philosophi**, quod sphaera stellarum fixarum movetur, sed in nongentis annis cum caelo, in totidem contra celum. **Unde dicitur sphaera accessionis et recessionis. VIII enim gradus movetur sic, ut a primo Arietis usque ad XXII^um^ Piscium et inde VIII contra orientem.** Et haec movet secum alias sphaeras ut solis.

At first glance, of course, the similarity between the two passages is undermined by the way the *Lmp* assumes, based on the authority of the *philosophi*, that the sphere of fixed stars moves at a rate of 1° per century (ll. 40, 43). This would imply that the entire cycle of *accessio et recessio* takes 4 × 800 = 3200 years to complete, whereas Roger of Hereford ascribes to the *philosophi* the view that the starry sphere moves back and forth for consecutive periods of 900 years. Far from disrupting the link between the two texts, however, Roger's reference to a 900-year period offers excellent grounds to believe that the *Lmp* was the source from which he drew his information about the *sphaera accessionis et recessionis.* A period of precisely this length crops up in a paragraph at the very end of the *Lmp*'s section devoted to the Sun (ll. 104–109). Like much of the rest of the text, this paragraph is poorly preserved in the extant manuscripts, and missing altogether from witnesses *DX*. In its originally state, it may have read as follows:

> Dicunt autem quidam doctorum quod sol *in DCCCC annis* citius movetur per *VII grad*us et *in aliis DCCCC* tardius per VII similiter gradus, et nos modo sumus in tardiori, unde dicitur moveri in CCCLXV diebus et VI horis *CCCLIX gradus*, *LIX punctos*, *LVI minutias*, XIX *minutias minutiarum. Desunt adhuc de zodiaco III minutie* et XLI *minutie minutiarum* hancque dicunt esse causam mutationis solstitiorum et equinoctiorum.

[35] Roger of Hereford, *Computus* 5.26, ed. Alfred Lohr, *Opera de computo saeculi duodecimi*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 228 (ll. 84–89). On the context of this passage, see Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, pp. 288–290.

There can be little doubt that the *Lmp* owed this information, and in particular the bits in italics, to a passage originally found in Walcher of Malvern's aforementioned treatise *De Dracone*, which was written in 1120 or not long thereafter:

> Annus preter quadrantem: CCCLIX gradus, XLV punctos, XI minutias, XV minutias minutiarum. Cum quadrante: CCCLIX gradus, LIX punctos, LVI minutias, XVIII minutias minutiarum et dimidiam, cum quarta parte unius, quod est quadrans. Desunt adhuc cursui solis de zodiaco III minutie et XL [*sic*] minutie minutiarum. [...] Ad hec ille in DCCCC annis septem gradibus solem retardare in zodiaco dicebat et in aliis DCCCC velocitate eas recuperare et ideo non semper eisdem diebus, sed in diversis solstitia et equinoctia fieri. His autem nostris temporibus illo tardiore cursu solem dicebat uti, unde videtur nobis quia totum sol in anno zodiacum non peragit.[36]

Walcher's *De Dracone* is one of the earliest texts to document the arrival of mathematical astronomy from Arabic sources in twelfth-century Europe. That said, the information on eclipses contained in *De Dracone* was very rudimentary and would have quickly come to be regarded as antiquated, which matches the fact that the text enjoyed no wide circulation and appears to have been unknown outside of England.[37] Its palpable influence on the *Lmp* therefore provides us with good grounds for assuming that the *Lmp* was composed in an English setting and at a relatively early date, towards the middle rather than the end of the twelfth century. This is confirmed by the use of our text in Roger of Hereford's *Compotus*, whose date of composition, 1176, provides us with a dependable *terminus ad quem*. As for the *Lmp*'s rendition of Walcher's information, it is worth noting that all manuscript witnesses round the 18 ¾ *minutiae minutiarum* originally mentioned in the source to 19. Another salient change is that from Walcher's division of the zodiac into *puncti* (= $1/60^{th}$), *minutiae* ($1/3600^{th}$), and *minutiae minutiarum* ($1/216000^{th}$) to the more familiar minutes, seconds, and thirds of arc. It is not unlikely that this change was only finalized in the sub-archetype γ that came before manuscripts *ERSV* (see section IV below), where the relevant passage presumably looked as follows:

> Unde dicitur moveri in CCCLXV diebus et VI horis CCCLIX gradus, LIX minuta, LVI secunda, XIX tertia. Desunt adhuc de zodiaco tria secunda et XLI tertia.

This line can be reconstructed from the way the passage is represented in manuscripts *ERVS*, none of which preserves the full wording. *EV* omit *LIX minuta*

[36] Walcher of Malvern, *De Dracone* 3.3, ed. Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, p. 204. The edition emends the numbers at two places. For the quotation above, I have reinstated the numbers found in the manuscripts.

[37] Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, pp. 65–67.

and reverse the order of units and values.[38] *R* contracts *CCCLIX gradus, LIX minuta* to *CCC LIX minuta*.[39] *S* contains the same contraction, but in addition omits the preceding *CCCLXV diebus et VI horis*.[40] The text is in even worse shape in *F* and *P*, which are independent of the aforementioned sub-archetype (γ), but their wording gives us a small hint that the original version of the passage used vocabulary closer to Walcher. Since this vocabulary was outdated by the end of the twelfth century, there would have been a strong incentive for scribes to alter it, leading to a variety of corruptions.

> *F* (108va): Unde dicitur moveri 365 diebus et 6 horis 360 [!] gradus, 59 **punctos**, 56 **minuta** et 19 tercia. Deficit adhuc 3 secunda et 41 3.

> *P* (419v): Unde dicitur moveri in 365 diebus et 7 [!] horis 359 gradus, 59 **punctos** et 6 **minuta**, 19 **minutias momentorum**, 5 secunda [!]. Desunt autem de zodiaco 3 **minuta**, 40 secunda, vel 61 [!].

Other than specifying the degrees of the zodiac the Sun manages to traverse in 365 ¼ days, the relevant passage from *De Dracone* cites the opinion of Walcher of Malvern's teacher Petrus Alfonsi, according to whom there were alternating 900-year periods of 'fast' and slow' solar motion and corresponding 'gains' and 'losses' of 7° on the part of the Sun. The reference frame for these shifts is nowhere specified, but Walcher links them to changes in the dates of the solstices and equinoxes, implying that the changes in solar velocity concern the length of the tropical year.[41] Readers of the *Lmp* would have been tempted to assimilate this statement to the oscillation of 8° mentioned earlier on in the text, which explains why Roger of Hereford conflated the *Lmp*'s account of the *circulus accessionis et recessionis* with its later remark about the 900-year period, despite the fact that the latter was tied to a shift of 7° rather than 8°. The sub-archetype (ζ) shared by *F* and *P* smoothed out this contradiction and created a stronger sense of coherence between the two passages by changing the number of degrees in the passage drawn from Walcher of Malvern from *VII* to *8*.

Further traces of the *Lmp*'s influence on later texts can be spotted in an obscure work on planetary theory and astronomical computation that starts with the words *Investigantibus astronomiam primo sciendum*—an incipit very similar to the

[38] *E* (fol. 115v), *V* (fol. 63rb): 'Unde dicitur moveri in 365 diebus et 6 horis gradus 359, secunda 56, tertia 19. Desunt adhuc de zodiaco 3 secunda et 41 tertia.'

[39] *R* (fol. 3v): 'Unde dicitur moveri in CCCLXV diebus et sex horis gradus CCC LIX minuta, LVI secunda, XIX tertia. Desunt adhuc de zodiaco tria secunda et XLI tertia.'

[40] *S* (fol. 21v): 'Unde dicitur moveri in CCC LIX minuta, LVI secunda, XIX tertia. Desunt adhuc de zodiaco tria secunda et XLI tertia.'

[41] See the commentary on this passage in Nothaft, *Walcher of Malvern*, pp. 284–290.

Lmp's *Investigantibus astronomie rationes primo ponendum.*[42] As a matter of fact, the first paragraphs of this anonymous *Theorica* look very much like an attempt to reproduce the opening of the *Lmp* with different wording.[43] Another suggestive example is a remark on the motion of the apsidal lines of all planets, which appears to have inspired a similar passage in the much more popular *Theorica planetarum* of pseudo-Gerard of Cremona:

> Quidam enim asserebant apsides omnium planetarum praeter lunam esse immobiles; alii vero quamlibet earum moveri in 900'tis annis <per> 7 gradus ante, id est contra firmamentum, et in aliis 900 tantundem retro.[44]

Since Walcher of Malvern's *De Dracone* never mentions the apsidal lines or apogees of the planets, this text is unlikely to be immediate source behind the statement found in *Investigantibus*. To be sure, the *Lmp* does not specifically link the 900-year period to apsidal precession either, but it does state in no unclear terms that the apogees of all planets other than the Moon partake in the motion of the eighth sphere (ll. 154–155). An even clearer trace of the *Lmp*'s influence can be discerned in the way *Investigantibus* repeats the same mistakes in defining the Moon's diameter-increment and equation of centre that we have noted above as being characteristic of the *Lmp* and its source *Ptolomeus*. *Investigantibus* attributes these definitions to al-Farghānī and his followers, which is striking given that al-Farghānī is the only author mentioned in the *Lmp* (l. 233). The specific wording used in *Investigantibus*, too, goes to suggest that *Lmp*, rather than *Ptolomeus*, was its immediate source for the definitions in question. In the case of the equation of centre, for which both texts provide an incorrect definition, the verbal parallels are as follows:

Lmp (ll. 178–180):	*Investigantibus*:[45]
Equatio puncti est **distantia capitum duarum linearum** in superiori circumferentia epicicli, **quarum una a centro terre et alia a centro excentrici** circuli exeunt **per centrum** epicicli.	Aequatio centri secundum eos dicitur **distantia** in circulo signorum **capitum duarum linearum, quarum una** ducitur **a centro terrae per centrum** lunae ad circulum signorum, **et alia a centro**

[42] This is the text edited by Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica', pp. 224–302.

[43] Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica', p. 224 (Jn1–3).

[44] Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica', p. 266 (Jn 218). For the corresponding passage in the standard *Theorica planetarum*, see Ibid., p. 316: 'Nota quod auges dicuntur moveri versus orientem 7 gradus in 900 annis et totidem versus occidentem in aliis 900 annis'. See also the edition of this text by Carmody, *Theorica Planetarum Gerardi*, p. 46.

[45] Pedersen, 'A Twelfth-Century Planetary Theorica', p. 239 (Jn 84). I omit Pedersen's conjectural emendation in this passage, which was meant to salvage the definition.

	excentrici per centrum lunae ad eundem circulum.

Meanwhile, what would have been the correct definition for the equation of centre is delivered under the guise of the diameter-increment:

Lmp (ll. 184–187): **Equatio** diversitatis **diametri circuli brevis** est **distantia capitum duarum linearum** in superiori circumferentia epicicli, quarum **una** exit **a centro terre** et alia a centro predicto, quod est inter terram et longitudinem propiorem excentrici, per centrum epicicli. *Lmp* (ll. 176–178): Hoc autem centrum semper est in opposita parte centri excentrici circuli lune et tantum **distat a centro terre quantum centrum excentrici**.	*Investigantibus*:[46] Aequatio **diametri circuli brevis** secundum eosdem dicitur **distantia** in circulo signorum **capitum duarum linearum**, quae protrahantur per centrum lunae ad circulum signorum: **una** quidam **a centro terrae**, et altera a puncto **dista**nte **a centro terrae quantum et centrum excentrici** ex opposito secundum eandem lineam.

All of the evidence gathered so far allows us to conclude that the *Lmp* was most likely composed in the third quarter of the twelfth century, prior to Roger of Hereford's *Compotus* of 1176 and some time after the text *Ptolemaeus* associated with Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Tables of Pisa, which dates itself to AD 1145. There are also strong reasons for believing that the text originated in England. For one thing, the author of the *Lmp* appears to have come across a passage in Walcher of Malvern's *De Dracone*, which is not known to have exerted any influence outside England. Next to Roger of Hereford, who was obviously based in the West Midlands, the *Lmp* was also clearly known to whoever put together the treatise *Investigantibus*, which was written in the last quarter of the twelfth century and shows several points of contact with the London Tables adapted from the Tables of Pisa.[47] A final point worth making is that no fewer than four of the nine surviving manuscripts of the *Lmp* show signs of having been copied in England. Among these are the two earliest witnesses, *R* (s. XIII$^{1/2}$) and *S* (s. XIII$^{2/2}$), as well as *E* (s. XIV$^{1/4}$) and the chronological outlier *D* (fol. XV^{med}).

[46] Ibid., p. 239 (Jn 85).
[47] Ibid., pp. 211–214.

III. *Other sources*

(a) al-Farghānī

As mentioned earlier, the *Lmp* includes an explicit reference to the ninth-century astronomer al-Farghānī (*Alfraganus*), whom it credits with using the expression *circulus equans motum* to refer to a circle of the same radius as the eccentric deferent whose centre is the equant point of a given planet (ll. 231–234). This brief acknowledgment is probably enough to establish which (if any) of the extant two twelfth-century Latin translations of al-Farghānī's *Jawāmiʿ ʿilm al-nujūm (Elements of Astronomy)* the author of the *Lmp* employed as a source. In the translation attributed to Gerard of Cremona, which must have been made at some unknown point in time between Gerard's arrival in Toledo (presumably during the 1140s) and his death in 1187, the equant circle is introduced as *orbis excentricus aequans cursus*.[48] By contrast, the earlier translation by John of Seville, datable to AD 1135, renders the same phrase as *circulus egresse cuspidis equans motum*.[49] It would appear that the author of the *Lmp* took the Latin phrase from John of Seville, but replaced the cumbersome expression *egresse cuspidis* with the adjective *excentricus* (as seen in ll. 324, 337–338 and 344).[50] This hypothesis can be tested by examining passages in al-Farghānī that are clearly echoed in the *Lmp*. Two such passages can be found in ch. 13, which provided material for the *Lmp*'s account of the five motions that govern the position of the Moon (ll. 114–148) as well as for its later comments on the corresponding rates of motion (ll. 370–382).[51] Witness, for instance, the following three sentences in the *Lmp*, as compared to the parallel passages in the two translations:

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[48] See ch. 12 in the edition by Romeo Campani, *Alfragano (al-Fargānī): Il 'Libro dell'aggregazione delle stelle'*, Città di Castello: Lapi, 1910, p. 114.

[49] See ch. 12 in the edition by Francis J. Carmody, *Al Farghani Differentie Scientie Astrorum*, Berkeley, CA, 1943, pp. 23–24. For the date of this translation, see Manuel Alonso Alonso, 'Juan Sevillano, sus obras proprias y sus traducciones', *Al-Andalus* 18 (1953), pp. 17–49, at pp. 38–39; Lynn Thorndike, 'John of Seville', *Speculum* 34 (1959), pp. 20–30, at pp. 27–28; Charles Burnett, 'John of Seville and John of Spain: A *Mise au point*', *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 44 (2002), pp. 59–78, at p. 61.

[50] This use of *excentricus* (or *ecentricus*) may have been inspired by the treatise *Ptolomeus*. See MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 165, fol. 73r–v: 'Circulus quidem predictus dicitur "excentricus" quoniam centrum ipsius est extra firmamenti centrum et terre.' On twelfth-century astronomical vocabulary, see Emmanuel Poulle, 'Le vocabulaire de l'astronomie planétaire du XII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècle', in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo*, Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1987, pp. 193–212.

[51] See ch. 13 in Carmody, *Al Farghani*, pp. 24–25, and Campani, *Alfragano*, pp. 117–118. One should also mention al-Farghānī's account of the motions of Mercury in ch. 14, which provided the basis for *Lmp*, ll. 342–347.

Lmp (ll. 370–376):	*Elements*, ch. 13 (tr. Gerard of Cremona):[52]
Luna vero quinque motus habet: unum quo **corpus lune** in epiciclo **movetur** ab oriente in **occidentem** omni die XIII gradibus et IIII minutis de gradibus circuli brevis. Alium quo **centrum** epicicli simul cum epiciclo rotatur ab occidente versus orientem XXIIII gradibus et XXIII minutis de circulo excentrico deferente centrum. Tertium autem quo centrum **excentrici** deferentis centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in **occidentem** XI gradibus et IX minutis vertens secum **longitudinem longiorem** excentrici, id est augem lune.	**Corpus** quidem **lunae movetur** in orbe revolutionis ad **occidentem** 13 gradibus et 4 minutis de partibus circuli orbis revolutionis; et movetur **centrum** orbis revolutionis in orbe excentrico ad partem orientis secundum quantitatem partium illius orbis cuius centrum est centrum orbis signorum: 24 gradibus et 23 minutis; et currit centrum orbis **excentrici** in circulo parvo cuius centrum est centrum orbis signorum et revolvitur **longitudine longiore** in rotunditatem ad **occidentem** 11 gradibus et 9 minutis.

Lmp (ll. 370–376):	*Elements*, ch. 13 (tr. John of Seville):[53]
Luna vero quinque motus habet: unum quo **corpus lune** in epiciclo **movetur** ab oriente in occidentem omni die XIII gradibus et IIII minutis **de gradibus circuli brevis**. Alium quo centrum epicicli simul cum epiciclo rotatur ab occidente **versus orientem** XXIIII gradibus et XXIII minutis de circulo excentrico deferente centrum. Tertium autem quo centrum excentrici deferentis centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in **occidentem** XI gradibus et IX minutis **vert**ens secum **longitudinem longiorem** excentrici, id est augem lune.	**Corpus** scilicet **lune movetur** in circulo brevi versus occidentem 13° et 4′ **de gradibus circuli brevis**; et movetur cuspis circuli brevis in circulo egresse cuspidis **versus orientem** secundum quantitatem gradus circuli cuius cuspis est cuspis circuli signorum 24° et 23′; et movetur cuspis circuli egresse cuspidis in circulo parvo cuius cuspis est cuspis circuli signorum et **vert**it **longitudinem longiorem** in rotunditatem versus **occidentem** 11° et 9′.

The similarities in the second of these pairings become more telling if one takes into account that the *Lmp* replaces some of the technical vocabulary found in John of Seville's translation, using *excentricus* instead of *egresse cuspidis* and *epiciclus* rather than *circulus brevis*. It is clear, however, that the latter term was familiar to the author of the *Lmp*. It first appears in l. 115 as a definition of *epiciclus* and then again multiple times as part of the expression *equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis*. What is particularly striking is the occurrence of the same term in ll. 371–372, where the *Lmp* assigns to the epicycle a westward motion of 13;4° per day. The first time *circulus brevis* appears in the corresponding passage of John of Seville's *Elements*, the *Lmp* replaces it with *epiciclus* (l. 370), but it refrains from swapping

[52] Campani, *Alfragano*, pp. 117–118.
[53] Carmody, *Al Farghani*, p. 25.

terms a second time when it goes on to specify that these 13;4° are measured on the circumference of the epicycle. Here, the text simply repeats the phrase *de gradibus circuli brevis* already employed by John of Seville, whereas Gerard of Cremona has *de partibus circuli orbis revolutionis*. In common with John's translation, the *Lmp* uses the pairing *augis* and *oppositum* (or *oppositio*) *augis* to refer to the apogee and perigee of a given epicycle or deferent.[54] Gerard of Cremona's translation uses the same Arabic loan word, but distinguishes between *aux* as a nominative and *augis* as a genitive form.[55] This subtle difference probably clinches the case in favour of John of Seville, especially considering that there are no comparable instances of close correspondence between the *Lmp* and Gerard of Cremona's version, where the epicycle is called *orbis revolutionis* and eccentrics appear as *orbes egredientium centrorum* as well as *orbes excentricorum*.[56]

(b) The Toledan Tables and *Scito quod annus lunaris*

While most of its technical vocabulary is Latin and depends on earlier Latin texts, the *Lmp* also prominently features five words drawn from the Arabic language. In their order of appearance, these are: *zimzalraz* (l. 24), *almucantarath* (l. 24), *azimuz* (l. 26), *halissa* (ll. 60, 81–82), and *geuzahar* (ll. 396, 404–406, 410). Three of these words are conventional in the sense that they can be found in numerous other Arabic-influenced Latin astronomical texts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[57] The other two, however, are rare and warrant further comment. One of these, *zimzalraz*, must have been an attempt to transliterate the Arabic *samt al-ra's* (the 'direction of the head'), which is the ancestor of 'zenith'.[58] If Latin *z* is accepted as the equivalent of Arabic *sin*, then two scenarios suggest themselves: either *samt al-ra's* was first rendered as *zimtalraz*, which is indeed the reading found in manuscripts *SV* (*zimtaleaz* in *X*), or the original transliteration was *zimet alraz*, after which the common Latin abbreviation for '-et' was confused with another *z*.

Unlike *zimzalraz*, which to my knowledge is not attested outside the *Lmp*, there are some known precedents for *halissa*, which is the term the *Lmp* introduces in l. 60 to denote the arc between the apogee and the mean position of the Sun, i.e. its arc of anomaly. This is recognizably the Arabic *al-ḥiṣṣa*, which literally means 'portion', 'lot', or 'share'. The *Lmp* translates the term in accordance with its colloquial meaning, as *portio* (ll. 80–82), and continues to use this Latin expression

54 Ibid., p. 23.
55 Campani, *Alfragano*, p. 110 and passim.
56 Ibid., pp. 111, 113–114, and passim.
57 For *almucantharat* and *azimuth*, see Paul Kunitzsch, *Glossar der arabischen Fachausdrücke in der mittelalterlichen europäischen Astrolabliteratur*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982, pp. 536–538, 550–553. For *geuzahar*, see Poulle, 'Le vocabulaire', pp. 199–220.
58 Kunitzsch, *Glossar der arabischen Fachausdrücke*, pp. 546–549.

to refer to the anomalies of the Moon and the other planets. Several of the manuscripts of the *Lmp* render the corresponding Arabic term not as *halissa*, but as *halipsa* or *alipsa*, a variant otherwise documented in the thirteenth-century MS Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10016, fol. 69ra. There the Sun's *alipsa* is mentioned in the context of some rules for eclipses that follow right after the only known copy of Robert of Chester's revised version of the *zīj* of al-Khwārizmī translated by Adelard of Bath.[59] Both *Halissa* and *alipsa* derived from *al-ḥiṣṣa* via metathesis of *h* and *al*, which is reminiscent of the way the title of an arithmetical work of the mid-twelfth century, written by one H. Ocreatus, a pupil of Adelard of Bath, rendered *al-ḥisāb* ('reckoning') as *helcep*.[60]

An occurrence of *al-ḥiṣṣa* that did not succumb to metathesis can instead be witnessed in a set of Latin canons for the so-called Toledan Tables, which begin with the words *Scito quod annus lunaris*.[61] These canons, which in manuscript headings are often attributed to Azarquiel (al-Zarqālī or al-Zarqālluh, d. 1100), appear to have been rather popular during the second half of the twelfth and for much of the thirteenth century. This holds true in particular for England, where most of the extant copies originated.[62] In common with the *Lmp*, this text translates *alhissa* as *portio* and uses it exclusively in its section devoted to the calculation of the solar equation.[63] It retains the Latin *portio* and *aequatio portionis* when discussing the five planets, but switches to *pars lunae* and *aequatio partis* when doing the same

[59] Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones*, p. 251. A variant of *alipsa* is *halipsa*, which appears in copies *ERSV* of the *Lmp* and in a unique text on how to calculate planetary longitudes (*Doctrina equacionis omnium planetarum*) that follows on the *Lmp* in *S* (fol. 31r). For other transliterations, see Heinrich Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥammed ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī in der Bearbeitung des Maslama ibn Aḥmed al-Madjrīṭī und der latein. Übersetzung des Athelhard von Bath*, Copenhagen: Høst & Søn, 1914, p. 46, and entry no. 10 in the table of loan words included in Mercier, 'Astronomical Tables', p. 116.

[60] See Charles Burnett, '*Algorismi vel helcep decentior est diligentia:* The Arithmetic of Adelard of Bath and His Circle', in Menso Folkerts (ed.), *Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter: Der lateinische und arabische Sprachbereich*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996, pp. 221–331, at pp. 235–236. I am very grateful to Prof. Burnett for discussing the Arabic vocabulary in the *Lmp* with me.

[61] These are canons *Ca* edited in Fritz S. Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, 4 vols, Copenhagen: Reitzel, 2002, pp. 215–311.

[62] As noted by Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 196. Early copies from England include MSS Cambridge, University Library, Kk.1.1, fols 125r–137r (s. XIII^{med}), Oxford, Merton College, 259, fols 53r–55v (s. XIII$^{1/2}$), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 22, fols 1r–12r (s. XIII^{med}), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 21, fols 27ra–40va (s. XIII).

[63] See *Ca* 92, ed. Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 256 ('et quod remanserit voca alhissa, id est portio'). A version of the same passage appears in the obscure *Liber coaequationis planetarum translatus a magistro G. Cremonense de Arabico in Latinum*, found uniquely in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 47, fols 61r–67v (s. XIII/XIV), at fol. 62v: 'Cum volueris coequare solem extrahe medium cursum eius sicut predictum est et scribe eum in duobus locis et minue ex uno augem solis, id est duo signa, et XVII gradus et 50 minuta [...] et quot remanserit nota *alchissa*, id est portio vel pars.' See Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 727–728, 734–736.

for the Moon. On the whole, however, *Scito quod annus lunaris* maintains a vocabulary strikingly similar to the *Lmp*, with expressions such as *aequatio puncti* and *aequatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis* being used in much the same way.[64] The link between the *Lmp* and the Toledan Tables is strengthened by the small handful of numerical values mentioned in our text. Most significant in this respect is the longitude of the solar apogee at 2s 17;50° (in ll. 61–62 and 83–84), which is a characteristic hallmark of these tables.[65] In light of its presence in the *Lmp*, it seems a safe bet that another solar parameter, the maximum equation of 1;59,10° (ll. 57–58), was likewise lifted from the Toledan Tables.[66]

Yet more evidence for the influence of these tables and of *Scito quod annus lunaris* on the *Lmp* can be derived from its closing paragraphs dealing with the locations of the planetary apogees and ascending nodes. The *Lmp* here begins by informing us about the signs in which the apogee for each of the seven planets is located, but refrains from offering more precise quantitative information (ll. 396–399). All manuscripts agree that the Sun and Venus have their apogees in Gemini, Saturn in Sagittarius, Jupiter in Virgo, Mars in Leo, and Mercury in Libra. This conforms neatly to the Toledan Tables, whose standard set of apogeal longitudes is as follows:[67]

	signs	degrees	minutes
Sun	2	17	50
Saturn	8	0	5
Jupiter	5	14	30
Mars	4	1	50
Venus	2	17	50
Mercury	6	17	30

[64] See in particular canons *Ca* 92–105, ed. Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 256–262. Table headings in manuscripts of the Toledan Tables that reflect the vocabulary in *Scito quod annus lunaris* are documented Ibid., pp. 1250–1251, 1265, 1274, 1282, 1290, 1298. Note that many of the copies with these headings tend to be early (s. XIII) and from England.

[65] Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 256 (*Ca* 92). The Toledan Tables and *Scito quod annus lunaris* were probably translated too early to be of any help in dating the *Lmp*. A Latin version certainly existed by 1141, the year when Raymond of Marseille adapted them to the meridian of Marseille. See Raymond of Marseilles, *Opera omnia*, vol. I, *Traité de l'astrolabe, Liber cursuum planetarum*, ed. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, Charles Burnett and Emmanuel Poulle, Paris: CNRS, 2009, pp. 126–341. The tables are also mentioned in connection with the year 1138 in a commentary on the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Iudicia* found in MS London, British Library, Cotton App. VI, fol. 21va. According to Hasse, 'Stylistic Evidence', pp. 30–31, the translator behind *Scito quod annus lunaris* was probably John of Seville, who was active in the 1120s and 1130s.

[66] See the table of maximum solar equations in José Chabás and Bernard R. Goldstein, *A Survey of European Astronomical Tables in the Late Middle Ages*, Leiden: Brill, 2012, p. 66.

[67] Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 1222–1226.

These values differ conspicuously from the apogeal longitudes listed in a table that accompanies the *Lmp* in the closely related manuscripts *EV*.

Auges	signa	gradus	minuta
Solis	2	17	50
Saturni	8	10	42
Iovis	5	22	57
Martis	4	11	48
Veneris	2	17	45
Mercurii	6	25	40

Values very close, but not quite identical to those in *EV* are transmitted in a table of apogees with the heading *Altus locus planetarum super Pisam*, which appears to belong to a late-twelfth century copy of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Pisan Tables.[68]

Auges	signa	gradus	minuta
Solis	2	27	36
Saturni	8	10	37
Iovis	5	22	54
Martis	4	11	44
Veneris	2	27	36
Mercurii	6	25	36

Unlike the table of apogees, which was probably only introduced in the sub-archetype shared by *EV*, a table listing the longitudes of the ascending nodes (or *geuzahar*) of the five planets also shows up in manuscripts *F* and *S* and hence may have already existed in the archetype that ties together manuscripts *DFPX* and *ERSV*. Another good reason for thinking so is the final sentence of the *Lmp* (ll. 418–421), which speaks of a table that makes it possible to determine whether a planet is ascending towards or descending from the ecliptic and whether this happens at a northern or southern latitude. In the manuscripts that contain this bit of the text (*EFRSV*), it is claimed that the information needed to make this determination is the planet's latitude ('Cognita enim eius latitude per tabulam facile cognosci potest' etc.), but this fails to make good sense. Much rather, one would expect the text to mention the ecliptical longitude, since combined knowledge of the longitude of the planet itself and the longitude of its ascending node will indeed be enough to infer that it is currently (a) 'ascending toward the north', (b)

[68] MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16208, fol. 3v. The Tables of Pisa, written by the same hand, appear on fol. 4r–v. For a description of this manuscript, see David Juste, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum latinorum*, vol. II, *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris*, Paris: CNRS, 2015, pp. 236–240. For tables with similar values in other manuscripts, see Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 1226–1227.

'descending from the north', (c) 'ascending toward the south', or (d) 'descending from the south', as mentioned in ll. 414–417. Without the table in *EFSV*, however, the text would provide no more than the signs in which the ascendings nodes of the five planets are located (ll. 405–407). With regard to the sign-placements mentioned in the text itself, it is worth noting that the manuscripts are far from unanimous as to which planet's node is found in which sign of the zodiac.

Planet	*DX*	*R*	FP	*ESV*
Saturn	Cancer	Cancer	Leo	Cancer
Jupiter	Cancer	Leo	Cancer	Leo
Mars	Taurus	Taurus	Taurus	Taurus
Venus	Pisces	Pisces	Pisces	Capricorn
Mercury	Capricorn	Capricorn	Capricorn	Sagittarius

The sign-placements in *DX* happen to correspond perfectly to the list of longitudes for the ascending nodes commonly found alongside the Toledan Tables as well as in two copies of *Scito quod annus lunaris*:[69]

Geuzahar	signa	gradus	minuta
Saturni	3	10	30
Iovis	3	0	1
Martis	1	1	51
Veneris	11	17	50
Mercurii	9	17	3

The only difference between these values and the sign-placements in *R* concerns the ascending node of Jupiter, which according to *R* and *ESV* appears in Leo rather than Cancer. A known twelfth-century source that would support this placement are the astronomical tables for the meridian of Hereford that the aforementioned Roger of Hereford produced in 1178. Roger locates Jupiter's node at 4s 0;1° rather than 3s 0;1°[70] It is interesting to note that Roger deviates from the vulgate tradition a second time when he moves Mercury's node from Capricorn to Sagittarius, giving its longitude as 8s 17;3°.[71] Together with the variant placement of Jupiter, this

[69] See Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 313–314, 1230–1233. The rationale behind these values is explained in G. J. Toomer, 'A Survey of the Toledan Tables', *Osiris* 15 (1968), pp. 5–174, at pp. 45–46.

[70] MS Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10016, fol. 78(bis)v. See Mercier, 'Astronomical Tables', p. 108; Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, p. 1231.

[71] MS Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 10016, fol. 82r. See also the list of *Genzahar planetarum secundum Rogerum infantem* in MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 1022–47, fol. 13r, which features the same values as the Madrid codex.

corresponds exactly to the numbers shown in the table contained in *F*, which are as follows:

	signa	gradus	minuta
Saturni	3	10	30
Iovis	4	0	1
Martis	1	1	51
Veneris	11	17	50
Mercurii	8	17	3

Given Roger of Hereford's use of the *Lmp* in his *Compotus* of 1176 (see section II above), it may be tempting to suppose that his variant numbers for Jupiter and Mercury were due to the same source. One must note, however, that the text in *F* (together with that in *P*) continues to place Mercury in Capricorn, but deviates from *R* by flipping the signs of Jupiter and Saturn, putting the latter in Leo and the former in Cancer. The position of Mercury only changes in *ESV*, where the text puts the node in Sagittarius, while the accompanying table repeats Roger's and *F*'s longitude of 8s 17;3°. In addition, all three manuscripts move the node of Venus from Pisces to Capricorn, which agrees with the information found in their respective table: 9s 17;50° instead of 11s 17;50°. It would appear that the variants in the text of *ESV* were triggered by scribal errors that had already crept into the table at an earlier stage. The 'incorrect' placement of Mercury's node, which has a parallel in Roger of Hereford's astronomical tables, may be due to a change from *VIIII* to *VIII*, while the shift of Venus from Pisces to Capricorn is best explained as a flip between *XI* and *IX*. The scribe of the sub-archetype shared by *ESV* was keen to make the signs mentioned in the text conform to those in the table and hence put the nodes of Venus and Mercury in Capricorn and Sagittarius.

There remains the strange fact that all preserved versions of the *geuzahar*-table in the *Lmp* place Jupiter's node in Leo, as does the text in *ERSV*, whereas the late copies in *DX* follow the Toledan Tables in making Cancer the shared sign for the ascending nodes of Saturn and Jupiter. Since *DX* omit the table together with the corresponding final paragraph of the text (ll. 410–421), the question of priority seems to be beyond full resolution. For the edition below, I have with some hesitation accepted the reading *Iovis geuzahar in Leone* attested in the majority of the manuscripts, treating it as a case of *lectio difficilior potior*.

IV. *Transmission*

The *Lmp* survives in eight more or less complete copies as well as a heavily abridged version, which I shall briefly describe in what follows:

B = Bernkastel-Kues, Cusanusstiftsbibliothek (St.-Nikolaus-Hospital), 212, fol. 130r–v.[72]
This is an abridged copy from the beginning of the fifteenth century, which only features material taken from ll. 1 to 200. The first 29 lines of the *Lmp* appear in full, after which *B* begins to shorten the text and leave out substantial parts, including the entire description of the diagram for the Sun (as well as the diagram itself). The exemplar used for this abridged version must have been a descendant of ε, the sub-archetype shared by *EV*. Where variants can be compared, they suggest that *V* is *B*'s closest surviving relative. In ll. 61–62, *B* replaces the position of the solar apogee in the original text with 3s 0;6°. This replacement was presumably made on the basis of the Alfonsine Tables, which would have predicted this value for June 1388.[73] It is conceivable that this was the date of *B*'s exemplar. Hindu-Arabic numerals are employed throughout.

D = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 97, fols 138r–142r.[74]
This copy is part of a two-part fascicle of 4 + 16 quires (parchment) that starts on fol. 137r and ends with fol. 292, which is also the final leaf of the codex. Our text shares a quire with a treatise on the motion of the eighth sphere citing an observation for 1395,[75] which must be a year in the past. *D*'s rendition of the *Lmp* features several revisions and improvements, both to the wording and to the technical content of the original text. Some idea as to the date of this revision may be gleaned from the value for the solar apogee in ll. 61–62, which is here changed to 3s 0;40,34°. Based on the Alfonsine Tables, this would be the position of the apogee close to 1 December AD 1446.[76] Diagrams corresponding to Figs. 1–4 appear on fols 139r, 140r, 141r–v. In place of the final paragraph starting *Sunt ergo geuzahar* etc. (ll. 366–376), this recension adds a brief text on the divisions of time, which employs a partition of the hour into 40 'moments' familiar from computistical

[72] See the description by David Juste, 'MS Bernkastel-Kues, Cusanusstiftsbibiothek, 212' (update: 17.11.2017), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/18>. This copy was first mentioned by Benjamin and Toomer, *Campanus of Novara*, pp. 88–89, who wrongly extended its range to 'fols 130r–36v'.

[73] The approximate time was determined using the program *Deviations*, available at <http://www.raymondm.co.uk>.

[74] William D. Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. IX, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883, cols 105–108; R. W. Hunt and A. G. Watson, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*, vol. IX.2, *Notes on Macray's Descriptions of the Manuscripts*, Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999, pp. 52–53.

[75] See on this text Lynn Thorndike, 'Thomas Werkwoth On the Motion of the Eighth Sphere', *Isis* 39 (1948), pp. 212–215; John North, *Richard of Wallingford*, 3 vols, Oxford: Clarendon Press, vol. III, pp. 241–246; C. Philipp E. Nothaft, 'Criticism of Trepidation Models and Advocacy of Uniform Precession in Medieval Latin Astronomy', *Archives for History of Exact Sciences* 71 (2017), pp. 211–241, at pp. 230–231.

[76] As in n. 73.

works.[77] Below this final paragraph is an attribution of the foregoing work to Robert Grosseteste (fol. 142r: *Explicit Lincolniensis in Theorica spere*). The copy employs Hindu-Arabic numerals throughout.

E = Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, CA 4° 357, fols 114v–118v.[78]
This copy is part of a composite codex in 4° of 133 fols. It belongs to a fascicle (fols 101–124) written by two different English hands of the early fourteenth century (s. XIV$^{1/4}$). The heading on fol. 114v reads *Incipit liber de motibus planetarum* (as in *S*). The text has no colophon, but segues into a sequence of chapters from Adelard of Bath's translation of the *zīj* of al-Khwārizmī together with a shadow table (fols 118v–119r).[79] This material can also be found in *S*. Diagrams corresponding to Figs. 1–4 appear on fols 115r, 116v, 117v, 118r. A fifth diagram, not mentioned in the text, appears on fol. 118v. Tables for apogees (*auges*) and ascending nodes (*geuzahar*) appear on fol. 118r. Hindu-Arabic numerals are used throughout.

F = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7298, fols 107va–111vb.[80]
This copy was made in Northern France in the first half of the fourteenth century. It is part of a codex measuring 370 × 250 mm and comprising 174 fols in double columns, all written in a single hand. Its rendition of the *Lmp* is severely affected by scribal errors, corruptions, and smaller omissions, mostly due to homeoarchy. Diagrams corresponding to Figs. 1–4 appear on fols 108v, 109v, 110v, 111v. A brief colophon on fol. 111vb reads *Explicit theorica planetarum*. Hindu-Arabic numerals are used throughout. The manuscript is available online at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721165n.r=latin%207298?rk=21459;2>.

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77 *D* (fol. 142r): 'Tempus dividitur in partes maiores et minores. Maiores scilicet sunt perigeneses quod est spacium quindecim mille annorum et tunc revertuntur omnes stelle in sue creacionis statum. Evum est spacium mille annorum. Seculum est spacium 100 annorum. Indictio est spacium quindecim annorum, continens tria lustra. Lustrum est spacium quinque annorum. Partes minores sunt dies. Dividitur tamen dies in naturalem et artificalem. Dies naturalis habet diem et noctem. Dies artificiales est spacium ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Hora est 24 pars diei naturalis. Triens est tercia pars alicuius rei integre. Triens est tercia pars alicuius rei integre. Triens hore est tercia pars hore. Triens diei est tercia pars diei. Quadrans est quarta pars diei vel alterius rei. Momentum est quadragesima pars unius hore. Bisse momentum est dimidium momentum.'

78 Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), pp. 597–600. For an updated description, see <http://manuscripta-mediaevalia.de>.

79 *Ezic Elkaurezmi*, *c*. 27–28b, ed. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln*, pp. 20–22. The wording of the canons comes closest to that in the lost MS *C* (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 214). The shadow table corresponds to the one edited and discussed in Pedersen, *The Toledan Tables*, pp. 991–993.

80 David Juste, 'MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7298' (update: 21.02.2018), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/175>.

P = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 718–720, fols 418v–422r.[81]
This copy is part of a codex in 8° of 478 fols divided into three separate volumes (s. XIII^{ex} or XIV^{in}). A note from the main hand in the left margin of fol. 418v identifies our text as *De motibus planetarum secundum Abraham*. The colophon on fol. 422r reads *Explicit introitus ad astronomiam*. The copy features no diagrams or tables, but adds a long excursus at the end of the description of the orb of the Moon (fol. 420v), which repeats information given earlier in the text, but uses different vocabulary. Hindu-Arabic numerals are used throughout.

R = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.893, fols 129v–134v.[82]
Rawlinson D.893 is a collection of manuscript fragments, where our text appears as part of a 16-page booklet of 215 × 130 mm. The folio-numbering from 127 to 134 belongs to the consecutive numbering of leaves in the entire fragment collection. In addition, fols 128 to 134 are numbered 1 to 7. According to a note on fol. 127, the booklet once belonged to a codex of 136 folios. The handwriting is probably from the beginning of the thirteenth century.[83] It certainly postdates the *Ethica vetus* version of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which ends on fol. 128r = 1r. The *Vita Secundi philosophi* starting on fol. 128v = 1v and ending incompletely on fol. 129v = 2v was translated into Latin *c.* 1167.[84] On fol. 130r and fol. 131r the scribe placed lines in the margin that needed to be re-inserted after an eye-skip. The margins of fols 131v, 132r, and 132v feature longer glosses that are extraneous to the original text. Diagrams corresponding to Figs. 1–4 appear on fols 130v, 132r, 133r, 134v. There are no tables. Roman numerals are used throughout.

S = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 76, fol. 20r–28r.[85]
This copy is part of an astrological-alchemical anthology from England (126 fols, 215 × 160 mm) written by a single thirteenth-century hand (s. XIII$^{2/2}$). The codex was at the Priory of St Swithun, Winchester, by the early sixteenth century. There are no diagrams included in this copy of our text. A table for the ascending nodes appears in the right margin of fol. 28r. As in *E*, the *Lmp* finishes with an appendix

[81] David Juste, 'MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 718-720' (update: 24.07.2017), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/146>.

[82] William D. Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. V.4, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898, col. 84.

[83] Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 235, assigns to *R* a date in the mid-thirteenth century ('XIII^{m}'). Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke*, p. 61*, had previously written '14. Jahrhundert (?)'.

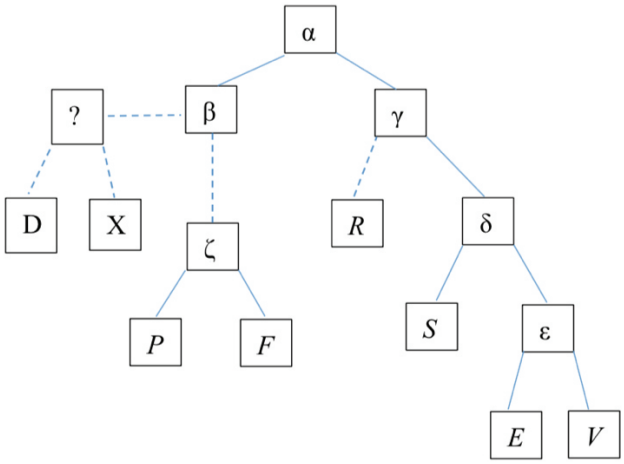
[84] See Ben Edwin Perry, *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, Ithaca, NY: American Philological Association, 1964, pp. 23–52.

[85] David Juste, 'MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 76' (update: 09.11.2017), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/482>.

consisting of chapters from al-Khwārizmī's *zīj* and a shadow table (fols 28r–29v).[86] Roman numerals are used throughout.

V = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1414, fols 62va–66vb.[87]
This copy belongs to a French codex of 225 fols in double columns (215 × 150 mm) written in the second half of the thirteenth century. The *Lmp* here carries the heading *Incipit theorica planetarum*. As with *E*, this copy was made from an exemplar that featured five instead of the usual four diagrams. The scribe of *V* only completed Fig. 1 (fol. 63r), but left outer circles for four more planetary diagrams on fols 64rb, 65r, 66r, 66vb. The final column (fol. 66vb) features a combined table of apogees and nodes (*Tabula geuzahar*). The colophon below reads *Explicit quedam theorica in motibus septem planetarum*. Hindu-Arabic numerals are employed throughout. The manuscript is available online at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1414>.

X = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3133, fols 20ra–26ra.
This copy belongs to a French codex of 62 fols in double columns written in the fourteenth century. The *Lmp* here comes without any ascription or title. Diagrams corresponding to Figs. 1–4 appear on fols 21vb, 23va, 24va, 26ra. Instead of preserving the final paragraph starting *Sunt ergo geuzahar* etc. (ll. 410–421), *X*'s copy segues into another lengthy geometrical account of the planetary equations (fols 26rb–27vb). The copy uses both Roman and Hindu-Arabic numerals.



[86] See n. 79 above.
[87] David Juste, 'MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1414' (update: 16.12.2017), *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts*, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/239>.

Based on the variants shared between them, it is possible to divide the eight complete copies of our text into two separate branches, whose arms appear to converge at sub-archetypes *β* (manuscripts *DFPX*) and γ (manuscripts *ERSV*). Descendants of γ share in common the loss of three passages that are very likely to have belonged to the original text. The first concerns the omission of *deinde luna recedit … in directo augis* as a result of homeoarchy (*in directo augis* in ll. 157 and 162). The repeatable nature of this error explains why it also appears in *P*, but not in its close relative *F*. The second passage lost in *ERSV* is the sentence that defines the diameter-increment of the Moon (ll. 184–187: 'Equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis … per centrum epicicli'). The reasons for this omission are not entirely clear, but they may have to do with the fact that the definition given here really pertains to the equation of centre (*equatio puncti*), not to the diameter-increment (see section II above). The third case concerns a sentence in ll. 268–270: 'Secundum istum etiam circulum consideratur augis Mercurii, quia in directo illius <partis excentrici equantis motum qui remotior est a centro terre est augis> Mercurii in circulo signorum'. Here, the words between <…> have dropped out. In addition to these omissions, sub-archetype γ introduced into our text two substantial passages that were still absent in the original recension. The first occurs at the end of the description of the orb model for Mercury (l. 303) and amounts to a geometrical proof as to why the equation of anomaly will reach a maximum when the true anomaly is slightly above 90° and below 270°:

> Demonstratio quod maior appareat linea a contingente in contingentem ducta quam diametrus circuli. Unde maior est equatio partis sub diametro circa lineam contingentem et sub illa erit quedam diametro equali in apparentia. Sit A terra, H centrum brevis circuli[88] BDFGEC, linea contingens AE, et tunc AD, est linea ad diametrum AC et item AB. Angulus vero DAE maior est angulo BAC et que sub maiori angulo videntur maiora apparent. Maior ergo apparet linea DE quam diametrum BC[89] cui equalis apparet FG, quia que sub equali angulo vel eodem apparent equalia videntur.[90] Dicitur[91] omnis planeta esse in celo ubi linea exiens a centro terre per planetam ducta celum tangit. Hec ideo facta sunt cum videatur maxima debere esse equatio partis circa tria signa vel cum[92] est ultra tria et infra IX et similiter de diversitate diametri.

Two of the four manuscripts, *R* (fol. 6r) and *E* (fol. 117v), include a geometrical diagram corresponding to the explanation given in this paragraph, but neither this diagram nor the text itself give the impression that they belong to the *Lmp* in its

88 centrum brevis circuli] brevis circuli centrum *S*
89 diametrum BC] dyameter AB *V*
90 vel … videntur] videntur vel eodem equalia apparent *V*
91 Dicitur] *add.* autem *V*
92 cum] IX *S*

original form. That we are dealing with an interpolation is clear from the vocabulary, as the text starting with *Demonstratio quod* uses the term *equatio partis* to refer to the equation of anomaly. This is reminiscent of the Toledan Tables and *Scito quod annus solaris*, which both switch between *pars* and *portio* when referring to the anomalies of the Moon and the five planets.[93] The *Lmp*, however, is otherwise consistent in using *portio*, which renders the paragraph suspicious.

The second passage exclusive to the γ-branch comes right after the *Lmp*'s summary of the elements shared by the models of all five planets (l. 244: 'Hec quidem communia sunt omnibus quinque'). Manuscripts *DFPX* move on immediately to discuss the features particular to Mercury, whereas *ERSV* pause to point out that the diameter-increment added to the equation of anomaly is always positive in the case of the Moon, but can be positive or negative in the case of the five planets:

> [Hec quidem communia sunt omnibus quinque], nisi quod equatio diversitatis diametri equata in luna semper additur equationi partis, in ceteris cum fuerit planeta in superiori parte excentrici circuli minuitur, in inferiori[94] additur. Quod ideo fit, quia philosophi ordinaverunt quantitates linearum in epiciclo lune, que dicuntur 'equationes portionis', cum fuerit luna in auge excentrici. Unde, cum linee ille semper alibi appareant maiores, erit semper addendum quod sumitur de diversitate diametri, que est id[95] quo quelibet linea epicicli maior apparet in longitudine propiori[96] quam longiori,[97] de quibus semper addendum est secundum minuta proportionalia. In ceteris autem planetis ordinatio ista[98] facta fuit[99] in medio excentrici inter longitudinem longiorem et propiorem. Unde sunt ibi longitudines longiores et propiores. Longitudines vero longiores sunt minuende, longitudines vero propiores addende secundum minuta proportionalia. Et est planeta in longitudine longiori a tribus signis ab auge et ultra IX, a tribus autem usque ad novem in propiori, unde secundum talem cuspidem summenda est longitudo longior vel propior.

As in the previous instance, we here encounter *equatio partis* as a term for the lunar equation of anomaly, which is familiar from *Scito quod annus lunaris*, but seems out of place in the *Lmp*. A more important reason for excluding the passage, however, is that it fails to cohere with the text that comes before it. The passage that precedes the one just cited lists some of the elements that the models for the three superior and two inferior planets all share in common. The phrase 'Hec quidem

93 See n. 64.
94 inferiori] superiori *ERS*
95 illud] *om. S*
96 propiori] longiori *ERSV*
97 longiori] propiori *ERSV*
98 ista] ita *EV*
99 facta fuit] fuit facta *R*

communia sunt omnibus quinque' underlines this common ground as a way of prefacing the following discussion of Mercury, whose model differs in some respects from that of the other four planets. The additional passage in *ERSV* instead gives the misleading impression that the model of the Moon was supposed to be included in *omnibus quinque* and that this is the reason why the claim 'Hec quidem communia sunt omnibus' would be in need of some qualification. This is not the case and a comparison of the diameter-increments of the Moon and the planets is irrelevant at this stage of the discussion.

It may be worth noting that the earliest known representive of the γ-branch, *R* (fol. 5v), contains the aforementioned addition as a marginal gloss, although one that was marked for insertion into the main text. The other three manuscripts, *ESV*, can be linked to their shared ancestor γ via two sub-archetypes. One of these, labelled δ in the stemma below, came before *E* and *S*. Both copies merge the *Lmp* with several chapters from Adelard of Bath's translation of the *zīj* of al-Khwārizmī, which deal with oblique ascensions as well as with the relation between the Sun's altitude and the length of a shadow. Between δ and *E* one must postulate at least one more node, occupied by ε, which introduced several variants common to *E* and *V*. One of the more conspicuous additions that passed from ε to *EV* was a table of apogees, which the latter two copies place above the table for the longitudes of the ascending nodes. In addition to inserting this table, the scribe responsible for ε made an effort to repair the passage in ll. 383–389, which was supposed to quantify the four motions of Mercury. Only one of the eight relevant manuscripts, *D* (fol. 142r), shows this text in a form that may come close to what was originally intended:

> Mercurius equidem quatuor habet motus: unum quo corpus planete movetur in suo epiciclo, in superiori quidem parte ab occidente in orientem, <in inferiori econverso omni die tribus gradibus et 6 minutis. Alium quo centrum epicicli in circumferencia excentrici rotatur ab occidente in orientem> uno gradu et LVIII[100] minutis. Tertium quo centrum excentrici deferentis centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in occidentem LIX minutis et VIII[101] secundis. Quartum vero communem cum spera stellarum fixarum.

The passage must have read differently in γ, where the part marked by <…> had disappeared due to an eye-skip triggered by the recurrence of the phrase *ab occidente in orientem*. This caused the text to undergo a contraction in which the rate of the second of Mercury's motions (1;58°/d) ended up being assigned to the first motion (of the epicycle), while the second motion itself disappeared from the discussion altogether ('unum quo corpus planete in suo movetur epiciclo, in

[100] LVIII] 58 *D*
[101] VIII] 4 *DP*

superiori quidem parte ab occidente in orientem uno gradu et LVIII minutis. Tertium autem etc.'). The results of this contraction are still seen in *RS*, whereas the scribe of ε sought to restore the lost information by inserting a new sentence after *LVIII minutis*, which in all manuscripts other than *D* is corrupted to *LVIII* (or *58*) *secundis*: 'Secundum quo centrum epicicli simul cum epiciclo rotatur ab occidente in orientem in circumferentia ecentrici deferentis epiciclum' (*E*, fol. 118v; *V*, fol. 66va). His attempt was succesful as far as the basic characterization of the second motion was concerned, but he was unable to supply quantitative information, not realizing that the preceding *uno gradu et LVIII minutis* should have belonged to the second rather than the first motion.[102]

A similar state of affairs presents itself for the remaining three copies, *FPX*, which descend from *β* rather than from γ. Of these, *P* displays the passage in the same contracted form as *RS*, whereas *F* and *X* each reflect different attempts to fill the gap in the text's logic. The more coherent of these attempts is found in *X* (fol. 25vb), where *uno gradu et 58 secundis* [!] is followed by: 'Secundus motus est quo centrum epicicli movetur in circumferencia ecentrici deferentis ab occidente in orientem pertranseundo singulis dierum 59 minuta et 8 secunda de circumferencia ecentrici equantis motum'. What makes this obvious interpolation in *X* surprising is that the manuscript otherwise shares significant variants with *D*, which makes it plausible that both manuscripts derive from the same sub-archetype, which omitted the passage drawn from Walcher of Malvern (ll. 104–109) as well as the text's final paragraph and corresponding table dealing with the nodes and latitudes of the five planets (ll. 410–421). The fact that *D*, but not *X*, presents the passage on Mercury's four motions in a plausible and numerically correct version may speak against this hypothesis, but the remainder of *D* contains enough interpolations and emendations to suggest that the scribe in question may have possessed the competence and sound intuition required to reconstruct the passage from a faulty exemplar. The problem remains that the variants in *DFPX* do not paint a clear picture of the relationship between these four manuscripts. At most, one may conclude that *FP* go back to a sub-archetype, *ζ*, which is at some remove from the sub-archetype *β* that links *FP* to *DX*. The broken lines used in the stemma above reflect a degree of uncertainty about the precise relation between the manuscripts in this group.

Like the text itself, the four diagrams described in the *Lmp* (ll. 65–79, 201–225, 271–303, 332–360) have been preserved in an imperfect state. Two copies (*SP*) omit diagrams altogether, while the remaining six (*DEFRVX*) reproduce Figs. 1–4 to varying degrees of faithfulness. From the drawings in *EV* it appears that sub-archetype ε contained five rather than just four diagrams. In the case of *E*, only the

[102] Compare the motion rates stated in ch. 14 of al-Farghānī's *Elements*: Carmody, *Al Farghani*, pp. 27–28; Campani, *Alfragano*, p. 123.

geometrical elements of these diagrams are well preserved, whereas point labels and equation lines are missing from Figs. 2–4 as well as from the fifth diagram on fol. 118v, which seems to repeat the structural outlines of Fig. 4, but with the equant circle shifted downwards, so as to pass through the apogee of the epicycle at point N. The scribe of *V* only completed Fig. 1 (fol. 63r), leaving outer circles for the remaining four diagrams. For the purpose of the edition below, I have made an attempt to reconstruct the four authentic diagrams in accordance with the precise specifications given in the text. Some additional cues have been derived from the way the diagrams were drawn in manuscripts *R* and *X*, which appear to offer the best representation of what might have been included in the joint archetype. This recourse to the manuscripts was necessary in particular for the (grey) lines representing the planetary equations, which the text does not describe in any detail.

For Fig. 1, which appears at the end of the section on the motion of the Sun (after l. 109), I have closely followed the structural template provided by *R* (fol. 130v). In manuscript *X* (fol. 21v) the diagram stands on its head, being turned by 180°. The scribe here added descriptive labels to the diagram, which mark the locations of the *oppositum augis*, the *centrum terre*, the *centrum excentrici*, and the *aux solis*. The same manuscript contains an interpolated passage that explains the solar equation on the basis of Fig. 1. It mentions a number of additional points (*R*, *S*, and *T*) that are duly marked in *X*'s version of this diagram.[103] *F* (fol. 108va) differs from the other copies in drawing the disk of the Sun at four positions inside the deferent, which similar to Figs. 2–4 is represented by three concentric circles rather than just one. Also, the diagram is here tilted by 90° to the left and comes with descriptive labels that identify the individual circles as well as the four directions (assigning *oriens* to point D, *meridies* to C, *occidens* to B, and *septemtrio* to A). The order in which the points on each circle are labelled is different in *V* (fol. 63r), which offers equation lines only for the two cases of the Sun being in the top-left and bottom-right quadrant (slightly above and below the diameter). The

[103] *X* (fol. 21r): 'Ponamus itaque solem in circulo sue augis descendentem ab auge per medium cursum suum super punctum R et protrahamus duas lineas, unam a puncto E, qui est punctus terre, et aliam a puncto Q, qui est punctus circuli augis, ad circumferenciam circuli signorum, que abscindant se super punctum R, qui est punctus solis, et terminentur in circulo signorum in T et S. Distancia autem que est inter T et C est equatio que est aggreganda medio cursui vel minuenda ab eo. Sed quia volumus certificare in circulo signorum, in directo cuius sit sol secundum visum nostrum in circulo sue augis, et linea Q et S, que exit a puncto circuli augis, ostendit nobis solem maiorem partem accepisse de circulo signorum quam linea ET, que exit a puncto terre, ideo minuimus de medio cursu, ut per hoc certificatus sit locus solis secundum visum nostrum in circulo signorum. Si autem sic protraxeris lineas in qualibet quarta circuli videbis quod quando argumentum solis est minus 6 signis tunc debes minuere et quando maius debes aggregare. Quando vero sol est in sua auge vel in opposito nulla est equatio, quia linee ab utriusque protracte per locum augis et per oppositum nullam faciunt diversitatem signorum.'

diagram is here endowed with an outer ring depicting the names of the twelve zodiacal signs. The apogee resides in Gemini, in accordance with the text (l. 397). Another version that shows the zodiacal signs appears in *D* (fol. 139r), but here the apogee is placed between Gemini and Cancer rather than in Gemini itself.

My reconstruction of Fig. 2 (after l. 225) is nearly identical to the way the diagram is represented in *X* (fol. 23v), which shows the equation of anomaly for two possible positions of the Moon on each of the four epicycles depicted. *D* (fol. 140r) lacks equation lines and follows a different order of point labels. The point labels go anticlockwise in *R* (fol. 132r), which also has fewer equation lines. The lines going in the direction of points *D* and *B* here only show the equation of centre, while those towards *A* and *C* only deal with the equation of anomaly. In *F* (fol. 109v), the point labels are arranged similarly to *R*, but in addition this copy adds small circles on the circumference of the epicycles representing the body of the Moon and adorns the diagram with a number of descriptive labels. One of these marks an equant circle (*equans motum*) that the scribe misleadingly included in analogy to Figs. 3 and 4.

None of the preserved manuscripts offer a fully satisfactory rendition of Fig. 3. The one that comes closest to the reconstruction inserted below (after l. 303) is that in *X* (fol. 24v), which lacks the equation lines expressly mentioned in the text (ll. 300–303) and fails to place *E* (the centre of the Earth) at the centre of the circle representing the inner surface of the orb of Mercury. According to the preserved text, the letter F is supposed to indicate the apogee of both the epicycle (ll. 291, 294) and the equant circle (l. 300). In order to avoid confusion, I have reserved capital F for the epicycle and used lower case *f* for the equant circle. None of the preserved drawings include the second of these points, nor does any of them mark *T* for the epicycle's perigee (l. 296). *R* (fol. 133r) preserves a few of the equation lines, but is otherwise imperfectly drawn. In *F* (fol. 110v), there are a few descriptive labels for the *figura verissima Mercurii*, but no equation lines and no circle that would represent the deferent of centre *Q* around *I*. The rendition in *D* (fol. 141r) remains skeletal.

Similar to Fig. 3, the best rendition of Fig. 4 appears in *X* (fol. 26r), discounting the fact that this version features several additional point labels not mentioned in the text and omits the *o*-shapes the author wanted to be placed on the equant circle (ll. 338–341). In *R* (fol. 134v), the point labels correspond more closely to what is specified in the text and displayed in the reconstruction below (after l. 360), but neither the circles nor the equant lines were properly or fully implemented. *F* (fol. 111v) lacks equation lines, but was more successful in carrying out the geometrical part and offered some descriptive labels for points *Q*, *I*, and *E* (*equantis*, *deferentis*, and *mundi*). An attempt to draw the same diagram in *D* (fol. 141v) remained abortive.

The edition below will be based on all eight full copies of the text, *DEFPRSVX*. It will not take into account the heavily truncated text in *B*, which may be a descendant of *ε*. Due to the high incidence of variants between the surviving witnesses, a full collation, which would have generated an apparatus of over 2000 entries (compared to a main text of fewer than 4500 words), seemed undesirable. In an effort to reduce the 'noise' produced by insignificant variants, the apparatus printed below will omit minor variants that are unique to one manuscript and instead focus on variants shared by two or more witnesses. It will also exclude major interpolations, such as the two passages in *ERSV* quoted and discussed above, if it is obvious that they are extraneous to the original text.

Liber de motibus planetarum

Investigantibus astronomie rationes primo ponendum est punctos esse septem et lineas tres et circulos tres. Ponamus itaque primum punctum esse in oriente,[1] secundum in occidente, tertium in austro, quartum in septemtrione, quintum in medio celi, sextum in angulo terre. Septimus[2] est punctus[3] terre.

Prima linea est ab orientali puncto per punctum terre ad occidentalem, secunda[4] ab australi ad septemtrionalem[5] per punctum terre similiter, tertia[6] vero a puncto medii celi per punctum terre ad punctum anguli terre.

Primus circulus est ab orientali puncto per punctum medii celi et per punctum occidentis et per punctum anguli terre donec eius determinatio[7] fiat in puncto orientali a quo incipit.[8] Et hic est 'circulus directus'. Secundus circulus est a puncto australi per punctum medii celi et per punctum septemtrionis et per punctum anguli terre donec iterum perveniat ad australem punctum a quo originem duxit. Et hic est circulus meridianus, et a quibusdam 'circulus recessionis' dicitur. Tertius vero circulus est a puncto orientali per australem et per occidentalem et per septemtrionalem donec eius terminus iterum fiat[9] in oriente. Et hic est circulus hemisperii et dicitur 'orizon'. Et punctus terre est centrum horum trium circulorum.

Nota quod unusquisque istorum circulorum divisus est in quatuor partes equales. Et in qualibet quarta sunt XC gradus, quia quilibet circulus CCCLX gradus continet. Circuli autem ab hemisperio incipientes et abscindentes circulum directum et circulum meridianum, quorum determinatio fit in puncto medii celi, qui punctus dicitur 'zimzalraz',[10] dicuntur 'almucantarath', id est solis progressiones. Et linee ab hemisperio exeuntes et almucantarath abscindentes et in puncto medii celi metam facientes sunt 'azimuz',[11] id est mensurationes.

Novem autem sunt spere, septem quidem septem planetarum erraticorum, octava stellarum fixarum. Nona est firmamentum que omnes alias infra se concludit.[12]

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1 oriente] *add.* et *ERSV*
2 Septimus] Septimum *EV*
3 punctus] punctum *ERSVX*
4 Secunda] *add.* linea *DP*
5 septemtrionalem] septemtrionem *FS*
6 Tertia] Tertium *RSX*
7 determinatio] terminatio *EFPV*
8 Incipit] incepit *DV*
9 iterum fiat] fiat iterum *ERVX*
10 zimzalraz] zimtalraz *SV*
11 azimuz] azimuiz *ERSX*
12 concludit] excludit *ES* includit *FV*

<De motu solis>

Restat igitur de motibus planetarum tractare in speris suis, et prius[13] incipiendum a sole, qui in medio planetarum quasi rex in medio regni sui[14] locatus principatum tenet, quia in prima mundi creatione Deus ante ceteras stellas *luminare maius*, solem scilicet,[15] *ut preesset diei*, *et luminare minus*, id est[16] lunam, *ut preesset nocti*, creavit [Genesis 1:16].

Sol itaque secundum auctoritatem philosophorum duos habet motus, quorum primus est essentialis ab occidente in orientem in suo excentrico circulo[17] unaquaque die LIX minutis et VIII secundis. Secundus motus solis est secundum quantitatem spere stellarum fixarum, hoc est in centum annis uno gradu. Sicut enim spera stellarum fixarum[18] in omnibus centum annis uno gradu movetur versus orientem vel occidentem super axes circuli signorum, sic spera solis in centum annis uno gradu movetur. Et nota quod octava spera ab initio Arietis movetur ante, id est versus orientem,[19] VIII gradibus usque ad XXII gradum Piscium, et inde revertitur et movetur iterum ab initio Arietis retro, id est versus occidentem, totidem gradibus, id est VIII, et rursum versus orientem.[20] Unde ‘circulus accessionis et recessionis’ dicitur. Ex hiis duobus motibus locus solis certificatur in circulo signorum.[21]

Nota autem[22] quod planeta habet circulum extrinsecum[23] et circulum similem circulo signorum. Et hii duo unum sunt. Omnis enim circulus duas habet superficies, unam superius et alteram inferius, inter quas continetur spissitudo circuli, in qua spissitudine planete moventur. Et aliquando motus eorum ad superficiem superiorem[24] circuli tendit,[25] aliquando ad inferiorem, et propter diversitatem huius motus dicuntur habere excentricos, quia extra centrum terre

13 prius] primo *FP*
14 regni sui] sui regni *DF*
15 scilicet] *om. EV* solem scilicet] scilicet solem *FP*
16 id est] scilicet *EV*
17 excentrico circulo] circulo excentrico *FP*
18 fixarum] *om. ERSX*
19 orientem] *add.* movetur *ERSX*
20 usque ad … orientem] et aliquantulum plus et exinde incipit retrocedere usque ad eius inicium. Unde hec equacio 8 spere debet addi mediis motibus planetarum et locus stellarum fixarum. Et exinde revertitur octava spere et movetur ab inicio Arietis retro, id est versus occidentem, usque ad 22 gradum Piscium et hec exhinc procedit versus principium Arietis. Unde ista equacio debet minui in Piscibus et additur dum fuerit in Ariete, quia omnes planete incipiunt cursum suum ab Ariete. *D*
21 circulo signorum] signorum circulo *EV*
22 autem] eciam *DF*
23 extrinsecum] excentricum *DFP*
24 superficiem superiorem] superiorem superficiem *FP*
25 tendit] *om. FP*

moventur. Centrum excentrici circuli solis[26] secundum quod sapientes probaverunt distat a centro terre secundum maioris quantitatem equationis solis in circulo signorum, id est per spatium unius gradus et LIX minutorum et X secundorum.

Medius cursus planete est quantum vadit planeta in suo excentrico circulo in quolibet determinato tempore incipiens ab Ariete. Halissa[27] vero solis est spatium quod est inter augem et solem quod remanet quando minuimus augem, id est duo signa et XVII gradus et L minuta, de medio cursu solis. Equatio solis est distantia capitum[28] duarum linearum in circulo signorum, quarum una exit a centro terre[29] et alia a centro excentrici circuli per corpus solis in excentrico.

Nunc ad maiorem evidentiam in figura geometrica predicta attendere oportet. Faciamus igitur circulum signorum ABCD super centrum E divisum in quatuor partes equales cum duabus diametris abscindentibus[30] se super punctum E. Item[31] faciamus circulum similem circulo signorum FGHI super idem centrum, qui ostendit superficiem superiorem[32] circuli solis,[33] qui vocatur 'circulus augis', et alium faciamus citra[34] circulum similem huic, qui sit KLMN, qui ostendit inferiorem superficiem circuli solis, qui vocatur 'circulus oppositi[35] augis'. Circuli enim similes dicuntur qui super eundem punctum volvuntur. Item[36] faciamus alium circulum inter hos duos circulos, qui contingat utramque[37] superficiem circuli solis super centrum Q, qui circulus sit FOMP, qui est circulus excentricus et est circulus medii cursus solis. Spissitudo circuli[38] est ab inferiori superficie usque ad superiorem. 'Augis' autem sive 'longitudo longior' vocatur ubi excentricus contingit superiorem[39] superficiem super punctum F, 'oppositum'[40] vero 'augis' ubi[41] contingit inferiorem superficiem super punctum[42] M, et dicitur alio nomine 'longitudo propior'.[43]

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26 solis] *om. DESV*
27 Halissa] Halipsa *ERSV*
28 capitum] capitis *ERSV*
29 exit a centro terre] a centro terre exit *ERSV*
30 abscindentibus] abscindentes *FR*
31 Item] Iterum *EPSX*
32 superficiem superiorem] superiorem superficiem *FP*
33 superficiem ... solis] superiorem circuli solis superficiem *ERSV*
34 citra] circa *DEFSRV*
35 oppositi] oppositionis *EFRSV*
36 Item] Iterum *ESX*
37 utramque] utrumque *DF*
38 circuli] *om. EFV*
39 superiorem] *om. ERS*
40 oppositum] oppositio *EFRSV*
41 oppositum ... ubi] quod appellatur longitudo longior. Oppositio augis vocatur ubi excentricus *X*
42 F ... punctum] *om. P* punctum] *om. EV*
43 ubi ... propior] quod alio nomine dicitur 'longitudo propior' est ubi ecentricus contingit inferiorem superficiem spere super punctum M *D*

Hiis itaque prelibatis ostendamus quare solis equatio, quando portio eius, id est halissa,[44] minor est[45] VI signis, minuenda est de medio cursu solis, et quando portio est maior, addenda est super medium cursum. Halissa[46] itaque, sive portio solis, est illud quod remanet quando minuimus augem solis, id est duo signa, XVII gradus et L minuta,[47] de medio cursu solis. Si ergo per corpus solis in suo excentrico due linee protrahantur ad circulum signorum, quarum una egrediatur a centro terre et alia a centro excentrici circuli, si quidem sit a longitudine longiori usque ad longitudinem propiorem linea exiens a centro excentrici maius spatium occupat de circulo signorum quam linea exiens a centro circuli signorum, quod est centrum terre. Unde equatio solis tunc est minuenda[48] de medio cursu, quoniam locus solis examinatur in circulo signorum secundum lineam que dirigitur a centro terre per corpus solis ad circulum signorum. Si vero fuerit sol a longitudine propiori usque ad longiorem, linea exiens a centro excentrici circuli ad circulum signorum minus spatium occupat de circulo signorum quam linea exiens[49] a centro terre abscindens illam super corpus solis. Unde equatio solis tunc est addenda super medium cursum solis. Si vero fuerit in longitudine[50] longiori vel propiori, nulla est[51] equatio, quoniam eadem est linea que exit a centro terre et que exit a centro excentrici. Unde tunc medius cursus solis est locus solis certificatus in circulo signorum.

Et nota quod sol ex utraque parte sue augis per spatium trium signorum minus medio cursu suo vadit et tardius movetur, ab utraque vero parte oppositi augis per spatium trium signorum[52] citius movetur et plus medio cursu suo perambulat. Quod ostendit diametrus, id est linea dividens excentricum circulum per medium, quoniam maiorem partem circuli signorum inferius, minorem vero superius comprehendit.[53]

Dicunt autem quidam doctorum quod sol in DCCCC annis citius movetur per VII[54] gradus et in aliis DCCCC tardius per VII[55] similiter gradus, et nos modo sumus in tardiori, unde dicitur moveri in CCCLXV diebus et VI horis CCCLIX gradus,[56] LIX

[44] halissa] alipsa *ER* halipsa *SV*
[45] minor est] est minor *DVX*
[46] Halissa] Halipsa *EV*
[47] id est … minuta] *om. V*
[48] est minuenda] minuenda est *ERSV*
[49] exiens] egrediens *RSX*
[50] longitudine] *om. ES*
[51] est] erit *ERSV*
[52] signorum] *add.* et *ERSV*
[53] comprehendit] *add.* Quando vero fuerit sol in longitudine media sui ecentrici ex utraque parte sue augis, equacio solis est maxima, quia linee ostendentes medium motum et verum motum maxime distant, sicut patet evidenter in figura subscripta. *D*
[54] 7] 8 *FP*
[55] 7] 8 *FP*
[56] CCCLIX gradus] gradus 359 *EV*

punctos,[57] LVI minutias,[58] XIX minutias minutiarum.[59] Desunt adhuc de zodiaco III minutie[60] et XLI minutie minutiarum[61] hancque dicunt esse causam mutationis solstitiorum et equinoctiorum.[62]

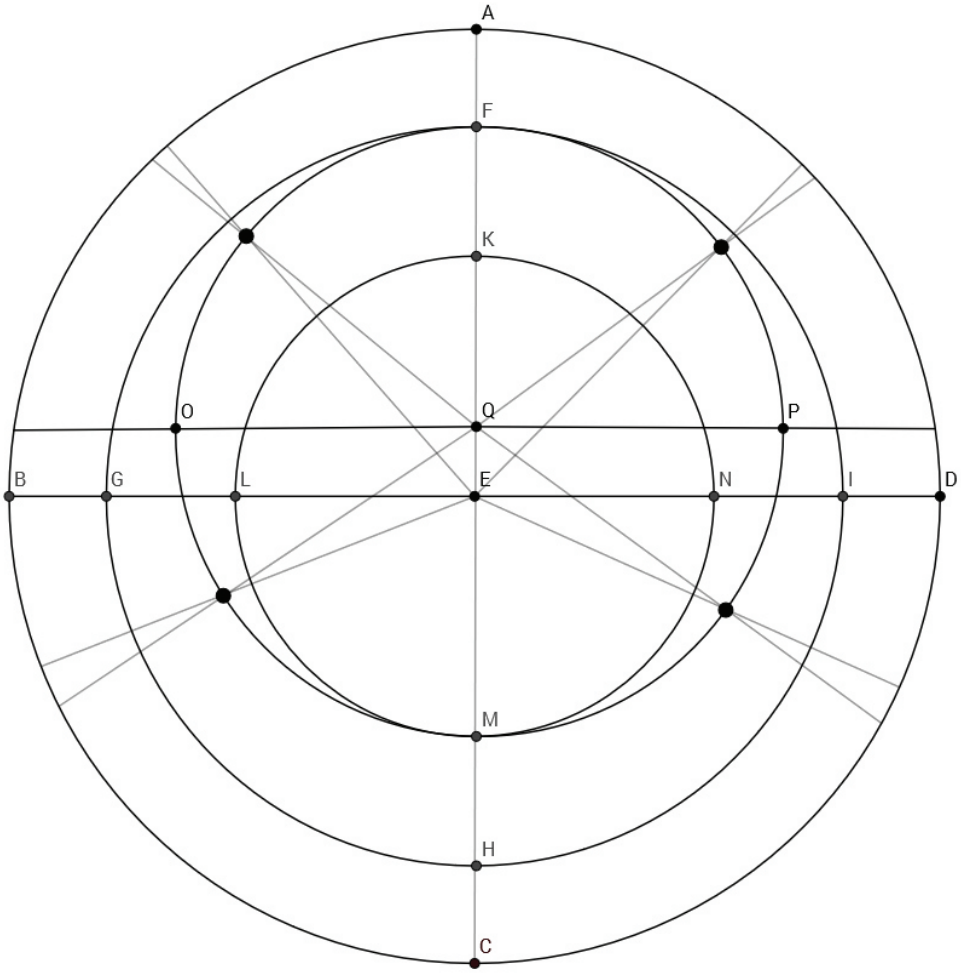

Fig. 1: Figura spere solis

[57] LIX punctos] *om. EV* LIX minuta *RS*
[58] LVI minutias] secunda 56 *EV* LVI secunda *RS*
[59] XIX minutias minutiarum] tertia 19 *EV* XIX tertia *RS*
[60] III minutie] tria secunda *RS* 3 secunda *EFV*
[61] minutie minutiarum] tertia *ERSV*
[62] Dicunt ... equinoctiorum] *om. DX*

<De motu lune>

Post tractatum luminaris maioris, id est solis, sequitur tractatus luminaris minoris, id est lune, cui quinque motus secundum diversitatem centrorum et circulorum a sapientibus assignantur. Quorum primus est corporis lunaris in epiciclo suo, id est circulo suo brevi, in quo movetur luna in superiori parte ab oriente in occidentem. Et tunc dicitur cursu tardior, quia videtur quasi retrogradari. In inferiori vero parte eiusdem epicicli movetur ab occidente in orientem. Et tunc est cursu velocior, quia est aucta numero. In superiori[63] vero parte minuitur numero. Luna dicitur 'aucta numero' quando equatio portionis equata medio cursui eius aggregatur, 'minuta' quando minuitur. Similiter dicitur luna 'aucta lumine' et 'minuta', 'aucta' quando separatur a sole, quia tunc crescit lumen eius, 'minuta' quando ab oppositione recedit et appropinquat soli.

Secundus motus lune est in circulo excentrico, in quo centrum epicicli ab occidente in orientem movetur. Qui motus lune attribuitur, quia per motum centri epicicli in excentrico circulo movetur epiciclus ab occidente in orientem, in quo movetur luna suo motu naturali.

Tertius est circulus parvus cuius centrum est circuli signorum, id est centrum terre, in cuius circumferentia movetur excentrici circuli centrum ab oriente in occidentem, contra motum scilicet[64] centri epicicli. Qui motus assignatur lune, quia movet secum in rotunditatem ab oriente in occidentem excentricum circulum, in quo movetur centrum epicicli et luna[65] in epiciclo essentialiter.

Quartus motus lune est in circulo simili circulo signorum. Est autem circulus circulo signorum similis circulus habens duas superficies, superiorem et inferiorem, equaliter ab omni parte distantes a centro terre, in cuius medio continetur circulus excentricus, qui declive positus est in spissitudine circuli lune similis circulo signorum. Iste igitur circulus latitudinem habet a septemtrione in meridiem, sed in medio sui, in directo scilicet[66] circuli signorum, id est zodiaci, habet circulum quendam qui non declinat usquam a zodiaco. Iste itaque circulus positus in directo zodiaci abscindit excentricum circulum lune in duobus locis oppositis, qui dicuntur 'caput' et 'cauda'. Et declinat iste excentricus a predicto circulo qui est similis circulo signorum sicut et a circulo signorum versus septemtrionem et meridiem. Impetuositate ergo tam firmamenti quam excentrici movetur circulus similis circulo signorum tarde ab oriente in occidentem et moventur predicte abscisiones similiter contra successionem signorum, qui motus attribuitur lune.

[63] In superiori] Inferiori *PX*
[64] scilicet] id est *ESV*
[65] luna] lunam *ERSV*
[66] scilicet] *om. FP*

Quintus motus lune est similis motui stellarum fixarum quo in omnibus centum annis uno gradu movetur ante vel retro. Hii sunt quinque motus lune quibus examinatur locus lune in circulo signorum.

Medius autem cursus lune, sicut aliorum planetarum, est spatium inter caput Arietis et corpus lune in excentrico circulo. Et ut evidentius dicamus, medius cursus lune est quantum vadit centrum epicicli versus orientem de gradibus circuli similis circulo signorum, incipiens ab Ariete. Augis lune est longitudo longior excentrici circuli, id est locus in excentrico ubi luna remotior est a centro terre. Et nota quod cum auges omnium aliorum planetarum sint immobiles, nisi quantum in centum annis cum omnibus speris moventur, augis lune movetur cottidie[67] et volvitur ab oriente in occidentem eadem quantitate qua luna recedit a sole ab occidente versus orientem, ita[68] ut cum luna fuerit iuncta soli sit in directo augis, deinde luna recedit a sole versus orientem, augis vero versus occidentem quantitate eadem, et cum luna fuerit ad oppositum solis sit similiter in directo augis.[69] Postea luna movetur versus solem ad occidentem, augis etiam lune soli appropinquat ad orientem, et sic semper[70] luna sit iuncta soli vel opposita in auge sive[71] in directo augis.

Illud tamen non est pretereundum quod luna citius movetur quam augis quantum sol movetur. Positum siquidem sit[72] solem et lunam et augem iungi in primo gradu Arietis separeturque luna a sole XII gradibus. Sol quoque interim unum gradum perlabitur. Distat igitur luna a sole XI gradibus, sed et augis tantumdem distat a sole, quare a primo gradu Arietis non perambulavit XI gradus,[73] ut luna,[74] sed X tantum.[75] Unde longitudo lune simplex est spatium quod est inter solem et lunam. Longitudo vero duplex est spatium quod est inter augem lune et lunam. Et ut evidentius dicatur: longitudo simplex est spatium inter corpus solis et centrum epicicli lune in excentrico circulo lune secundum successionem signorum. Longitudo duplex est spatium inter augem lune et centrum epicicli lune in excentrico circulo.

Portio lune simplex est spatium in circumferentia epicicli inter corpus lune et longitudinem longiorem epicicli ad quam dirigitur linea a centro quodam, quod est inter longitudinem propiorem excentrici et centrum terre. Hoc autem centrum semper est in opposita parte centri excentrici circuli[76] lune et tantum distat a

67 movetur cottidie] cottidie movetur *ERSV*
68 ita] itaque *EV*
69 deinde … augis] *om. EPRSV*
70 semper] *add.* si *EV*
71 sive] si non *ERSV*
72 siquidem sit] sit quidem *ESV*
73 gradus] gradibus *EVX*
74 XI … luna] ut luna undecim gradibus *DP*
75 X tantum] tantum X *ERSV*
76 circuli] *om. DF*

centro terre quantum centrum excentrici. Equatio puncti est distantia capitum duarum linearum in superiori circumferentia[77] epicicli, quarum una a centro terre et alia a centro excentrici circuli exeunt per centrum epicicli. Que equatio super portionem simplicem est addenda, si longitudo duplex est minor CLXXX gradibus, id est VI signis, vel minuenda ab eadem,[78] si est maior. Que portio simplex post augmentum vel diminutionem equationis puncti 'portio coequata' nominatur.

Equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis est distantia capitum duarum linearum in superiori circumferentia epicicli, quarum una exit a centro terre et alia a centro predicto, quod est inter terram et longitudinem propiorem excentrici, per centrum epicicli.[79] Minuta proportionum sunt numeri proportionales quorum proportionalitate cum LX accipitur illud quod debet aggregari equationi portionis de equatione diversitatis diametri circuli brevis. Numeri vero[80] proportionales dicuntur LX partes per quas diviserunt totam medietatem circuli que est a longitudine longiori[81] usque ad propiorem, ut quantum fuerint minuta proportionum de LX, id est quantum luna descendit ab auge vel ascenderet, tantam[82] partem acciperent de equatione diversitatis diametri circuli brevis[83] et illud adderent super equationem portionis. Equatio vero portionis est distantia capitum duarum linearum in circulo signorum exeuntium a centro terre, quarum una exit per centrum epicicli, alia vero per corpus lune in circumferentia epicicli transit. Que equatio portionis addita[84] eidem equationi[85] diversitatis diametri[86] circuli brevis quantum sunt minuta proportionum de LX dicitur 'equatio portionis equata'.[87] Que equatio portionis equata debet aggregari[88] medio cursui lune, si portio equata fuerit maior CLXXX gradibus, id est VI signis, vel minui, si minor.

Sed ut ea que diximus luce clariora constent, speram lune depingamus et circulos cum centris eorum manifestis indiciis determinemus. Sit circulus signorum ABCD super centrum E descriptus, quod est centrum terre. Circulus vero excentricus lune LMNR circumscribatur super centrum O. Deinde posito pede circini super centrum terre fiat brevis circulus secundum spatium centri excentrici O, ut centrum O sit in circumferentia illius circuli. In opposita vero parte eiusdem circumferentie sit centrum Q, ad quod refertur diametrus epicicli, quod scilicet est

77 superiori circumferentia] circumferentia superiori *EV*
78 eadem] ea *FX*
79 Equatio … epicicli] *om. ERSV*
80 vero] *om. EV*
81 longiori] longiore *PX*
82 tantam] totam *DEPRVSX*
83 Numeri … circuli brevis] *om. F*
84 addita] addito *FX*
85 equationi] equatione *FX*
86 diametri] dyametri *FPV*
87 Que equatio … equata] *om. D*
88 aggregari] addi *SV* equari *ER*

inter longitudinem propiorem excentrici circuli, que est *r*, et centrum terre, E.[89] Item posito centro in circumferentia excentrici secundum quantitatem parvi circuli cuius centrum est centrum terre epiciclus describatur et sit centrum illud L.[90] Iste autem epiciclus fiat in quatuor partibus excentrici, ut semper centrum illud sit in ipsa[91] circumferentia excentrici.

Rursus super centrum excentrici, quod est O, per summitatem epicicli describatur circulus et ostendit augem lune, quod est S. Similiter super idem centrum, scilicet O, describatur circulus per inferiorem partem epicicli et ostendit longitudinem propiorem excentrici, que est *r*. Rursum[92] super centrum terre E per summitatem epicicli, quam denotat S, describatur circulus qui est[93] similis circulo signorum. Super idem quoque centrum per inferiorem partem epicicli, quam significat *r*, describatur circulus et iste ostendit[94] inferiorem superficiem spere lune, suppremus autem ostendit[95] superficiem superiorem. Quod vero continetur inter superficiem superiorem et inferiorem est spissitudo circuli in qua corpus lune[96] defertur.

Si quis igitur intente prescriptam figuram contempletur, ea que diximus procul dubio reperiet, id est quid portio, quid equatio portionis, quid etiam diversitas diametri circuli brevis, et quid equatio puncti et huiusmodi.[97]

89 E] *om. DX*
90 L] I *FRV*
91 ipsa] *om. PV*
92 Rursum] Rursus *EFV*
93 est] *add.* circulus *DX*
94 ostendit] ostendet *DP*
95 ostendit] ostendet *DP*
96 lune] planete *ERSVX*
97 Si quis … huiusmodi] *om. D*

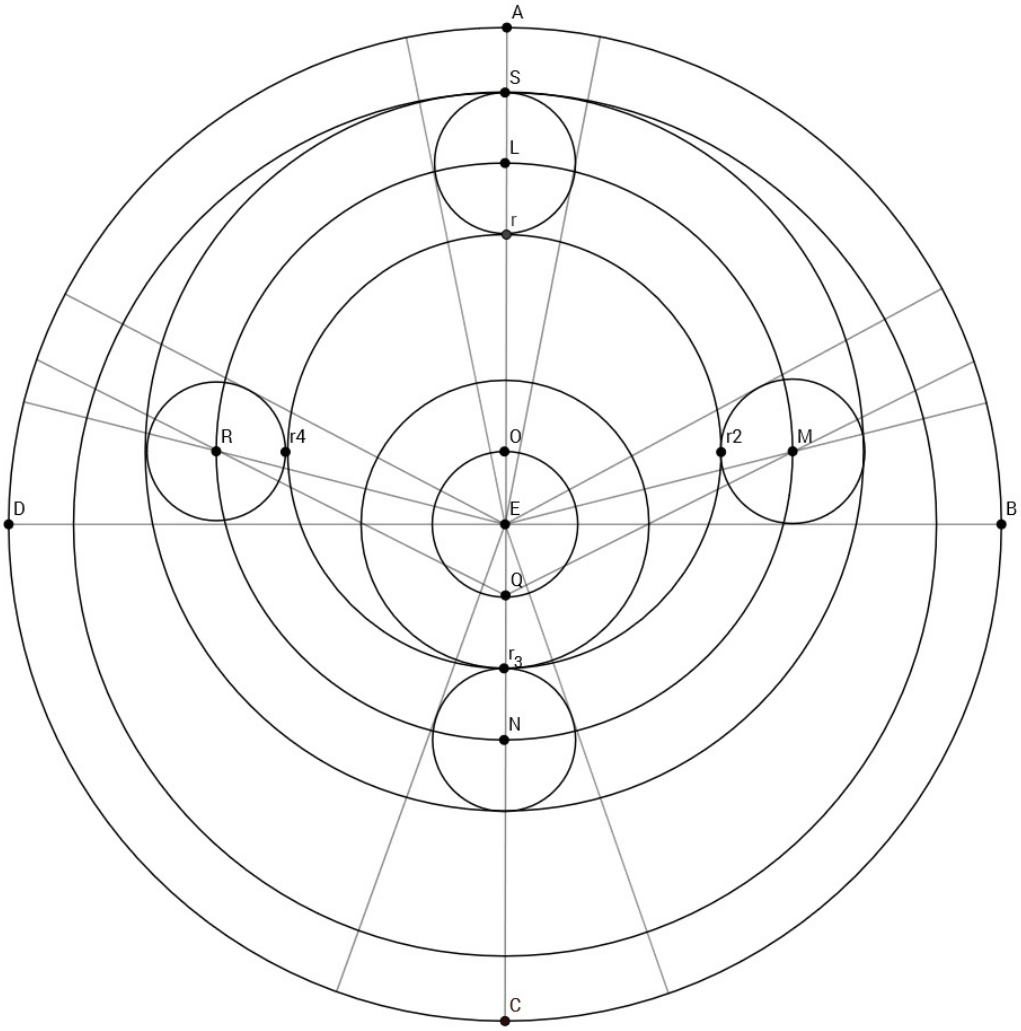

Fig. 2: Figura spere lune

<De motu quinque planetarum>

Post tractatum luminarium[98] de quinque planetis erraticis consequenter tractabimus. Illud autem commune in primis assignandum quod omnes quinque duos habent excentricos, unum in quo defertur centrum epicicli, qui etiam movetur ab occidente in orientem,[99] alium vero ad quem refertur[100] motus centri epicicli, qui etiam immobilis est positus in directo alterius et eiusdem quantitatis et secundum istum consideratur medius cursus planete. Unde ab Alfragano[101] dicitur 'circulus equans motum'. Medius itaque cursus uniuscuiusque istorum quinque planetarum est quantum vadit centrum epicicli in excentrico circulo. 'Punctus' vero dicitur spatium quod est inter centrum epicicli et augem planete, quod dicitur 'longitudo duplex'[102] in luna. Portio vero planete est spatium[103] in circumferentia epicicli quod est inter corpus planete et summitatem linee que dirigitur a centro circuli excentrici equantis motum per centrum epicicli. Equatio puncti est distantia capitum[104] duarum linearum in circumferentia epicicli quarum una exit a centro terre et alia a centro circuli excentrici[105] equantis motum per centrum epicicli.[106] Equatio portionis eadem est que in luna. 'Longitudo longior'[107] vocatur in hiis quinque quod 'equatio diversitatis diametri circuli brevis' in luna.

Hec quidem communia sunt omnibus quinque. Nunc autem proprias singulis describamus figuras et in unaquaque figura quot sint motus cuiuslibet planete et quid unicuique planete sit proprium lucidis demonstremus exemplis. Et quoniam[108] Mercurius discretam ab aliis habet speram et plures quam alii planete in sua spera volutationes,[109] primo Mercurii speram depingamus, postmodum unam solam figuram pro aliis tribus [!] planetis subiciemus, quoniam in motibus et circulis conveniunt.

Mercurius itaque quatuor motus habet. Unus est quo corpus planete movetur in epiciclo, in superiori quidem parte ab occidente in orientem, in inferiori vero parte ab oriente in occidentem, econtrario motui[110] lune. Unde in inferiori parte

98 luminarium] lunarium *ES*
99 occidente in orientem] oriente in occidentem *DFPX*
100 ad quem refertur] in quo defertur *EV*
101 Alfragano] Alfargano *PR*
102 duplex] simplex *PX*
103 quod est ... spatium] *om. F*
104 capitum] capitis *ERS*
105 circuli excentrici] excentrici circuli *ESV*
106 Equatio ... epicicli] *om. PR*
107 longior] *add.* vel propior *ERSV*
108 quoniam] etiam quia *EV*
109 volutationes] nominaciones *EV*
110 motui] motu *DP*

retrogradus est, superius vero directus, in quo convenit Mercurius cum aliis tribus [!] planetis.

Alter[111] motus Mercurii est motus centri epicicli in excentrico circulo ab occidente in orientem, et ille excentricus vocatur 'circulus excentricus deferens centrum epicicli'.

Tertius motus Mercurii est motus centri illius excentrici ab oriente in occidentem in circumferentia parvi circuli, cuius centrum est extra centrum terre et vertit longitudinem longiorem excentrici secum versus occidentem et sic movetur excentricus deferens centrum epicicli versus occidentem.

Quartus motus Mercurii est similis motui[112] stellarum fixarum, id est in centum annis uno gradu.

Sicut autem superius meminimus, habet Mercurius[113] alium excentricum immobilem, qui dicitur 'equans motum', eo quod motus centri epicicli referatur ad illum excentricum, quoniam medius cursus attenditur in illo excentrico. Secundum istum etiam[114] circulum consideratur augis Mercurii, quia in directo illius partis excentrici circuli equantis motum qui remotior est a centro terre est augis[115] Mercurii in circulo signorum.

Nunc ad evidentiam dictorum[116] circulos Mercurii describamus et per litteras denotemus. Describatur igitur[117] circulus signorum exterius ABCD super centrum E, quem dividant duo diametri per medium in quatuor partes. Rursum[118] in diametro terre superius super centrum Q circumscribatur circulus excentricus Mercurii deferens centrum epicicli, qui circulus mobilis est, scilicet LMNR. Item super centrum O, quod est inter centrum E et centrum Q, in diametro videlicet terre, describatur alius circulus[119] excentricus,[120] quem circulum denotat *o* littera quasi corpus planete ubique in circumferentia depicta. Rursum secundum spatium utriusque centri, id est centri Q et centri O, designetur[121] parvus circulus cuius centrum sit I.[122] Centrum itaque Q movetur ab oriente versus occidentem et movet secum suum circulum excentricum. Centrum vero O, quod est centrum circuli equantis motum, immobile est. Unde fit ut cum utrumque centrum sit in

111 Alter] *add.* vero *DP*
112 motui] *add.* spere *PX*
113 habet Mercurius] Mercurius habet *DFP*
114 istum etiam] etiam istum *ESV*
115 partis … augis] *om. ERSV*
116 dictorum] predictorum *EFRSV*
117 igitur] *om. EV*
118 Rursum] Rursus *DV*
119 circulus] *om. DEFRSV*
120 excentricus] *add.* equans motum et immobilis eiusdem quantitatis cuius est et alius ecentricus *D*
121 designetur] denotetur *ERSV*
122 I] A *DFPX*

circumferentia parvi circuli fiant quandoque unum centrum et duo illi[123] excentrici sunt unus, cum scilicet centrum Q moveatur versus occidentem et perveniat ad centrum O.

Item secundum quantitatem parvi circuli[124] in cuius circumferentia sunt predicta duo centra fiat epiciclus posito centro in circumferentia excentrici cuius centrum est Q designeturque centrum epicicli per litteram L. Quod centrum simul cum epiciclo rotatur[125] ab occidente in orientem et numquam separatur illud centrum a circumferentia excentrici. Rursus super centrum Q secundum spatium summitatis epicicli, quam notat F, describatur circulus. Similiter per inferiorem partem epicicli super idem centrum fiat circulus. Item super centrum terre E circumscribatur circulus[126] per summitatem epicicli eandem ubi extrinsecus contingit summitatem epicicli, scilicet F,[127] et hoc dicitur[128] 'superficies superiorum'[129] sive 'circulus similis circulo signorum'. Super idem[130] centrum, scilicet E, per longitudinem propiorem epicicli, quam significat T,[131] describatur circulus qui est inferior superficies circuli Mercurii. Augis vero Mercurii in directo illius partis circuli equantis motum, que remotior est a terra in circulo signorum, determinatur, que est in Libra. Superiorem autem partem circuli excentrici equantis motum, id est ubi plus elongatur a terra, designat littera *f*. Ceterum lineas plures, tam a centro terre, quam a centro excentrici circuli[132] motum equantis, protraximus, ut diligens lector sine[133] nostro labore inveniat quid portio, quid equatio puncti, quid equatio portionis et cetera que superius exposita sunt.[134]

123 duo illi] illi duo *FP*
124 circuli] *om. ERS*
125 rotatur] rotetur *EV*
126 circulus] *om. ERSV*
127 scilicet F] F scilicet *EV*
128 Similiter ... dicitur] *om. D*
129 superficies superiorum] que est superficies inferior superioris *D*
130 Similiter ... idem] *om. P*
131 T] C *DF*
132 circuli] *om. DPV*
133 sine] si non *ERS*
134 quid equatio ... sunt] *om. EV*

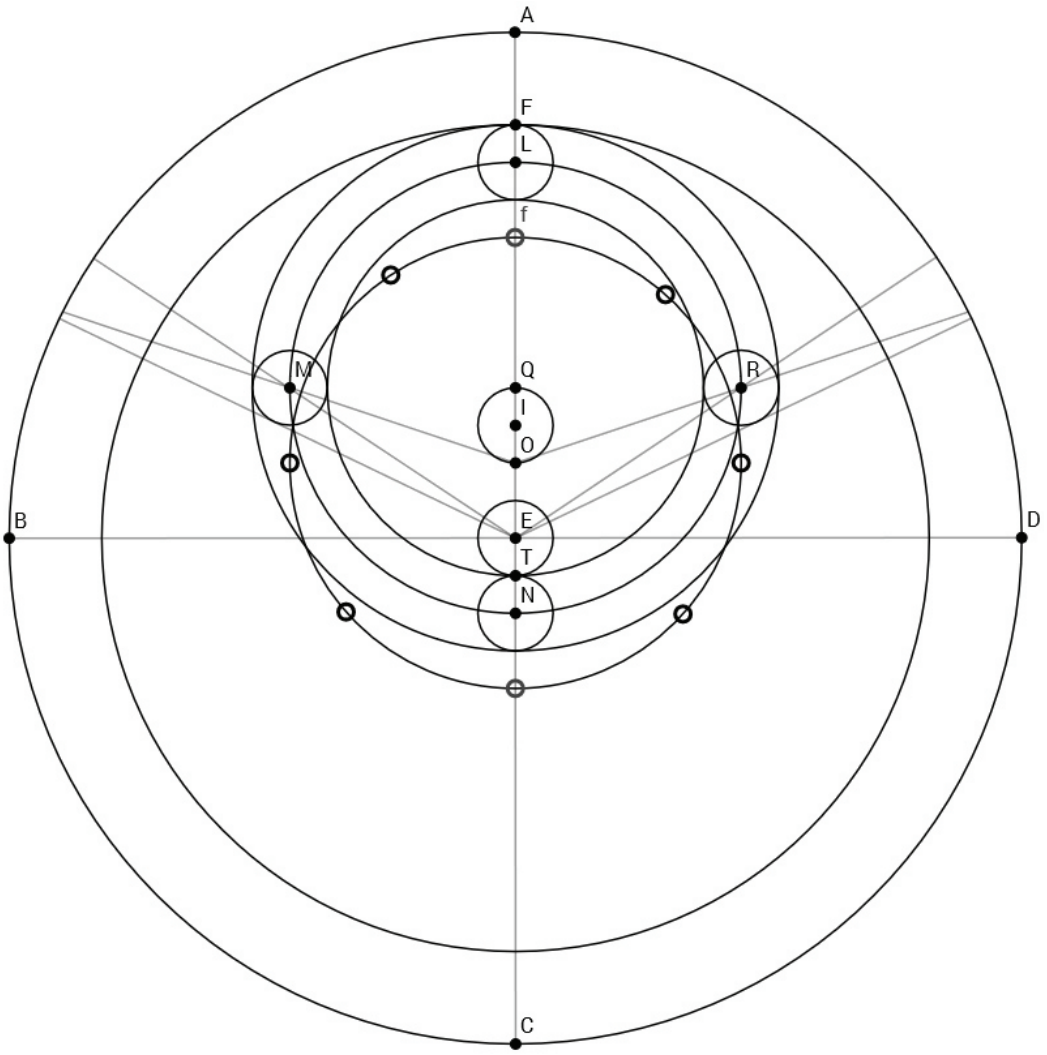

Fig. 3: Figura spere Mercurii

Demum ad motus quatuor planetarum erraticorum veniamus, scilicet Saturni,[135] Iovis, Martis et[136] Veneris, qui in circulis motibusque non discrepant, nisi quod unus alio maiorem habet circulum, Saturnus videlicet[137] quam Iupiter, Iupiter quam Mars, Mars quam Venus. Preterea auges eorum sunt diverse. Nam Saturnus augem habet in Sagittario, Iupiter in Virgine, Mars in Leone. Veneris autem[138] augis est sicut et[139] solis in signo Geminorum. Ceterum in omnibus predicti quatuor planete conveniunt. Proinde unam ex illis speram designabimus et in ea secundum circulorum varietatem diversitates motuum distinguemus.

Sunt itaque unicuique istorum tres motus: unus quo corpus planete movetur in epiciclo in superiori quidem parte epicicli[140] ab occidente versus[141] orientem, in inferiori vero ab oriente in occidentem, sicut et[142] Mercurius. Unde in summitatibus suorum epiciclorum[143] directi sunt, in inferiori vero[144] parte retrogradi, econtrario lune.

Alter motus est motus centri epicicli in circumferentia excentrici ab occidente quidem versus orientem semper.

Tertius motus est equalis motui stellarum fixarum quo in omnibus centum annis uno gradu movetur.

Et notandum[145] quod unusquisque istorum quatuor duos habet excentricos, sicut et Mercurius. Sed in Mercurio excentricus circulus deferens centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in occidentem. Circulus autem excentricus equans motum immobilis est. In istis vero quatuor planetis uterque circulus excentricus immobilis perseverat et eorum similiter centra. Item centrum excentrici circuli deferentis[146] centrum epicicli est inter centrum circuli excentrici equantis motum et inter centrum terre spere, contrario ei quod videmus in Mercurio. Nam quandoque centra[147] duorum excentricorum circulorum Mercurii sunt unum, quandoque autem centrum excentrici motum equantis est inter centrum excentrici circuli deferentis centrum epicicli et inter centrum terre.

135 scilicet Saturni] Saturni scilicet *DERSV*
136 et] *om. PRS*
137 videlicet] scilicet *DFP*
138 autem] *om. EV*
139 et] *om. DEFPV*
140 epicicli] *om. DP* superiori ... epicicli] parte superiori *V*
141 versus] in *ERSV*
142 et] *om. DP*
143 suorum epiciclorum] epiciclorum suorum *EV*
144 vero] *om. EFV*
145 notandum] nota *ERSV*
146 deferentis] deferens *ERSV*
147 centra] centrum *FPR*

Et quoniam supra exposuimus quid sit medius[148] cursus cuiuslibet[149] istorum, quid etiam punctus et portio, sed[150] et quid equatio puncti quidque[151] equatio[152] porcionis, speram unam eorum depingamus et circulum quemque per litteras denotemus.[153] Super centrum igitur E, quod est centrum terre, sive circuli signorum, constituatur circulus signorum ABCD. Rursus in diametro exeunte a centro terre sit centrum Q super quod describatur circulus excentricus equans motum, quem designat littera *o* ubique in circumferentia eiusdem excentrici, quasi corpus planete depicta, ut superior *o* ostendat augem, id est longitudinem longiorem,[154] inferior vero *o* demonstret oppositum augis, id est longitudinem propiorem.

Item inter[155] centrum Q et centrum E in medio sit centrum I equalitater distans ab utroque, super quod constituatur circulus excentricus deferens centrum epicicli. Eiusdem[156] fiat quantitatis cuius est et alius excentricus equans motum et sit LMNR. Rursum secundum quantitatem qua[157] distat centrum Q a centro I fiat epiciclus cuius centrum L sit in circumferentia excentrici[158] LMNR, semper ita ut summitas epicicli tangat longitudinem longiorem excentrici circuli motum equantis quam notat *o*. Fiant quoque alii tres epicicli in circumferentia excentrici, duo quidem ex utraque parte, tertius autem[159] in parte inferiori ut inferior pars epicicli[160] contingat longitudinem propiorem excentrici motum equantis.

Item super centrum I per summitatem epicicli quam designat *o* describatur circulus. Similiter super idem centrum per inferiorem partem epicicli designetur circulus. Rursum super centrum terre, quod est centrum[161] E, per summitatem epicicli quam[162] notat *o* describatur circulus[163] qui dicitur ‘superior superficies circuli’. Similiter super idem centrum per longitudinem propiorem quam similiter denotat *o* designetur circulus qui dicitur ‘inferior superficies’. Et iam perfecta est spera predictorum[164] quatuor planetarum erraticorum, nisi quod lineas plures tam

[148] medius] melius *RS*
[149] cuiuslibet] uniuscuiusque *FP*
[150] sed] *om. PX*
[151] quidque] et quid *DX*
[152] puncti … equatio] *om. PV*
[153] denotemus] annotemus *DX*
[154] id est … longiorem] *om. FP*
[155] inter] *om. ERSV*
[156] Eiusdem] *add.* que *FX*
[157] qua] quam *DF*
[158] excentrici] *add.* circuli *FP om. ESV* Rursum … excentrici] *om. R*
[159] autem] vero *DR*
[160] epicicli] *add.* quam designat O *R*
[161] centrum] *om. DFPV*
[162] quam] quem *ERS*
[163] circulus] *om. PX*
[164] predictorum] *om. EPV*

a centro terre quam a centro circuli excentrici equantis motum protraximus, ut in ea portionem et punctum, equationem quoque puncti et equationem portionis
360 diligens lector perspicaciter investiget.

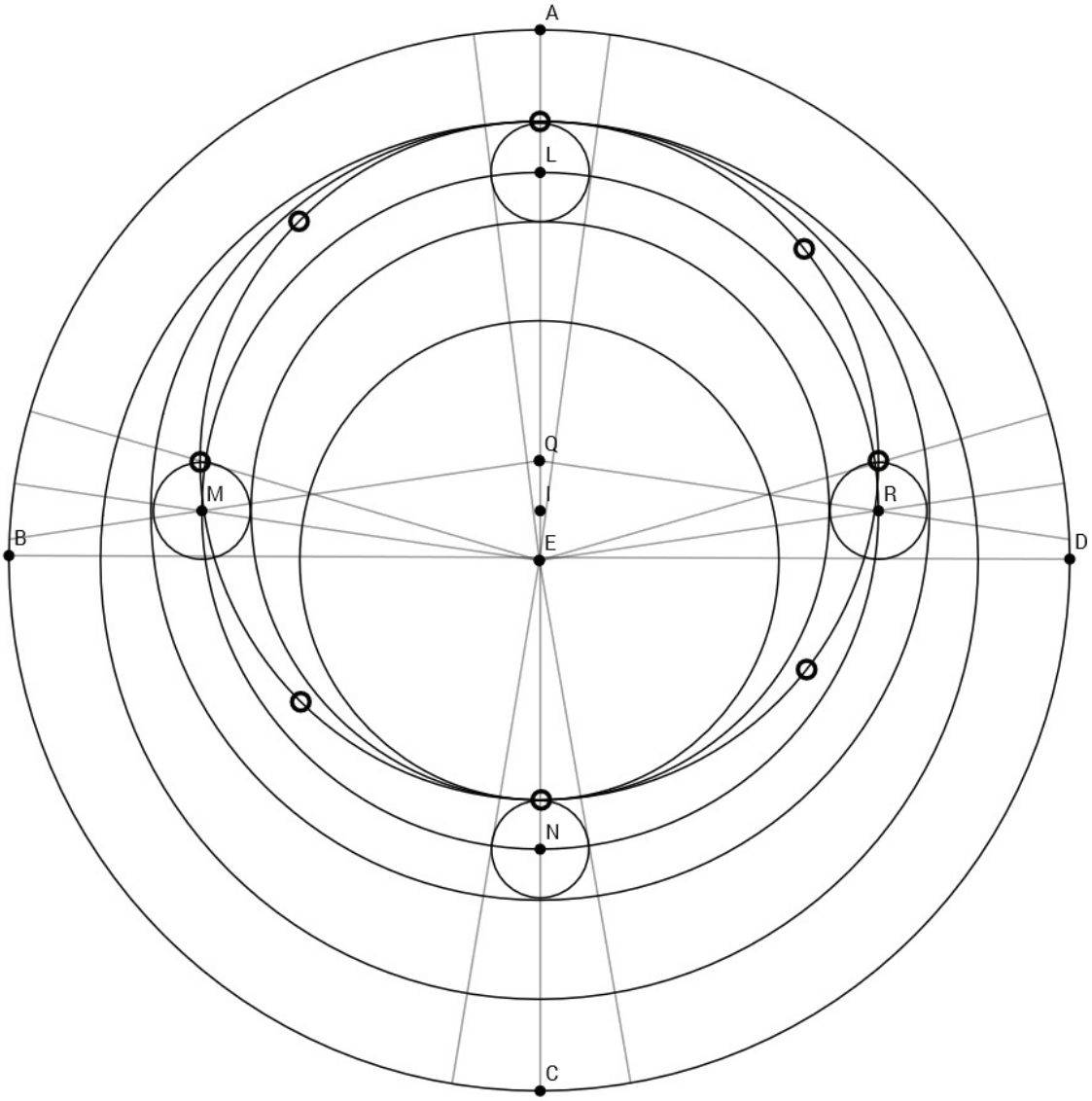

Fig. 4: Figura sperarum quatuor planetarum

<Summarie de motibus planetarum>

Ut igitur[165] breviter omnia concludam: sol duos habet motus ab occidente in orientem, unum[166] quo movetur in suo excentrico circulo omni die[167] LIX minutis et VIII secundis, alium quo[168] in omnibus centum annis cum spera octava movetur uno gradu. Spera vero solis tota per se immobilis est,[169] nisi quantum ex nona spera omni die et nocte movetur.

Luna vero quinque motus habet: unum quo corpus lune in epiciclo movetur[170] ab oriente in occidentem omni die XIII gradibus et IIII minutis de gradibus circuli brevis. Alium quo centrum epicicli simul cum epiciclo rotatur ab occidente versus orientem XXIIII gradibus et XXIII minutis de circulo excentrico deferente centrum. Tertium autem quo centrum excentrici deferentis centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in occidentem XI gradibus et IX minutis vertens secum longitudinem longiorem excentrici, id est augem lune. Quartum vero quo caput et cauda, id est abscisiones quas faciunt circulus lune et solis, moventur ab oriente in occidentem impetuositate excentrici omni die duobus minutis,[171] que duo minuta cum predictis XI gradibus et IX minutis que centrum excentrici peragunt[172] minuenda sunt de XXIIII gradibus et XXIII minutis centri epicicli, et remanebit medius cursus lune in circulo simili circulo signorum. Quintus motus lune equalis est[173] motui spere stellarum fixarum.

Mercurius equidem quatuor habet motus: unum quo corpus planete movetur in suo[174] epiciclo, in superiori quidem parte ab occidente in orientem, in inferiori econverso omni die tribus gradibus et 6 minutis. Alium quo centrum epicicli in circumferencia excentrici rotatur ab occidente in orientem[175] uno gradu et LVIII minutis.[176] Tertium autem quo centrum excentrici deferentis centrum epicicli movetur ab oriente in occidentem LIX minutis et VIII[177] secundis. Quartum vero communem habet cum spera stellarum fixarum.

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165 igitur] *om. EV*
166 ab ... unum] unum ab occidente in orientem *EV*
167 suo ... die] omni die in suo excentrico circulo *ERSV*
168 quo] quoque *ERVX*
169 tota ... est] per se immobilis est tota *EV*
170 movetur] *add.* in superiori parte *EV*
171 duobus minutis] duo minuta *EV*
172 peragunt] peragrat *FX* peragrant *P*
173 equalis est] est equalis *EV*
174 movetur in suo] in suo movetur *EFRSV*
175 in inferiori ... orientem] *om. FPRSX*
176 minutis] secundis *EFPRSVX*
177 VIII] 4 *DP*

Reliqui quatuor planete, id est[178] Saturnus, Iupiter, Mars, Venus, tres unusquisque motus habet:[179] unum quo movetur planeta in epiciclo, alium quo centrum epicicli, tertium vero communem habet cum stellis fixis.

<Auges planetarum et eorum geuzahar>

Preterea auges planetarum non sunt omittende et eorum geuzahar.[180] Augis enim solis et Veneris est in Geminis, augis vero lune movetur, ita videlicet ut cum coniuncta[181] fuerit luna soli et opposita sit in auge, Saturni in Sagittario, Iovis in Virgine, Martis in Leone, Mercurii in Libra.

Excentricus autem circulus solis non declinat usquequam a circulo signorum, unde non facit in eo aliquam abscisionem ideoque caret capite et cauda. Circulus vero lune declinat a zodiaco versus septemtrionem et meridiem, unde facit abscisionem in duobus locis oppositis qui vocantur 'caput' et 'cauda'. Sed movetur omni die, ut predictum est, duobus minutis. Geuzahar[182] autem aliorum planetarum immobilia sunt. Habent autem se sic: Saturni quidem est in Cancro et Iovis geuzahar[183] in Leone,[184] Martis autem in Tauro, Veneris in Piscibus,[185] Mercurii in Capricorno.[186]

Geuzahar	signa	gradus	minuta
Saturni	III	X	XXX[187]
Iovis	IIII	0	I
Martis	I	I	LI
Veneris	XI[188]	XVII	L
Mercurii	VIIII[189]	XVII	III

[178] id est] scilicet *DEV*
[179] motus habet] habet motus *FV*
[180] geuzahar] genzear *D* gezaar *E* genzahar *F* geuzabar *P* genziar *R* geuzaar *S* genzaar *X*
[181] coniuncta] iuncta *DP*
[182] Geuzahar] Genzear *D* Genzahar *F* Genzaar *ES* Genziar *R* Geuzaar *X*
[183] geuzahar] genzaar *E* genzahar *F* geuzaar *S* genziar *R* geuzar *V*
[184] est ... Leone] et Iovis genzear est in Cancro *D* quidem genzahar in Leone et Iovis cum in Cancro *F* in Leone et Iovis geuzahar est in Cancro *P* et Iovis genzaar est in Cancro *X*
[185] Piscibus] Capricorno *ESV*
[186] Capricorno] Sagittario *ESV*
[187] XXX] XXXI *ESV*
[188] XI] 9 *EV* IX *S*
[189] VIIII] 8 *EFV* VIII *S*

Sunt ergo geuzahar[190] planetarum[191] ita, que dicuntur ‘capita’, ‘caude’ autem in oppositis. In capite vero et cauda est omnis planeta in media linea zodiaci, sed a capite septemtrionem petit,[192] a cauda meridiem. Unde cum fuerit in medio a capite in caudam est in maxima latitudine sua septemtrionali, cum vero a cauda in caput erit in maxima meridionali. Distinguantur ergo[193] sic: sit caput A, latitudo septemtrionalis B, cauda C, latitudo meridionalis[194] D. Dicitur igitur planeta ‘ascendens in septemtrionem’ ab A in B, ‘descendens a[195] septemtrione’[196] a[197] B in C, ‘ascendens in meridiem’ a[198] C in D, ‘descendens a meridie’ a[199] D in A. Secundum hoc igitur potest discerni quis cui in latitudine appropinquaverit. Cognita enim eius latitudine [!] per tabulam facile cognosci potest[200] utrum sit ascendens an descendens, et utrum in septemtrionem vel meridiem, per ea que hic dicta sunt, et sic quis cui appropinquaverit[201] vel ab eo separatus fuerit.[202]

190 geuzahar] genzaar *ES* genzahar *F* genziar *R*
191 planetarum] *om. EV*
192 septemtrionem petit] petit septemtrionem *EV*
193 ergo] igitur *FR*
194 latitudo meridionalis] meridionalis latitudo *ERV*
195 a] in *ERSV*
196 septemtrione] in septemtrionem *ERS*
197 a] ab *ERS*
198 a] ab *ESV*
199 a] ab *ESV*
200 cognosci potest] potest cognosci *FV*
201 Cognita … appropinquaverit] *om. P*
202 Sunt ergo … fuerit] *om. DX* et sic … fuerit] *om. F*

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IN MEMORIAM

MAURO ZONTA AND THE UNITY OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

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I never met Mauro Zonta. From his publications—not only their number, but their character: every page full of new information and new discoveries—I thought he must be an old man, and I pictured him with a white beard. I was right about the beard, but not the age. When he died in August 2017, Mauro Zonta was just short of 50: not just a sad loss to scholarship, and to his family and friends, but a tragically premature one.

I am writing, not from the position of a colleague of Zonta's in Jewish philosophy, or of an expert on medieval translation movements, but from the perspective of a generalist—as someone who has a wide interest in medieval philosophy in all its varieties and tries to make a wider public aware of this rich subject. And from my perspective Zonta's work looms especially large. Why?

To oversimplify (as a generalist is inclined to), if the most important innovation in studying medieval philosophy at the end of the twentieth century was the influence of contemporary analytic work, over the last two decades the most important development has been the move towards full recognition of philosophy written in Greek, Arabic and Hebrew as integral parts of medieval philosophy, along with the Latin sub-tradition rather than subordinated to it. Of course, there have been experts in Byzantine, Islamic and Jewish philosophy for centuries, but they have tended to see these sub-traditions only in terms of what they brought to Latin philosophy, or else they have studied one of them in isolation. For the most part, this new development so far has consisted in bringing to the awareness of all who work on medieval philosophy the importance and intellectual value of specifically Islamic, Jewish and Byzantine features and texts, which never reached the Latin world—most strikingly the great philosophers in the broad Avicennian tradition. A problem, however, with this approach is that it highlights the separateness of the sub-traditions rather than their interrelations.

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Zonta, however, has shown—what might never have become clear without his scholarship and his particular angle of approach to reveal it—that medieval Jewish philosophy written in Hebrew in Christian Europe provides the best defence against the danger of untwining the multifaith and plurilinguistic thread of medieval philosophy. In the first of the two works of his most important to the more general reader, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico* (1996), Zonta looks at the philosophical translation movement into Hebrew from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. In doing so, he considers a phenomenon which, although it is parallel to translation movements into Arabic, Greek and Latin, was specific to the Jewish world, and he treats it so as fully to explore its specificity, examining not merely the techniques of the translators, but their aims and how they justified their activity within their own communities. But Zonta also shows how this specifically Jewish phenomenon involves the other sub-traditions of medieval philosophy. The book's title is far narrower than its real scope, since Zonta considers not only translations of ancient Greek texts and commentaries, but translations of Arabic commentaries and compendia, and of Latin commentaries.

These translations, of Latin scholastic writing into Hebrew, are the thread that links this book to the one Zonta published ten years later, *Hebrew Scholasticism in the Fifteenth Century.* Here Zonta identifies a group of fifteenth-century Jewish philosophers in Italy, Provence and the Iberian Peninsula who were familiar with Latin scholastic texts and used them as the basis for their own philosophizing in the same style. The book is a model of clear and informative presentation, offering both a history of this movement and translated summaries of some of the most important texts, making available to any interested reader material previously hidden away in Hebrew manuscripts. Even more than *La filosofia antica*, it at once illuminates what is particular to Jewish philosophy and, at the same time, how the different sub-traditions, not just Islamic and Jewish, but Christian Latin too, reacted on one another. In their quiet way, these two books and much of Zonta's other work have contributed enormously to understanding, not just the richness and variety of medieval Jewish thought, but the multi-stranded unity of the whole medieval philosophical tradition.

NOTES

JACOPO ACONCIO
BREVE BIOGRAFIA DI UN 'ERETICO MINORE' DEL CINQUECENTO

MASSIMILIANO TRAVERSINO DI CRISTO*

> *Io non ho scritto, né meno so di haver mai raggionato alcuna cosa della incarnatione della seconda persona; ma in quanto al mio credere, ho ben dubitato tra me stesso, come ho già detto nel precedente mio constituto, come il Verbo se sia incarnato.*
>
> Giordano Bruno (in Luigi Firpo, *Il processo di Giordano Bruno*, a cura di Diego Quaglioni, Roma: Salerno, 1993, doc. 14, p. 172)

'Il Concio, segretario di Monsignor Cardinale, il quale haveva carico de' dispacci per la Corte, se n'è andato senza che si sappia certo dove, havendo lasciate nella sua camera tutte le scritture'. La nota, da una lettera di Ludovico Tridapolo al Duca di Mantova datata 19 giugno 1557, riferisce della fuga di Jacopo Aconcio da Milano, consumata pochi giorni prima. Ancora il Tridapolo comunicava al suo governo il 27 come 'messer Giacomo Concio segretario di Mons. Ill.mo di Trento, che aveva cura delle cifre, si era fuggito per andare ad abitare a Zurigo, come Lutterano'.[1]

Figura intellettuale di non facile lettura, Jacopo Aconcio visse in un'epoca di forte tensione religiosa, contrassegnata dalla Riforma e dai lavori del Concilio di Trento tra il 1545 ed il 1563: nei suoi scritti, nei quali si interessò soprattutto di filosofia e teologia, partecipò al dibattito del suo tempo difendendo in particolare

* Allievo di Diego Quaglioni e direttore, insieme con Anton Schütz, del Centre for Research in Political Theology presso la School of Law del Birkbeck College (University of London), l'autore è attualmente Le Studium/Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research Fellow presso il Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université François-Rabelais de Tours.

1 Paolo Rossi, *Giacomo Aconcio*, Milano: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1952, p. 7: in nota, lo stesso Rossi ricorda l'originaria dislocazione delle due lettere nella raccolta di documenti sulla famiglia Madruzzo presso la Biblioteca Comunale di Trento.

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un ideale di tolleranza. Le fortune di Jacopo Aconcio si legano agli inizi con quelle del principe vescovo Cristoforo Madruzzo, allora governatore in Milano: fu infatti suo segretario a partire dal 1556, attendendo ai registri contabili e ai dispacci con la corte imperiale. Delle vicende biografiche dell'Aconcio abbiamo poche notizie sicure fino a questo momento, tanto da fare oscillare la datazione precisa della nascita, avvenuta tra il 1492 ed il 1520 a Trento o ad Ossana: sappiamo di come una prolungata formazione giuridica e gli appoggi del padre Gerolamo, nobile ed anch'egli giurisperito, gli consentisse di esercitare come notaio in Ossana; un primo dato certo risale al 1548, quando fu ammesso nel collegio dei notai in Trento. L'anno successivo entrava a servizio del conte Francesco Landriano, il quale lo introdusse negli ambienti di corte e lo portò con sé a Vienna.

Quando, nel giugno del 1557, l'Aconcio si diede alla fuga insieme al gentiluomo romano Francesco Betti, familiare del marchese di Pescara, aveva già intrattenuto rapporti con i circoli riformati di Basilea. È Delio Cantimori nella voce da lui curata per il *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* ad ipotizzare che al periodo viennese, se non agli ambienti filo-riformatori in margine al Concilio, sia da riferire la composizione delle prime due opere a tema religioso, scritte peraltro in italiano.[2]

Il motivo dell'allontanamento va presumibilmente ascritto alle notizie che in quei giorni circolavano negli ambienti vicini al vescovo: Paolo IV aveva chiesto al Madruzzo un maggiore rigore nella ricerca dei responsabili della fuga dell'eretico Claudio Pralbino dalle carceri milanesi. Ciò avrebbe indotto l'Aconcio ad uscire allo scoperto, così dichiarando la propria professione di fede. Era d'altra parte una scelta comune a molti intellettuali dell'epoca quella di mantenere il riserbo sulle proprie convinzioni religiose: fingendo anzi di osservare la fede cattolica, si consideravano indifferenti le forme esterne di culto e le formulazioni dogmatiche, evitando la via della polemica aperta.

Abbandonata Milano, Jacopo e Francesco trovano inizialmente rifugio presso il folto gruppo di fuoriusciti italiani di Basilea: presso il tipografo Pietro Perna, anch'egli esule per motivi di religione ed editore della opere dell'Aconcio anche successivamente, videro la luce in forma anonima le opere viennesi oltre al *De methodo*.[3] Solo un metodo di tipo matematico che partisse da pochi principi

[2] Delio Cantimori, 'Aconcio, Iacopo', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960, pp. 154–159: 155. Entrambe le opere saranno pubblicate a Basilea nel 1558, seppure in forma anonima: *Dialogo di Giacomo Riccamati ossanese nel qual si scoprono le astutie con che i Lutherani si sforzano di inganare le persone semplici, & tirarle nella loro setta: e si mostra la via, che harebbero da tenere i Prencipi e Magistrati per istirpare de gli stati loro le pesti delle heresie. Cosa che in questi tempi ad ogni qualita di persone non solo utile, ma grandemente necessaria da intendere. Interlocutori il Riccamati e il Mutio D.*; *Somma brevissima della dottrina christiana di Giacopo Riccamati ossanese.*

[3] *Jacobi Acontii de methodo, hoc est, de recta investigandarum tradendarumque scientiarum ratione*, Basilea 1558. Si segnala Cesare Vasoli, 'Il *De Methodo* di Jacopo Aconcio', in Paola Giacomoni e

fondamentali poteva, nelle intenzioni dell'opera, consentire una più chiara ed agevole comprensione dei problemi filosofici; allo stesso tempo le sue conclusioni sarebbero state trasmesse in modo più chiaro ed immediato.

Accompagnati dalla raccomandazione di Celio Secondo Curione, i due fuggiaschi furono poi accolti a Zurigo da Johann Heinrich Bullinger, capo della chiesa riformata cittadina, ospiti nella casa del connazionale Bernardino Ochino, prima di volgere verso Ginevra e Strasburgo.

> Questa lettera, che ci permette di stabilire un intimo rapporto dell'Aconcio col circolo eretico di Basilea, mostra anche che la risoluzione del Betti e dell'Aconcio era maturata lentamente: il Curione infatti dice che i due gli avevano promesso di passare esplicitamente al protestantesimo fin dall'estate del 1556.[4]

A Strasburgo, Aconcio scrisse all'arciduca Massimiliano, sottolineando come un suo passaggio alla causa protestante potesse facilitare un possibile matrimonio con Elisabetta d'Inghilterra.[5] Accompagnava alla lettera un'edizione del *De scandalis* di Calvino ed alcune altre opere, tra cui i due propri dialoghi 'che scrissi a Vienna in lingua italiana e il cui principio feci vedere a Vostra Maestà'.[6] Proprio spinto dall'attrazione verso la potente monarchia inglese, giunse a Londra tra marzo e novembre del 1559.

L'arrivo in Inghilterra rappresenta una svolta decisiva nella vita di Aconcio. Il soggiorno londinese potrebbe peraltro ricondursi alla fama acquisita in quegli anni quale esperto nell'ingegneria militare, confermata dalla successiva partecipazione ad opere di fortificazione. In una lettera a Johann Wolf del 20 novembre 1562, conosciuta come *Epistola edendorum librorum*, riferirà di essere impegnato nella traduzione in latino della sua *Ars muniendorum oppidorum*, già pubblicata in volgare. L'opera è stata a lungo ritenuta perduta, fino al ritrovamento, nel corso degli anni Ottanta del Novecento, di un manoscritto contenente il testo in una versione inglese dell'epoca.[7] Le sue competenze

Luigi Dappiano (ed.), *Jacopo Aconcio. Il pensiero scientifico e l'idea di tolleranza*, Trento: Università degli Studi, 2005, pp. 37–74.

4 Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento*, Firenze: Sansoni, 1967 (1939[1]), pp. 331–332.

5 Massimiliano II, figlio di Ferdinando I e re di Germania oltre che di Boemia e Ungheria nel momento della corrispondenza richiamata, sarà imperatore tra il 1564 ed il 1576: ebbe simpatie per il luteranesimo, pur non aderendovi formalmente. Elisabetta I Tudor fu regina d'Inghilterra e d'Irlanda tra il 1558 ed il 1603: frequentarono la sua corte anche Giordano Bruno e Alberico Gentili.

6 Ne riferisce Charles Donald O'Malley, *Jacopo Aconcio*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955, p. 77.

7 Chichester (West Sussex), Petworth House Archives, MS HMC 143. Il documento reca nel risguardo una dedica del traduttore, Thomas Blundeville, datata 14 giugno 1573. Il ritrovamento del manoscritto—già elencato in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Manuscripts at Petworth House: Appendix to Sixth Report* (1877), p. 313—si deve alle cure del Prof. Stephen Johnston del

tecniche gli valsero l'appoggio di influenti personaggi di corte e della stessa regina, dalla quale ottenne anche la cittadinanza l'8 ottobre del 1561.[8]

Ad Elisabetta dedicherà i suoi *Satanae Stratagemata*: destinati ad un immediato successo negli ambienti protestanti e iscritti nell'*Index librorum prohibitorum* nel 1570, essi erano un vero e proprio atto di denuncia contro l'Inquisizione romana tanto quanto contro il dogmatismo ortodosso, l'autoritarismo ed ogni varia forma d'intolleranza.[9]

Negli ambienti di corte diversi erano i connazionali tenuti in grande considerazione, tanto che nel 1568 l'esule Pietro Bizzarri registrava a proposito di Elisabetta come 'possede ella la nostra più tersa ed elegante favella, di cui suo principal precettore è stato il signor Giovanni Battista Castiglioni'.[10] Una reciproca fiducia e la comune tensione religiosa unì peraltro l'Aconcio a quest'ultimo, garante e socio nelle attività di bonifica, tanto che a lui l'esule trentino avrebbe lasciato in eredità le proprie opere.

La pratica del culto era organizzata dalle varie comunità presenti sul territorio su base nazionale, sebbene l'*ecclesia peregrinorum* dipendesse in ultima istanza dal vescovo londinese Edmund Grindal: in assenza di una struttura a livello italiano, l'Aconcio aderì inizialmente al gruppo spagnolo, il cui controllo spettava agli olandesi. Quando Adrian van Haemstede, che ne era a capo, patrocinò dinanzi al vescovo l'ammissione di alcuni compatrioti che si rivelarono essere anabattisti, fu loro rifiutata la comunione e lo stesso Haemstede fu prima chiamato a discolparsi ed infine condannato ad abbandonare il paese. Sia l'Aconcio che il Castiglione presero le sue difese nell'occasione: a tale episodio va allora riferito il veto opposto all'ingresso del trentino nella chiesa francese e nell'italiana recentemente ricostituita, quando gli spagnoli si furono disciolti.

Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford: vd. Stephen Johnston (2009), *Jacopo Aconcio's lost treatise on fortification*, consultato il 12 marzo 2018; URL= <http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk /staff/saj/aconcio/>. Sul manoscritto, del quale è ora disponibile una copia presso la Biblioteca Comunale di Trento, è stata svolta un'edizione diplomatico-critica, con traduzione italiana: Jacopo Aconcio, *Trattato sulle fortificazioni,* a cura di Paola Giacomoni, con la collaborazione di Giovanni Maria Fara e Renato Giacomelli, ed. e trad. Omar Khalaf, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2011.

8 Cfr. O'Malley, *Jacopo Aconcio*, p. x.

9 *Satanae stratagemata libri octo. Jacobo Acontio authore. Accessit eruditissa epistola de ratione edendorum librorum, ad Johannem Vuolfium Tigurinum eodem authore*, Basilea 1565. Su quest'opera di Aconcio, con particolare attenzione alla censura di cui fu oggetto negli ambienti italiani e inglesi del Settecento, vd. il recente studio di Giorgio Caravale, *Censorship and Heresy in Revolutionary England and Counter-Reformation Rome. Story of a Dangerous Book*, trans. Frank Gordon, Cham (Switzerland): Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; orig. ed. it.: *Storia di una doppia censura: gli* Stratagemmi *di Giacomo Aconcio nell'Europa del Seicento*, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2013.

10 Pietro Bizzarri, *Istoria della guerra fatta in Ungheria dall'invittissimo Imperatore de Cristiani contra quello de Turchi: con la narrazione di tutte quelle cose che sono avvenute in Europa, dall'anno 1564 infino all'anno 1568*, Lione: Roville, 1568.

Erano progressivamente maturati nell'opera aconciana motivi di eterodossia già in realtà presenti nel *De methodo*, ma che trovano ora una compiuta sistemazione negli *Stratagemata*. Laddove lo Haemstede aveva dichiarato di non poter giudicare eretici i suoi connazionali solo perché non credevano nel battesimo degli infanti e alla natura sovrannaturale del Cristo in quanto questi non erano dogmi fondati nelle Scritture, Aconcio sosteneva invece l'utilità di professare pochi fondamentali articoli di fede mentre erano da considerarsi indifferenti il dogma dell'incarnazione e tutti gli altri non direttamente ricavati dal testo sacro. Nell'*Epistola Apologetica* rivolta al Grindal dichiara come

> ha approfondito tutti i punti riguardanti il dogma dell'Incarnazione ed ha aggiunto allo studio la preghiera, ma non è riuscito a raggiungere la assoluta persuasione che il credere nell'articolo dell'Incarnazione sia così necessario da escludere dalla grazia di Dio e dalla salvezza in Cristo coloro che abbiano, in quel punto, giudicato erroneamente.[11]

L'ultima notizia certa sull'Aconcio è la lettera da lui indirizzata ad un ignoto corrispondente, forse il Betti, datata 6 giugno 1566: si ripete a meno di un ventennio l'assenza di informazioni constatata prima del 1548, per cui è mera congettura stabilire data e luogo di morte.[12]

[11] Rossi, *Giacomo Aconcio*, p. 32. Il riferimento è all'*Acontii epistola apologetica ad Grindal, episcopum Londinensem*, 1564, il cui originale è perduto.

[12] In Jacopo Aconcio, *De methodo e opuscoli religiosi e filosofici*, ed. Giorgis Radetti, Firenze: Vallecchi, 1944, pp. 372–385. Il manoscritto originale è andato perduto.

BETWEEN ISTANBUL AND VENICE
AGENCY, FAITH, AND EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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In 1598 Lazaro Soranzo's *L'Ottomano*, a book that would become something of an early modern bestseller, was published in Ferrara, with French, German, English, and Latin translations following on almost immediately.[1] Such success was not in itself surprising. Works reporting on the institutions, customs, and beliefs of other parts of the world had become increasingly fashionable in sixteenth-century Europe; and interest in the Ottoman Empire was widespread. But until the British historian Noel Malcolm produced his masterful *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*, no one had taken the time to investigate Soranzo's tantalizing allusion to one of his sources: *Del Bellerbegato della Romania* [*On the Beylerbeylik of Rumeli*].[2] Since its author, a certain Antonio Bruni, was obscure, and the text had never been published, finding it was no easy task. Eventually Malcolm located two manuscript copies: one in the Vatican Library, the other in the Library of the Museo Correr in Venice. What he discovered was a short text that offered a rich ethnographic description of early modern Albania along with a report on its religious divisions and military assets. And this unknown text raised an important puzzle about the identity of its virtually unknown author, Antonio Bruni, who seemed so well informed about many aspects of the Ottoman world. As Malcolm probed further into a wide array of archival and printed sources, he began assembling all the clues he could find about Bruni and his family. Quite suddenly, as he writes, he 'realized that [he] had a much larger project on his hands'.

1 Lazzaro Soranzo, *L'Ottomano*, Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1598.
2 Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

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Few historians would have been prepared as Malcolm to reconstruct the history of either this author or of early sixteenth-century Albania, much less the wider Mediterranean world of this period. While well known for his studies and editions of Thomas Hobbes—the subject of his Ph.D. thesis at Cambridge—Malcolm has also had a long-standing interest in the history of the Balkans. In 1984 he published *De Dominis (1560-1624): Venetian, Anglican, Ecumenist and Relapsed Heretic*, a short but fascinating study of this Dalmatian bishop whose *De republica ecclesiastica* was one of the more important works of political theory in the early seventeenth century. Then from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s Malcolm worked as a journalist, first for *The Spectator* and later for *The Daily Telegraph*, devoting much of his attentions to the Balkans. He has written two important books on the history of the region: *Bosnia: A Short History* (1994) and *Kosovo: A Short History* (1998). In these volumes, he pushed back against traditional interpretations that viewed the violence in these regions as expressions of long-standing racial animosities. He found a much more diverse population; he had a deep sense of the complexity of these cultures. And he infuriated some Serb nationalists in his deconstruction of the myth of the Battle of Kosovo on the Field of Blackbirds of 1389.[3] Finally, Malcolm's command of languages is legendary. Students of his works on Hobbes, for example, will recognize him as a superb Latinist, with a command of all the major western European languages.[4] But he also reads Albanian, Bosnian, Modern Greek, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, and Turkish—and this is by no means a complete list. It is fortunate that a scholar this gifted has been able, after 'retiring' from journalism in 1995, to enjoy considerable support for his research and writings. Since 2002 he has been Senior Research Fellow at All Souls, Oxford.

What Malcolm's knowledge of the Balkans and their languages offered him was the ability to examine the history of the Venetian and Ottoman empires not from the perspective of Venice and Istanbul but rather from one of the major borderlands that lay between these two states: in this case, from Venetian Albania. This thin strip of territory reaching from Ulcinj (Dulcigno) to Kotor (Cattaro) on the eastern shore of the Adriatic is among the most beautiful coastlines in the world. In the sixteenth century this region was home to only four small cities or towns. Ulcinj had a population of about 1600 souls; Bar some

[3] Aleksa Djilas, 'Imaging Kosovo: A Biased Western Accounts Fans Confusion', *Foreign Affairs* 77 (1998), pp. 124–131 and Malcolm's response 'What Ancient Hatreds?', *Foreign Affairs* 78 (1999), pp. 130–134.

[4] In addition to his important collection of studies on Hobbes—Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (2002)—Malcolm has edited *The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes* (1994) and, most recently, Hobbes' *Leviathan* in an award-winning three volume edition, the first to include both the English and Latin versions of the text (2012).

2500 residents; Budva a mere 800; and Kotor perhaps three to four thousand. These towns and their hinterlands were important to Venice for their agricultural resources. They also constituted an important defensive barrier against the projection of Ottoman power into the Adriatic. As is well known the Ottoman Turks had made significant inroads into the Balkans even before their conquest of Constantinople in 1453. It was in the period 1415 to 1423 that they first imposed their rule in much of Albania, though not without resistance. Gjergi Kastriota called 'Skanderbeg' led a series of major rebellions against the Ottomans in the middle decades of the fifteenth century, but by the end the century the Ottomans had consolidated their power in all of Albania apart from the coastal strip that remained under Venetian rule.

Malcolm focuses in particular on two families: the Bruni and the Bruti. Both were Albanian. The Bruni had been a patrician family in Shkodër (Scutari). In 1479, when this town fell to the Ottomans, they fled to Ulcinj where they were able to establish themselves as leading figures in this small city. The Bruti, originally from Durrës (Durazzo) and Lezhë (Alessio)—like the Bruni under pressure from the Ottomans—arrived in Ulcinj a bit later, in the early sixteenth century. There they married into the Bruni family; and, in certain respects, the destinies of these two clans would be tied together over much of the rest of the century. But what renders these families of particular interest to Malcolm is that, as members of the local elite, the Bruni and the Bruti were bilingual, moving easily between the Italian and Albanian languages. As Malcolm notes, 'the Brunis and the Brutis were genuine linguistic and cultural amphibians. And that, as we shall see, was essential to their success in the wider Mediterranean world.'

The first part of the book, which traces the fortunes of these two families in the quarter century prior to Lepanto focuses in particular on Antonio Bruti, who served Venice as an intelligencer and an emissary in its relations with the Ottoman Empire; Giovanni Bruni, who became Archbishop of Bar in 1551 and eventually a delegate to the Council of Trent; and Gasparo Bruni, Giovanni's brother, who became a Knight of Malta. Collectively these figures make it clear how this polyglot elite managed to find much favor from the Venetians and the papacy. By the 1560s it must have seemed as though they would continue to prosper in Ulcinj.

Yet this generation was devastated by the War of Cyprus. As part of this conflict, Ottoman forces seized Ulcinj and Bar in 1571. At Ulcinj, the conquest was brutal. A contemporary report from Kotor reported, 'when the general of the land army [Ahmed Pasha] entered the city, he made his men cut to pieces all those who had remained and set fire to some houses which were full of women and children'. When Bar fell shortly afterwards, Giovanni Bruni, the archbishop, was taken captive. Both the Bruni and Bruti families once again saw their lives

destroyed by Ottoman forces; and their survivors would emigrate to safer territories: this time to the Istrian port of Koper (Capodistria), better protected by the Venetian state.

It was, however, the experience of the Bruni in the Battle of Lepanto that underscored the vulnerability of even these prosperous families to the wages of warfare. As Ottoman power increasingly seemed to threaten not only Venetian control of Cyprus but also Spanish interest in north Africa, the western powers under the leadership of Pope Pius V forged a Holy League to fight the Turks to save Cyprus. Both the Ottomans and the Holy League prepared above all for a major battle at sea. It came on 7 October 1571 in the Gulf of Patras. Malcolm's description of this battle is powerful. He is particularly effective in making it clear that galley warfare in the sixteenth century had not yet become a contest of cannon volleys but remained very much a platform for virtual hand-to-hand combat as ship captains attempted to manoeuver in such a way that their soldiers could board an enemy's vessel and then seek to subdue them, fighting to the death. In such a context naval warfare took on an intimate and brutal quality. But Lepanto also became a tragedy for the Bruni. Giovanni Bruni, Archbishop of Bar—who, as we have seen, had been taken captive in 1571—and his nephew Nicolò were now serving as galley slaves aboard an Ottoman ship, in all likelihood the ship of the commander of the Ottoman fleet. His brother Gasparo meanwhile was in the lead ship of the Holy League. In the crazed aftermath of the battle, Spanish soldiers, disbelieving their claims that they were Christians, killed both Giovanni Bruni and his nephew. As Malcolm points out, at the time of their slaughter, Giovanni's brother Gasparo may have been less than 100 yards away.

Yet, even after this devastation and now based in Koper, both families continued to thrive in the interstices of the Ottoman and Christian worlds. Gasparo Bruni, commended for his bravery at Lepanto, found papal favor and received an important military post in Avignon where he would fight to protect Catholic interests in the midst of the French Wars of Religion. But it is Malcolm's narrative of the career of Bartolomeo Bruti that is most gripping. Bartolomeo, Antonio's son, had sought a position as a *giovane di lingua* in Istanbul in 1575. He received the position but was dismissed from it shortly thereafter. Evidently he was a lazy student, but he nonetheless found favor at court and shortly came to play a major role in brokering a prisoner exchange between the Ottomans and Madrid. In this role he soon found himself entering into a multi-layered role of espionage and counter-espionage. And Malcolm's portrayal of the role of spies in a sea hungry for information is one of the richest veins of this book. We learn, for example, that Hürrem Bey, the Sultan's chief dragoman, was 'on the Venetian payroll' and 'also working secretly for Spain'. Identities in this world were multiple. And Bartolomeo's multiple identities and his ability to serve as a go-between paid off. After helping forge a truce between Madrid and Istanbul, he

found favor with some of the leading viziers and he was offered a position as a commander of Ottoman forces in Moldavia.[5] There, as the Long War between the Habsburgs and Spain heated up in the 1590s, he found himself in increasingly treacherous waters. In 1592, falling afoul of the *voivod* of Moldavia, he was captured. His nose was lopped off and he was strangled.

Agents of Empire is an engrossing narrative. And, as its subtitle makes clear, it is also pitched to a broad readership. As popular history it has much to commend. Malcolm's sustained focus on several prominent figures—with particular attention to the lives and careers of Gasparo Bruni and Bartolomeo Bruti—eases the reading and makes it possible to follow the story without difficulty. The writing style is robust and clear; and the author is especially effective in moving back and forth between moments of high drama (Lepanto; the prisoner exchange at Dubrovnik; the execution of Bartolomeo Bruti) and textbook like presentations of background material that helps make sense of this forgotten Mediterranean world. Some specialist may find the overviews of the ransoming of captives or of the naval battles familiar but most will find the discussions of the *giovani di lingua* and the information networks fresh. But this is no ordinary popular history. To the contrary, it is the product of an indefatigable scholar who tells here an unknown story based almost exclusively on archival documents. To write this book Malcolm consulted primary materials in Austria, Croatia, England, France, Italy, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, and Vatican City. It was his research in archives and libraries throughout Europe that enabled him to reconstruct the lives of the Bruni and Bruti, now figures who have the opportunity to become as familiar to historians of early modern Europe as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's Thomas Platter and his sons.[6] In short, Malcolm has brought to light individuals whose experiences—intrinsically interesting—make it possible to think through the past in new and fruitful ways. But what about the book's substantive contributions?

The very title of the book signals perhaps Malcolm's most important intervention. Malcolm's approach lays remarkable stress on the agency of certain individuals—almost always wealthy men—in the making of empire. And certainly within the framework of a narrative deliberately structured around a collective biography of two families the author's emphasis on agency seems compelling, at least at first. Yet, as in any historical study of significance, the very frame that succeeds in highlighting certain aspects of the past occludes others. To be concise, what is lost in this book is a sense of the role that the environment, of

[5] On this episode, see also Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols, New York–London: Harper & Row–Collins, 1972, vol. II, pp. 1151–1159. Here Braudel gives 'Aurelio' as Bruti's first name, but it is the same individual.

[6] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor: A Sixteenth-Century Family Saga*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

economic trends, and of shifts in social structures in shaping the history of the Mediterranean in this period.

The omission is especially conspicuous because it was Fernand Braudel, one of the master historians of the twentieth century, whose study *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, first published in 1949, made a powerful case for role of the environment and socio-economic trends in setting the parameters of the possible in the political and military history of a period. Yet, about these deeper structures that Braudel viewed as essential for the understanding of history we learn very little and the result is that the springboards for the agency of the Bruni and the Bruti, as well as many other individuals who dominate the pages of this book, appear to be their personalities and their resourcefulness. Both Chapter 3 on Antonio Bruti and Chapter 11 on Bartoloemo Bruti, for example, open with their sending petitions the government of Venice—perhaps a rhetorical device but one that invests them with the qualities of prime movers. And there are many other such examples of personality trumping structure in the book. A 'hot-headed' Venetian naval commander sank two Ottoman ships and precipitated a war between empires. In the end, though, Malcolm frequently balances personal against larger forces: his discussion of the learned and compassionate Moldavian prince Petru Șchiopul's motives, for example, is multifaceted, with a full recognition of the various political and cultural pressures on a ruler.

This is not to say that Malcolm invests everyone with agency. He is, after all, writing primarily about provincial elites. And he recognizes that there were tens of thousands of souls in the Mediterranean who were not so fortunate. Some of his most moving passages give an account of the large numbers of individuals—men, women, and children; Muslim and Christian; young and old—who were sold into slavery and whose status stripped them of almost all their agency, though some of the more well-connected of these captives did manage to find their way back to their home countries through the elaborate system of ransoming that functioned as a kind of black market in human lives in the early modern Mediterranean.

Malcolm also suggests the need to rethink the role of religion in this period. Religion has always been a major feature of the history of the Mediterranean.[7] And no book on the history of this sea in the early modern period can escape the importance of Jews, Muslims, and Christians in the making of the history of this period. On this front, Malcolm's study casts new light on the history of the Counter Reformation by placing this Catholic offensive in the context of the difficult political history of this period. Through the study of both Giovanni

[7] John Jeffries Martin, 'Crossing Religious Boundaries in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41 (2011), pp. 459–462.

Bruni, who became Archbishop of Bar in 1551 and later served as a delegate to the Council of Trent, and Gasparo Bruni, a Knight of Malta who spent the final years of his career in service to the papacy as a military commander in the papal enclave of Avignon during the French Wars of Religion, Malcolm offers readers a richly textured portrait not of a purely spiritual movement as is often the case in histories of the Counter Reformation but rather of a spiritual movement that was deeply intertwined with political and military interests of the day.

But does Malcolm underplay the force of religious beliefs? Certainly, at this granular level, Malcolm's general observations about the limited role of religion in the lives of individuals who were often caught between the West and the Ottoman worlds carries conviction. But his larger generalizations about the role of relative weight to which Christian and Ottoman authorities gave to religion in their attitudes towards their enemies is less convincing. He is quite right to insist that the Ottoman policy in both the War of Cyprus and the Long War—the two major conflicts at the center of his study—was shaped less by religious zeal than by geo-political and strategic considerations. But the closing argument in his book that the Counter Reformation shaped a far more zealous politics in western Europe, one in which a crusading mentality played a dominant role in shaping Christian attitudes towards Islam, while offering a potentially intriguing contrast to the more pragmatic Ottomans, seems tacked on, and Malcolm's evidence here hangs tenuously on the views of Popes Pius V, proponent of the Holy League, and Clement VIII, propagandist for the Hapsburgs during the Long War. I do not doubt that both these papal courts underscored the religious battle that lay before them nor that such attitudes can't be found elsewhere. But I am by no means convinced that the Venetians or the Spanish or the French viewed matters in this light.

In the end, however, it is this book's contribution to our evolving understanding of empire that Malcolm makes his most important contribution. In recent decades empire has emerged as a major theme in historical studies. There are many reasons for this. By the end of the twentieth century the nation state, which had seemed a promising model for the political organization of the world in the nineteenth century, appeared too often to be an incubator of conflict and warfare. At the same time a growing emphasis on world history among scholars has recognized that imperial systems played a major role in the shaping of global connections. And aspects of empires—their capaciousness, the diversity of their subject populations, even their relative tolerance—render them most interesting to think with. Certainly in my own subfield of Venetian history, this shift has been palpable. Forty years ago most historians of Venice focused on the city of Venice itself, but a newer generation of scholars—Bernard Doumerc,

Eric Durstler, Monique O'Connell, and Natalie Rothman, among others—have now begun to shift the focus to various aspects of Venice as an imperial power.[8]

The new imperial histories of Venice are benefitting too from the general trend to view empires not in light of the old colonial model—with a central power imposing its will on its subject territories—but rather as far more complex system of territories connected to the imperial center on the basis of diverse and at times mutual interests. Thus historians of empire attend not merely to its metropole but also to its peripheries, its borderlands, and reveal a far more diverse, polycentric system. Malcolm explicitly presents both the Venetian and the Ottoman Empire in this light. He does so as well with a clear understanding that the Mediterranean itself was a shifting mosaic of diverse faiths and customs; and that, whatever the political systems that various dynasties or elites tried to erect there, many men and women—rich and poor—moved through this sea and its surrounding territories with relative ease. Borders were imagined but easily crossed or at least crossed without much difficulty. As Peregrine Horden and Nicolas Purcell have shown in their magisterial *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (2000) the Mediterranean itself was 'a mediator and a boundary', and other more specialized scholarship has made a similar contribution. In the case of Venice two historians in particularly have played an especially important role in demonstrating the porosity of borders between the Serenissima and the Ottoman Empire. Through her years of meticulous study in the Venetian archives Maria Pia Pedani has uncovered a myriad of interconnections between Ottoman and Venetian families in the early modern period, but it is Natalie Rothman's *Brokered Empires: Tran-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (2012) that has done the most to recast our understanding of the complex and paradoxical ways these two empires intersected.[9] In particular, her conceptualization of the trans-imperial subject is extremely fruitful, making it possible, as she notes in her Introduction 'to understand the perspective of those who were caught in the web of complex imperial mechanisms but who at the same time were essential to producing the means to calibrate, classify, and demarcate imperial identities.'[10]

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[8] Bernard Doumerc, *Venise et son empire en Méditeranée, IXe-XVe siècle*, Paris: Ellipses, 2012; Eric R. Durstler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006; Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice's Maritime State*, Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; and Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012.

[9] Maria Pia Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore: inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia*, Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1994; and Ead., *Dalla frontiera al confine* Rome–Venice: Herder–Università Ca' Foscari, 2002.

[10] Rothamn, *Brokering Empire*, p. 13.

While Malcolm's approach is decidedly non-theoretical, it builds upon these shifting notions of empire and, in its detail, offers rich perspectives on the Ottoman and Venetian worlds in this period. Perhaps his most significant contribution is the degree to which he is able to offer a sense of the diverse ways in which his trans-imperial subjects—the Bruti and the Bruni of the Albanian borderlands—were caught up in the service of the Ottoman Empire and their service to Venice, Rome, and Madrid. In both cases, patronage and familial connections were extremely powerful in shaping the destinies of such figures as Bartolomeo Bruti and Gasparo Bruni. In western Christendom, both families developed their connections through a variety of strategies—among which was the choice of the right school such as the Jesuit College in Rome to which Gasparo Bruni sent his son Antonio, the author of the *Del Bellerbegato della Romania.* The decision to dispatch a son off to Istanbul to learn Ottoman Turkish—path pursued both by Bartolomeo and Cristoforo Bruti—offered individuals from the empire's peripheries opportunities for advancement at the highest levels of Ottoman society. The mastery of multiple, diverse languages was a valuable commodity in this polyglot world. Certainly Malcolm's Bruni and the Bruti are excellent exemplars of Rothman's imperial subjects; and, indeed more serious readers will benefit from studying Rothman's book in tandem with Malcolm's.

A major contribution of *Agents of Empire* is to a broader understanding of the Mediterranean. This sea, then as now, was a space of conflict as well as constructive interaction among the diverse cultures—European, Asian, and African—which shared its shores. Yet this book, along with several of Malcolm's other projects, hints at a larger canvas upon which it may be possible to deepen our understanding of the interplay of Ottoman and western European societies and cultures, and indeed of Islamic and Christian cultures in the early modern world.

In an insightful article on Tommaso Campanella—originally presented as the Elie Kedourie Memorial Lecture to the British Academy in 2003—Malcolm drew attention to the influence of early modern understandings of Ottoman society in shaping both Campanella's *Monarchia di Spagna* and his ideal of a utopian society in his *Città del Sole*.[11] And in a more recent, highly detailed article on the first English translation of the *Qu'ran*, Malcolm makes a similar point but casts it even more broadly:

> Ordinary readers throughout Europe could be interested in Islam for a range of reasons, political as well as religious. The Ottoman Empire was a major power; it and its satellites impinged directly, through warfare and piracy, on the Holy

[11] Noel Malcolm, 'The Crescent and the City of the Sun: Islam and the Renaissance Utopia of Tommaso Campanella', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2004), pp. 41–67.

> Roman Empire and all the Christian states of the Mediterranean region. England was less directly affected by such activities, though its mariners were taken captive in the Mediterranean, and Muslim pirates and corsairs did raid English waters and the coastlines of Ireland and the wet of England. But travel, trade, and a general interest in the politics and history of Europe were quite sufficient to create an appetite for information about the Ottoman and Islamic world, to which the frequent reprintings of works such as Knolles's Ottoman history and [George] Sandys's travelogue bear witness.[12]

Of course, Malcolm's interest in bridges between these worlds goes back a long way. As we have seen, Malcolm's first book was a study of a renegade Dalmatian bishop who spent several years in England. And his early interest in George Sandys's travelogue is more than matched by his studies of George's brother, Edwin Sandys, a founding investor in the Virginia Company, who worked closely with Thomas Hobbes.[13]

These bridges are promising. Malcolm's own accomplishments in two distinct fields—early modern British political theory and the history of the Balkans—have led some to suspect that there is not one but rather two Noel Malcolm's impersonating a single individual. But such frivolous speculations are only possible because of the bifurcated historiographies of Europe: one focused on the West, another on the East. The reality, of course, is that Malcolm is a unicum, whose tireless forays over the course of his career, have brought to light a number of threads that make it plain that Europe too—not the imagined political unity of Europe but rather a Europe constructed of lived exchanges that reached from Istanbul to London—was a less divided continent that previous generations of historians imagined. Ultimately *Agents of Empire* is a contribution to our rethinking of Europe and the complex interplay of ideas, representations, economic interests, diverse religions, and political structures over the *longue durée*.

[12] Noel Malcolm, 'The 1649 English Translation of the *Koran*: Its Origins and Significance', *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 75 (2012), pp. 288–299.

[13] Noel Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Sandys, and the Virginia Company', *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981), pp. 297–321, repr. in Id., *Aspects of Hobbes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 53–79.

ON *IDEAS IN MOTION IN BAGHDAD AND BEYOND*[*]

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This miscellaneous volume, edited by Damien Janos, includes a short introduction, eleven essays in chronological order by John W. Watt, Alexander Treiger, Ute Pietruschka, Orsolya Varsányi, Damien Janos himself, Philippe Vallat, Gerhard Endress, Olga Lizzini, Carmela Baffioni, David Bennett with Robert Wisnovsky, and David Twetten, and a bibliography of studies entitled 'Syriac and Arabic Christian philosophy and the Baghdad school'.

Despite its subtitle—*Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*—it focuses mainly on the philosophical rather than theological inter-cultural exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the ninth- and tenth-century Baghdad. This is confirmed by Janos's words in the Introduction where he states that the volume aims 'to highlight the role that the Arabic Christian philosophers played in the elaboration of the vibrant and cosmopolitan intellectual culture that flourished in medieval Baghdad' (p. 1). This role has often been studied in isolation from the development of mainstream Islamic philosophy, and this volume proposes a more dynamic approach.

It is a matter of fact that in medieval Baghdad, Christians cooperated to put in place an ever-growing number of books, were protagonists of a prolific scribal activity, studied the same texts which, translated from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, were studied by Muslims, debated together with them on a set of shared philosophical questions, and elaborated with them 'a universal language based on logic to transcend cultural and religious divides and differences' (p. 2). But philosophical and theological cross-pollination does not mean in Baghdad the cancellation of any religious identity: logic and philosophy were at times

[*] Damien Janos (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond. Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*, (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, 124), Brill: Leiden–Boston, 2015. This note was presented at the Philosophical Review Club (University of Leuven) on 12 October 2017.

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instruments of inter-faith debate and apologetics. Hence this book explores the intellectual interactions, both peaceful and polemical, between Christians and Muslims, all heirs of the classical heritage, which was assimilated and adapted in accordance to their own needs.

Opening the volume, John W. Watt in his 'The Syriac Aristotelian Tradition and Syro-Arabic Baghdad Philosophers' (pp. 7–43) analyses the Syriac Aristotelian tradition, and the activity of the Syro-Arabic philosophers in Baghdad. This is done not from the perspective of their alleged instrumental role in transmitting Greek texts to the subsequent Arab readership, but from that of their philosophical original approach and agenda. Probably because of the fact that he already dealt with the topic extensively elsewhere,[1] Watt omits to reconstruct the school and social contexts of the figures he analyses and his otherwise very fascinating account at times would require more information.

He begins with the analysis of the early, pre-Abbasid phase of Syriac philosophy and in particular from Sergius of Rēsh'aynā, the Syriac scholar who was most influential on the later tradition. According to Watt, the main features of Sergius's philosophical project are three.

First, he considers as the proper object of philosophical studies the whole Aristotelian school *corpus*.[2] Second, he thinks of Aristotelian philosophy as an

[1] John W. Watt, 'From Sergius to Mattā: Aristotle and Pseudo-Dionysius in the Syriac Tradition', in Josef Lössl and John W. Watt (eds), *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle in Late Antiquity: The Alexandrian Commentary Tradition between Rome and Baghdad*, London–New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 39–57.

[2] Unfortunately for us even if his intention was to comment on the entire *corpus*, only his *Commentaries on the Categories* are extant. Sergius is traditionally considered the author of two comments of different length to Aristotle's *Categories*, which we distinguish with the help of the name of their dedicatee. One is addressed to a certain Philotheos and it is preserved in MS Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Syr. 88 (= Peterman 9). Its title is *Memrā Composed by Sargīs the Archiater of Riš'ainā on the Categories of Aristotle, the Philosopher*. Cf. Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les Catégories d'Aristote comme introduction à la philosophie, dans un commentaire syriaque de Sergius de Rēš'ainā (d. 536)', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 8 (1997), pp. 339–363; Sami Aydin (ed.), *Sergius of Reshaina: Introduction to Aristotle and his Categories, Addressed to Philotheos*, (Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus, 24), Leiden: Brill, 2016. The other, a bit longer than the previous one, is addressed, according to the manuscripts, to a certain Theodore, bishop of Karḫ Ǧuddān near the future Sāmarrā, the dedicatee of other works by Sergius as, for example, his Syriac version of the *Περὶ κόσμου*. This second commentary is preserved in three different manuscripts. The most ancient one is MS London, British Library, Add. 14658. It is acephalous and it misses the preface and the first book of the treatise. In the other two manuscripts, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Syr. 354 and MS Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Mingana syr. 606, the commentary is respectively entitled *Treatise Composed by Sargīs the Archiater on the Aims of all Aristotle's Writings* and *Treatise Composed by Sargīs the Archiater on the Aims of the Categories of Aristotle from Stagire According to his Lineage and Philosopher According to his Species*. Here, Sergius presents his work as the first commentary of a series of commentaries to all the writings of Aristotle that have not been preserved: 'We will [...] speak as (well as) we can about the aim of each one of these treatises, beginning the chain with that *On categories*, which

elite activity for those who could read Aristotle in Greek: his primary task was that to present an exposition of Aristotle, not a translation.[3]

Third, his Aristotle is similar, but not identical to that of his Alexandrian teacher Ammonius Hermiae who states: 'the purpose and obvious utility [which] the Aristotelian philosophy has for us [...] [is] to ascend to the common origin of all things and to be aware that this is the one goodness itself, incorporeal, indivisible, infinite, and of infinite potentiality' (p. 9).[4] Near the end of his *Commentary on the Categories*, Sergius stated clearly that without logic not only medicine and philosophy cannot be understood, but neither 'can the true sense be uncovered of the divine Scriptures, wherein lies the hope of our salvation'.[5] And in his *Memrā on the spiritual life*,[6] which is prefaced to his translation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Sergius speaks about the true spiritual contemplation (*theoria*), which purifies the intellect and raises it to the height of the truth. This contemplation is divided into seven orders: the first 'subsists by means of demonstrations and combinations of worded statements' (i.e. the Logic of *Analytics* p. 10), while the last is the 'finest flower' which 'touches the exalted radiance of the hidden divinity', 'the unfathomable radiance of Being'.[7] Between the two we can recognize the other parts of Aristotelian *curriculum* and the doctrine of contemplation of Evagrius of Pontus. Sergius is close to his Alexandrian education, but also to the Christian intellectual tradition: the Aristotelian philosophy is 'a part of a route by which intellect ascends to the

is about simple namings [or predications], and similarly treating each one of them [the *Organon* to the *Rhetoric*], in the same way. Then we will go on to his other treatises, those on the parts of practice, (then) physics and mathematics, and (then) the last ones which are called divine (Sergius, *In Cat.*, fol. 3r)', see Janos (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, p. 9, n. 4. According to Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'Comme la cicogne au désert. Un prologue de Sergius de Rēš'ainā à l'étude de la philosophie aristotélicienne en syriaque', in Alain de Libera, Abdelali Elamrani-Jamal and Alain Gallonnier (eds), *Langages et philosophie. Hommage a Jean Jolivet*, (Études de philosophie médiévale, 74), Paris: Vrin, 1997, p. 167, this series of commentaries to all Aristotle's writings probably had never been written.

3 Cf. the Introduction to Aydin (ed.), *Sergius of Reshaina: Introduction to Aristotle*, p. 51. According to Sami Aydin a significant fact speaks against Watt's opinion that Sergius envisaged his commentary to be read together with the Greek version of the *Categories*. He writes: 'Sergius' text is thematically organised and various questions are briefly introduced and discussed in a way that the line of reasoning is comprehensible even independently from the text of Aristotle. The study of a source text obviously benefits from a lemmatic commentary and therefore, if Sergius intended his exposition to be used as a complement to the *Categories*, also he ought to have formed it in that way.'

4 Ammonius, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium,* ed. Adolf Busse, Berolini: Typ. et impr. Reimer, 1895, p. 6.9–12.

5 Sergius, *In Cat.*, fols 60r–61r, in Janos (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, p. 10, n. 7.

6 Polycarp Sherwood, 'Mimro de Serge de Rešayna sur la vie spirituelle', *L'Orient syrien* 4 (1960), pp. 433–457; 6 (1961), pp. 95–115, pp. 122–156.

7 Sherwood, 'Mimro de Serge de Rešayna', 6 (1961), pp. 122–123.

source of being' (p. 11), but while for his Alexandrian teachers the higher part was laid out by the 'divine Plato', for Sergius the higher part was the Bible interpreted by Evagrius of Pontus and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. According to Watt this replacement had a deep impact for subsequent Syriac and Syriac-Arabic Christianity. In this perspective Logic is a necessary instrument to the true understanding of Scriptures, not a tool for contemporary Christological controversies.

After the archiater Sergius and before the Abbasids, if there was any place where Aristotelian philosophy was taught, this was Qenneshre, the monastic school on the Euphrates. Almost all the well-known Syriac Aristotelian scholars of the seventh century were connected to this monastery.

From the marginal notes of the Arabic manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 2346 we know that Athanasius of Balad translated (partially or completely?) *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations*. Athanasius also translated the *Isagoge* in 645. Jacob of Edessa made the revision of the previous anonymous translation of the *Categories*; George, Bishop of the Arab tribes translated the *Categories, On interpretation,* and the two books of the *Prior Analytics*. According to Watt it is evident that the seven-volume *Organon* was studied[8] and it was studied in a sequence, which leads to apodeictics (this aim is explicitly stated in Severus Sebokht's introduction to his short work on the syllogisms of the *Prior Analytics*). From the extant translation and commentaries of George, it is clear that Aristotle was not only read, but commented upon also using some of the late-antique commentators. There is no indication for the common assumption that the prime purpose of the logical works was their use in Christological controversies.

There are no indications of translations of *Physics*, *De Caelo*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, there are some quotations of the definition of 'nature' from *Metaphysics*, book *Delta*, in the *Hexaemeron* of Jacob of Edessa.[9]

The reading of Aristotle in Greek was softened even if the Syriac translations of that period mirrored the Greek texts and were hardly understandable without a teacher proficient in Greek. In addition, Athanasius translated and revised the previous translations of Gregory of Nazianzus and pseudo-Dionysus. Watt concludes:

[8] Hence beyond *Prior Analytics* I.7: the critical discussion of this debated point is at pp. 13–14, n. 22. Cf. Henri Hugonnard Roche, 'Syriac Studies', *Studia Graeco-arabica* 3 (2013), pp. 233–244, in particular pp. 242–244.

[9] Cf. Henri Hugonnard-Roche, 'Le corpus philosophique syriaque aux VI^{e}-VII^{e} siècles', in Cristina D'Ancona (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2007 (Philosophia Antiqua, 107), pp. 279–291.

> As with Sergius, their interest in Aristotle may well have been founded on the conviction that he supplied Dionysius's 'philosophic and demonstrative' strand in double curriculum, the other being the ascetic and mystical which led to the contemplation of the divine' (p. 16).

On the figure of Timothy, the East Syrian patriarch from 780 to 823, who died one century after the death of George, the Bishop of the Arab tribes (d. 724) the last scholar associated to Qenneshre, I think that some remarks must be added. Watt considers him as a good example of the transmission of the West Syrian study of Aristotle, as exemplified at Qenneshre, to the East Syrians. Timothy was educated in the Monastery of Bashosh and was close to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī and his family. From his letter 48 to Sergius, metropolitan of Elam and his old classmate, we know that he knew Athanasius of Balad's translations of the *Posterior Analytics* and *Topics*.[10] Watt wonders why not Athanasius of Balad's translations of *Prior Analytics* and *Sophistical Refutations*. Probably Timothy knew even the *Poetic*: in his letter 19 he asks Sergius, metropolitan of Elam, to find him the two books of *Poetic,* because he had only the first one, as well as the commentaries on Logic by Olympiodorus, Stéphanus of Alexandria, Sergius of of Rēsh'aynā and Alexander of Aphrodisias.[11] From the famous letter 43, which inform us about Timothy's translation of *Topics* from Syriac to Arabic, addressed to Pethion of Mar Gabriel in Mossul we know that he sought for commentaries or *scholia* on *Topics*, *Rhetoric, Poetic* and *Sophistical refutations*.[12] In letter 42, addressed to the students of the monastery of Mar Gabriel, he explains a passage from *Isagoge* (Porph., *Isag*., pp. 10.22–11.1) and another from *Categories* (Arist., *Cat*. 5, 3b10–23), and we know that he had some interest in Physics: he knew *On generation and corruption*.[13] We do not know if he knew all these texts in Greek, Syriac or both.

What motivated him to study Aristotelian philosophy? Watt writes: 'Polemical disputation with Christians of a rival confession is no more a satisfactory answer in Timothy's case than in that of the others' (p. 19). He did not mention inter-confessional polemics, in his letters where there are references to philosophical texts. And in the letters on Christological subjects there are no allusions too to

[10] Cf. Martin Heimgartner, *Die Briefe 42-58 des Ostyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I, Textedition*, (CSCO, 644; Scriptores Syri, 248), Louvain: Peeters, 2012, p. 90; Id., *Die Briefe 42-58 des Ostyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I, Einleitung Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, (CSCO, 645; Scriptores Syri, 249), Louvain: Peeters, 2012, p. 76.

[11] Cf. Vittorio Berti, 'Libri e biblioteche cristiane nell'Iraq dell'VIII secolo. Una testimonianza dell'Epistolario del patriarca siro-orientale Timoteo I (727-823)', in D'Ancona (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, pp. 307–317.

[12] Heimgartner, *Die Briefe 42-58 ... Textedition*, pp. 67–68; Id., *Die Briefe 42-58 ... Einleitung Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, p. 51.

[13] Heimgartner, *Die Briefe 42-58 ... Textedition*, p. 16; Id., *Die Briefe 42-58 ... Einleitung Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, p. 12.

philosophical logic—even if his Christological arguments are often in a syllogistic form.[14] His sources are all biblical or patristic (he looked for these sources with the same effort he used to find philosophical sources). Dimitri Gutas[15] suggested that his interest was inspired by a demand of translations for Muslim Arabic elites and his desire to integrate himself and his church with these elites.[16]

According to Watt instead Timothy's motivation was similar to that of his predecessors in the Syriac tradition. In four of his letters (16, 33, 37, 43) he declared his desire to have Dionysius in the translation of Athanasius or Phocas as he considered Aristotle's philosophy 'essential to "Dionysius's philosophic and demonstrative" strand in the "tradition of the theologians"'. If it is intriguing to see some persistence of Sergius's agenda in Timothy, I think it is necessary to investigate the differences more deeply, for example the total absence of any reference to Evagrius who is never mentioned or quoted by Timothy.[17]

Watt ends his contribution examining the shared interest in Aristotelian philosophy of Christians and Muslims scholars in the ninth century through the analysis of the East Syrian Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, and then through the work of the Baghdad Aristotelians from the tenth century onwards.

In al-Fārābī's *Appearance of Philosophy in Islam* the appearance of the Aristotelianism of the ancient school of Alexandria is located in Baghdad thanks to the teaching of four East Syrian scholars. One of these scholars, al-Marwazī, the teacher of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus, still wrote in Syriac.[18] Even if it is true that the Baghdad Aristotelians from the tenth century resurrected in Arabic the

[14] Cf. Sidney Harrison Griffith, 'The Syriac Letters of Patriarch Timothy I and the Birth of Christian Kalām in the Mu'tazilite Milieu of Baghdad and Basrah in Early Islamic Times', in Wout van Bekkum, Jan Willem Drijvers and Alexander Cornelis Klugkist (eds), *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*, Peeters: Leuven 2007, pp. 103–132.

[15] Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas (eds), *Aristotle. Poetics*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012, p. 87.

[16] As Vittorio Berti, *Vita e studi di Timoteo I, patriarca cristiano di Baghdad*, Paris–Louvain: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes–Peeters, 2009, pp. 172–173, very well shows in his book devoted to Timothy I, the patriarch attempt was more articulated: 'Timoteo volle stare al centro del potere amministrativo del califfato e al cuore della nuova civiltà urbana islamica. Volle giocare la sua rappresentatività di capo di un'importante e radicata chiesa cristiana lì dove si organizzava la buona vita della *'Umma*, vicino ai cenacoli intellettuali che determinavano le prospettive culturali di lungo corso del grande impero, cercando di ricavarsi uno spazio di legittimità, lavorando per produrre la propria necessità sociale. Una scelta che segnala la piena presa di coscienza, se si può dire così, di essere minoranza, ma una minoranza che forse poteva rivendicare un preciso ruolo nel regno.'

[17] Berti, *Vita e studi di Timoteo I*, p. 357.

[18] Most of this story is quite legendary (cf. Dimitri Gutas, 'The "Alexandria to Baghdad" Complex of Narratives. A Contribution to the Study of Philosophical and Medical Historiography among the Arabs', *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 10 (1999), pp. 155–193), but according to Watt 'with the appearance of four named teachers in Baghdad (in contrast to the nameless actors who preceded them), one of whom (Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān) he (i.e. al-Fārābī) identifies as his own teacher, we step from fantasy into reality' (p. 29, n. 84).

Aristotelian curriculum of the School of Alexandria, this idea has to be softened concerning the crowning Platonic curriculum. According to Watt there is still evidence of an interest in replacing Plato with pseudo-Dionysius for example in Ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008). 'In a collection of responses to various questions that had been addressed to him, he explains why the names Father, Son and Spirit are employed instead of Intellect, Intelligizing and Intelligized (*Meth. Lambda* 9)' (p. 29): for veiling the divine realities from those who are unworthy, and, as Dionysius mentioned, for challenging the contemplatives who search for the truth.[19]

The perspective of a Christian philosophical agenda suggested by Watt is the backstage of the following three contributions by Alexander Treiger, Ute Pietruschka, and Orsolya Varsányi. Treiger in 'Palestinian Origenism and the Early History of the Maronites: in Search of the Origins of the Arabic Theology of Aristotle' (pp. 44–80) presents two rival working hypotheses on the theological background—Melkite or Maronite—[20] of 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Ḥimṣī, the Christian translator of a selection of Plotinus's *Enneads* that forms the so-called *Theology of*

[19] Watt states that al-Fārābī himself interpreted the terms of current Islamic religion as symbols for universally valid philosophical terms (p. 31) and he wonders whether al-Fārābī derives this idea from Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus's reading of the *Poetics* where Aristotle was teaching philosophers how to project poetic images of these realities for the benefit of the multitude. Could this reading of the *Poetics* depend on the fundamental harmony recognized by the Syrian scholars between pseudo-Dionysius and Aristotle and on pseudo-Dionysius's symbolic theology? Al-Fārābī in his *Philosophy of Aristotle* (cf. al-Fārābī, *Philosophy of Aristotle [Falsafat Arisṭūṭālīs wa-aǧzāʾ fa,lsafati-hi wa-marātib aǧzāʾi-hā wa-l-mawḍiʿ allaḏī min-hu ibtadaʾa wa-ilayhī intahā]*, ed. Muhsin Mahdi, [Committee on Research in Arabic Philosophy, 1], Beirut: Dār Maǧallat Šiʿr, 1961, pp. 84.3–19, 85.4–6) states that the theoretical things which are evident in themselves to the legislator are established in the souls of the multitude through an image and that Aristotle 'gave an account of the art that enables man to project images of the things that became evident in certain demonstrations in the theoretical arts and to imitate them by means of their similitudes (*Poetics*)'. Al-Fārābī could read Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus's translation of the *Poetics.* 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī claimed to have seen a long commentary of seventy volumes devoted by Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus to the eight books of Logic, including the *Poetics*: cf. Nanne Peter Josse, *Between enigma and paradigm: The reception of Aristotle's Politica in the Near East*, in Vasileios Syros (ed.), *Well Begun is Only Half Done: Tracing Aristotle's Political Ideas in Medieval Arabic, Syriac, Byzantine, and Jewish Sources*, (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies), Tempe: ACMRS, 2011, pp. 97–120, in particular pp. 104–105. With the texts available to us (we do not have Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus's commentary on the *Poetics*) it is definitely more economical to think that this is a farabian original idea, which he constantly expresses in his works.

[20] Treiger himself suggests caution in his conclusion: 'Of course, one can easily imagine alternative scenarios—for example, that al-Ḥimṣī received his Neoplatonic instruction in pagan circles in Ḥarrān, or that he derived his Origenism (and Neoplatonism) and/or his Greek manuscript of the *Enneads* from Egypt rather than Syria or Palestine, or that he was, after all, a Jacobite scholar who, quite exceptionally, sought out the Syriac Dionysius's Greek Neoplatonic sources. I have to admit that, in the last analysis, all these alternative scenarios are possible and not disprovable' (p. 73).

Aristotle. ʻAbd al-Masīḥ al-Ḥimṣī was native of Emesa, the Syrian city of Homs. Al-Masʻūdī (d. 956) recognizes that the majority of Maronites in his time lived ʻin Homs and in regions subordinate to it, such as Hama, Shayzar and Maʻarrat al-Nuʻmān' (p. 58, n. 52). While Maronites seem to have been particularly present and strong in rural areas and monasteries (especially of course in Mar Maron), Jacobites had their own bishop in Homs. Treiger suggests that it is most likely that in a monastic milieu al-Ḥimṣī would have been exposed to Christian Neoplatonic texts. He disfavours the idea of a Jacobite monastery because the Jacobite scholars do not seem to have been involved in direct Graeco-Arabic translations and their knowledge of Plotinus was mediated by Dionysian *corpus* first in Greek and then in Syriac translation. If al-Ḥimṣī was not a Jacobite, he must have been a Chalcedonian. If he was a Melkite, he received his monastic training in Palestine, because Chalcedonian monasteries in Syria would have been predominantly Maronite. In the eight and ninth centuries the Greek-speaking monks in Palestine were trained as translators—the Palestinian multilingual translation movement must be studied—and were still familiar with Origenist texts and Neoplatonic ideas (cf. the Palestinian treatise of eight/ninth century entitled *Noetic paradise*, p. 65). If he was a Maronite, it would have been easy for him to gain access to the library of the monastery of Mar Maron, a place where—given this monastery's likely Origenist proclivities which Treiger stresses—a Greek manuscript of the *Enneads* could also possibly be found. The contribution ends with a desideratum: new research in the ʻintellectual geography of Middle Eastern Christianity in late antiquity and early Islamic period' (p. 74) to gain better knowledge of the Christian translators' crucial role in the formation of Arabic and Islamic philosophical tradition.

In her ʻSome Observations about the Transmission of Popular Philosophy in Egyptian Monasteries after the Islamic Conquest' (pp. 81–108), Ute Pietruschka presents a vivid picture on the transmission of ʻpopular philosophy' (in Brock's terminology) in Egyptian Monasteries where the Coptic literature, immediately before and afterwards the Islamic Conquest, was preserved. The Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic literature blossomed benefiting from Syriac manuscripts and thus preserving old translations: several examples are taken from the collections of gnomologies.

Orsolya Varsányi's ʻThe Concept of ʿaql in Early Arabic Christian Theology: A Case for the Early Interaction between Philosophy and kalām' (pp. 109–34) sheds light on the use of the concept of intellect in ninth- century Arabic Christian authors such as ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (d. *c.* 840), a Nestorian theologian, the Melkite Theodore Abū Qurra (d. *c.* 820–825), and the Jacobite Ḥabīb ibn Ḫidma Abū Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī (d. probably soon after 830). ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī came from Baṣra an important Nestorian centre of the age. His *The book of the proof* (*Kitāb al-Burhān* where *burhān* ['proof'] means dialectical demonstration) and *The book of the*

questions and Answers (*Kitāb al-Masā'il wa-l-aǧwiba*) are considered the most sophisticated texts of early Arabic Christian theology. The former is written in the form of hypothetical questions and answers that could be exchanged between (Nestorian) Christians and Muslim adversaries and concentrates on controversial issues such as the authenticity of the Bible, the question of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the sacraments, etc. It is divided into four sections each containing respectively 28, 14, 9 and 51 pairs of questions and answers. In the latter text intellect (*ʿaql*) is used in different contexts and with different meanings, which are: 1. a spiritual faculty or potency of the soul contrasted to bodily faculties whose tasks include the deliberate origination of bodily actions and the conceptualization of forms. Intellect assumes in this way an ethical value because 'it can be a means of choice (*iḫtiyār*) as an essential prerequisite of free will' (p. 114); 2. a quality of a good person together with ability (*al-istiṭā'a*), and free will; 3. a part of human disposition created by God in men's nature; 4. a distinction between rational and non-rational beings, which is not a substantial *differentia* (as life and inner speech), but which is the cause of effects as mercy, compassion, justice, gentleness, generosity and grace 'that appear especially on behalf of rational and deliberate substances'.[21] ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's definition of intellect is philosophical with theological influences. The author describes the complementarity of intellect and Scriptures in theological reasoning: the role of the intellect is that to grasp the signs of divine generosity, but it needs scriptural evidence in matter of faith. In addition, ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī also advocates the complementarity of intellect and the senses as a way of cognition, which begins from the physical evidence of bodily forms.

The Melkite Theodore Abū Qurra was probably native in Edessa around 750 and he seems to have been a monk in the Monastery of Mar Saba in the Judean desert. Later on, he became Bishop of Ḥarrān. He was the first Christian author to write his theological works in Arabic. He uses intellect in the *Treatise on the existence of the creator and the true religion* (*Maymar fī wuǧūd al-ḫāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*) as a criterion to distinguish the true—that of the Christians—from the false religions without the help of the Scriptures. He begins his treatise with the description of the sources of knowledge and he distinguishes between the external senses and the interior intellect. Intellect, through the senses, knows parts of the world's elements and the bodily forms which are perceived by the senses; it knows a very large thing which cannot be perceivable from its conceivable parts; and, similarly, it even knows things that are not seen from their traces and actions, as that the world is created by a Creator. In addition, intellect can recognize God's action on the basis of the resemblance of His

[21] ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Masā'il,* ed. Michael Hayek, Beirut: Dār al-Mašriq, 1977, p. 158, see Janos (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, p. 118.

attributes to human virtues: thus, God is described as an intelligent and rational substance. Theodore Abū Qurra introduces an allegory to describe intellect and its role in recognizing the true religion: intellect appears as a doctor that God gave to humankind to know Him and distinguish what is right, licit, beautiful, and beneficial from what is wrong, illicit, and detestable. Man does not depend on revelation alone, but can rely on intellect. Man's way of cognition includes two steps: the first one is intellectual reasoning, in the course of which one may arrive at specific results, the second is the comparison of the intellectual results with the revealed books; agreement shows which one to choose.

Abū Rā'iṭa al-Takrītī was the Jacobite Bishop of Takrīt or Nisibis in the beginning of ninth century and his native language was Syriac. In his *Treatise on the ascertaining of the Christian faith and the Holy Trinity* (*Risāla fī iṯbāt al-dīn al-naṣrānī wa iṯbāt al-ṯālūṯ al-muqaddas*) one could expect a similar approach to that of Theodore, while on the contrary the author recognizes that intellect has limits and it cannot understand and validate the object of faith being it a theological question and not a philosophical one. God helps man in his quest for a true religion by giving signs and making miracles happen which go beyond reason.

The editor of the volume Damien Janos contributes an article on 'Active Nature and other Striking features of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus's cosmology as Reconstructed from his Commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*' (pp. 135–177). Some features of the cosmology of the Nestorian Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus can be derived from the notes (*ta'ālīq*) on Aristotle's *Physics* which survive in the manuscript Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 583, and which cover books II.3, III.2, plus parts of books V and VII of the Greek text.

After a short overview of Abū Bišr Mattā's contribution to Syriac and Arabic Aristotelism, Janos contextualizes his commentary on *Physics* in the philosophical culture of his time to better understand his original doctrinal approach, in particular to the concepts of causality, creation, and nature.

Abū Bišr Mattā was one of the most important Arabic Christian thinkers between the ninth and tenth centuries, a leading teacher figure in the Aristotelian circle of Baghdad of his age. He was educated in the Monastery of Mār Mārī located about ninety kilometres from Baghdad. He translated from Syriac into Arabic parts of *On the heavens*, *On generation and corruption*, *Meteorology*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Metaphysics Lambda* often accompanied by the commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius. He wrote original commentaries such as the one on *Physics.* In addition, we have some of his notes on the *Organon* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Most of his personal writings unfortunately are lost. What kind of causality does Abū Bišr Mattā ascribe to God and nature respectively in the production of material beings? What is the relationship between these two kinds of causality?

In his commentary on book II, Abū Bišr Mattā states that the task of physics is the study of the four causes—the material, formal, efficient, and final causes; mathematics, whose objects are without motion, matter and extra-mental existence focuses only on the formal cause; while metaphysics studies the unmoved efficient cause explicitly identified with God the Creator—whether we are dealing with eternal creation or creation in time is not explicitly stated—, the First Principle of human intellection—insofar He is the highest object of theoretical contemplation—, and the primary final cause that moves the entire world as an object of love. In this way God inspires the constant motions of the heavens, which in turn, through their own motions, influence the cycle of generation and corruption in the sublunary world.

According to Abū Bišr Mattā, the celestial bodies, such as the Sun, are characterized by the formal cause, but do not possess matter strictly speaking, such as the sublunary matter, which receive different and even contradictory forms. They have a kind of substrate that holds their form, probably the potentiality of orbs and planets to receive form, to move circularly, and to be perceivable from earth. This doctrinal position is interesting because it seems to show a continuous exegetical trend on the subject of celestial matter from Alexander of Aphrodisias to Abū Bišr Mattā and al-Fārābī, who seems to follow the same position in his mature works.

Since Brown and Genequand's essays (respectively dated 1973 and 1984) some unidentified Neoplatonic sources have been recognized to explain Abū Bišr Mattā's theory of nature.[22] According to Abū Bišr Mattā, nature is a teleological 'principle of motion and rest that is internal to physical things and responsible for bringing about their actualization' (p. 149). Abū Bišr Mattā often resorts to the analogy of the craftsman to describe how nature works: nature induces motion and applies form to an already existing material substrate to reach a given end. But, departing from Aristotle, he seems to ascribe a certain degree of rationality to nature and calls it an agent defining it as 'active nature' (*al-ṭabīʿa al-fa"āla*): nature which is disseminated throughout all generated things has 'an innate efficiency or power to effect change as a principle distinct from matter, form, and soul' (p. 149). The most interesting example of 'active nature' which Abū Bišr Mattā uses five times is that of the animal semen: how does 'the semen gradually develop to become a living and ensouled organism?' (p. 151).

[22] According to H. Vivian B. Brown, 'Avicenna and the Christian Philosophers in Baghdad', in Samuel M. Stern, Albert H. Hourani and Vivian Brown (eds), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays to Richard Walzer*, Oxford–Columbia: Cassirer–University of South Carolina Press, 1972, pp. 35–48, these unidentified Neoplatonic sources suggest the autonomy and efficiency of nature, while according to Charles Genequand, 'Quelques aspects de l'idée de nature, d'Aristote à al-Ghazâlî', *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 116 (1984), pp. 105–129, they serve limit nature as a mere instrument of the soul.

> This nature is present in the semen that is emitted. When the semen has established itself in the womb, [nature] converts [*tuqallibuhū*] it into a form and then into another form, so that the first form disappears, and then into another form still until the soul appears. [Nature] then stops its motion, but remains existing after this as an organizing and generating [principle] [*mudabbira wa-muwallida*]. This nature does not act by way of similarity [*'alā sabīl al-tashbīh*]. That is to say that it creates [*tukawwinu*] bone from non-bone [in the body]. As for the nature that proceeds by similarity, it is the nature that is present inside man, decomposing his nutrition by breaking it down into blood, flesh, and bone. This form that exists between the beginning [of the activity] of the semen and the appearance of the entire soul is like matter for the existence of the soul, because it is necessary for the existence of the soul and came about for its sake.[23]

This example clearly shows 'the autonomy of nature and of its priority over soul during the early existence of the embryo' (p. 152) in its process of actualization into a human being. Hence the substantial form of a human being is the end that moves that teleological principle, which nature is, in the semen. Form, nature, soul are distinct concepts which carry on different operations.

Does active nature also operate at the level of superlunary bodies? Abū Bišr Mattā states that 'this nature is disseminated throughout all natural things on account of the Creator',[24] and he also states that

> the generable and corruptible body's coming into contact with the heavenly body, [the heavenly body] affects it through this nature, and that [heavenly] body [is affected by] another [heavenly] body and the other by the motion of [i.e. caused by] the Creator.[25]

Hence the provident Creator produces this active nature in the heavenly bodies and through the intermediary of the heavenly bodies in the sublunary world.

According to Janos, the Arabic Plotinus and Proclus are not those unidentified Neoplatonic sources evocated by Brown and Genequand in order to explain Abū Bišr Mattā's theory of nature because in the Arabic Plotinus and Proclus nature is always en-souled: soul is 'the exterior cause for the existence of nature and the internal cause for its activity' (p. 155). Abū Bišr Mattā's original theory of nature

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[23] Aristūṭālīs, *Al-Ṭabīʿa, Tarǧamat Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn maʿa šurūḥ Ibn al-Samḥ wa-Ibn ʿAdī wa-Mattā ibn Yūnus wa-Abī l-Farağ ibn al-Ṭayyib,* ed. ʿAbdurraḥmān Badawī, al-Qāhira: al-Dār al-qawmiyya li-l-Ṭibāʿa wa-l-Našr, 1964–1965, vol. I, p. 151.7–15, Janos's translation in *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, p. 151.

[24] Aristūṭālīs, *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, vol. I, p. 147.19, Janos's translation in *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond*, p. 143.

[25] Aristūṭālīs, *Al-Ṭabīʿa*, vol. I, p. 151.5–7, Jon McGinnis and David C. Reisman, *Classical Arabic Philosophy: An Anthology of Sources*, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2007, pp. 125–126.

has probably been shaped by a combination of Aristotle's zoological treatises, Alexander of Aphrodisias's works, especially the Arabic Alexander's *On the principles of the cosmos.* In the last part of the treatise Alexander describes a celestial nature and power that 'are the cause of the unity and order of the world' (as a teleological principle), which 'pervade the whole world, and hold its parts together'.[26] He states: 'the nature penetrating all parts of the world is a divine power',[27] which is transmitted by the celestial bodies to the sublunary beings. In addition, Alexander considers nature the principle 'underpinning the development of the embryo before the existence of the soul' (p. 162): the operations of nature cease when the soul emerges in the embryo. Finally, to fully understand Abū Bišr Mattā's account of the efficiency of nature we have to also consider Philoponus's *Commentary on Physics*, parts of which are transmitted by manuscript Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 583, which also transmitted Abū Bišr Mattā's commentary. Janos observes that Abū Bišr Mattā and Philoponus share a similar language of creation and efficient causation to qualify the activity of nature and they adopted 'a common strategy, inherited from Aristotle but amplified in their works, to rely on analogies between nature and the human crafts in order to stress its efficiency' (pp. 165–167).

Janos ends his contribution introducing examples of parallel doctrines to Mattā's concept of active nature in other philosophers who were either his contemporaries or flourished shortly after—Isaac Israeli (d. 955) and al-'Āmirī (d. 992)—and a critical remark by Avicenna to an unnamed commentator for adding doctrinal accretions to Aristotle's concept of nature. From Janos's accurate and insightful analysis Abū Bišr Mattā appears to be less a mere transmitter of ancient philosophical learning than an active protagonist of the tenth century philosophical debate in Arabic.

The magisterial contribution by Gerhard Endress—'Theology as a Rational Science: Aristotelian Philosophy, the Christian Trinity and Islamic Monotheism in the Thought of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī' (pp. 221–252)—is the first of four papers devoted to another protagonist of the tenth-century Arabic philosophical debate, the Nestorian Christian Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974),[28] by Endress himself, Olga Lizzini, David Bennett with Robert Wisnovsky and Carmela Baffioni.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī was a leading figure of the open society of tenth-century Baghdad where, as Endress observes, courts, observatories, hospitals, libraries and book markets were the stages of philosophical and theological exchanges. A mosaic of traditions included Arabs, Iranians, Muslims, Christians, Jews, Sabians

[26] Charles Genequand (ed.), *Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Cosmos*, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 112–113.
[27] Ibid., pp. 114–115.
[28] Gerhard Endress, *The Works of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. An Analytical Inventory,* Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert Verlag, 1977.

moved on these stages all in search of scholarly and social pre-eminence. Lizzini writes:

> Fourth-/tenth-century Baghdad was not only a centre of understanding and cooperation, but also of criticism and debate. Nonetheless, Muslim, Christian and Jewish scholars spoke the common language of Greek science and Aristotelian logic. And the significance of this interaction of languages, religions, and points of view is clearly perceptible in Yaḥyā, who could be defined as a characteristic figure of the climate of communication of his period' (p. 257).

Endress presents Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's philosophical project which, following the teaching of Mattā, considers the Aristotelian science of demonstration, with its criticism of non-demonstrative procedures, as the universal criteria of rational discourse. On this basis Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī founded his epistemology and on which he arrived at designing 'a universal theology, monotheist and creationist, a theology claiming the rank of rational science, supported by apodictic proofs and refuting the claims of his critics—the theologians of the *kalām*—with the weapons of logic' (p. 227).

In order to discuss Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's account of the first principle of his rational theology Endress analyses the treatise *On the affirmation of the [divine] unity* (*Al-Maqāla fī l-tawḥīd*), which is also at the core of Lizzini's contribution 'What Does Tawḥīd Mean? Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's Treatise on the Affirmation of the Unity of God between Philosophy and Theology' (pp. 253–280). In this treatise, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī presents an implicit critique of the Muslim creed, declaring the absolute unity (*al-tawḥīd*) of God. The aim of the treatise is both theological (to account for God's nature) and apologetic (to defend the Christian account of God from the charge of polytheism). But Endress and Lizzini agree that to consider this treatise only among Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's apologetic and polemical writings is reductive.

The distinction of the two meanings of the label 'unity', namely 'oneness' and 'uniqueness' lies at the core of the short treatise, in which Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī follows two different approaches: first he enumerates the various meanings of the term 'one'; second he analyses the theological implications of this notion in order to obtain 'a Trinitarian formulation of divine unity, which, in contrast to the absolute doctrine of Islam, reveals a relative or "modulated" understanding of monotheism' (p. 257). In Lizzini's contribution there is an appendix with a very useful and rich *divisio textus* (pp. 271–280) and she suggests some of the possible theological and philosophical sources, which inspired Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī in his analysis.

Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī addresses the following question 'if and in what respect plurality (of attributes) may be predicated of the Creator' (p. 232). On the model of *Metaphysics Delta* 6 he states that One, the first cause, is one, neither as a genus, nor as a species, nor by virtue of some relation, nor as a continuous or indivisible

being. One is one *qua* substance and it has a plurality only in virtue of the constituent parts of its definition, i.e., the attributes that may be predicated of the divine essence. These attributes are three and they are deduced from His creation, i.e., from his activity: generosity, power and wisdom.

All created beings are brought into existence from non-existence through the power of Creator; the spontaneous and voluntary act of creation reveals His generosity. 'His wisdom, finally, is manifest in the order and perfection of His work' (p. 233). Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī uses these cardinal attributes of the Triune God, which trace back to pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and before to Proclus's primary divine triad, in his own doctrine of hypostases: 'the hypostases are not individuals partaking in a homogeneous substance, and constituted by composition with specific differentiae' (p. 235). The divine substance is one; the hypostases are essential attributes describing this sole substance 'in its eternal essence as being good ("Father"), wise ("Son") and mighty ("Spirit")' (p. 235). Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī in his other philosophical and polemical works interprets the First Cause, God, as First Intellect (Father, *ʿaql*) who thinks itself (Holy Spirit, *maʿqul*) and equals its thinking (Son, *ʿāqil*): 'these three aspects are inseparable in the One, because the Intellect is inseparable from its knowing and from the object of its knowledge, separable only in the approach of logical distinction' (p. 235).

In order to exemplify Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's logical refutation of the Muslim theologians, Endress presents Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's discussion of the favoured topoi of his Ash'arite contemporaries. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī wants to establish the *contingentia futura* against those who, invoking the prescience and omnipotence of God and the universal validity of the principle of non-contradiction, deny potentiality and future contingency. Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's adversaries maintain that God knows everything eternally. 'Since the object of knowledge is coextensive with the knower *qua* knower' (p. 238), it must be unchanging because there is no change in the knower. Everything He knows to exist cannot become non-existent. 'There is no potentiality *in rerum natura*' (p. 238). Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī maintains that this argument works if we consider God's prescience the cause of necessity, but it is not a *causa materialis*, or *formalis*, or *efficiens*, or *finalis*, or *instrumentalis*, or *exemplaris* for the things to be of necessity. In addition, he states that 'the knowledge of the essence of a thing is different from the knowledge of the essence of the thing existent' (p. 239). Hence there is no change in the knower in virtue of coming-to-be of the object known. The possible has neither eternal existence nor eternal non-existence.

Second, Endress gives as examples of logical procedures against *kalām* Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's refutation of the human acquisition of acts originated by God (*iktisāb*), a doctrine that according to Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī leads to contradictions. If the acquisition of the act by man is an act, mediating between God's creation of the act and its execution by the *muktasib*, as an act, in its turn, it must be created by

God and again acquired by man, and so on in a *recessus ad infinitum*. On the contrary if both the act and its acquisition were created by God without any mediation of the individual agent all acts would be of all men because there would be nothing to determine one man for acquiring a particular act.

Third, Endress discusses Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's critique of atomism based on Aristotle's *Physics* which is preserved in three treatises edited by him in 1984[29] and in a fourth one survived in MS Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 19,[30] and edited and translated for the first time by David Bennett and Robert Wisnovsky in this volume ('A Newly Discovered Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī Treatise against Atomism', pp. 298–311). Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī depends on Aristotle's *Physics*, but the question of atomism also has theological implications: atomism was a solution proposed by the Muslim theologian to explain God's omnipotence and omniscience. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's arguments insist on the fact that spatial extension presupposes elementary magnitudes with ends or extremities that can meet (successive), get into contact (contiguous), or unite (continuum). Indivisibles have no parts and no extremities that can join, thus it is impossible that they give rise to continuous magnitudes as the bodies evidently are. In the first treatise, entitled *Explaining that every continuum can be divided into divisible parts; it is impossible that it be divided into indivisible parts* (cf. Aristotle, *Physics* VI.1, 231b16), Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī explains Aristotle's proof: everything which undergoes a process must be divisible:

> 'part of that which is in movement or change must be at the starting point, and part at the goal, for as a whole cannot be in both or in neither. Thus a continuous magnitude moving along a straight line is divided into divisible parts in virtue of its procession by any place given on that line' (p. 244).

In the second treatise, entitled *Every continuum can be divided into things divisible ad infinitum*, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī gives Aristotle's definition of successive, contiguous and continuous and the verbatim translation of Proclus's first five propositions from *Elements of Physics* which Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's quotes anonymously. Then he refers to Euclid's *Elements* book I where Euclid describes a method to divide a line in two halves and he takes this to presuppose that every line can be divided into two halves (Euclid does not state this axiom). Since every line can be divided into halves, a line cannot be composed of indivisible points, otherwise odd points would have to be divisible. In the third treatise, entitled *On the indivisible part*, he

[29] Gerhard Endress, 'Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's Critique of Atomism. Three Treatises on the Indivisible Part', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 1 (1984), pp. 155–179.

[30] In this manuscript, among the 53 treatises by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī that it contains, there are 25 that scholars thought had been lost: cf. Robert Wisnovsky, 'New Philosophical Texts of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī: A Supplement to Endress' Analytical Inventory', in Felicitas Opwis and David Reisman (eds), *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 307–326.

presents the 'mustard seed argument', a Islamic theological argument: if infinite division of the continuous bodies were possible, a small mustard seed could be divided into so many parts that it covered the whole of the celestial sphere because it would have as many infinite parts as the sky. In the fourth treatise, entitled *A Treatise debunking the fraud of those who profess the composition of bodies out of indivisible parts, with respect to their arguments concerning the contact between a sphere and a flat surface at a particular point and its movement thereupon* (*Maqalā fī tazyīf tadlīs al-qāʾilīn bi-tarkīb al-aǧsām min aǧzāʾ lā tataǧazzaʾ bi-ḥtiǧāǧihim bi-mulāqāt al-kura al-basīṭ al-musaṭṭaḥ ʿalā nuqṭatihi wa-ḥarakatihā ʿalayhi*), Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī 'adds the "sphere-touching–the plane" critique to the anti–atomist repertoire at hand in tenth century Baghdad' (p. 299). The advocates of atomism argue that it is evident to the senses that if a sphere is moved on a plane, the two figures have in common only a point: the sphere touches the plane only on the indivisible point. And, since there can be a local continuous movement of the sphere rolling across the plane, the sphere will touch the plane continuously, indivisible point after indivisible point and the indivisible points of contact of the sphere with the plane will be the finite measure of this plane exhausting it completely. The conclusion is the following: all that is divisible into a finite number cannot be infinitely divided. This contradicts Aristotle's theory of the composition of continuous magnitudes on which, as mentioned above, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī insists. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī states that from

> their assumption that parts are indivisible, it necessarily follows that parts cannot be combined with other parts except in a straight line. So it is therefore necessary that there cannot be a circular form. Yet it is clear that the sphere is a circular form. Yet it is necessary on account of their assumption that there is absolutely not a sphere. And if there is no sphere, it is not possible for a sphere to move upon a surface, or upon anything else. Thus, their assertion that the sphere touches the surface when it is moving upon the surface is nonsense. It was on this that their argument was based. Thus we judge their argument false, and demonstrate its falsity, on the basis of their own method and principles (p. 308).

In addition, the sphere rolls across the plane along the points of an imagined coplanar line without exhausting the plane. The 'sphere-touching–the plane' argument was analysed by Avicenna and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. As Endress says in his conclusion, 'his way of formalizing intricate problems in the shape of elaborate syllogisms was to become a hallmark of the Arabic Aristotle, even though the name of Ibn ʿAdī the teacher was obliterated, and outshone by those who stood on his shoulders' (p. 247).

Carmela Baffioni's chapter 'Movement as "Discrete": Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī as a Source for the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ?' (pp. 281–297) sheds light on the unusual representation in the well-known Encyclopedia. Two passages from Epistle 7 and

11 of the *Rasā'il Iḫwān al-Ṣafā'* are analysed, where line, surface, solid, space and time are considered the five species of continuum, and number and motion are given as examples of discrete quantities. In Aristotle's *Physics*, motion is considered as a continuum, and continuous motion is stated to exist before all other movements; it is local, circular, perpetual and without interruption, while rectilinear motion cannot be continuous being produced by a single motionless agent in a single moving thing which is a dimensional magnitude. Baffioni maintains that the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' departed from Aristotle probably under the influence of Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām (d. 835–845) a Mu'tazilite theologian and poet, and she wonders whether the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā' could had been influenced by the much later Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, with his idea of 'instant' in motion. Even if Baffioni is cautious and concludes 'it is more likely that Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī's and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā's works reflect the discussions in progress in the tenth century about capital issues such as motion, space, and time' (p. 296).

There are only two papers that do not concern the Arabic Christian tradition and one is Philippe Vallat's 'Between Hellenism, Islam, and Christianity: Abū Bakr al-Rāzī and his Controversies with Contemporary Mu'tazilite Theologians as Reported by the Ash'arite Theologian and Philosopher Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī' (pp. 178–220). Some years ago, Marwan Rashed collected from the *Advanced investigations into theology* (*Maṭālib al-'āliya min al-'ilm al-ilāhī*), a nine-volume encyclopaedic theological work, by Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), some fragments in which Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 925) is quoted by name.[31] These fragments are taken from Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *Divine science* (*Al-ʿIlm al-ilāhī*) and from one of the epistles that he wrote in his long controversy with Abū l-Qāsim al-Balḫī, known as Kaʿbī, a Muʿtazilite theologian who died in 933. Vallat collects new textual evidence (a set of nineteen fragments of which he offers the translation and commentary) where Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī seems to quote Abū Bakr al-Rāzī without naming him. According to Vallat, they contain Abū Bakr's refutation of the very idea of Koranic prophecy, and maintain that reason is self-sufficient for all that ought to be known for human beings to reach salvation, a tenet that makes prophecy superfluous.[32] God's pure goodness is in contrast to Koranic God's omnipotence. The Omnipotent God of Koran can only be violent in some way. And violence is destructive of reason, which is based on God's goodness. Hence 'between reason and violence, a choice must be made. One cannot retain both' (p. 179).

[31] Marwan Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le kalām', *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 24 (2000), pp. 39–54; Id., 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et la prophétie', *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 27 (2008), pp. 169–181.

[32] Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et le kalām', pp. 39–54; Rashed, 'Abū Bakr al-Rāzī et la prophétie', pp. 169–181, offered a contrary account and maintains that Abū Bakr al-Rāzī believed that Koran and Its prophecy were acceptable because they agree with reason. Of a different opinion, similar to that of Vallat, is Sarah Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam: Ibn al-Rāwandī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, and their Impact on Islamic Thought*, Leiden: Brill, 1999.

According to Abū Bakr's theory the world is produced out of an interaction between God and four eternal principles: soul, matter, space and time.

> 'Matter is endowed with a kind of residual causality that not only precludes its coming perfectly informed by the Soul, but also its being perfectly ordered by God. For the en-souled beings resulting from the fall of the Soul into Matter, the latter's residual causality is visible in the suffering and afflictions inherent to their en-mattered condition' (p. 186).

God is in no way responsible for the evil, which arise from human en-mattered existence. The merciful God did not attempt to forbid the Soul to join with Matter, but let her do so because Soul will learn through experience the evil of its conjunction with Matter.

The individuated souls can experience the goodness of God by becoming aware that they do not belong here below. Reason is the only instrument of salvation because the merciful 'God does not charge his creatures with a burden beyond their force' (p. 190). Reason can reach a judgement for all the acts that ought to be performed or not for the sake of human salvation. Reason is sufficient to acquire the knowledge of God, of what is obligatory, permissible and forbidden. Hence the mission of prophets has no utility. If the criterion thanks to which man assesses a univocal conception of God's goodness is not reason, there is no interreligious debate at all and the only one result is scepticism.

> The Creator then poured forth upon the Soul's substance the light of Reason in order that the Soul, thanks to the faculty of the light of Reason and thanks to the reiterated experiences of the grievous states of the world, shall learn that there is no intrinsic utility at all in her connection with such a matter, and that, on the contrary, her connection with it amounts to opening the door to afflictions and dreads. When then she becomes aware of these spiritual facts [*maʿānī*] and it appears to her that her greater felicity consists of returning toward the world that is hers, and in delighting in the knowledge of the Creator and in entering the assembly of the holy and immaculate spirits, this desire and inclination toward matter will then leave her. And when she is separated from the body, she will abide in these perpetual joys[33] (p. 199).

Abū Bakr espoused the view of a universal revelation (*ilhām*) through the dispensation of reason to all human beings and to all living beings including animals. 'Universal revelation is God's bestowing the light of reason on the fallen Soul. It is a proof of God's pure benevolence' (p. 205). What is contrary to reason is contrary to God's nature given that God cannot act against his own gift. The

[33] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Al-Maṭālib al-ʿāliya fī ʻilm al-ilāhī*, ed. Hejazi Al-Saqa, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1987, vol. IV, pp. 415.16–416.1.

merciful God inspires his servants with the knowledge of what is profitable for them. He does not give preference to some over others; thus there is no discord between them and any violence.

> Such is a much better way to protect them than making some of them the Imams of the others, for in this latter case every religious community declares his Imam truthful and the Imam of the others mendacious, then they come to blows, them some of them gain a reputation by stabbing the others so affliction becomes general and by dint of injustices and fights, they bring about their own ruin. Too many men have already lost their life in this manner, as we all can notice it (p. 206).

Abū Bakr's most convincing praise of reason is in his *Spiritual Physics*,[34] which Vallat compares with the Ḥarrānian Thābit ibn Qurra's praise of Hellenic intellectual heathenism partly preserved in its Syriac original by Ibn al-'Ibrī.[35] The two texts present striking similarities not only in the rhetorical epidictic style but also in contents (cf. p. 209). This text shows that 'God's gift of reason to all human beings has historically been manifested and adduced by all the achievements of Hellenic intellectuality down the ages' (p. 210). Abū Bakr goes even further making reason the instrument of human knowledge of God and in doing so opens the debate between religious Hellenism and revealed religions. This debate deserves further inquiries, which however must be kept away from the deforming lens of certain contemporary ideological readings according to which paganism would be hospitable and peaceful with respect to monotheisms.[36]

The last contribution, David Twetten's long article 'Aristotelian Cosmology and Causality in Classical Arabic Philosophy and Its Greek Background' (pp. 312–412), is devoted to the problem of how God exerts causation in creating the world in Arabic-Islamic philosophy of the classical age. Mullā Ṣadrā is the only postclassical author considered except for some cursory references to 'Abd al-

[34] Arthur J. Arberry, *The Spiritual Physics of Rhazes,* London: John Murray, 1950.

[35] Cf. David Pingree, 'The Sabians of Harran and the Classical Tradition', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 9/1 (2002), pp. 8–35.

[36] Jan Assmann, *Non avrai altro Dio. Il monoteismo e il linguaggio della violenza*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007. According to the author, monotheism has been a promoter of a new form of violence, unknown to the polytheistic religions, since monotheism has directly invoked the divine will. In particular, while with polytheism every divinity of a religion was 'translatable' by its characteristics in the deity of another religion, with monotheism the religion of the other became the affirmation of a non-truth, the 'enemy of God', 'the most important generator of extraneousness and hatred'. Monotheisms institutionalized violence (cf. the figures of the martyr and the fanatic who kills for God). Assmann seems to believe that religion is a condition of human existence, not a factual fact in time and space (the existence of conceptions that we would define as religious in every human society).

Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. Twetten traces the continuity between late ancient Greek and Arabic cosmologies: both transformed Aristotle's unmoved mover to fit with Plato's *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*, the crowning part of Neoplatonic curriculum. Ammonius and Simplicius were the first to transform the prime mover into a demiurgic efficient cause of the existence of the heavens, labelled here an *onto-poietik* cause: 'a cause that efficiently produces what is below it from eternity, without presupposing even matter' (p. 408). They considered the prime mover the first of the separate intellects, which is between the One and Soul and moves the en-souled spheres. In the Christian Neoplatonism of Philoponus and of the pseudo-Dionysius the One and the prime mover were identified with God, who creates the cosmos timelessly and without change with noting presupposed, yet at a first moment in time. Thus the Arabic philosophers inherited two different paradigms of God's creation. According to the first, God is a creator of a cosmos possessing a first moment in time. According to the second, God is an *onto-poietik* first cause. Twetten's outline of the history of Arabic classical cosmology describes as

> 'a shift from the creationist "Aristotle" of al-Kindī to the derivationist "Aristotle" of the mature al-Fārābī and the effort at getting at the true Aristotle and the true Aristotelian philosophy results, for example, not only in Maimonides's denial of creationism to Aristotle, but also in Averroes's denial of *ontopoiesis*' (p. 408).

This provoking volume draws a picture of great interest that certainly will lead to a rethinking of the role of Christian intellectuals from the sixth to the tenth centuries in the development of Arabic Islamic thought. On the example of Endress's studies on Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, which in a sense inaugurated this line of research, *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond* restores the dignity of the Christian Arabic philosophical tradition by reading its protagonists as true intellectuals, who were moved by their own agenda, rather than as translation professionals. This re-reading, in turn, is useful in framing better Muslim philosophers such as al-Fārābī and Avicenna. This volume shows that it is still time of analysis of the prosopography and contexts of many Christian and Muslim authors and of both direct and indirect tradition of their writings rather than syntheses.

REVIEWS

FRANCESCO SANTI, *VOL. V: LA MISTICA. ANGELA DA FOLIGNO E RAIMONDO LULLO,* IN *LA LETTERATURA FRANCESCANA*, A CURA DI CLAUDIO LEONARDI CON LA COLLABORAZIONE DI DANIELE SOLVI, MILANO: FONDAZIONE LORENZO VALLA–MONDADORI, 2016, LII + 452 PP., ISBN 9788804657910

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'Scrittori Greci et Latini' is a renown series published under the auspices of the Lorenzo Valla Foundation, mainly focused on Greek and Latin classical authors from Homer to Augustine, but medieval authors from the Latin West are increasingly being edited in the series since the last years. Two well-known medievalists around the SISMEL, Claudio Leonardi and since his death Francesco Santi alone, are running a six-volume collection of Franciscan medieval literature. In the first volumes important texts by Francis of Assisi and Saint Bonaventura have already being published.

The present volume, the fifth of the collection, assembles Franciscan medieval texts on mysticism. The book presents the Latin texts according to the best available editions, but without a critical apparatus, and an Italian version; it opens with a general introduction to the subject, within which Francesco Santi deals with the concept of 'Franciscan mysticism' as well (pp. XVII–LII). Each text is preceded by an introduction, which presents the author and outlines the content of each book (pp. 5–26 and 233–248). This is also the work of Francesco Santi. As an expert on both authors, he writes both introductions in a very understandable way, but in a learned way.

The translation of the *Memoriale* is also due to Santi, who renders the original Latin text very well, as far as I can judge. Although the text, which has been taken from the critical edition produced by Menestò (2013) is presented without critical apparatus, Santi has made some editorial choices indicated below the text. The corresponding commentary has been written by Daniele Solvi (pp. 368–436) with full command of the research on Angela da Foligno. This commentary is very detailed and helpful with plenty of internal references, which renders the commentary a useful research instrument.

The *Liber amici et amati* has been translated correctly into a very comprehensible Italian—not an easy task—by Barbara Scavizzi. The Lullian text is drawn from the only available critical edition (Lohr and Domínguez, 1988) with some corrections, perhaps with the aid of Lohr and Domínguez, 'Corrigenda', *Traditio* 45 (1988–1990), 435—Santi reads correctly 'dereliqui' in n. 53 instead of

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'derelinqui' emended by Lohr and Domínguez. In her commentary (pp. 438–452) Coralba Colomba, herself an expert on Lullus and critical editor of two works by him (Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina, 35), has checked the Catalan version and has indicated correspondingly the variant readings. The commentary itself is shorter than the former one, but it explains the main points which should be taken into account for understanding the text; it reflects the *status quaestionis* of the research on the book as well and gives a full account both of the internal and external references of the text. All this renders her commentary a good tool for a deeper comprehension of this important and beautiful text.

The first text is the *Memoriale*, a recollection of ecstatic experiences suffered by the probably unlettered woman, Angela da Foligno (1248–1309) and dictated by her to a conventual Franciscan friar who, besides serving as her confessor, translated her oral testimony from the Umbrian, an Italian dialect, into a medieval Latin, very close to the original language both in vocabulary and syntax. This fact adds veracity and immediacy of the experiences which took place between 1290/1291 and the spring of 1296. The unknown friar uses indiscriminately the first and the third person, but he has, however, organised the text in some way (p. 367), perhaps according to John Climacus's *Ladder of Perfection*.

Angela da Foligno entered the Third Order after her conversion (*c.* 1285) and remained attached to Franciscan spirituality until the end of her life. Accordingly, her visions have to be considered within the context of the spell of Francis's personality in the third generation of his followers. Her first experiences are directly related to the saint himself, who appeared to her firstly in a dream and then in the church dedicated to him in Assisi. In liturgical ceremonies or in other devotional acts, but also in daily circumstances, these experiences overwhelmed her.

The *Memoriale* begins with the elenchus of the first twenty basic experiences or *passus* succinctly exposed, which had already made her a leading religious personality in her region. The second chapter announces and explains again synthetically the following seven transformations or steps (*passus*), which are more profound and important experiences of ecstatic character. In the third chapter these experiences are described in detail.

The reader is offered a first-hand account of mystical experiences without much theological background or biblical interpretation. The *Memoriale* contains thirty steps arranged in a sort of ascendant scale which begins with the first twenty steps and culminates in the seventh supplementary step as the summit of her spiritual journey. In her last vision she plunges into the depths of the Trinitarian structure of God. For Bernard McGinn (*The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. III: *The Flowering of Mysticism. Men and Women in the New Mysticism (1200–1350)*, New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1998, p.

145): 'The description of the supplementary stages constitutes one of the richest accounts of mystical union presented in autobiographical form in Christian history.'

The core experience of the *Memoriale* is the knowledge of herself being a poor human being. Poverty is apparently not only a well-known Franciscan topic, but also the fundamental issue in the Franciscan commitment to Christian faith. Angela da Foligno herself followed the Franciscan rules and renounced her wealth and possessions, but in her mystical visions she transforms evangelical poverty into a pivotal mystical experience expressing what is normally called in Spanish mystical language 'anonadamiento'. Becoming nothing is indeed at the core of the ecstatic experiences of Angela da Foligno. In the first supplementary step (*passus primus supplens*) she expresses her allegiance to Saint Francis by reinforcing her will of becoming an actual poor woman (n. 21, ll. 9–11, p. 64). Poverty is moreover the root of humility and of every good (n. 74, l. 10, p. 178) and a main trait of Jesus Christ as an incarnated God.

This experience of human poverty is deepened and expanded because of her conviction of being created as evil matter (n. 40). This doesn't amount exactly to declaring himself a sinner or to affirming the sinful character of human beings—this point is elsewhere stressed (for example in n. 34). According to the Bible and the Catholic Church the world and especially human beings are created good, but angels and human beings could sin and become evil, though not completely. In this and other passages a phrase from Exodus, 33:19 *omne bonum* is quoted. The whole sentence in the *Vulgata* runs as follow: *respondit: ego ostendam omne bonum tibi et vocabo in nomine domini coram te* (['The Lord] answered: I will all my splendour pass before you and in your presence I will proclaim my sacred name'). The sense is clear: the Lord will show him his own goodness.

The expression *omne bonum* occurs more than ten times in the text. Unfortunately, Santi offers four different versions of this expression ('tutto il bene', 'ogni bene', 'tutto bene', 'tutto di bene'). What is its meaning?

In some places (n. 53, n. 84, l. 14 ff., and n. 86, l. 12 ff.) it refers to God as a whole, which the soul sees in darkness (n. 84, l. 22 ff.) and in which it finds delight as well (n. 56, l. 2 ff., and n. 86, l. 12 ff.). In other places the expression is distinguished from *aliud bonum*. When Santi translates 'Sed est ibi illud "omne bonum" quia non est aliud bonum' (n. 100, l. 43, p. 220) in this fashion: 'Ma qui c'è quel tutto di bene, per cui altro bene non è', he might misunderstand the meaning of the phrase, which should be interpreted in this way 'But He is there the all Good, since it is not a particular good (*aliud bonum*)'. I think, Angela da Foligno is only stressing the Goodness of God as *bonum universale* and distinguishes it from any particular good.

The second text is Raimundus Lullus's book entitled *Liber amici et amati* (*The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*). Lullus is an independent figure of the Middle

Ages, a wealthy man who renounces his possessions. Like Angela da Foligno, who was also a well-off woman, he entered the Third Order of Saint Francis, but his relation to the Franciscan Movement is more loose and informal. Nevertheless, some characteristics of the *Liber amici et amati* bind him to the Franciscan Spirituality. This writing is not actually a book, but two chapters taken from the fifth book of his work *Blanquerna* (1276–1283). This work was written originally in the Catalan language, but the two chapters (99 and 100 from book VI) were originally a single independent text written in Latin. It was translated into Catalan by the author himself, added later to *Blanquerna* and divided into two chapters. The *Liber amici et amati* is considered in the Lullian research as a mystical text (e.g. by E. Allison Peers and Bernard McGinn). But very little mysticism or ecstatical experiences are referred to in the text. Some prefer to put the book under the heading 'imitation of Christ', but this does not match the point of the book either. For the Christian life is usually conceived as an imitation of Christ. Lullus refers occasionally to this issue in his book, but these references are no more than commitments to what is obvious for a Christian believer. Others point out the undoubtedly subsisting ideas on human love according to the troubadours, but the text is not a love song either. Others stress the Sufi influence on Lullus, but his references are all too vague. The Islamic trace is a common place in Lullian Research and offers room for wild speculations on direct Islamic influence supported, however, by the fact that Lullus himself confesses command of Arabic. But all the citations of Arabic texts in his works are either vague references or concrete citations always taken from texts already known to the public in a Latin version.

References to the *Song of the Songs* and to Saint Francis's preachings (the mention of the birds or of the ideal of poverty) are surely traceable, but this does not allow us to take these texts which are alluded to as models for the Lullian work under consideration.

Although Raimundus Lullus had a vision on Mount Randa in Mallorca (cf. Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina, 8, p. 280), which led him ultimately to dedicating his life to preach and extend the Christian Faith especially among the non-believers, the Muslims, the *Liber amici et amati* is not a mystical text *sensu stricto* or even 'a collection of mystical utterances' (Lohr and Dominguez). The experience of becoming united to God in the sense of the 'anonadamiento' is neither alluded to nor is the 'spiritual touch' ever mentioned. Instead the work abounds rather in formal distinctions and enumerations of elements in the typical Lullian way. Nevertheless, the text is very interesting and deserves special attention outside the circle of Lullian research. The core of this writing is human love of God. Herein undoubtedly lies the alleged mysticism of Lullus.

Human love of God is not like love between the human soul understood as a female, and God, but between a friend or lover, a male, and the beloved God. This

element strips out the approach of almost all erotic connotations which are undeniable in other texts where love of God is interpreted in terms of human love between man and woman. Some researchers (González Palencia etc.) think here of a Sufi influence, because Sufi mystical authors like the Spanish Sufi poet Ibn Arabi spoke of human love of God in the same way as love between males. Anyway, human love of God here at issue is not like the Greek Eros. Moreover, human love for God in Lullian terms is a blend of pleasure and pains altogether. This point reminds us of the courtly love described and praised mainly by the troubadours. Reminiscences of them can be surely traced throughout Lullus's work. For it should not be forgotten that Lullus was before his conversion a poet as well. But the courtly love as far as it is reflected in the songs of the troubadours cannot be completely applied to the human love of God, at least because the beloved is not a lady.

We find here rather a truly theoretical treatise on human love of God written in a loose way, lacking the structure of a scholastic treatise. Lullus deals with all the matters concerning love in over 300 hundred small texts in which a story is told or a single thought is explained. Dialogue and concise expression are the literary components the text consists of. Four elements constitute human love of God: *amor*, *amare*, *amicus*, *amatus*—the thing itself, love, the act of loving, the lover or the friend and the object of love, the beloved. These four elements make up the quaternary or tertiary structure—sometimes Lullus refers only to three elements—of reality. From the point of view of the history of philosophy, this reflects, however, the scholastic approach to human potency *in actu primo* which could be led to the act (*actus secundus*), has an object (*obiectum*) and a subject which supports the act itself (*subiectum*).

Lullus analyses human love as far as it is rooted in a substance, namely in human being. So he distinguishes in a human being the heart as the site of the *cogitationes* ('thoughts', cf. nn. 182 and 243) and the human body as the site both of *suspirium* ('sigh', n. 93) and *lacrimae* ('tears', n. 144). Lullus also insists on the real dual structure of love in which on the one side there is a community of the beloved and the lover and on the other side these are separated from one another in their own individuality (n. 50).

The structure I have already explained briefly is not only exposed theoretically in some passages in the book, but it is also displayed without an explicit theoretical approach in many of the passages. Lullus explains the nature of human love of God in some remarkable circumstances: bed, solitude and the road. Lullus describes the circumstances that the lover or the beloved is waiting for the other one on the bed; this gives him room for displaying a metaphorical language of the bed itself, whose elements symbolize those of the human love of God (nn. 97 and 128). Love is especially displayed in the solitude of the lover, in which he encounters the beloved (n. 239). Other texts describe the encounter of

beloved and lover on the way to one another. The way is also a metaphor for the pilgrim in human life going to meet God.

Lullus arranges, for example, the dignities or principles of his *Ars* under two headings: diversity and concordance (nn. 256–257). The concepts are organised according to opposition (we call these binomies rather 'systochiae'). The first opposition is *amicus/amatus*. The structure of love is considered as *ascensus/descensus*, because the lover ascends to the beloved by loving him, and the beloved, God, condescends to the lover. In the middle, love itself (*amor*) stands (n. 251). Presence and absence of the beloved plays an important role not only in human love, but also in human love of God. For God is not conceived as *deus absconditus*, although the lover misses the beloved, and this produces sadness (*tristitia*) in him. Finally, we can consider cognition and oblivion. We should remember here the Augustinian issue of remembering God (*memoria Dei*), which also plays an important role in the Lullian account of God, Who is not only known and loved by the will, but also remembered by the memory. Recalling God causes pleasure, His oblivion, however, sadness. Another Augustinian issue is the concept of *pondus* ('weight'), which is echoed only once (n. 334).

This work blends a lot of elements drawn from the mystical tradition of love, the troubadours, Christian theology, but also upon other works by Lullus, as Colomba points out to in her commentary. We read our present work as the vulgarization of the main ideas that would be exposed later in his major work *Ars amativa* (1290), but this would be a very partial way of interpreting such a work which is full of literary ambitions. But it is not primarily a literary work, but a theological one with the goal of praising and glorifying God (nn. 288 and 311).

To sum up. The present volume assembles two important, but perhaps not very well-known texts from the Middle Ages in bilingual editions. Learned introductions and commentaries satisfy both the general reader and the specialist in a harmonious way.

ZACHARY A. MATUS, *FRANCISCANS AND THE ELIXIR OF LIFE: RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES*, PHILADELPHIA: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 2017, 203 PP., ISBN 9780812249217 (PBK) – 9780812294064 (EBK)

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Zachary Matus's *Franciscans and the Elixir of Life: Religion and Science in the Later Middle Ages* sheds new light on the relationship between the Franciscan Order and alchemy in the Later Middle Ages. By drawing largely on his dissertation, he attempts to show how the Franciscan religious tradition and discourses influenced and partially formulated the alchemical notion of the 'elixir' of the three Franciscan representatives (Roger Bacon, Vitalis of Furno and John of Rupescissa) who are under scrutiny. Thus, Matus explores how such subjects as those of ritual life, Apocalypticism, alchemy and natural philosophy are entwined and how they interacted within the realms of the Franciscan Order.

Matus's book is comprised of six chapters, introduction and conclusion included. In his introduction he deals with a variety of diverse matters beginning with a short introductive account on medieval alchemy (pp. 1–4). This account is neither thorough nor complete something that is remedied in the second chapter, where he supplies us with more introductive details on medieval alchemy before he delves into matters connected with elixirs. Matus continues his introduction by first making a biographical presentation of the three medieval scholars under scrutiny (pp. 4–7), whereas afterwards he deploys his main arguments on which he bases his methodology and strategy regarding the material he deals with. In particular Matus adduces the following points: a) writing about alchemy did not require a radical intellectual break with the rest of Franciscan intellectual culture; b) for the friars of this study, alchemy's materiality and attention to the physical world was what conspicuously linked it to religion; and c) the religious and even the liturgical world of the Franciscans left an impact on their alchemical works (p. 8). In the last pages of his intro (pp. 9–14) he comments on the special meaning of certain words that he uses (ritual, science and religion) and at the end he provides us with a short description of the chapters of his book.

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In the first chapter (pp. 15–39) that bears the title 'Franciscans and the Sacral Cosmos' Matus brings forth his first introductive argument and thus he attempts to show that there is a philosophical background in the Franciscan commentaries of *Genesis* which allow us in turn to create a *liaison* between the Franciscan Order and alchemy on the ground that the Order had always an open window to subjects pertaining to natural philosophy. In order to accomplish his goal, he deals with the cases of Francis of Assisi, of Bonaventure and of Peter Olivi and he aims to make clear that the Creation described in the Franciscan commentaries of *Genesis* is better understood if 'tools' provided by natural philosophy were employed. However, the point that Matus wishes to make becomes clearer and more evident in the latter case, that of Peter Olivi, whose reference to the existence of a protean stuff as an intermediate step in creation, which is not necessarily identified with matter, alludes to central doctrines of alchemy.

Consequently, in the second chapter (pp. 40–69), named 'Three Elixirs', Matus evokes the second argument of his introduction. He presents the genealogies of the three elixirs, that is, how religious elements interacted with philosophical ones so as to formulate the notion of 'elixir' in each case of the representatives of the Franciscan Order. Starting with the case of Roger Bacon, the author explicates how the notion of the 'resurrected body' and its 'perfect body complexion' played a crucial role in depicting the elixir as a key factor for conferring a balanced complexion on the human body and an improvement on human morals. Then, he passes to the case of Vitalis of Furno by showing how the *aqua ardens* was conflated with the theriac in terms of its use and application, whereas in Vitalis's case Matus stresses the fact we have an example of how religion might constrain alchemy. In the last case, that of John of Rupescissa, Matus portrays John's elixir as a distillate of heavens, an expression which could be plausibly justified by the pivotal position of the 'quintessence' in John's alchemy.

In the third chapter (pp. 70–98), the 'Apocalyptic Imperative', Matus expands his theological approach on the elixir further by connecting it to medieval Apocalypticism. The author, after having detailed the Apocalyptic influence of Joachim de Fiore towards the Franciscan Order, passes once again to the case of Bacon. For the English medieval scholar, the elixir was seen as the ultimate weapon in the imminent battle against the Antichrist and thus the Church should have availed itself of it before the Antichrist had had the opportunity to do so first. In this endeavour, Roger envisioned the pope as *pastor angelicus* and as a key factor in Antichrist's defeat. Afterwards, Matus delves into the case of Vitalis whose commentary on the Apocalypse contains a condemnation of Aristotle and Plato. Provided that Vitalis's work cannot be characterised as an alchemical one *per se*, Matus draws, at first, a line of connection between Vitalis and the Apocalyptic thought of Peter Olivi and then he proceeds by arguing that Vitalis's

Apocalyptic commentary could be used so as to clarify and demarcate his limits with respect to worldly knowledge and therefore to alchemy or medicine. At the end of this chapter, Matus deals with John of Rupescissa who had influences from both Joachim de Fiore and Peter Olivi. John of Rupescissa, like Bacon, conceived of the elixir as a weapon to combat the Antichrist and a way for the Christians to maintain their 'Christianity'. Yet, the difference with Bacon was that John saw the elixir as a 'tool' which could be produced by cheap materials of the mundane world and as a means which could cure the wounds of the war, instead of considering it as a pivotal factor in Antichrist's defeat.

The final chapter is the largest in extent (pp. 99–138) and bears the title 'A Subjunctive Science'. By far, this is the point where Matus's third introductive argument is best reflected. Matus's main goal is to show how Bacon and John of Rupescissa theorized their elixir and conceived of it in terms of praxis. Thus, Matus construes their understanding on elixir as *ritual*, a term that implies divine invocation and participation. At the beginning, Matus adduces what both scholars did not do so as to set them free from any connections to magic and Hermeticism. Consequently, he gives examples from the ritual tradition of the Franciscans which thus create a fruitful substrate for Matus's interpretation of alchemy in terms of the notion of *ritual*. Finally, he unfolds his main argument according to which both Roger and John thought of the elixir as a compound which *could* or *should* be realized in a world as it *could* or *should* be. As the author stresses, the notion of 'subjunctive reality' does not refer to a non-reality but to a potential reality, being totally in accordance with the Scripture and the theological tenets of the Church. In this manner, Matus justifies how it was possible for the two Franciscan friars to maintain their faith in the elixir despite the fact they never really produced it or even saw it.

In the 'Conclusion' Matus elaborates on the notion of *secret* by making reference to Eamon's work. By doing so, he creates a line of connection between the medieval world and Early modern Europe and he also gives us an insight of the fate of the examined scholars in the latter period. Afterwards, Matus goes on with the main inferences from the material presented in the previous chapters.

When it comes to evaluating Matus's book, one cannot but assess it in a positive way. At first place, Matus's central argument that the Franciscan religious tradition entwined with elements of natural philosophy has influenced in large part the alchemy of the three Franciscan scholars is something that permeates all the chapters of the book. His 'religious' reading and interpretation of the 'three elixirs' provides us with new and novel knowledge on the aforementioned subject. Furthermore, Matus organizes his material in a concise and coherent way, since on the one hand his introductive commitments are confirmed throughout the unfolding of the chapters, whereas he always takes care to ensure a smooth transition from one chapter to another. Congruently,

Matus's documentation of his arguments is always accurate and valid, given that he always supplies us with the Latin genuine version of the texts he uses. Finally, the presentation of the three Franciscan scholars is well balanced in terms of page-space and thorough analysis, an element which allows the reader to easily bear in mind the main points of each representative and mostly in a comparative way.

However, Matus's book contains some weaknesses too, which should not be taken as a factor of diminishing the value of the book. At first, Vitalis's Apocalyptic reading is a bit far-fetched in comparison to the Apocalyptic one of the other two Franciscans scholars adduced, whereas on the other hand Vitalis's implicit connection-relation, as Matus admits, to alchemy does not really provide us with substantial ground to draw analogous inferences as those drawn for the other two scholars. Finally, I also find Matus's analysis on the Franciscan approach to natural philosophy fair but still not in depth. To explain myself, given that Matus's aim is to draw a line of connection between the Franciscan approach to natural philosophy and alchemy, he does so by referring to subjects that are pertinent, but not directly relevant, to alchemy. For example, in the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth century there was a fervent debate, better known as *Sciant Artifices*, which was significantly coloured in a philosophical way. Particularly, it dealt with the 'art versus nature' debate and with the question of 'transmutation of the species'. As Newman has showed, several Franciscans, including Roger Bacon, were also involved in this discourse and therefore a scrutiny of Franciscan natural philosophy under the lens of the *Sciant Artifices* would have revealed a more elaborated picture upon the matter.

Concluding this book review, I find Matus's book not just a good reading but also a significant contribution to the studies of alchemy. Yet, any weaknesses depicted should not be regarded as omissions that tamper with the quality of the book, but rather as suggestions that purport to the better understanding of the material presented.

RAIMUNDI LULLI *OPERA LATINA 44: ARS INVENTIVA VERITATIS*, ED. JORGE USCATESCU BARRÓN, TURNHOUT: BREPOLS, 2014 (CORPUS CHRISTIANORUM. CONTINUATIO MEDIAEVALIS, 265; RAIMUNDI LULLI OPERA LATINA, 37), CXXII + 513 PP., ISBN 9782503552569*

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The *Vita coaetanea*, the autobiography dictated by Lull himself to a monk of the Charterhouse of Vauvert, near Paris, in 1311 (probably in September), marks two distinct founding moments of the Art: the first moment can be traced back to Lull's conversion (*conversio ad poenitentiam*) when, at about 30 years of age (1263), he felt that his mission was that of converting the infidels through the best book in the world. The second moment occurred in 1274, on the mountain of Randa. There, Lull received the vision of the perfect book, a book able to demonstrate rationally the errors of the infidels and the superiority of the Christian faith. There, the form and method (*forma et modus*) of the book came alive. That illumination gave birth not only to one book, but to a monumental series of books,[1] each one more perfect than the other, following a path of progressive improvement of the divine message which was to last for more than thirty years (1275–1308). Through a continuous tension between the method of contemplation and universal science, Ramon Lull's Art progressively developed for almost forty years, from the *Ars compendiosa inueniendi ueritatem* (1274) to the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308) and the *Ars breuis* (1308), becoming in its latest version a general science, the foundation of every particular science, and an instrument to access an encyclopedic knowledge (*scientia generalis ad omnes scientias*).

In such a long evolutionary path, by writing, in 1290, the *Arts inuentiua ueritatis* (op. 44 of the 'Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina' catalogue) Lull took a decisive step towards a simplification of the method. This revision of the Art components and

* This review was presented at the Philosophical Review Club (University of Leuven) on 22 February 2017.

1 Lull wrote about 280 works, a large part of them devoted to the Art and its implementation. See 'Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina' Catalogue in Fernando Domínguez, 'Works', in Alexander Fidora and Josep Rubio (eds), *Raimundus Lullus. An Introduction to his Life, Works and Thought*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis [= CCCM], 214; Supplementum Lullianum, 2), pp. 125–242.

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mechanism will be completed in the *Tabula generalis* (1294). The *Ars inuentiua* marks, consequently, the passage from the quaternary to the ternary structure of the Art.[2]

Volume 37 of *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (henceforth ROL) provides finally the critical edition of this 'umfangreiche und besonders schwierige Werk' ('large and particularly difficult work') (p. VIII), until now only available in two ancient editions: the sixteenth-century edition by Alfonso de Proaza (Valencia 1515) and the edition published in 1729 in Mainz. The text is edited by Jorge Uscatescu Barrón, a former collaborator at the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut, within a project sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2005–2010). The preface is followed by an extensive introduction (pp. XIX–CXXII), which the editor chooses to write in Latin (as was the custom in the first volumes of the series). The introduction is divided into two parts: the first part explores the text in its content and places it in the Lullian corpus, the second part is devoted to the fortune of the text and its manuscript and print tradition. Following a typical structure of ROL editions, the editor—after a brief preface (pp. IX–XI)—focuses firstly on the authenticity and structure of the work, then moves on to its manuscript and print tradition, and finally clarifies the philological choices which have been made in the reconstruction of the text. The *Ars inuentiua* is certainly authentic: it is mentioned in three other Lullian works (especially in the *Ars amatiua boni*, op. 46), and the circumstances of its composition are described by Lull himself in the autobiography dictated to a monk of the Charterhouse of Vauvert, the *Vita coaetanea* (ROL 8, ch. 19, pp. 283 passim), where he also affirms that he has translated the text into Arabic. There is no evidence, however, of this Arabic redaction, and no Catalan redactions of this work have been transmitted.[3]

[2] Recent historiography divides Lull's Artistic production into four phases: 1) the first and preparatory phase of research which culminated the *Liber contemplationis in Deum* (*Llibre de contemplacio en Déu*); 2) the quaternary phase, in which the Art is strongly linked to the theory of the four elements. In this phase, the principles of the Art (called here *dignitates*) appear as multiples of four in parallel to the quaternary rhythm which makes up the physical world, a starting point of the cognitive process that leads from the sensible to the intelligible reality and, lastly, to the divine one—the First Cause, defined precisely by the dignities; 3) the ternary phase, in which the constitutive elements of the Art and their own combination evolve in dynamic triads linked to one another (the so-called correlative principles), as a reflection of the Trinitarian God in creation; 4) the fourth phase—the post-Art phase—follows the writing of the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308), which definitively establishes the method, recommended at this point as a universal instrument appropriate to every field of knowledge.

[3] Lull wrote a large part of his works both in Latin and in Catalan. The translations often establish new redactions of the text. Plurilingualism and auto-translation of Lull's texts have been deeply studied throughout the years.

As Uscatescu (p. XXIV) rightly emphasizes, the work in its very title recalls the Aristotelian *ars inueniendi* (*Topics*).[4] Josep Maria Ruiz Simon has specifically investigated (as early as 1993) this connection between the Art and Aristotelian dialectic. Although, in fact, Lull proposes an epistemological instrument far from the Scholastic (and therefore Aristotelian) tradition, the conception of the Art as a method which allows one to reason about every matter—as well as the presentation of the Art itself as *ars artium*—corresponds to the purposes of dialectic in Aristotle's *Topics*.[5] Also, the use of *exempla* and metaphors that characterize Lull's reasoning can be traced back to the *consideratio similitudinis* ('investigation through resemblances') which Aristotle in the *Topics* indicates as one of the four instruments of dialectic.[6] Lull's Art, like Aristotle's dialectic, argues about everything and tries to find (*inuenire*) the principles of every science. However, the Art does not act with possibility and opinion, but looks for demonstrative certainty and necessity.

The *Ars inuentiua*, as Uscatescu has widely examined also in a previous publication,[7] is part of Lull's project to give the Art a triple structure patterned after the three powers of the soul (*intellectus*, *uoluntas*, *memoria*).[8] In this sense, this work is strictly linked to the *Ars amatiua* (1290), and in the prologue of the *Ars amatiua* itself we can read that the *Ars amatiua* derives for its principles and method from the *Ars inuentiua*.[9] Both, however, have the same purpose, that is, knowing and loving God, and a clear apologetic aim: both Arts 'necessariae sunt ad ueritatem et deuotionem gentibus uniuersis, ut per eas discant atque studeant cognoscere et amare ultimum finem, qui est Deus benedictus, et gloriam acquirere sempiternam' (see p. LXI). The *Ars inuentiua* presents itself already as a universal science, the foundation of every particular science, aimed at showing

[4] Josep M. Ruiz Simon, '*Quomodo est haec ars inventiva*. L'art de Llull i la dialèctica escolàstica', *Studia Lulliana* 33 (1993), pp. 77–98.

[5] Aristoteles, *Topica* I.1, 100a18 ff.; I.2, 101b3–4 (*transl. Boethii*), ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, Bruxelles–Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1969 (Aristoteles Latinus [= AL], V.1-3), pp. 5, 7.

[6] Ibid., I.17, 108a7, AL V.1-3, p. 27.

[7] Jorge Uscatescu Barrón, 'La relación entre el Ars inventiva veritatis y el Ars amativa (1290)', in Alessandro Musco (ed.), *Universalità della Ragione. Pluralità delle filosofie nel Medioevo. XII Congresso Internazionale di Filosofia Medievale della Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (Palermo, 17-22 settembre 2007)*, Palermo: Officina di studi medievali, 2012, 4 vols (Biblioteca dell'Officina di studi medievali, 14.1–3), vol. II.2, pp. 1181–1196.

[8] Lull completed the first two Arts (*Ars inventiva* and *Ars amativa*), but he did not write an art of memory. It was left to Bernat Gari to complete the Lullian program by writing the *Ars memorativa* in 1338. See Uscatescu, 'La relación', p. 1182.

[9] Raimundi Lulli *Opera Latina 46*, *Ars amatiua*, ed. Marta M. M. Romano, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004 (CCCM, 183; ROL, 29), p. 120: 'hanc Artem amatiuam boni, per quam amantia quaemadmodum per Artem inuentiuam scientia demonstratur'. As the science belongs to the intellect, the *amancia/amantia* belongs to the will.

the Truth of the Christian faith, and it offers itself, in the first place, as an instrument to convert the infidels.

The work is divided into four parts: the first part is devoted to figures, the second one to principles, the third one to rules, and the last one to questions (every Artistic work usually closes with a series of questions through which Lull shows the correct functioning of the method). Also this internal division of the work follows a scheme shared by all the Artistic works. In the *Ars inuentiua* Lull presents, after the *Ars compendiosa inueniendi ueritatem* (op. 3) and the *Ars demonstratiua* (op. 27), the third redaction of the *Ars*. Written in 1290 in Montpellier, as already said, after the first unsuccessful reading of the Art at the University of Paris,[10] the *Ars inuentiua* does not offer fundamental changes in its method, but a significant simplification of its basic elements: the letters of the alphabet are reduced from twenty-three to nine, the figures from nineteen to four. These elements will remain unchanged until the *Ars generalis ultima*. Conversely, the rules are nine here, and not yet the ten rules of the final version of the Art.[11] Among these rules, the eighth one—*de punctis trascendentibus*—is particularly relevant. With the doctrine of the transcendent points Lull speculates on the ascent (*transcensus*) of the intellect which has to follow through the various levels of reality, from the sensitive-imaginable to the spiritual-intelligible one, but also from this last one to the divine and thus transcendent one, which is then the object of theology. In other terms, knowledge for Lull is a process consisting of steps, from the elemental nature to the *uegetatiua* (vegetative), *sensitiua* (sensitive), *imaginatiua* (imaginative), *intellectiua* (intellective), *moralis* (moral), *caelestis* (celestial), *angelica* (angelic) and *diuina* (divine). The transcendent point is caused by an *excessus* (excess) of one power over another.[12] We can summarize the concept of the transcendent points saying that the intellect transcends itself to know realities that overcome its capacities.[13] As Uscatescu underlines, Lull accurately explains this doctrine in the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (1305, op. 120)—and one can find a reference also in the *Ars amatiua*—but it is in the *Ars inventiua* that it appears for the first time.

A significant part of the introduction is naturally devoted to the manuscript fortune of the work and to the philological analysis of the text. On pages LVX–XCIV the editor presents the twenty-three known manuscripts which preserve entirely or partially the text of the *Ars inuentiua*. Uscatescu offers a precise description of every manuscript (except codex Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 66 Inf., 16th c. [= N]). Next (pp. XCIV–XCVIII), he describes the two print editions which still exist:

[10] Raimundi Lulli *Vita coaetanea*, § 19, ed. Hermogenes Harada, (CCCM, 34; ROL, 8), Turnhout: Brepols, 1980, p. 283 passim.

[11] The rules, indeed, became ten starting from the *Tabula generalis* (1293–1294).

[12] *Ars inuentiua* dist. III reg. 8, pp. 121–122.

[13] Jordi Gayà, *Raimondo Lullo: una teologia per la missione*, Milano: Jaka Book, 2002, p. 55.

the sixteenth-century edition of Alfonso de Proaza (Valencia 1515) and the eighteenth-century edition, included in the Raimundi Lulli Opera by Ivo Salzinger in Mainz, published by Franz Philipp Wolff in 1729. The Mainz edition clearly derives from the edition of Proaza; nevertheless it presents a rewriting of the first thirteen pages (p. XCVI). We have also a French translation of the work, kept in MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Gallica 2675 (17th c.). The editor recognizes three families of manuscripts (*stemma codicum* a p. CV), and decides to reconstruct the text using the most ancient codex, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10501 (13th c. in.; single hand, scribe unknown (= M), *archetypo maxime proximus* (p. C), which constitutes the first branch of the tradition. While, in cases of corruption or errors in M, the editor uses the two codices of the second family of the stemma: MS Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, of the end of the thirteenth century (= A) and MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 15450, around 1325 (= E), the well-known *Electorium magnum*, i.e. the anthology of Lull's texts made by his faithful Parisian disciple Thomas Le Myésier. The critical apparatus shows all the variant readings (even the errors, following the custom of the series) and includes *lectiones singulares* ('singular readings') of the two ancient editions, which Uscatescu connects to the third branch of the tradition.

Uscatescu, lastly, offers his reader an in-depth analysis of Lull's lexicon (*nostrorum sermonum improprietas*, *prol.* p. 9), from neologisms to unusual verb forms, which characterize the language of the Art, from adverbs to conjunctions, from comparatives to the use of some constructions typical of Lull (pp. CVI–CXVIII). The problem of Lull's language would be worth considering separately. Lull develops new words of his own in order to represent, through the language, the dynamism of correlative principles (e.g. words built from the suffixes *-ivus*, *-bilis*, *-ficare/facere*: *bonificativus*, *bonificabilis*, *bonificare*). The peculiarity of his language was one of the elements which made the Art so difficult to understand and accept, especially within the university environment.

This edition is the result of a long work, in which Uscatescu has dealt with one of the most important texts of Lull's huge philosophical production, a text which marks the beginning of the more mature phase of the Art, the ternary phase, that will culminate with the *Ars generalis ultima*. Uscatescu shows that he has a full knowledge of Lull's work and of its connections within Ramon Lull's Artistic corpus. An inter- and intra-textual logic links, in fact, all the Artistic works one to another through a series of internal references which made the Art a system closed within a textual self-referentiality; in this case, as already mentioned, the *Ars inuentiua* is related to the *Ars amatiua*. The introduction to the volume offers all the elements indispensable to understand the text and its contents, its position within Lull's corpus, and the story of its manuscript and print tradition. The volume, thus, can be considered as an instrument of research essential to

anyone who is interested in Ramon Lull's philosophical and theological thought in its long and complex development.

CLAIRE CLIVAZ, PAUL DILLEY AND DAVID HAMIDOVIĆ, *ANCIENT WORLDS IN DIGITAL CULTURE*, (DIGITAL BIBLICAL STUDIES, 1), BRILL: LEIDEN–BOSTON, 2016, X + 259 PP., ISBN 9789004322479 (PBK) – 9789004325234 (EBK)

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Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture is the first volume in a promising series dealing with the prolific field of digitalisation in studies on Antiquity, placing special emphasis on biblical research using a cross-discipline approach. Chapter 1, written by one of the volume's editors, David Hamidović, is a declaration of intent as regards the spirit of this volume, published on paper and also as one would expect, digitally, as is the endeavour of Clivaz and Dilley, co-authors of the series. In a personal tone, Hamidović sets out the state of the discussion for this new situation, which is so difficult to classify and often considered to be of lesser importance than traditional humanities or at the latter's service, even being found under the heading of 'new media' or perceived as a circumstantial trend.

From the author's point of view, this example of Crozier and Friedberg's *marginal sécant* (p. 1), straddling various worlds, refers not only to an emerging field at the heart of human and social sciences that is spreading like a 'black tide' (p. 7) in our times; it also refers to programmes for teaching, digitalised resources, new platforms, computer tools and methods to visualise information, data searches and extraction, codifying texts, computational linguistics, digital publishing, geospatial analyses and forensic analyses. The author considers that after decades of development, the motley collection of digital humanities (DH) can be divided into three pillars: the creation of new tools, computational analysis and the establishment of new procedures. Furthermore, he states that the most ground-breaking contributions worthy of study by DH researchers today are to be found in online platforms, the appropriation of medical and forensic techniques (luminescence and multi-spectrum images), the educational application of new kinds of technology and the possibilities opened up by advances for representing the environment in which the manuscripts being analysed were developed (ecology, geography (GIS), history and social aspects such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, etc.). The twelve chapters that make up this volume are representative of all the trends in which humanities converge with new forms of digitalisation. Throughout them, it is clear that the researchers,

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with their creative, interpretive work regardless of their geographic location and funding, are at the heart of DH as a key, irreplaceable element in constructing and reconstructing human knowledge about Antiquity.

The two following chapters are written by the series's co-editors. Thus, like the initial one by Hamidović, they act as a preamble to put the remaining nine into context, which deal with much more specific matters.

In chapter 2, Dilley uses the metaphor of the Library at Alexandria to explain the process of mass digitalisation, comparing it to the Library of Babel (Borges) due to the difficulty in gaining access given the diversity and incompatibility of the schemata, databases and ontologies, and the lack of standard digitalisation protocols. The age of digitalisation implies reconsidering philology as a discipline in which the medium plays a significant role in revealing what has been hidden, marked or distorted (p. 19), as well as being an invaluable way of breathing 'life' into the manuscripts, whose historical context we can get to know, beyond their physical attributes. The philological paradigm of a sole source or ideal has changed. 'Non-canonical' manuscripts are being recovered thanks to new technologies and programming languages that enable the relationships between different texts and versions to be visualised. This chapter provides a compendium of current digitalisation projects, most notably: *The Online Critical Pseudepigrapha*, *Coptic Scriptorium*, the *New Testament* by the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung, the freely accessed *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, and the *Open Philolog Project*. The latter gives an example to follow of interplaying electronic texts with images of ancient manuscripts, secondary sources of literature and multimedia archives in which cultural material is documented.

Chapter 3, by Clivaz, is perfectly structured. It addresses the fact that digitalisation has erased the dividing lines between literary genres and is fostering a reinterpretation of writing categories by breaking up the dichotomy between 'the expression of the ideas and the written support of this expression' (p. 38). As an example of this, she introduces Bovon's concept about the existence of a third genre that is 'useful for the soul', which goes beyond the comparison between canonical and apocryphal texts in textual critique of the Bible. This new system of classification, which accounts for texts representing the people's freedom of expression about God as a literature of resistance, is present in new digitalisation projects in which the borders between Christian and non-Christian texts are erased. By way of example, the Center for the Study of the New Testament Manuscripts in Texas includes the *Grefory-Aland list* together with the texts from the *Septuaginta* Bible and the apocryphal Christian texts; whereas the *Paratexts of the Bible* aims to digitalise 2,500 manuscripts from the New and Old Testaments in Ancient Greece and make them accessible (by using the servers of the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des texts* and the Pinakes tool, it includes texts from a great variety of genres including pre-Christian and non-Christian texts);

and the *SAWS HERA* presents corpora in Arabic, Arabic-Spanish, Latin and Ancient Greek.

Chapters 4 to 12 give examples of digitalisation in the twentieth century applied especially to studies of the Bible, except for chapter 5, 'Surfing on Penelope's Web' (Bouvier), which deals with *The Odyssey*.

The fourth chapter, by Michelson, explains the good points about the *Syriaca.org* platform at a moment in history in which studies on Syriac are on the rise. The author agrees with Dilley on the radical shift brought about by going from a situation of difficulty in accessing materials in studies on Christianity to one of overabundance in which he identifies economic inequalities between researchers in different parts of the world.

Syriaca.org is a collaborative project in which the users upload resources for studying Syriac. It is based on XML language (which enables the size of the source texts to be increased) and LOD (via which humanistic interpretative labels are included). The use of identifiers to connect related content via hyperlinks, coupled with free access for users, helps democratise the construction of knowledge and access to it. The platform will share its data with the Linked Ancient World Data Institute of New York and the Medieval Electronic Scholarly Alliance of North Carolina State University. This work is highly recommended, not only because of the website under study but also because of the comprehensive panorama of resources and databases that all experts in Syriac should know, some of which we shall highlight here as being the most representative of a digital nature: *A Comprehensive Bibliography on Syriac Christianity*; the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*; the *E-ktobe*, *Peshitta*, *Syri.ac* and *Syrian Electronic Corpus* projects; and the Syriac Studies Reference Library.

As mentioned above, the fifth chapter by Bouvier takes a more philosophical and less informative approach. The author again takes up the image of the shroud woven by Penelope, as endless as the Internet, and wonders if the 'book' as the ultimate exponent of knowledge transfer in Europe, the metonym for content, is going to disappear or necessarily transform itself in this new digital age. This basis serves as a prologue to an in-depth study of Homer's *Odyssey* as an example of writing that has gradually mutated in its formats, and in keeping with this so have the ways it is perceived. The parallel tales remain 'interconnected' (Calypso, Penelope and Telemachus) thanks to the participation of Athena; Homer himself becomes the first critic and re-writer of *The Iliad*, just as happens in the 2.0 net with collaborative construction; while the sirens's song is a symbol warning of the risks of infoxication from the avalanche produced by internauts. Ancient Greece, in its pre-bibliographic phase, developed ways of economising knowledge such as using hexameters in epic language, which prevented it from accumulating. The poet's task consisted of selecting the pertinent information for the audience at a specific moment, in a continual intertextual movement of

appropriation and re-appropriation. In a transcultural, transnational world, the medium again plays a significant role, conditioning the format and knowledge being conveyed, as in Classical Greece. Today we are seeking tools to connect and recover information with the ancient poet's ability to summarise as he sifted through tales for his audience.

In the sixth chapter, Houghton and Smith address the workflow and tools that have developed to draw up and maintain the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament with the Workplace for Collaborative Editing. The three institutions funding the project (the INTF from Münster, the International Greek New Testament Project [IGNTP] and the ISBTF) share the same software and coding schemes in the Anglo-German Workplace for Collaborative Editing, in which COLLATE software is used for creating and transcribing highly accurate facsimiles, an editor is provided to alleviate the difficulty involved in working with XML, and peer reviews are carried out on the transcriptions.

Faced with the abundance of material on the Greek New Testament, the advantage of such a tool lies in the possibilities provided by an advanced search for measuring the percentage of coincidences between the different versions of the same text that have been digitised. On the other hand, biblical researchers and reviewers can also benefit from other projects such as the digitalisation of the Center for the Study of New Manuscripts and the NT.VMR (with images and a discussion forum) and access to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

In the seventh chapter, entitled 'Min(d)ing the Gaps: Digital Refractions of Ancient Texts', Larsen and Benzek show the Geographical Information System to be an effective tool for deconstructing ancient texts and reconstructing contexts in the religious studies classroom from a cartographic perspective. As a case study, they use an educational exercise focusing on the figure of Paul: using texts written in his name, by or about him, the students themselves 'reconstruct' his journeys with maps so as to finally represent his character and thus by extension Christianity itself. This hermeneutic, 'geotextual' approach represents a considerable shift in textual and visual paradigms, ushering in new historical and demographic approaches related to the Bible: studies on gender, migration, economics and more.

The 'Thesaurus Gregorianus' is the eighth section in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*. It adds the discipline of music to the book via this online database financed by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, which is presented as a useful cross-disciplinary source for research into medieval liturgy and music. As it is not geared towards critical analysis of the originals but towards the diversity of liturgical traditions and the historical development of the pieces, it shares the most heterogeneous postulates of the digital age in human and social sciences. The article explains the creation and structure of the database: Kainzbauer's embryonic work for personal use has been revised and completed with 3,000

musical tableaux more of the antiphons found in new writings. Textual and liturgical analyses (transcription, lemmatised concordance, biblical and liturgical indices, and search functions) are also added to the simply musical information. The database improves upon the previous ones's capacity and speed of information recovery. This work includes screenshots of the system and of the different windows a researcher may simultaneously use on their PC, thereby aiding them in reading and understanding a complex system.

In chapter 9, Hanneken describes the Integrated Spectral RTI technology applied in reading ancient manuscripts to distinguish letters and other data or indications such as fragments erased by the passage of time where there was once ink. The tool is revolutionary because it enables very delicate textures of objects such as inscriptions to be captured and visualised, while increasing the spectrum and resolution for the human eye in distinguishing colours. This technology has been applied to the reading of the *Dead Sea Scrolls* with spectacular results, since it surpasses the physical analysis. For their part, WebGL and the open standards have made it possible to link interactive images with annotations and analysis tools that are used to 'explore' palimpsests and illegible texts from libraries and museums.

With this work, it is clear that in the twentieth century the same age-old desire still exists to recover unknown texts that are essential to reconstruct the origins of Christianity and Judaism. However, we are in the midst of a boom in 'manuscript culture', understood not as a 'container' of data but as a material symbol in itself via which one may access the uses and customs of writing from Antiquity (mistakes, corrections, annotations in margins and decoration).

The tenth chapter deals with the process of treating and digitalising the 'Community Rule' of the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, so it bears some connection with the previous theme. In this case, the concept of a 'cluster of documents' is introduced, alluding to a less static and more inquisitive analysis, since the texts discovered represent variations of the same content created by different scribes. The chapter explains the numbering system applied to this finding and its limitations and inaccuracies, given that it is impossible to know the exact use of the document discovered. Given the fragmentary state of the writing, the author recommends a publication method that distinguishes between the private or transportable scrolls and the official ones, differences between scribes, and that the unity of the texts should be preserved, for which reason he advises against hyperlinks. For the sake of thoroughness, he intends to use a facsimile and Corel Draw to draw each one of the layers so that the user may observe the writing's material nature. Thanks to Hamidović, we enter a fourth dimension of the subject under study via the EMACS format, by creating not just one but various interactive subjects and texts that converge at the same time (p. 212).

The eleventh passage springs from the discovery by the author Sara Schulthess of a phenomenon that surprised her while she was working on a textual critique of the New Testament in the Internet age: many Islamic websites were found to have content on what is known as *taḥrīf*, in other words manipulation, alteration or distortion, especially carried out by Jews and Christians in their writings. As Ibn Hazm and his heirs did, the digital age takes up this trend again on platforms where Islam is condoned and textual critique of the New Testament is used to attack and explain the falseness of certain beliefs in the other monotheist religions. This trend of minute scrutiny of biblical texts casts the shadow of bad interpretations made by *pseudo-researchers* and the light of inter-religious discourse with interesting debates such as the one held by White and Ally, and the existence of the Yahoo Bible Textual Criticism forum.

The chapter by Apolline Thromas on rabbinic literature acts as a corollary to this first volume in the series. The author explains that use of the Internet is a *conditio sine qua non* for gathering originals from Ancient Hebrew. Nevertheless, the varied genres and non-unified compilations, the lack of referential writings, the difficulties in disseminating this kind of literature in Europe, the heavy influence of contact languages and the historical prohibition and expulsion all make it necessary to interpret the texts conscientiously, above all taking into account that today we come across transcriptions in modern Hebrew from classical Hebrew that are translated to the Latin alphabet without established guidelines. For this reason, she warns rabbinic researchers that although they may find interesting websites on the matter, they are not always created or maintained by experts.

Furthermore, the author recognises that many manuscripts are not in good condition and this affects their digitalisation. For example, scanned books have annotation marks, problems with contrast, folds, etc. Those that have been entirely digitalised are usually old editions with the added difficulties posed by the alphabet itself.

Following these explanations, she recognises that the *Cairo Genizah* provided a great incentive. It can be accessed reliably via the Friedberg Genizah Project and the initiatives that help to access and study this field in the digital age are multiplying: the *Responsa Database*, *Mechon Mamre*, *Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language*, *The Ma'agarim*, the group project *Sefaria* and the *Digital Mishnah Project*.

Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture ends with two indices: one with authors and the other with descriptors which, together with the numerous references provided by the authors in each of their works, help expert readers to consult and recover information.

To conclude, we may say that the first volume in the series is a gem to read and is essential due to the choice of topics, the method and the quality of the

works presented, the effect of compiling resources that many of them provide, and the many technical and material possibilities that have opened up for researchers into traditional humanities disciplines in the digital age. Within a small space, initiatives such as this achieve two valuable objectives: to describe emerging phenomena, giving context for the bases upon which they are founded, while also providing guidelines to structure and access them. Uncertainty in the face of a phenomenon that is difficult to harness is thus alleviated (Dilley), and work can focus on achieving better, more democratic results. In one compact edition, the guidelines are laid down to make use of a discipline that has erupted with great force: showing new technologies and platforms, assimilating findings, contrasting them with existing ones, ordering and cataloguing resources, perfecting and diversifying applications, and standardising languages and editors to weave knowledge together as a community. We hope this project shall continue and that new ones shall appear that replicate the formula in emerging areas: education, cultural and social studies, recovery and digitalisation of non-canonical manuscripts and languages, the application of forensic and geospatial techniques, creating protocols for common works and languages to share information and aid communication among experts, as well as the dissemination of discoveries among society and their impact on it. Human and social sciences may thus be revamped, achieving more funding and claiming a unique space for dialogue using information technologies.

SITA STECKEL, NIELS GAUL AND MICHAEL GRÜNBART (EDS), *NETWORKS OF LEARNING. PERSPECTIVES ON SCHOLARS IN BYZANTINE EAST AND LATIN WEST, C. 1000-1200*, (BYZANTINISTISCHE STUDIEN UND TEXTE, 6), MÜNSTER–HAMBURG–BERLIN–LONDON: LIT, 2014, XXXVI + 352 PP., ISBN 9783643904577

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The volume edited by Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul and Michael Grünbart includes twelve studies divided in three groups introducing recent research on the relationship between Byzantine and Western Latin education from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries.

In the Prologue ('Towards a Connected History of Learning in Byzantium and the Latin West', pp. IX–XXXV), Steckel not only introduces specific information on the essays included in the volume but also presents their historical and cultural context. She offers a brief overview of the nature of learning from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries and its historical impact, explaining some relevant changes in Medieval learning structures from the eleventh century onward. Apparently, those changes were produced by the influence of the Latin model of learning over Byzantium, an impact that affected the Byzantine society in several fields. On the one hand, it helped the Byzantines in developing a new conception of education, borrowing subjects from the Latin learning system; on the other hand, it helped to solve the difficulties arising while trying to emulate that system. If we should summarize those difficulties, it would be necessary to make reference to the relative ignorance that Byzantines manifested on certain topics, their dependency on translations of reference works, the need of their adaptation to new educational concepts and, therefore, to the outcomes of the system.

The chapters covered under 'Social Ties and Concepts of Interaction' combine analyses on topics related to learning: certain tools involved in the educational process, the role played by teachers and the influence of social relationships—a context of relations that facilitated bonds of friendship, promoting the social projection of the students.

In his 'Teachers and Textbooks in Byzantium, Ninth to Eleventh Centuries' (pp. 3–16), Athanasios Markopoulos introduces a brief outline of the Byzantine conception of learning, alluding to the difficulties when trying to achieve a

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precise definition of the concept, due to the eclectic nature of the Byzantine society, strongly influenced both by the past and by its connections with neighbouring territories. In the second section of his essay, Markopoulos focuses on the Byzantine schools and, more precisely, on the role of teachers as agents of the transmission of knowledge. The author explains how relevant Byzantine teachers were for the adaptation of a curriculum based on the study of the liberal arts (*trivium* and *quadrivium*). In this context, abundant learning materials elaborated by Byzantine teachers emerged from their religious conceptions and from the adaptation of the liberal arts into Byzantium. Yet, although from the described scenario we would have expected a handling of the traditional curriculum (*trivium* and *quadrivium*) in a balanced condition, Markopoulus points to the persistence of both programs as not being particularly modified—as it came about after the twelfth-century Renaissance in the Latin West due to the transfer of knowledge process. Notwithstanding, it is true that teaching practices combined some already consolidated techniques, for instance, schedography and the production of didactic materials.

Michael Grünbart's chapter on 'Padeia Connects: The Interaction between Teachers and Pupils in Twelfth Century Byzantium' (pp. 17–32), is a study on the different purposes of education, taking into account the disparity between social classes in Byzantium. The first function of education concerns training, a process available to a limited number of citizens, which allowed those who could afford a teacher to have access to different levels of governmental institutions. The second function refers to education as *paideia*, and it was also limited to the select group of citizens who could afford it. Although it seems that the relationship between students and teachers was much closer in the sense alluded to by the first function, as far as the second function is concerned teachers transmitted their knowledge to their pupils whilst taking care of their well-being; in the case of poets or writers, for instance, the teacher used to become their patron.

Petra Aigner's 'Poetry and Networking in High Medieval France (*c.* 1100): Baudri de Bourgueil and His Scholarly Contacts' (pp. 33–56) focuses on the relevance that French Medieval poetry played as a 'renaissance' in the Middle Ages. Aigner explores a series of lesser-known authors, some of them clergymen who were to become poetry masters. The writings of these clergymen were surprisingly connected with the pagan world and its authors. Those clergymen constituted a group of poets trained in the cathedral or monastery libraries, that they helped to create or to preserve. Aiming to highlight the importance of their works, Aigner gives an account of the bibliography on several of those authors.-In particular, she focuses on the extant bibliography on Baudri of Bourgueil (born 1046), and links him with coetaneous authors like Marbod of Rennes or Godofredus of Reims.

In her 'Ceremonies and Performances of Byzantine Friendship: Gift-Giving Between High-Level Rhetoric and Everyday Criticism' (pp. 57–66), Foteini Kolovou analyses friendship in Byzantium (*-philía*) and its relationship with the Christian notion of love (*agápe*). Kolovou collects an epistolary corpus which allows her to approach the study of friendship from a new perspective in the context of Byzantine studies. In her research, the author focuses on two disciplinary fields: critical and literary studies, as well as their historical and anthropological contexts, highlighting a conception of friendship in connection with some related peculiarities as humour, irony or gratitude.

The first group of essays concludes with Florian Hartmann's 'Eloquence and Friendship. Letter-Writing Manuals and the Importance of Being Somebody's Friend' (pp. 67–88). Hartmann analyses the relevance of friendship from an instrumental point of view—for instance, its importance in order to reach a good social position that could grant access to education, opening new social possibilities and a closer connection with the establishment. Hartmann studies specific learning handbooks on the art of letter writing, more precisely, those appearing in Italy from the twelfth-century Renaissance onward. In this sense, he also examines the existence of this kind of handbook from Antiquity to the tenth century, in order to draw attention to some changes occurred during the Middle Ages. The main adaptations were related to the training process available in Italy during this period and to its general neglect in monasteries. Therefore, it will be in the Late Middle Age that education will be available to a higher number of citizens—in Italy there will appear didactic handbooks on letter writing written by monks and influenced by monastic life and religious issues. The epistolary production was more relevant in administration; hence, Hartmann stresses the differences between both kinds of missives concerning their contents, style and grammar.

The second group of articles ('Authority and Identity') opens with Barbara Costrini's 'Catechetical Teaching in Eleventh-Century Constantinople: the Case of Paul of Evergetis and Vaticanus Graecus 752' (pp. 89–106). Costrini highlights the importance of achieving more documentary information concerning the educational structure and learning in the eleventh century, since the shortage of edited sources reduces our knowledge of the topic. In spite of this general lack of information, as Costrini writes: 'recent research on the status of teachers and disciples has emphasized the continuity of Christian tradition with late antique philosophical practice' (p. 89). The role of the *abbas*—both in monasteries and in nomad communities of the desert—involved producing a series of documents that are extremely precious for an indirect study on the status of learning. A prime example is the well-known *Apophthegmata.* Costrini then takes two examples related to learning from an ecclesiastical point of view: a work of catechesis by the founder of the monastery of Theotokos Evergetis, and the

manuscript Vaticanus Graecus 752 (dated 1059). Both sources allow her to show the relevance of learning in Byzantium from this perspective.

The chapter by Dirk Krausmüller—'Establishing Authority in Eleventh-Century Constantinople: Inspiration and Learning in the Writings of the Monks Niketas Stethatos' (pp. 107–124)—focuses on the monk Stethatos (community of Stoudios). The study has a twofold aim: on the one hand, it describes the role of Stethatos within the religious context of eleventh-century Constantinople; on the other hand, it displays the influence exerted by Stethatos in the religious sphere when he became a recognised authority. Focusing on this monk, Krausmüller has introduced an almost unknown character of Byzantium liturgical history. His study reveals the relevance of Stethatos due to the strong opposition that he exerted to the religious establishment of his age. Indeed, he promoted a new role for monks to play in the liturgical life and in canonical law. Stethatos wrote five treatises *adversus* Armenians where he defended a single and a universal Church. As Krausmüller declares, Niketas 'was without doubt influenced by his mentor Symeon the New Theologian' (p. 112), by the *chartophylaxes* as well as the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* of his time. For this reason Niketas's thought can be considered authentic and unusual.

The essay by Matthias Heiduk—'Revealing Wisdom's Underwear. The Prestige of Hermetic Knowledge and Occult Sciences Among Scholars Before 1200' (pp. 125–146)—starts with Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1463). The aim of his paper is to examine the influence of Hermetic learning throughout the Middle Ages. As Heiduk confirms, 'during the Middle Ages references to Hermetic teachings substantiated a myth of the Trismegistos as originator and teacher of ancient secret knowledge' (p. 126). Heiduk selects three instances where the influence of Trismegistos in learning is clear. The first corresponds to the Christian version of Trismegistos based on the invented travel of John Mandeville to Constantinople, where he became aware of a tale on the discovery of a tomb in Hagia Sophia of a philosopher named Hermes or Hermogenes. Heiduk holds that the discovery of this tomb is evidence of the relevance of Trismegistos before and after the birth of Christ. He bases his hypothesis on the inscription discovered in the tomb written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin on a golden plate—which is characteristic of the Hermetic tradition. For Heiduk there is no doubt that Hermes Trismegistos influenced the history of Christianity, as is witnessed by the works of some Church Fathers, such as Lactantius (d. 325), in whose work we can find traces of Hermetic texts. The second is a summary of treatises from the twelfth century, including passages of the works by Peter Abelard, Hugh of St. Victor, Robert of Melun, Hermann of Carinthia and Bernardus Silvestris, where we can find different Latin versions of Asclepius. The third includes some writings related to cosmogony, alchemy and astrology from al-Andalus. According to Heiduk, translations of these texts are

evidence of the relevance of Hermeticism in Iberian society during the twelfth century, as well as of the transfer of knowledge between Muslims and Christians. Among other authors, Heiduk focuses on Gerard of Cremona and John of Seville as crucial transmitters of ideas in this age.

In 'Wit and Irony—Rhetorical Strategies and their performance in political and learned communication in England (1066-1259)' (pp. 147–159) Katrin Beyer studies how relevant humor was for the English society between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. Beyer focuses on rhetoric of humor as central elements of king's discourses addressed to clergy and nobles. She opens her study considering the learning context of rhetoric with concepts such as *facetia* and irony, stressing the importance of *facetia* (wit) as a virtue of the ruler. This idea can be found in the works of William of Malmesbury where he explains the importance of this virtue among kings and rulers. Moreover, Beyer describes the *facetiae* as a kind of virtue among people who acknowledged it as evidence of a good reputation. Nevertheless, the author concludes, rhetoric and irony were more exercised in the context of politics than in social life.

In her 'The Use of Emotions in the North-European School Milieus, c. 1000-1200' (pp. 162–181) Mia Münster-Swendsen analyses the different emotions which, due to the influence of Stoicism, entered into Christianity. Among these emotions she analyses *ataraxia* and *apatheia*, explaining how the signs of personal emotions whether in public or privately were negatively perceived—students were trained to hide their emotions even in private.

Finally, the third part of the volume ('Conclusions') opens with Sita Steckel's study 'Networks of learning in Byzantine East and Latin West: Methodological considerations and starting points for further work' (pp. 185–233). Steckel reviews the current conditions of research on learning in Byzantium and in the Latin West, as well as the studies on the relationship between them. Thus, she provides both an updated analysis of the main issues on this topic and a very clear presentation of the spirit of the volume.

Niels Gaul's 'Rising Elites and Institutionalization—*Ēthos/Mores*—"Debts" and Drafts. Three Concluding Steps Towards Comparing Networks of Learning in Byzantium and the 'Latin' West, c. 1000-1200' (pp. 235–280) is the second conclusive paper within the third part of the volume. It aims to show the importance of a social elite that during the tenth century became more interested in learning. This elite promoted different changes in the model of learning, and consequently a change also in the perception or application of the Classical concepts of *ēthos* and *mores*. Gaul's study also describes the learning scheme of this period of change, when the educational system was to be adapted to the needs of those students whose careers were not oriented to monastic life. For Gaul, the transfer of ideas related to learning between Byzantium and the

Latin West was very important, and although these two worlds grew separately, it seems impossible to understand them disjunctively.

The volume includes an extended and updated bibliography (pp. 283–352), also including a section on the history and context of learning in Byzantium and in the Latin West from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

Starting from different perspectives, *Networks of Learning* is altogether a collection of innovative essays carefully selected by the three editors, on the relationships between 'Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000-1200'. It is fair to congratulate the authors for their stimulating contributions and the editors for the final outcome.