

The Social Conditions of the Arabic-(Hebrew-)Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance

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Unlike other chapters of the history of philosophy and the sciences, translation movements cannot be told in purely intellectual terms. The transport of ideas from one linguistic culture to another was dependent upon many social factors: which manuscripts were available, which linguistic collaborators could be found, which cities were conquered by which party, which patron was paying, and which audience was willing to copy and read newly translated texts. To say this does not imply a reductionist attitude in the sense that the intellectual interests of the translators, patrons and readers would form a mere superstructure to the real structure of material factors. It is the specific character of translation movements that they are dependent both on the intellectual motives of individuals as well as on the structure of the society in which they take place.

The recent study by Dimitri Gutas has shed much light on the social and political factors which shaped the development of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in eighth-to tenth-century 'Abbāsīd society'¹. The Arabic-Latin translations have not yet received a similar amount of attention², which is partly due to the fact that the medieval sources offer only sporadic information on the social setting of the translations. We can expect that with the advance of research in the future, especially with the appearance of critical editions and glossaries of Arabic-Latin translations, we will be in a better position to connect translations with specific persons and their social surroundings. For the present, it seems sensible to improve our understanding of the phenomenon by way of a comparative analysis of two waves of translations of Arabic works into Latin: in twelfth-century Spain and in the Renaissance. The idea is that such a comparison will show more clearly what was specific about the two translation movements. The focus is on these two because in contrast to other groups of translations, such

¹ Cf. D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, London–New York 1998.

² Most informative is Ch. Burnett, *The Institutional Context of Arabic-Latin Translations of the Middle Ages: A Reassessment of the 'School of Toledo'*, in: O. Weijers (ed.), *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research between the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Turnhout 1995, 214–235. See also id., *Translation and Transmission of Greek and Islamic Science to Latin Christendom*, in: D. C. Lindberg/M. H. Shank (eds.), *Science in the Middle Ages (The Cambridge History of Science 2)*, forthcoming, and D. Jacquart, *L'école des traducteurs*, in: L. Cardaillac (ed.), *Tolède, XII^e–XIII^e siècles: Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, Paris 1991, 177–191.

as those in Castille in the late tenth century or in Italy in the eleventh century, they developed into proper movements: several persons were working on similar translation projects in the same region and at the same time, and occasionally, the translations were produced by a team or for the same patron.

I. The Spanish Translation Movement

We shall first turn to twelfth-century Spain. The reader is asked to consult the map of Spain (pp. 70 and 806), which assembles the essential information on the translators, on the basis of what scholarship of the past decades, by Charles Burnett and others, has established³. The arrows serve to assign the various translators to the places of their activity. The main data can be summarized as follows:

(1) *Iohannes Hispalensis*, John of Seville, was mainly active (according to present knowledge) in *Limia*, that is, the region of the Limia valley in northern Portugal; he translated at least fourteen works mainly of astrology and astronomy in the 1120s and 1130s⁴. (2) *Hugo Sanctalliensis*, Hugo of Santalla, dedicated several of his translations to Michael, bishop of Tarazona around 1145; Hugo's translations cover astronomy, astrology and the divinatory sciences⁵. (3) *Robertus Ketenensis*, Robert of Ketton in Rutland (England), active in the region of the Ebro river in 1141–1143, translated the Koran, a short chronicle of the Saracens and a work of astrology⁶. (4) He was not, in all probability, identical with a kinsman of his, *Robertus Cestrensis*, Robert of Chester, who translated an alchemical work in 1144 and an algebraic work in Segovia in 1145⁷. The first Robert, Robert of Ketton, was a friend of (5) *Hermannus de Carinthia*, who also worked in the Ebro valley and translated treatises on Islamic religion. As in the case of Robert of Ketton, these translations were paid for and commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis, abbot of Cluny, on his journey to Spain in 1142, probably in the Cluniac priory Nájera, west of Logroño⁸. Robert's and Hermann's primary interest,

³ A good overview is offered by M.-Th. d'Alverny, *Translations and Translators*, in: R. L. Benson/G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford 1982, 421–462. More recent literature is cited under the various translators below.

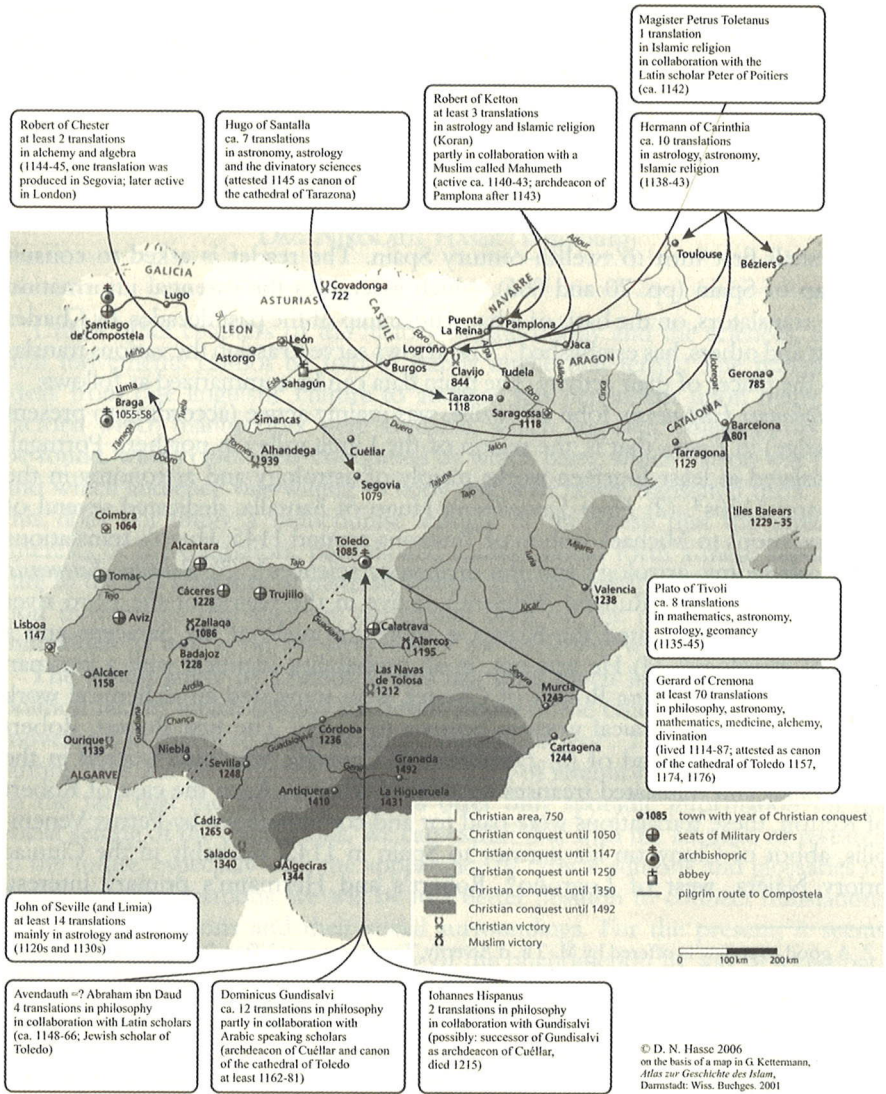
⁴ On the status questionis concerning John of Seville's identity see Ch. Burnett, *John of Seville and John of Spain: A mise au point*, in: *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 44 (2002), 59–78. For John of Seville's connection to the Limia region see Ch. Burnett, *Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis' and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's De differentia spiritus et animae: a Portuguese Contribution to the Arts Curriculum?*, in: *Mediaevalia. Textos e estudos* 7–8 (1995), 221–267.

⁵ Cf. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, Cambridge 1924, 67–81; Ch. Burnett, *A Group of Arabic-Latin Translators Working in Northern Spain in the Mid-Twelfth Century*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, s. n. (1977), 65–70.

⁶ See the entry on 'Ketton, Robert of' in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 61 vols., vol. 31, Oxford 2004, 465–467 (by Ch. Burnett).

⁷ See 'Ketton, Robert of' in: *Oxford Dictionary* (nt. 6).

⁸ See C. J. Bishko, *Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain*, in: G. Constable/J. Kritzeck (eds.), *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956. Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, Rome 1956, 163–175, esp. 166.



however, was not Islamic religion, but the science of the stars. (6) Another translator commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis in 1142 was *Magister Petrus Toletanus*, Peter of Toledo, who translated a Christian apology against Islam. Since Peter was more fluent in Arabic than in Latin, he was assisted by a Latin scholar⁹. (7) *Plato Tiburtinus*, Plato of Tivoli, perhaps an Italian by origin, worked

⁹ Cf. J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton 1964, 56–58.

in Barcelona; he produced ca. eight translations of scientific works, which date between 1135 and 1145¹⁰.

Of these first five translators, only John of Seville had a direct connection to Toledo, because he translated one treatise for the archbishop Raymond of Toledo. The other Toledan translators were active in the second half of the twelfth century: (8) Avendauth, translator of four philosophical works, is the only Jewish scholar directly involved in Arabic-Latin translations in this century¹¹. He collaborated with Latin scholars: twice with an unknown scholar, twice with (9) Dominicus Gundisalvi¹². We know of another collaborator of Dominicus: (10) *Iohannes Hispanus*, who possibly is the John of Spain who was the successor of Dominicus Gundisalvi as archdeacon of Cuéllar¹³. All translations of this Toledan group concern texts of Arabic philosophy. (11) Finally, Gerard of Cremona is the outstanding figure among the Spanish translators: he is responsible for at least 70 translations in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, alchemy and divination¹⁴.

At the turn of the century, two further translators worked in Toledo, who are not recorded on the map, both canons of the cathedral: Mark of Toledo, translator of at least four medical treatises, of the Koran and of religious texts by Ibn Tūmart¹⁵, and Michael Scot, who translated Alpetragius' *De motu celorum* and Aristotle's *De animalibus* in Toledo, before he moved to Italy¹⁶.

These translations in twelfth-century Spain were the result of a contact between Latin and Arabic culture, but they did not involve the crossing of the frontier between Muslims and Christians. As is apparent on the map, all translators worked in areas conquered by Christians: in the region of the Limia river, which was conquered from the Muslims in the 1050s¹⁷; in the middle basin of the Ebro conquered 1118–1120¹⁸; and in Toledo, which surrendered in 1085¹⁹. No Latin translations were produced in Muslim territories. No Muslim scholars were involved as collaborators. The Christian translators were either native

¹⁰ Cf. Dictionary of Scientific Biography, New York 1970–1980, s. v. 'Plato of Tivoli'.

¹¹ On Avendauth see nt. 22 below.

¹² On Gundisalvi see nt. 28–30 below.

¹³ Burnett, John of Seville (nt. 4), 63–64, and the literature cited nt. 28 below.

¹⁴ On Gerard of Cremona see nt. 31 below.

¹⁵ See M.-Th. d'Alverny, Marc de Tolède, in: ead., *La connaissance de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval*, Aldershot 1994, art. VII.

¹⁶ Cf. Ch. Burnett, Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, in: *Micrologus* 2 (1994), 101–126, esp. 102–111.

¹⁷ By Fernando I, 'el Magno', king of León; see D. W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, London–New York 1978, 52–55; B. F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031–1157*, Cambridge, Mass. 1992, 35–42. On the restoration of the see of Braga in 1070 see P. David, *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal: du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Lisbon 1947, 140–141, 166–168.

¹⁸ By Alonso I, 'el Batallador', king of Aragón; see Lomax, *The Reconquest* (nt. 17), 63–67; Reilly, *The Contest* (nt. 17), 157–162.

¹⁹ By Alfonso VI, king of León and Castile; see Lomax, *The Reconquest* (nt. 17), 80–86, and Reilly, *The Contest* (nt. 17), 79–86.

speakers of Arabic themselves, that is, they were Mozarabs²⁰ or had grown up in Mozarabic culture (such as, apparently, John of Seville, Petrus Toletanus and Mark of Toledo), or they were diligent students of Arabic (such as Gerard of Cremona), or they employed the help of an Arabic speaker, either of a Mozarab or of a Jew, as did Dominicus Gundisalvi, and also Gerard of Cremona: when translating the ‚Almagest‘, Gerard was helped by the Mozarab Galippus²¹.

Avendauth is the only translator who lived both in Christian and Muslim territories: if he is identical (as is most likely) with the Jewish historiographer and philosopher Abraham Ibn Daud, he studied in Cordoba, which was still under Muslim rule, but later returned to his home town Toledo²². It is certain that there were contacts between Christian translators and Mudejars, that is, Muslims under Christian rule. But information on such contacts is scarce. It is reported that one of the patrons of the translations, bishop Michael of Tarazona, acquired an Arabic manuscript from a Muslim library ‚in Rotensi armario‘: the library of the Banū Hūd in Rueda de Jalón²³. Mark of Toledo mentions that he „diligently sought another book in the libraries of the Arabs [in Toledo] (in armariis Arabum) which I could translate“²⁴. In sum, one can say: the translation movement in Spain was not a matter of direct cultural contact, but rather of the appropriation of a cultural heritage after the conquest of a country.

What do we know about the profession of the Spanish translators? There is hardly any information on John of Seville, Hermann of Carinthia and Plato of Tivoli. All other Christian translators occupied ecclesiastical posts – they were canons at various churches in Spain: Hugo of Santalla is (in all likelihood) identical with the *magister Hugo* who signed two charters as canon of the cathedral of Tarazona in 1145²⁵. Robert of Ketton had a successful ecclesiastical career:

²⁰ I use the term ‚Mozarab‘ not only for Christians under Islamic rule, but also for Arabic-speaking Christians under Christian rule.

²¹ According to the testimony of Daniel of Morley in his ‚Philosophia‘; see G. Maurach, Daniel von Morley, ‚Philosophia‘, in: *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 204–255, esp. 244–245: „[...] Girardus Tholetanus, qui Galippo mixtarabe interpretante Almagesti latinavit.“ On collaboration in Arabic-Latin translations in general see M.-Th. d’Alverny, *Les traductions à deux interprètes, d’arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en Latin*, in: *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1989, 193–206.

²² Cf. M.-Th. d’Alverny, Avendauth?, in: d’Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, Paris 1993, art. VIII, 35–38; T. A. M. Fontaine, In Defence of Judaism: Abraham ibn Daud. Sources and Structures of ha-Emunah ha-Ramah, Assen 1990, 262–263.

²³ Haskins, *Studies* (nt. 5), 73: „Quia ergo, mi domine Tyrassonnensis antistes, ego Sanctelliensis tue petitioni ex me ipso satisfacere non possum, huius commentii translationem, quod super eiusdem auctoris opus edictum in Rotensi armario et inter secretiora bibliotheca penetralia tua insaciabilis filosofandi aviditas meruit reperiri, tue dignitati offerre presumo.“

²⁴ D’Alverny, Marc de Tolède (nt. 15), 39: „Deinde post hunc [...] in armariis Arabum studiose querens alium quem transferrem librum, inveni Galieni De pulsu ac De pulsus utilitate ac De motibus membrorum liquidis uno volumine contentos.“ For discussion see Burnett, *The Institutional Context* (nt. 2), 227.

²⁵ J. M. Lacarra, Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro, in: *Estudios de etad media de la corona de Aragón* 5 (1952), 511–668, esp. 577–578 (documents number 357 and 358): „Huius donationis auditores et testes sunt omnes clerici Tyrassonnensis ecclesie: domnus Lupus archidiaconus, magister Hugo, Vitalis prior, Berengarius precentor, Arnaldus, Calmetus sacrista

he was appointed archdeacon of Pamplona at the end of 1143 and in this function signed several documents in Pamplona, Barcelona and Tudela; he served the king of Navarre as *principalis capellanus* and in 1157²⁶ was appointed canon of the church of Tudela, in exchange for his lost archdeaconship²⁷. Dominicus Gundisalvi was *archidiaconus Colarensis*, archdeacon over the zone of Cuéllar, a town north of Segovia, and in this function was canon first of the cathedral of Segovia and later of Toledo²⁸. He signed several charters as member of the Toledan chapter between 1162 and 1178²⁹. It is true that in the same decades there existed another canon and archdeacon of the cathedral whose name was Gundissalvus (and who occasionally signed the same charters as Dominicus Gundisalvi), but it would be a mistake to attribute any of Dominicus' translations or works to this unknown person³⁰. The cathedral of Toledo at this time had about 30 to 40 canons; among them was also Gerard of Cremona, but in a less distinguished position than the archdeacon Dominicus Gundisalvi. Gerard's name is mentioned in three charters as *magister* or *dictus magister*³¹.

et ceteri omnes" (11th November 1145). The second document, which has the same date and which likewise concerns a donation to the Order of the Temple, repeats the quoted sentence.

²⁶ On 1 July 1149, Robert composed the text of a peace treaty between the king of Navarre, García V, and the Aragonese party: „*Magister Rodebertus, ecclesie Pampilonensis archidiaconus et regis Garsie principalis capellanus ac comitis predicti clericus, fecit hanc cartam*“ (quoted after: A. J. Martín Duque, El inglés Roberto, traductor del Corán, in: *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 22 [1962], 496).

²⁷ Cf. Martín Duque, El inglés (nt. 26), 483–506; J. G. Gaztambide, *Historia de los obispos de Pamplona I, siglos IV–XIII*, Pamplona 1979, 391–394; d'Alverny, *Translations* (nt. 3), 449; and the most informative article „Ketton, Robert of“ in: *Oxford Dictionary* (nt. 6).

²⁸ Cf. J. F. Rivera Recio, *Nuevos datos sobre los traductores Gundisalvi y Juan Hispano*, in: *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966), 267–280, esp. 268–275; Ch. Burnett, *Magister Iohannes Hispanus: towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator*, in: *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge, mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*, Geneva 1994, 425–436, esp. 425–426. See also the recent monograph on Gundisalvi by A. Fidora, *Die Wissenschaftstheorie des Dominicus Gundissalinus*, Berlin 2003.

²⁹ See F. J. Hernández, *Los Cartularios de Toledo. Catalogo documental*, Madrid 1985, 129–177. The documents are conveniently cited by d'Alverny, *Les traductions* (nt. 21), 196, nt. 4.

³⁰ As Adeline Rucquoi tried to do, when arguing that Dominicus Gundisalvi, archdeacon of Cuéllar, was the translator of several Arabic works, whereas Gundissalvus, archdeacon of Talavera, was the author of *De divisione philosophiae*, *De processione mundi*, *De immortalitate* and *Tractatus de anima*. There is no evidence for the latter attribution. We know from the explicit of the translation of Avicenna's *Prima philosophia* and from charters written in Arabic that Dominicus carried the additional name *Gundisalvi*. In the manuscript tradition of the independent works, the author is often referred to as *dominus Gundissalinus* (occasionally also as *dominus Gundisalvi*), which means that the original *Dominicus* was distorted into *dominus*, very probably because the name *dominic* was abbreviated as *dno* or *do* (and similarly with other cases of the name). Cf. A. Rucquoi, *Gundisalvus ou Dominicus Gundisalvi?* in: *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 41 (1999), 85–106, and the reply by A. Fidora and J. Soto Bruna, *Gundisalvus ou Dominicus Gundisalvi?*: Algunas observaciones sobre un reciente artículo de Adeline Rucquoi, in: *Estudios eclesiásticos* 76 (2001), 467–473.

³¹ Hernández, *Los Cartularios* (nt. 29), no. 119 (May 1157): „*Hec sunt nomina canonicorum qui modo sunt: [...] Magister Girardus*“ (written by a scribe); no. 165 (March 1174): „*Ego Girardus dictus magister confirmo*“ (autograph, cf. plate XVI in Hernández); no. 174 (1st March 1176): „*Ego Gi-*

The term *magister* or *scholasticus* (as Petrus Venerabilis calls Hermann of Carinthia) does not necessarily indicate that the translators were teachers at cathedral schools. In the charters of the Toledan cathedral in Gerard's and Dominicus' lifetime, one canon signs as *„Iohannes magister scholarum“*, who apparently was responsible for the education of the boys of the choir. Education in Latin in the newly founded Spanish cathedral schools was still very basic in the twelfth century – in contrast to France³². It seems that *magister* in the case of Gerard means no more than 'very learned person' or 'graduate from a school'³³. It is unlikely that the translators were translating for schools in Spain.

Given that a number of translations were dedicated to bishops, it is apparent that the Spanish translation movement had a distinct ecclesiastical character. Most of the protagonists belonged to cathedral clergy, and it is in the Frankish quarters close to the cathedrals of Pamplona³⁴, Tarazona and Toledo that we have to locate the main bulk of the translating activity in the twelfth century.

One could object to this conclusion that the ecclesiastical character of the movement was not remarkable in view of the fact that almost all Latin literature of the high Middle Ages was produced by clerics. There is an answer to this objection, which is that there existed historical alternatives: the translators could have worked at the court of secular rulers, or could have specialized as clerics on medical or juridical professions. One alternative is exemplified by John of Seville, who writes to Queen Teresa that „your nobility was asking from me, as if I were a doctor, a short booklet on the observation of a regimen“ (*„a me quasi essem medicus vestra nobilitas quereretur breuem libellum de observatione dietae“*)³⁵. John of Seville was not a doctor, nor was apparently any other translator in twelfth-century Spain. Petrus Alfonsi – not a proper translator, but a mediator between cultures – was in some way attached to the court of Alfonso I of Aragon, and later of Henry I of England. He certainly worked as a teacher of astronomy; in one late source, he is said to have been Henry's physician³⁶. In some exceptional

rardus dictus magister“ (cf. autograph). For the usage of the phrase *dictus magister* compare the opening of Alain de Lille's *„Distinctiones“*: *„Reverendissimo patri et domino Hermengaldo, dei gratia sancti Aegidii abbati, Alanus dictus magister [...]“* (Patrologia latina, vol. 210, Paris 1855, col. 685).

³² See E. M. Gerli (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, New York – London 2003, s. v. 'Education, Christian', with further literature.

³³ On the educational context of the Spanish translation movement see Burnett, *The Institutional Context* (nt. 2), 223–229.

³⁴ It is true that Robert of Ketton's archdeaconship in Pamplona (after 1143) falls within the years immediately after his translating activity, which dates ca. 1140–43. However, his connections to the chapter must have been intimate enough in the years before 1143 to secure him the archdeaconship, as Bishko (Peter the Venerable's *Journey* [nt. 8], 167) has pointed out.

³⁵ S. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages*, Ann Arbor 2003, 354.

³⁶ In a 14th-century manuscript of the *„Disciplina clericalis“* (MS Cambridge, University Library, fol. 95): *„Dixit Petrus Amphipulus servus Christi Ihesu Henrici primi regis anglorum medicus compositor huius libri“*; cited after J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers*, Gainesville 1993, 213, nt. 17.

cases, translators were related to a secular court: Robert of Ketton had connections to the court of the king of Navarre, but in a time when apparently he was not active as a translator any more³⁷, and John of Seville, as has just been mentioned, to Teresa, Queen of the Portuguese. Another alternative profession is exemplified by the translators from Greek in Italy, some of whom were specialists in law³⁸: Jacobus Veneticus Graecus was a canonist, whose legal advice to the archbishop of Ravenna has survived in manuscript³⁹. Burgundio of Pisa worked as a notary, judge and diplomat⁴⁰. In sum, the translation movement in Spain is characterized by the absence of information on the medical and juridical activities of the translators and on their relations to schools and to secular courts.

II. The Renaissance Translation Movement

In this respect the contrast to the Renaissance translation movement is great. The appendix to this article contains a table of Renaissance Latin translations of Arabic scientific works from 1480 to 1700⁴¹. The focus of the following study is on the first wave of translations which reaches from Girolamo Ramusio to Jacob Mantino. The second wave, from Jean Cinquarbres to Edward Pococke, has a different character: it profits from the institutionalized teaching of Hebrew and Arabic at European universities. These later translations belong to the early history of orientalist philology and in this respect are part of a different story⁴²,

³⁷ See nt. 26 above.

³⁸ As observed by Burnett, *Translation and Transmission* (nt. 2).

³⁹ Cf. L. Minio-Paluello, *Jacobus Veneticus Grecus: Canonist and Translator of Aristotle*, in: *Traditio* 8 (1952), 265–304.

⁴⁰ Cf. P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter – Gesandter – Übersetzer*, Heidelberg 1974, 11–29.

⁴¹ The Renaissance translations of works of Arabic science have not yet been studied systematically, but there exist valuable studies of different parts of the movement: d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident* (nt. 22), art. XIII: *Avicenne et les médecins de Venise, 177–198* (first published 1955); N. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: the Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton 1987, 133–143; G. Tamani, *Le traduzioni ebraico-latine di Abraham De Balme*, in: A. Vivain (ed.), *Biblische und Judaistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*, Frankfurt e. a. 1990, 613–635; G. Tamani, *Traduzioni ebraico-latine di opere filosofiche e scientifiche*, in: I. Zinguer (ed.), *L'hébreu au temps de la Renaissance: Ouvrage collectif recueilli et édité*, Leiden e. a. 1992, 105–114; A. Bartòla, *Eliyahu del Medigo e Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: La testimonianza dei codici Vaticani*, in: *Rinascimento* 33 (1993), 253–278; Ch. Burnett, *The Second Revelation of Arabic Philosophy and Science: 1492–1575*, in: Ch. Burnett/A. Contadini (eds.), *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, London 1999, 185–198. Cf. also nt. 43.

⁴² On the early centuries of orientalist philology see the classic study by J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1955, and the more recent works by H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Stuttgart 1995, and G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: the Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford 1996. More literature can be found in the survey by H. Bobzin, *Geschichte der arabischen Philologie in Europa bis*

even though one ought to keep in mind that they are still motivated by the scientific interest in the content of the Arabic works.

The first wave of translations (between 1480 and 1550) falls into two groups: translations from Hebrew in Italy, and translations from Arabic in the Near East. Ramusio and Alpagò translate from Arabic in Damascus; their main interest is in Avicenna. Del Medigo, Burana, Balmes, Calo Calonymos, Nisso, Ricci and Mantino translate from Hebrew, most of them live in the Veneto, and their main interest is in Averroes. There are a number of connections between the two groups: Avicenna's 'Canon' was translated both from Arabic and from Hebrew, and Jacob Mantino, the Hebrew translator, was aware and critical of the work of Alpagò, the translator from Arabic. Also, the two Damascus translators of Avicenna had studied at Padua university, to which many of the Averroes translators had close ties, as will be pointed out below.

Many features of the Renaissance translation movement would deserve closer study⁴³. In the present context, my focus is on the social background, as it was with the translations in Spain. Other than in the twelfth century, there are translators in the Renaissance who are active in Muslim territory: in Damascus. Girolamo Ramusio and Andrea Alpagò worked in Damascus and other cities of the Near East: Ramusio traveled to Beirut⁴⁴, and Alpagò made several long journeys in the Near East, in search of manuscripts⁴⁵. The Renaissance translation movement was not dependent upon a conquest; it was dependent upon, on the one hand, the diplomatic and economic relations between Italy and the Near East, and, on the other hand, on the transmission of Arabic works in Hebrew among the Jewish communities of Italy.

With respect to profession, the groups of translators were surprisingly homogenous: almost all of them were physicians. Ramusio and Alpagò were physicians to the Venetian embassy in Damascus; Burana was a teacher of logic in Padua and later worked as a physician, probably in Verona⁴⁶; Paolo Ricci, a Christian convert from Judaism, was a teacher of medicine and philosophy in Pavia, when he translated Averroes⁴⁷; the Jewish scholars Abraham de Balmes,

zum Ausgang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, in: W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*, vol. 3, Supplement, Wiesbaden 1992, 155–187.

⁴³ Cf. my forthcoming study on Arabic sciences and philosophy in the Renaissance.

⁴⁴ He died in Beirut. On Ramusio see F. Lucchetta, *Girolamo Ramusio, profilo biografico*, in: *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 15 (1982), 1–60, and D. Jacquart, *La science médicale occidentale entre deux renaissances (XII^e s. – XV^e s.)*, Aldershot 1997, art. XI: *Arabissants du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance: Jérôme Ramusio († 1486), correcteur de Gérard de Crémone († 1187)*, 399–415.

⁴⁵ See F. Lucchetta, *Il medico e filosofo bellunese Andrea Alpagò († 1522), traduttore di Avicenna*, Padua 1964. Alpagò is put in context by d'Alverny, *Avicenne et les médecins* (nt. 41), and Siraisi, *Avicenna* (nt. 41), 133–134.

⁴⁶ See *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome 1960 sqq., s. v. 'Burana (Borana), Giovanni Francesco'.

⁴⁷ On Ricci see the forthcoming monograph by Bernd Roling and the article by the same author in this volume.

Calo Calonymos ben David and Jacob Mantino all worked as physicians in cities of the Veneto and in Rome⁴⁸; Jacob Mantino, in fact, was one of the most prominent Jews of his time and friend and physician to several members of the aristocracy, among them Pope Paul III⁴⁹. The sole exception is the Jewish scholar Elia del Medigo, a native from Crete, who seems to have earned his living in Italy by teaching philosophy⁵⁰.

There are two principal reasons for the predominance of the medical profession among the Renaissance translators. In contrast to the twelfth century, many of the translators were Jews, and within the realm of science, Renaissance Jews excelled particularly in medicine; as doctors, they were consulted by many members of the ruling classes⁵¹. And secondly, Arabic medicine was about to reach the highpoint of its influence in the West as late as in the sixteenth century⁵². Medicine was the Arabic science *par excellence* in the Renaissance⁵³.

What do we know about the patrons of the Renaissance translation movement? The information on patrons commissioning translations is much richer than for twelfth-century Spain – which, of course, is partly due to the fact that the transmission in general is much better for documents from the Renaissance than from the high Middle Ages. But it also reflects structural differences. Three patrons had a particular influence on the translations in the Renaissance; all of them belong to the Italian nobility: (1) first, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), count and philosopher, for whom Elia del Medigo translated several works by Averroes⁵⁴, and who apparently also was the patron of a Hebrew-Latin translation of Ibn Tufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*⁵⁵; (2) second, Domenico Grimani of Venice (1461–1523), cardinal and patriarch of Aquila, who was well known as a dedicated collector of books and manuscripts, especially of Greek literature. Erasmus was eager to visit his famous library. But Grimani was also

⁴⁸ See the two articles by Tamani cited in nt. 41 above.

⁴⁹ Cf. D. Kaufmann, Jacob Mantino: Une page de l'histoire de la Renaissance, in: *Revue des études juives* 26 (1893), 30–60, 207–229; C. Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance*, Philadelphia 1959, 77–79.

⁵⁰ Cf. Bartòla, Elyhau del Medigo (nt. 41), 256, nt. 14, with further literature; D. Carpi, *L'Individuo e la collettività: Saggi di storia degli ebrei a Padova e nel Veneto nell'età del Rinascimento*, Florence 2002, 221: „Non vi sono notizie di una sua attività nel campo della professione medica.“

⁵¹ Cf. Roth, *The Jews* (nt. 49), 213–215.

⁵² See Siraisi's comments on the ‚Canon' reaching the height of its influence in the sixteenth century: Siraisi, *Avicenna* (nt. 41), 6.

⁵³ This is reflected in the fact that medicine (and pharmacology in particular) is in the centre of the anti-Arabic polemics of Renaissance humanists; see Siraisi, *Avicenna* (nt. 41), 65–76; D. N. Hasse, *Die humanistische Polemik gegen arabische Autoritäten: Grundsätzliches zum Forschungsstand*, in: *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (2001), 65–79.

⁵⁴ See B. Kieszkowski, *Les rapports entre Elie de Medigo et Pico della Mirandola (d'après le ms. lat. 6508 de la Bibliothèque Nationale)*, in: *Rinascimento* 4 (1964), 41–91, and the very informative article by Bartòla, Elyhau del Medigo (nt. 41), 253–278.

⁵⁵ Cf. F. Bacchelli, Pico della Mirandola: Traduttore di Ibn Tufayl, in: *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 72 (1993), 1–25.

particularly interested in Aristotelian logic⁵⁶. Note that in the social sphere of the patrons the traditional distinctions between humanist and scholastic currents in the Renaissance are blurred. Grimani was the dedicatee of translations of Averroes by Elia del Medigo in the 1480s, and much later, around 1520, by Abraham de Balmes; (3) third, count Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563), bishop of Mantua, who later became cardinal and presided over the Council of Trent⁵⁷. He was the addressee and apparently also the promoter of a considerable number of translations of Averroes by Jacob Mantino and Calo Calonymos in the 1520s.

All three of them, Pico, Grimani and Gonzaga, had close ties to the philosophical climate of Padua university. Pico and Grimani had studied in the arts faculty of Padua in the 1480s, and Gonzaga, since his student days in Bologna around 1520, was a fervent admirer of Pietro Pomponazzi, who had, in earlier decades, taught in Padua. It is reported that Pomponazzi, on the days that he lectured on the *‘Meteora’* of Aristotle, used to escort the young nobleman from his house to the lecture room⁵⁸. Pomponazzi, who died in 1524, was buried in Mantua, and Ercole Gonzaga, now bishop of Mantua, ordered that a bronze statue be made of Pomponazzi and erected in the church S. Francesco⁵⁹. It is clear that the patrons of the Averroes translations were influenced in their predilections by the lectures listened to in Padua. This is a somewhat surprising result, in view of the fact that the historiographical term *‘Paduan Averroism’* is only of limited value when used as a label for a philosophical current: firstly because Averroists – partisans of key doctrines of Averroes – can be found all over Italy, and secondly because it is characteristic of Padua that its well-known philosophers (Nicoletto Vernia, Agostino Nifo, and Pietro Pomponazzi) in their later years turned against Averroes’ most famous doctrine, the theory of the unicity of the material intellect⁶⁰. On the other hand, the evidence of patronage for translations of Averroes clearly shows that there was a broad

⁵⁶ On Grimani see P. Paschini, *Domenico Grimani: cardinale di S. Marco (†1523)*, Rome 1943; M. J. C. Lowry, *Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius*, in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1974–1975), 128–166, esp. 146–164; P. G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, Toronto e. a. 1985–1987, s. v. *‘Grimani, Domenico’*.

⁵⁷ See the comprehensive article on Gonzaga in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome 1960 sqq., s. v. *‘Gonzaga, Ercole’*.

⁵⁸ This is reported by Ercole Gonzaga’s secretary; see C. Oliva, *Note sull’insegnamento di Pietro Pomponazzi*, in: *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 7 (1926), 264: „Lo Ex.te Mag. Petro Pomponatio vien ogni dì alle ventidue vel circha a levare il S.re di casa et li fa compagnia al Studio, dove a quella hora legge et la lectione sua è il Metheoro d’Aristorele molto delettevole a sentirla.“

⁵⁹ Cf. B. Nardi, *Studi su Pietro Pomponazzi*, Florence 1965, 53.

⁶⁰ This is the interpretation of Renaissance Averroism developed in D. N. Hasse, *Aufstieg und Niedergang des Averroismus in der Renaissance: Niccolò Tignosi, Agostino Nifo, Francesco Vimercato*, in: J. A. Aertsen/M. Pickavé (eds.), *‘Herbst des Mittelalters’? Fragen zur Bewertung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 31)*, Berlin–New York 2004, 447–473; and id., *The Attraction of Averroism in the Renaissance: Vernia, Achillini, Prassicio*, in: P. Adamson e. a. (eds.), *Philosophy, Science, and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic, and Latin Commentaries*, vol. II, London 2005, 131–147.

academic milieu connected to Padua which was very sympathetic towards Averroes – and remained so even after leading Paduan Aristotelians had attacked Averroes publicly.

Padua university also is the key to the explanation of the Renaissance attempts to retranslate Avicenna's 'Canon'. Both Ramusio and Alpago had studied in Padua, in the 1470s and 1480s respectively. Ramusio explicitly says that he is translating sections that were publicly lectured upon at the university of Padua⁶¹. And Alpago, in his more than 30 years in the Near East, kept in contact with his home university and eventually sent his emendations of the Latin 'Canon' to Padua: with the effect that in 1521, the *collegium* of philosophers and physicians of Padua university decided to recommend officially Alpago's corrections for the usage of teachers and students⁶². One of the professors who sat on this commission, Oddo Oddi, initiated yet another textual revision of the 'Canon' in the 1550s by Andrea Gratiolo (which reached print in 1580)⁶³.

III. Spain: Social Factors

In twelfth-century Spain, the relation between translator and audience was much more distant than in the Renaissance. There did not yet exist universities in Europe, not to speak of an intellectual centre as influential as Padua university. It is true, of course, that there were connections to the cathedral schools of France and of other countries, and there exist several pieces of evidence that point in this direction: Hermann's dedication to Thierry of Chartres, a book on the science of the stars promised to Petrus Venerabilis by Robert of Ketton⁶⁴, and lectures on astronomy offered to the Peripatetics in *Francia* by Petrus Alfonsi⁶⁵. One of the main motives of the Spanish translators was to remedy the *latinorum penuria*, that is, gaps and lacunae in the scientific education of the Latin

⁶¹ Ramusio, MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. Arabe 2897, fol. 160^v: „*Volui prius videre que in gymnasio Patavino publice leguntur.*“ For context, see Jacquart, *Arabizants* (nt. 44), 402.

⁶² Lucchetta, *Il medico e filosofo* (nt. 45), 90 (document 12): „[...] *rettulerunt et relationem suam fecerunt singulatim cum vidissent nonnulla opera eiusdem magistri Andree translata ex arabo in latinum, illaque sumopere comendarunt tamquam utilia et necessaria.*“ Cf. also document 11, 88–90, and Siraisi, *Avicenna* (nt. 41), 93–96.

⁶³ Siraisi, *Avicenna* (nt. 41), 141–142.

⁶⁴ This promise is contained in Robert's preface to the translation of the Koran: „*Sed ne prooemium fastidium generet, ipsi finem impono tibi que coelesti, coelum omne penetrant, coeleste munus voveo, quod integritatem in se scientiae complectitur*“ (Patrologia latina, vol. 189, Paris 1849, col. 660).

⁶⁵ In the 'Letter to the Peripatetics', edited by Tolan, Petrus Alfonsi (nt. 36), 164–165: „*Universis sancte matris ecclesie omnibus, videlicet peripateticis ac per hoc aliis philosophico lacte nutritis, ubique per Franciam quamvis scientie doctrina diligentius exercitatis, Petrus Anidesimus [...]*“; see the discussion by Ch. Burnett, *Advertising the New Science of the Stars circa 1120–50*, in: F. Gasparri (ed.), *Le XII^e siècle*, Paris 1994, 148–150.

West⁶⁶. But the reception of the Spanish translations was not immediate for the most part; it begins several decades after the date of translation⁶⁷. That the reception was slow at the beginning, is evident if one compares the speed with which the Averroes translations produced in the 1220s in southern Italy were received in the philosophical literature of the 1230s and 1240s⁶⁸. Several factors may have played a role in the slow reception of the Spanish translations: that none of the translators was French, or that personal ties to the French schools were not close enough. But the main reason for this phenomenon is that the Spanish translators were inaugurating a trend, rather than reacting to one. They offered new subjects, new scientific techniques, even new sciences to their readers. As has been pointed out, the medical texts translated in the twelfth century were more technical and, in general, of a higher level than those translated by Constantine the African and others in eleventh-century Italy⁶⁹. In the early thirteenth century, when the Sicilian translators worked on Averroes, the situation was different: the reception of the new translations had already begun, and the development of university culture was gaining momentum. The contrast is even greater when we turn to the Renaissance, since the Renaissance translators reacted upon two booming trends at Italian universities: medical Avicennism and philosophical Averroism.

The relation between translator and patron was less direct and less private in medieval Spain than in the Renaissance. Pico, Grimani and Gonzaga were young students at Padua and Bologna university when they began to commission Latin translations of Averroes. They were young, of noble descent and rich, but they were not yet equipped with influential posts. The few dedicatees and sponsors of the Spanish translations, in contrast, were secular or ecclesiastical rulers: one

⁶⁶ The term is used by Gerard of Cremona's students, when they describe Gerard's motivation to learn Arabic: „[...] *Toletum perrexit, ubi librorum cuiuslibet facultatis habundantiam in arabico cernens et latinorum penurie de ipsis quam noverat miserans, amore transferendi linguam edidit arabicam*“ (Ch. Burnett, *The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century*, in: *Science in Context* 14 [2001], 249–288, here: 275–276). The phrase *penuria apud Latinos* is used by Burgundio of Pisa in a prologue to a Greek-Latin translation; see Classen, *Burgundio* (nt. 40), 84: „[...] *quia huius Iohannis evangeliste expositionis penuria apud Latinos maxima erat*.“ Cf. also Avendauth's prologue to Avicenna, *Liber de anima seu Sextus de naturalibus*, ed. S. Van Riet, 2 vols., Louvain–Leiden 1968–1972, vol. 1, 4: „[...] *ut [...] Latinis fieret certum, quod hactenus exstitit incognitum* [...]“.

⁶⁷ Consider, e.g., the reception of Avicenna's *De anima*, which was translated between 1152 and 1166, but first quoted outside Spain in the early thirteenth century by John Blund (the exact date of Blund's *Tractatus* is unknown). A proper reception (rather than stray quotations) of Avicenna's *Prima philosophia*, in the translation of Dominicus Gundisalvi and Iohannes Hispanus, begins in the 1230s with William of Auvergne. See D. N. Hasse, *Avicenna's De Anima in the Latin West: The Formation of a Peripatetic Philosophy of the Soul 1160–1300* (Warburg Institute Studies and Texts 1), London–Turin 2000, 18–23, 44–45.

⁶⁸ See R. A. Gauthier, *Notes sur les débuts (1225–1240) du premier 'Averroïsme'*, in: *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982), 321–374.

⁶⁹ Cf. D. Jacquart/F. Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, Paris 1990, 152–153.

translation was dedicated to archbishop Raymond of Toledo (by John of Seville)⁷⁰, one to his successor archbishop John of Toledo (by Avendauth)⁷¹, seven to bishop Michael of Tarazona (by Hugo of Santalla)⁷², one to Teresa, queen of the Portuguese (by John of Seville)⁷³, one to Thierry of Chartres (by Hermann of Carinthia)⁷⁴; and there are the translations of texts concerning Islamic religion commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis, abbot of Cluny⁷⁵. All in all, this is a remarkably small number. Of the about 130 translations recorded on the map of Spain above (pp. 70 and 806), only about a dozen can be linked to a patron. Only in two of these cases, there is evidence for direct sponsoring of translators: Petrus Venerabilis paying Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia for the translation of religious texts (which is a special case), and archbishop John of Toledo commissioning and supporting the translation of Avicenna's 'De anima' by Avendauth and Dominicus Gundisalvi. The expressions in Avendauth's dedication are *inssum vestrum*, and *vestro munere*, which seems to indicate financial support⁷⁶. There is no proof that church officials systematically supported translators in Spain.

But in view of the fact that Hugo of Santalla, Robert of Ketton, Dominicus Gundisalvi and Gerard of Cremona as members of cathedral clergy belonged to a very small Latinized elite, it is clear that their translating activity was not a private enterprise. All fellow canons in Tarazona, Pamplona and Toledo must have been very aware of what their translating colleagues were doing. It is difficult to imagine that the Spanish translations were produced without the consent of the chapters and the bishops. Archbishop John of Toledo's open support for

⁷⁰ Cf. J. C. Wilcox, *The Transmission and Influence of Qusta ibn Luqa's 'On the Difference between Spirit and Soul'* (University Microfilms International), Ann Arbor, Mich. 1985, 143: „*Incipit liber differentie inter animam et spiritum quem Consta ben Luce cuidam amico suo scriptori cuiusdam regis edidit et Iohannes Hispalensis ex arabico in latinum Raimundo Toletano archiepiscopo transtulit.*“

⁷¹ Avicenna, *Liber de anima* (nt. 66), vol. 1, 3: „*Iohanni reverentissimo Toletanae sedis archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primati, Avendauth israelita philosophus gratum debitae servitutis obsequium.*“

⁷² The dedications „*ad Michaellem Tirassone antistitem*“ are conveniently collected by Haskins, *Studies* (nt. 5), 67–81.

⁷³ See nt. 35 above.

⁷⁴ Ch. Burnett, *Arabic into Latin in Twelfth-Century Spain: the Works of Hermann of Carinthia*, in: *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978), 110: „*Quod igitur omnium humanitatis studiorum summa radix et principium est, cui potius destinarem quam tibi [...] diligentissime preceptor Theodorice.*“ The translation is of Ptolemy's 'Planisphere'.

⁷⁵ R. Glej, *Petrus Venerabilis: Schriften zum Islam*, Altenberge 1985, 20 (aus „*Summa totius haeeresis Saracenorum*“): „*Nam et haec tota causa fuit, qua ego [...] magno studio et impensis totam impiam sectam eiusque pessimi inventoris execrabilem vitam de arabico in latinum transferri ac denudatam ad nostrorum notitiam venire feci*“; 24 (aus „*Epistola de translatione sua*“): „*[...] legem [...] ex arabico ad latinitatem perduci interpretantibus scilicet viris utriusque linguae peritis, Roberto Kettenensi de Anglia, qui nunc Pampilonensis ecclesiae archidiaconus est, Hermann quoque Dalmata, acutissimi et litterati ingenii scholastico, quos in Hispania circa Hiberum astrologiae arti studentes inveni eosque ad hoc faciendum multo pretio conduxi.*“ See also nt. 80 below.

⁷⁶ Avicenna, *Liber de anima* (nt. 66), vol. 1, 3–4: „*Quapropter inssum vestrum, Domine, de transferendo libro Avicennae philosophi de anima, effectui mancipare curavi, ut vestro munere et meo labore Latinis fieret certum quod hactenus exstitit incognitum.*“

the translation of Avicenna's *De anima*, which is one of the earliest Toledan translations, may well have served as something of a starting signal for the many later translations to come. It is unlikely that the fellow canons and the bishop were also interested in the technical scientific content of the works translated. If there was a common bond of interest that united the translators and their colleagues among the clergy, it was the promotion of Latin culture and Latin learning, which had seen a tangible decline in the tenth and early eleventh century⁷⁷. With the beginning of the Cluniac mission in Spain, and especially in the first decades after the conquest of Toledo in 1085, there was much tension between, on the one hand, the new Latin-speaking archbishops and their clergy, who were Frenchmen and Cluniac monks for the most part and partisans of the Gregorian reform, and, on the other hand, the many Mozarab Christians, who were supporters of the old Hispanic traditions. A particularly influential figure was the first archbishop of Toledo, Bernard de Sauvetat, a French Cluniac (archbishop 1086–1125), who successfully promoted the imposition of many French bishops and prelates in Léon-Castille⁷⁸. In the middle of the twelfth century, tensions between the French and Mozarabic parties had lost their acerbity. This finds expression in the fact that Mozarabs such as Galippus and Iohannes Hispanus collaborated with the Latin translators Dominicus Gundisalvi and Gerard of Cremona. In the 1160s, Mozarabs were first admitted to the cathedral chapter of Toledo⁷⁹. But the Mozarabs remained Arabic-speaking to a large extent. As a result of the translation movement, a great number of works to which Mozarabs and Mudejars had access in Arabic, was transferred into the Latin language of the new ecclesiastical rulers. This clearly had a social significance: it contributed to the consolidation of the power of the ruling elite.

IV. Spain: Political Factors

It should not be ruled out that the Spanish translation movement also had a political dimension. In the Renaissance, political motives do not seem to have been involved, given the prominent role played by private patrons. In Spain, apart from Petrus Venerabilis, whose ultimate interest when commissioning translations was to attack the followers of Muḥammad „*non [...] armis, sed verbis*“⁸⁰, political motives are difficult to prove. It is noteworthy, however, that the

⁷⁷ With the exception of the literature produced in the Ripoll monastery; see J. L. Moralejo, *Literatura hispano-latina (siglos V–XVI)*, in: J. M. Díez Borque (ed.), *Historia de las literaturas hispánicas no castellanas*, Madrid 1980, 13–137, esp. 56, 58, and Gerli (ed.), *Medieval Iberia* (nt. 32), s. v. „Latin Language and Literature“.

⁷⁸ See F. J. Hernández, *La cathédrale, instrument d'assimilation*, in: Cardaillac (ed.), *Tolède* (nt. 2), 75–91; and with respect to the entire peninsula Reilly, *The Contest* (nt. 17), 245–248.

⁷⁹ Archbishop John of Toledo seems to have been the driving force behind the reconciliation with the Mozarabs; see P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford 1993, 280.

⁸⁰ Gleí, *Petrus Venerabilis* (nt. 75), 62: „*Aggredior inquam vos non, ut nostri saepe faciunt, armis sed verbis, non vi sed ratione, non odio sed amore.*“

archbishop of Toledo and his clergy were particularly active politically in the middle of the twelfth century. The principal political aims of the Toledan clergy did not concern the Muslim enemies in the south⁸¹, but clerical rivals in Christian Spain. The archbishops of Braga and Compostela were vehement opponents to Toledo's claim for the primatial authority over the entire Iberian peninsula⁸², a claim based on its role in Visigothic Spain. In the 1150s and 1160s, when the Toledan translation movement began, the archbishops Raymond (Raymond de Sauvetat, 1125–1152) and John (Jean de Castelmoron-sur-Lot, 1152–1166) made several successful manoeuvres to underline Toledo's claim for the capital church of Spain – with the approval of Alfonso VII, king of León-Castille. In 1150, the archbishop of Braga acknowledged the primatial jurisdiction of Toledo. In 1154, archbishop John created a fund for the building of a cathedral, as a visible sign of the claim to domination on the Iberian peninsula; building work on the cathedral was begun, but was finished only several decades later. In 1156, the right arm of the first bishop of Toledo, the first-century martyr Eugenius, was transferred from Saint-Denis to Toledo. There is no historical evidence for a first-century bishop in Toledo, but the symbolic significance of the arrival of the relic is obvious: Toledo was to be restored to its glory as the clerical and spiritual centre of Visigothic Spain – and to a glory equal to the French role-model, Saint-Denis, which archbishop Raymond had visited in 1148. In 1157, two kings were buried in the cathedral of Toledo: Alfonso VII and his son Sancho III, again in emulation of Saint-Denis and its tombs of France's kings⁸³. In view of these political activities, it is likely that the Arabic-Latin translations not only contributed to the consolidation of clerical power within Toledan society, but also were welcomed by the archbishop and his clergy as another means to underline the Toledan aspiration to primatial authority. The message was that Toledo was the centre of Latin learning in Spain, and that the Toledan canons were its true spiritual leaders – a centre able or aspiring to imitate the abbey of Peter Abelard and Suger of Saint-Denis⁸⁴, as well as the other French schools. A reflection of the political situation can be traced in

⁸¹ As has been assumed by R. Lemay, *Dans l'Espagne du XII^e siècle: les traductions de l'arabe au latin*, in: *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 18 (1963), 639–665, esp. 659: „L'influence de Pierre le Vénérable aura sans doute fait prendre conscience à l'archevêque Raymond de la valeur apologetique du savoir arabe pour combattre l'Islam, non plus seulement par l'épée, mais aussi par la plume. Sous l'impulsion tardive de Raymond, les traducteurs de l'arabe se mirent alors à la tâche pour rendre accessible la pensée philosophique des Arabes“ (Lemay's views on the identity of the translators and their patrons are now outdated).

⁸² Cf. Linehan, *History* (nt. 79), 269–270, 277–278. Note, e.g., Petrus Venerabilis' description of Compostela in 1142 as „*inter omnes Hispanas ecclesias caput*“ (Linehan, *ibid.*, 278), and the chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin (dating before 1140), in which Charlemagne allegedly grants several prerogatives to Compostela, which mirror the claims of Saint-Denis in France (Linehan, *ibid.*, 277).

⁸³ On the history of Toledo and its claims to primatial authority see Linehan, *History* (nt. 79), 268–312, esp. 268–278. Cf. also Hernández, *La cathédrale* (nt. 78), 85–89.

⁸⁴ On Suger's intellectual profile and political ambitions see now A. Speer/G. Binding (eds.), *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis. Ausgewählte Schriften*, Darmstadt 2000, esp. 96–101 and 109–110.

Avendauth's dedication of the Avicenna translation not only to John archbishop of Toledo, but to „John, the most revered archbishop of the seat of Toledo and the primate of the Spains“: „*Iobanni reverentissimo Toletanae sedis archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primati*“⁸⁵

The political dimension of the Toledan translation movement, as sketched at the end of this article, should be understood as a hypothesis. It is worthwhile to ponder such hypotheses, especially because a significant number of twelfth-century translations had a technically scientific character, which made them unreadable for the great majority of Spanish clerics. In view of this, it is very probable that interests other than intellectual were involved when the Spanish clergy supported Latin translations from the Arabic⁸⁶.

Appendix: Renaissance Latin Translations of Arabic Sciences and Philosophy (1450–1700)⁸⁷

Girolamo Ramusio (d. 1486), active in Damascus, translating from Arabic	<i>Avicenna</i> : Canon I (Ms. Paris BN arabe 2897) [interlinear translation]
Elia del Medigo (d. 1493), Venice, Padua, Florence, transl. from Hebrew	<i>Averroes</i> : Comp. Meteor. + Comm. med. Meteor. (fragm.), 1488 Comm. mag. Metaph. Prooem. XII (two times), 1488 Quaest. in An. pr., 1497 Comm. med. Metaph. I–VII, 1560 Comm. med. Animal. (Ms. Vat. lat. 4549) Epitome of Plato's Republic, 1992 (ed. A. Co-viello) Tractatus de intellectu speculativo (Ms. Vat. lat. 4549)
Anonymous Hebrew scholar attached to Pico della Mirandola (before 1493) H	<i>Ibn Tufayl</i> : Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān (Ms. Genua Bibl. Univ. A.IX.29)
Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), Damascus A	<i>Avicenna</i> : Canon I–V, Cantica, De virtutibus cordis, 1527 [corrections]

⁸⁵ Avicenna, *Liber de anima* (nt. 66), vol. 1, 3.

⁸⁶ I am very grateful to Charles Burnett for helpful advice and to Niklas Wunderlich for his assistance in producing the map of Spain (pp. 70 and 806).

⁸⁷ Not included are the following translators of anonymous or theological or literary works: Moses Arovas, Pier Nicola Castellani and Jacques Charpentier (who translated and later revised the Neoplatonic 'Theologia' of Pseudo-Aristotle), Niccolò Massa (Güzgānī's biography of Avicenna), Juan de Segovia, Juan Andrés, Flavius Mithridates, Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis, Guillaume Postel (Koran).

continued:

Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), Damascus A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Compendium de anima [...], 1546 De removendis nocumentis, De syrupo acetoso, 1547 Ibn al-Nafīs and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Širāzī, commentaries on the Canon, 1547 [selections] <i>Ebembītar (Ibn al-Bayṭār):</i> De limonibus, 1583 <i>Serapion:</i> Practica, 1550 [corrections]
Giovanni Burana (d. before 1523), Padua H	<i>Averroes:</i> Comp. An. pr., 1524 Comm. med. An. pr., 1524 Comm. med. An. post., 1550/52 Comm. mag. An. post., 1550/52
Abraham de Balmes (d. 1523), Venice, Padua H	<i>Avempace:</i> Epistola expeditionis (Ms. Vat. lat. 3897) <i>Alfarabi:</i> De intellectu (Ms. Vat. lat. 12055) <i>Alhazēn:</i> Liber de mundo et celo (Ms. Vat. lat. 4566) <i>Averroes:</i> Comp. Org., 1523 Quaesita logica, 1523 Comm. mag. An. post., 1523 Comm. med. Top., 1523 Comm. med. Soph. El., 1523 Comm. med. Rhet., 1523 Comm. med. Poet., 1523 Comp. Gen., 1552 Comp. An., 1552 Comp. Parv. nat., 1552 Comm. med. Phys. (Ms. Vat. lat. 4548) Quaesita naturalia (Ms. Vat. ottob. lat. 2060) De substantia orbis, cc. 6–7, 1550/52 Liber modorum rationis de opinionibus legis (Ms. Vat. ottob. lat. 2060, Ms. Milan Ambros. G. 290)
Calo Calonymos ben David (d. after 1526), Venice H	<i>Alpetragius:</i> Theorica planetarum, 1531 <i>Averroes:</i> Destructio destructionum, 1527 Epistola de connexione intellectus abstracti cum homine, 1527
Vitalis Nisso (d. ?) H	<i>Averroes:</i> Comp. Gen., 1550/52
Paolo Ricci (d. 1541), Padua and Pavia H	<i>Albucasis:</i> Liber theoricæ, 1519 (first two books of the Kitāb al-taṣṭīf li-man ‘aḡīza ‘an al-ta’līf) [ed. by Ricci, translator uncertain]

continued:

Paolo Ricci (d. 1541), Padua and Pavia H	<i>Averroes:</i> Comm. med. Cael., 1511 Comm. mag. Metaph. Prooem. XII, 1511
Jacob Mantino (d. 1549), Bologna, Venice, Rome H	<i>Averroes:</i> Comm. med. Animal., 1521 Comp. Metaph., 1521 Comm. med. Isag., 1550/52 Comm. med. Cat., 1550/52 Comm. med. Int., 1550/52 Comm. med. Top. I–IV, 1550/52 Comm. med. Poet., 1550/52 Comm. med. Phys., 1550/52 Comm. mag. Phys. Prooem., 1550/52 Comm. mag. An. III.5 + 36, 1550/52 Comm. mag. An. post. (fragm.), 1562 Epitome of Plato's Republic, 1539 Colliget III, 57–59, 1550/52 <i>Avicenna:</i> Canon I.1, I.1.3.29, I.4, 1530, 1538, ca. 1540
Jean Cinquarbres (d. 1587), Paris H	<i>Avicenna:</i> Canon III.1.4, III.1.5, III.2, 1570, 1572, 1586
Jacob Christmann (d. 1613), Heidelberg H	<i>Alfraganus:</i> Chronologica et astronomica elementa, 1590
Jean Faucher (d. before 1630), ? A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Cantica, 1630
Tommaso Obicini of Novara (d. 1632), Rome A	<i>al-Abhari:</i> Isagoge [...] in scientiam logices, 1625
Peter Kirsten (d. 1640), Breslau A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Canon II, 1609 or 1610
Johann Buxtorf Jr. (d. 1664), Basel H	<i>Maimonides:</i> Liber mōre nevūkim, 1629
Antonius Deusing (d. 1666), Groningen A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Cantica, 1649 <i>Mesue:</i> Aphorismi, 1649
Jacob Golius (d. 1667), Leiden A	<i>Alfraganus:</i> Elementa astronomica, 1669
Pierre Vattier (d. 1667), Orleans, Paris A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Canon III.1, 1659
Vopiscus Plemp (d. 1671), Louvain A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Canon I.2, IV.1, 1658
Georg Hieronymus Welsch (d. 1677), Augsburg A	<i>Avicenna:</i> Canon IV.3.21–22, 1674
Edward Pococke Sr. (d. 1691) and Edward Pococke Jr., Oxford A	<i>Ibn Ṭufayl:</i> Epistola [...] de Hai Ebn Yokdhan, 1671

