

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXIX

1995

INDEX

CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>Pericula Alexandrina: The Adventures of a Recently Discovered Centurion of the legio II Parthica</i>	9
ANNE HELTTULA	<i>Names and Cases. Observations on CIL IV 1364</i>	29
MAIJASTINA KAHLOS	<i>The Restoration Policy of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus</i>	39
IIRO KAJANTO	<i>The Body Politic. On the History of a Famous Simile</i>	49
KLAUS KARTTUNEN	<i>Early Roman Trade with South India</i>	81
JUKKA KIVIHARJU	<i>Notice of a New Manuscript of John of Seville's Latin Translations of Sahl Ben Bišr's Kitāb al-<u>I</u>k̄tiyārāt (Liber de electionibus) and Kitāb al- Auqāt (Liber temporum)</i>	93
UTA-MARIA LIERTZ	<i>Über das Fehlen von Inschriftentypen. Einige Beobachtungen am Beispiel Kaiserpriester</i>	103
BENGT LÖFSTEDT	<i>Notes on Marius' De elementis</i>	111
MARIA MASLANKA SORO	<i>Alcuni aspetti della sofferenza tragica nell' Aiace di Sofocle</i>	115
OUTI MERISALO	<i>Classical Philology in Eighteenth-Century Finland: Henrik Hassel and Carl Abraham Clewberg</i>	137
OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Praenomina Recorded Erroneously in Inscriptions. With an Observation on the Grandfather of Q. Aulus Cerretanus (cos. II 319 BC)</i>	155
ERKKI SIRONEN	<i>Statue Base Epigrams in Honor of a Restorer from Early Byzantine Athens</i>	163
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CLIX–CLXIII</i>	175
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	183
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	223
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	227

**NOTICE OF A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN OF SEVILLE'S
LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF SAHL BEN BIŠR'S
KITĀB AL-IKTĪ YĀRĀT (LIBER DE ELECTIONIBUS)
AND *KITĀB AL-AUQĀT (LIBER TEMPORUM)***

JUKKA KIVIHARJU

A scholar interested in studying or editing medieval Latin scientific translations made from the Arabic language, through which a great part of ancient Greek and Oriental knowledge has reached us¹, encounters several problems in his task. In the first place, the texts are usually preserved in manuscripts containing several works of different authors without any indication of the writer or translator, or with later attributions that are often erroneous. Secondly, the catalogues of the libraries (when there is a printed one) often enumerate only the titles of the works contained in the manuscripts, omitting the incipits and explicits which are usually essential for the correct identification of the texts. For these reasons, the existing summations of the manuscripts and editions - rarely based on personal inspection - and other works of similar nature² remain inevitably incomplete. Detailed studies of single manuscripts, like that of J. M. Millás Vallicrosa (1942), are rare, and probably impossible to do on a larger scale³.

I had recently an opportunity to inspect personally a little known fifteenth century codex in the Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria in Catania. The manuscript (MS. U. 87) is a collection of forty odd astronomical and astrological treatises, consisting of 333 folios. Among the works contained in the MS. were, for instance, the *De quattuor partibus astronomiae* of John

¹ For this process, see the concise but excellent study of Millás Vallicrosa 1954. For further details, see, for instance, the works of Goldstein 1985; Haskins 1933; 1960; Thorndike 1964.

² For example, Carmody 1956; Crombie 1959; Klebs 1963; Sarton 1927 ff.; Steinschneider 1956; Thorndike & Kibre 1963.

³ For these problems, see, for example, the introduction in Carmody 1956.

of Seville, the *Tractatus de sphaera* of John of Holywood and the *Summa librorum astronomiae* of Albert the Great.

The only one to have examined the codex seems to be M. Fava at the end of the last century⁴. His description has been used, for example, by L. Thorndike (1957), and Thorndike and Kibre (1963).

I was mainly interested in the *Liber astronomiae* of John of Seville⁵ that, according to M. Fava, begins on fol. 102 and ends on fol. 138⁶. However, on the first column of fol. 123 v. we find a new incipit ("Incipit liber de electionibus. Omnes sapientes concordati sunt quod electiones sunt debiles...") that Fava had not noticed, probably because usually the incipits appear in this MS. on a new folio. Similarly, on fol. 131 v., col. 2, there seems to be a new incipit, although without any heading: "Scito quod mutatio figurarum..."

The existence of these works is not mentioned in the files of the library (there is no printed catalogue), nor in any summation of medieval Latin works. The treatises in question are John of Seville's Latin translations of Sahl ben Bišr's *Kitāb al-ikṭiyārāt* ("Book of elections"), and *Kitāb al-auqāt* ("Book of times")⁷.

Sahl ben Bišr, known in Latin as Zahel or Zahel Benbriz, flourished in the first half of the ninth century. Of Jewish origin, he wrote several books on astrology in Arabic⁸. The translator, John of Seville, whose identity has been widely discussed⁹, was one of the most important figures in the so-called twelfth century scientific Renaissance.

The *Kitāb al-ikṭiyārāt* deals principally with horoscopy, but also presents a number of observations from other fields. Its identification with the Latin translation does not seem to be completely assured¹⁰, but this will not be discussed here. The *Kitāb al-auqāt* is concerned with time from an astronomical and astrological point of view.¹¹

The purpose here is to give a description of the two treatises as

⁴ Fava 1897, 432 ff.

⁵ I will shortly publish an edition of this interesting treatise.

⁶ Fava 1897, 432.

⁷ The Arabic letters are transcribed according to the system used in Wehr & Cowan.

⁸ Sarton 1950, 569; Brockelmann 1937, 396; Sezgin 1979, 125 ff.

⁹ I will deal with this problem in detail in my edition of the *Liber astronomiae*.

¹⁰ Sezgin 1979, 127.

¹¹ For the contents of the Arabic manuscripts, see Sezgin 1979, 127.

contained in the Sicilian manuscript, and also present some corrections and additions to the information offered by existing catalogues.

F. J. Carmody¹² and Thorndike & Kibre¹³ list in total 17 manuscripts of the *Liber de electionibus*. It is also included in five different editions,¹⁴ the first of which is a Venetian incunabulum from the year 1493.¹⁵ The information given by M. Alonso Alonso in his monograph on John of Seville is very incomplete.¹⁶ In M. Díaz y Díaz' *Index* only five manuscripts are mentioned,¹⁷ one of them (Wien 3.124) erroneously. The Viennese manuscript includes Zahel's *Introductorium in iudiciis astrorum*, but the *Regulae utiles de electionibus* (fols. 13r.-15 r.; incipit: "Volens horam sanguinis minuendi eligere..."), which seems to have confounded Díaz y Díaz, was written by the Muslim astrologer Abenragel (d. after 1040), not by Zahel, but was also translated by John of Seville.¹⁸

I have been able to consult the three Madrilenian manuscripts of the *Liber de electionibus* (BN, MS. 10.009, 13 c.; MS. 10.012, 13-14 c.; MS. 10.053, 13 c.). According to M. Alonso Alonso, the fragmentary text written in a later hand in the margins of the MS. 10.012 begins and ends on fol. 64 v.,¹⁹ whereas J. M. Millás Vallicrosa says that it begins on fol. 66 r. and continues to 69 r.²⁰ Actually, the text begins on 64 v., continues to 67 v., and is taken up again on 70 r. It ends on fol. 72 v.

The text of the Sicilian MS. (= C) follows that of the Venetian incunabulum and that of the Madrilenian manuscripts, although with some significant textual variants. The transcription of the beginning of the work from C is as follows:

-Incipit liber de electionibus. Omnes sapientes concordati sunt quod

¹² Carmody 1956, 42.

¹³ Thorndike & Kibre 1963, 985.

¹⁴ Carmody 1956, 42.

¹⁵ "Uenetiis per Bonetum Locatellum, impensis nobilis viri Octaviani Scoti, civis Modoetiensis. M. CCCC. LXXXIII. 13. kalendas Januarias" [fol. 152 r., col. 2.; copy consulted: I/1.701 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid].

¹⁶ Alonso Alonso 1953, 47 f.

¹⁷ Díaz y Díaz 1958, 221.

¹⁸ See Sarton 1950, 171 ("uncertain"); Alonso Alonso 1953, 46; Steinschneider 1956, no. 68 (also considered as uncertain); Carmody 1956, 139; Thorndike 1964, 77.

¹⁹ Alonso Alonso 1953, 48.

²⁰ Millás Vallicrosa 1942, 225.

electiones sunt debiles nisi in diuitibus. Habent enim isti, licet debilitentur, eorum electiones radicem, id est natiuitatem eorum que confortant omnem planetam debilem in itinere. Vilibus vero et mercatoribus que sequuntur non eligas aliquid, nisi supra natiuitates eorum et reuolutiones annorum illorum et secundum natiuitates eorum filiorum. Quorum autem ista ignorantur, accipiantur in eis interrogaciones et scietur effectus rei eorum ex eis. [C, fol. 123 v., col. 1]

There is a notable difference in the chapter division. In the Venetian edition (= *V*) and the MS. Madrid 10.009 (= *M*¹; in the comparison of the texts we omit the fragment written in the MS. Madrid 10.012; MS. Madrid 10.053 = *M*³), as well as in the Arabic text,²¹ the work is divided according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, but in *C* these are not mentioned, for example:

-De signi sexti electione. Signum VI et quicquid est in eo ex electionibus. Cum in aliquo loco fuerit uel domo aliqua infestatio demonum abitantium malorum... [M¹, fol. 210 v., col. 1]

-Ad expellendum fantasmata uel alia mala de domo uel alio loco. Si fuerit in aliquo loco uel domo aliqua infestatio habencium uel habitantium... [C, fol. 126 v., col. 1]

Although the most volatile part of any manuscript text, the chapter headings serve to describe their contents. The *Liber de electionibus* is divided in *C* into the following 52 chapters:

1. Quid significant signa mobilia, fixa et communia. 2. Electio in operibus. 3. Ad eligendam horam in acceptione uel accomodacione. 4. Ad eligendam horam occultandi. 5. Ad eligendum horam empcionis. 6. Cum aliquid operari uolueris. 7. Cum uolueris edificare. 8. Ad emendum terras. 9. Ad faciendum puteum. 10. Ad plantandum arbores. 11. Ad seminandum. 12. Vtrum pariet masculum. 13. Ad instruendum filium. 14. Ad expellendum fantasmata. 15. Ad capiendum medicinam. 16. Ad curam. 17. Ad curam corporis. 18. Ad radendum caput.

²¹ Sezgin, 1979, 126 f.

19. *Ad constituendum siue emendum seruos.* 20. *An debes mederi.* 21. *De purgationibus.* 22. *De constipantis medicinis.* 23. *De cirurgia.* 24. *De fleobotomia et ventosis.* 25. *De coniugio.* 26. *De nuptiis.* 27. *De hora exeundi ad bellum.* 28. *Ad emendum arma.* 29. *An tarde uel cito fiat bellum.* 30. *De destructione ydolorum.* 31. *De accommodacione.* 32. *De hora petitionis.* 33. *An debes ire ad regem.* 34. *Quando vadis ad se [illegible]* 35. *An eas ad mulieres.* 36. *Quando ire debes ad litteratos, magistros, sapientes, scriptores aut magicos.* 37. *De eadem materia.* 38. *De peregrinacione regis* 39. *Ad petendum regnum.* 40. *Si vis ire cum rege uel principe.* 41. *Si uolueris sublimari.* 42. *Vt sis prepositus.* 43. *De confirmacione principatus.* 44. *Ad inimiciciam regis.* 45. *Si uolueris alicui amicari.* 46. *Si uolueris petere aliquid.* 47. *Ad emendum bestiam.* 48. *De venacione.* 49. *De venacione maris.* 50. *De fuga.* 51. *De fugientibus.* 52. *De epistola scribenda.*

The end of the work is very similar in *C*, *M*¹, *M*³ and *V*. Only the text of the first one is transcribed here:

-De epistola scribenda. Si uolueris scribere epistolam, sit hoc cum Luna fuerit iuncta Mercurio munda a malis. Et sit Mercurius fortis et fortunatus necque retrogradus nec impeditus sitque ipse et Luna munda a malis. [*C*, fol. 131 v., col. 1]

The Venetian incunabulum ends here ("Expletus est libellus Zahelis de electionibus", fol. 141 v., col. 1), but in *C*, *M*¹ and *M*³ the text continues without any interruption as follows:

-Et scito quod excitat mortem. Si igitur inicium motus, qui sit in circulo, usque in finem operis tempus in quo aptatur vnique motui incipiente usque quo finiatur cum complexione sibi congrua uel incongrua quod signat hoc bonum uel malum. Et vniversi motus sunt secundum quod narrabo tibi, si Deus voluerit [*C*, fol. 131 v., col. 2]

As an example of the different readings, the same passage in *M*¹ is reproduced:

-Aptatio. Et scito quod tempora excitat motus. Sit igitur initium motus,

qui sit in circulo, usque in finem temporis; tempore in quo aptatur Luna unicuique hore motui incipienti usque quo incipiatur cum complexione sibi congrua uel incongrua, quod hoc signat bonum uel malum. Et uniuersi motus sunt secundum quod tibi narrabo, si Deus uoluerit. [M¹, fol. 213 r., col. 1]

The same text can be read in the Venetian incunabulum, but preceded by a new title:

-Incipit liber eiusdem de significatione temporis ad iudicia. Scito quod terra excitat motus. Sit igitur initium motus que fit in circulo vsque in finem temporis in quo aptatur hora vnicuique motui incipienti vsque quo finiatur cum complexione sibi congrua vel incongrua. Quod si hoc signum bonum vel malum et vniuersi motus sunt, secundum quod tibi narrabo, si Deus voluerit [fol. 141 v., col. 1]

These three passages indicate that this is the beginning of a new treatise, usually called *Liber temporum*, which is John of Seville's translation of the aforementioned *Kitāb al-auqāt* of Sahl ben Bišr. J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, who has studied in detail the Madrilenian MSS., seems not to have been able to identify this text²². F. J. Carmody²³ and Thorndike & Kibre²⁴ say that the incipit of this text is "Scito quod mutatio...", which in *C*, *M*¹ (fol. 213 v., col. 1), *M*³ (fol. 49 r., col. 1) and *V* (fol. 141 v., col. 1) follows only after the passage cited above. The text in *C* is as follows:

-De mutacione figure. Scito quod mutacio figurarum et destructio uel conuersio motuum in uniuerso circulo signat... [fol. 131 v., col. 2]

The concordance of the three MSS. with the Venetian edition shows that the *Liber temporum* probably begins with the incipit mentioned above, not with "Scito quod mutatio...". Thorndike & Kibre mention only the MS. Dijon 449, 15 c.²⁵, whereas Carmody gives another (Oxford Canon, misc.

²² Millás Vallicrosa 1942, 179; 188 f.

²³ Carmody 1956, 44.

²⁴ Thorndike & Kibre 1963, 1410.

²⁵ Thordike & Kibre 1963, 1410.

396, 14 c.), with the opening phrase "De eo quod non sit in 12 signis et..."²⁶ This, however, is used in *M*¹ (fol. 213 r., col. 1), *M*³ (fol. 49 r., col. 1) and *V* (fol. 141, col. 1) as the last chapter heading at the end of the *Liber de electionibus*, so it remains doubtful, for the moment, whether the Oxford MS. really contains the *Liber temporum*. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned before, distinguishing different works from one another is often very difficult in these types of manuscripts. It could even be possible that what we here call *Liber temporum* is only a continuation of the *Liber de electionibus*. This is perhaps indicated by the phrase "De eo quod non est in 12 signis et...", because the rest of the *Liber de electionibus* is divided according to the 12 signs of the zodiac.

In the Sicilian codex, the text of the *Liber temporum* continues until fol. 135 v. under the following headings:

1. De mutacione figure. 2. A quo planeta debeas accipere tempus. 3. De 4 modis interrogacionibus in uniuersis. 4. De vita hominis. 5. Usque ad quod tempus debeat viuere. 6. De infirmitate. 7. De peregrinatione. 8. Ad idem. 9. De epistola et rumoribus. 10. De rege.

The text presents considerable differences in comparison with the one in *M*¹, *M*³ and *V*, especially with the two MSS., which, occasionally, seem to reproduce a totally different work. The establishment of a reliable text would require a thorough collation of all the extant copies.

In *C*, the *Liber temporum* ends as follows:

– et quere testimonia secundum quod exposui tibi tempus, et non errabis in deposicione regis, si Deus uoluerit. [col. 135 v., col. 1]

This is the ending also in *V*, whereas in the Madrilenian MSS. it seems to have been lost. After this, there is in *C* a chapter heading "De planetis", which apparently starts a new treatise, with the incipit "Nota quod quelibet res habet duos planetas significatores..." I have not been able to identify this work, although the opening phrase "Nota quod...", very common in this type of MS., seems to indicate the beginning of a new work. It goes on until the middle of the second column of the fol. 138 r., where it

²⁶ Carmody 1956, 44.

ends, perhaps mutilated, with the words "qualem habet dominus ascendentis, et cetera". The chapter headings are the following:

1. Quis vincat inter duos viros uel duas bestias. 2. Vtrum multum. 3. De conuiuuiis. 4. De infirmis vtrum morietur.

In this study, our aim has been to call attention to the previously unknown existence of the two Latin translations of Sahl ben Bišr's works in the Sicilian manuscript. This codex, although apparently very interpolated at times - I have made a complete collation of the *Liber astronomiae*, mentioned in the beginning of this study, with other extant manuscripts - also transmits some undoubtedly correct and valuable readings, and is worthy of a thorough examination by the possible future editors of these texts. I have also found that the *Liber temporum*, although apparently in a very mutilated form, is included in the two Madrilenian codices, which seems to have passed unnoticed until now. Finally, in reference to the introduction, I believe it has been shown what types of difficulties the identification and study of medieval scientific translations and original works involves.

*University of Helsinki
Universidad Complutense de Madrid*

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Alonso Alonso, M. (1953): "Juan Sevillano. Sus obras propias y sus traducciones", *Al-Andalus* 18, 17-49.
- Brockelmann, C. (1937): *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*. Erster Supplementband (Leiden).
- Carmody, F. J. (1956): *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley - Los Angeles).
- Crombie, A. C. (1959): *Histoire des sciences de Saint Augustin à Galilée (400-1650)* I-II. Traduit de l'anglais par J. D'Hermies. Édition française revue et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur (Paris).
- Díaz y Díaz, M. C. (1958): *Index scriptorum Latinorum medii aevi Hispanorum* I (Salamanca).
- Fava, M. (1897): "Codices Latinos Catinenses recensuit M. F.", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 5, 429-40.
- Goldstein, B. R. (1985): *Theory and Observation in Ancient and Medieval Astronomy*. Variorum reprints (London).
- Haskins, Ch. H. (1933): *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.).
– (1960): *Studies in Medieval Science*. Reprint (New York).
- Klebs, A. C. (1963): *Incunabula scientifica et medica*. Reprographischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe *Osiris* IV, 1938, 1-359 (Hildesheim-Darmstadt).
- Millás Vallicrosa, J. M. (1942): *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid).
– (1954): "La corriente de traducciones científicas de origen oriental hasta fines del siglo XIII", *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 2, 394-428.
- Sarton, G. (1927 ff.): *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore).
– (1950): *Introduction to the History of Science* II:1. Reprint (Baltimore).
- Sezgin, F. (1979): *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums VII. Astrologie-Meteorologie und Verwandtes bis ca. 430 H* (Leiden).
- Steinschneider, M. (1956): *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Unveränderter photomechanischer Nachdruck aus den Sitzungsberichten der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse (Graz).
- Thorndike, L. (1957): "Notes on Some Astronomical, Astrological and Mathematical Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20, 112-72.
– (1964): *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* II. During the first thirteen centuries of our era. 6th printing (New York).
- Thorndike, L. & Kibre, P. (1963): *A Catalogue of Incipits on Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*. Revised and augmented edition (London).
- Wehr & Cowan = Wehr, H., *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. M. Cowan. Third edition (New York 1976).