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 'Abbāsid society\(^1\). The Arabic-Latin translations have not yet received a similar amount of attention\(^2\), 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

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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 established. 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 1130s. (2) *Hugo Santallienis*, Hugo of Santalla, dedicated several of his translations to Michael, bishop of Tarazona around 1145; Hugo’s translations cover astronomy, astrology and the divinatory sciences. (3) *Robertus Ketlenensis*, 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 astrology. (4) He was not, in all probability, identical with a kinsman of his, *Robertus Costrensis*, Robert of Chester, who translated an alchemical work in 1144 and an algebraical work in Segovia in 1145. The first Robert, Robert of Ketton, was a friend of (5) *Hermannus de Carintheia*, 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 Logroño. Robert’s and Hermann’s primary interest,


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

however, was not Islamic religion, but the science of the stars. (6) Another translator commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis in 1142 was *Magnificus Petrus Toledo*, 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 scholar\(^9\). (7) *Plato Tiburtinus*, Plato of Tivoli, perhaps an Italian by origin, worked in Barcelona; he produced between 1135 and 1145\(^4\).

Of these first five translators, four worked in Toledo, because he translated the other Toledan in the 12th century: (8) Avendaño, the archdeacon of Toledo. We know very little about him. He was an **Hispanus**, who possibly is the same person as the scribe of the *Hispanicus* in archdeacon’s *De animalibus et hominibus* among the Spanish collections of Arabic philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and geometry.

At the turn of the century, the number of translation centers not recorded on the map of Toledo was multiplied by at least four: Avendaño’s *Antiochus*, and Michael Scot and *De animalibus et hominibus*.

These translations in Toledo were rapidly disseminated throughout the entire Islamic world, and translations were also made in other centers, such as Barcelona; he produced between 1135 and 1145\(^1\).

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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) Johannes 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

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.
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 Léon 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 Mozarabs\textsuperscript{20} 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 Galippus\textsuperscript{21}.

Avendaño 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 Toledo\textsuperscript{22}. It is certain that there were contacts between Christian translators and Muqaddars, 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 Roteini armario': the library of the Banū Hud in Rueda de Jalón\textsuperscript{23}. 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"\textsuperscript{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 1145\textsuperscript{25}. Robert of Ketton had a successful ecclesiastical career:

\textsuperscript{20} I use the term 'Mozarab' not only for Christians under Islamic rule, but also for Arabic-speaking Christians under Christian rule.


\textsuperscript{23} Haskins, Studies (nt. 5), 73: "Quia ergo, mi domine Tyrassonensis autistes, ego Santellinitis tuae peticieni ex me ipso satisfacere non possum, huius commenti translationem, quod super eundem autorem opus eductum in Roteini armario et inter secretaria biblioteca penetrata tua insaciabilis filosophae aviditas meum reputai; tua dignitati offero presupsum." 

\textsuperscript{24} D'Alverny, Marc de Toledo (nt. 15), 39: "Deinde post hunc [...] in armariis Arabum studiose querniam alium quam transferrem librum, inveni Galeni De pulsus ac De pulsus utulisse ac De motibus membrorum liquidos uno volumine contentos." For discussion see Burnett, The Institutional Context (nt. 2), 227.

\textsuperscript{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 ecleciis Tyrassonensis ecclesiis: dominus Lapus archidiaconus, magister Hugo, Vitalis prior, Berengarius precentor, Arnaldus, Caballus 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 Colarense*, 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.


27 Cf. Martin Duque, El inglés (nt. 26), 483–506; J. G. Gazzambide, Historia de los obispos de Pamplona I, siglos IV–XIII, Pamplona 1979, 391–394; d'Alverny, Translations (nt. 5), 449; and the most informative article, Jetton, Robert of, in: Oxford Dictionary (nt. 6).


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 Gundissalminus* (occasionally also *dominus Gundisalvi*), which means that the original Dominicus was distorted into dominus, very probably because the name dominus was abbreviated as *do* or *do* (and similarly with other cases of the name). Cf. A. Rucquoi, Gundissalvus ou Dominicus Gundisalvi? in: Bulletin de Philosophie Médévale 41 (1999), 85–106, and the reply by A. Fidora and J. Soto Bruna, Gundissalvus ou Dominicus Gundissalvi?: 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): *Hoc sunt nominis canonico rum qui modo sunt: [...] Magister Girardus* (written by a scribe); no. 165 (March 1174): *Eigo Girardus dictus magister confirmó* (autograph, cf. plate XVI in Hernández); no. 174 (1st March 1176): *Eigo 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 scolarum*, 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 France. It seems that *magister* in the case of Gerard means no more than ‘very learned person’ or ‘graduate from a school’. 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 Pamplona, 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 esset medicus vestra nobilitas quereret brevem libellum de observatione diete’). 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 physician. In some exceptional

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

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 more\textsuperscript{37}, 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 law\textsuperscript{38}: Jacobus Veneticus Graecus was a canonist, whose legal advice to the archbishop of Ravenna has survived in manuscript\textsuperscript{39}. Burgundio of Pisa worked as a notary, judge and diplomat\textsuperscript{40}. 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 1700\textsuperscript{41}. 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 Cinqarbres 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 story\textsuperscript{42},

\textsuperscript{37} See nt. 26 above.
\textsuperscript{38} As observed by Burnett, Translation and Transmission (nt. 2).
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 Alpago 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 Alpago, 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 study. 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 Alpago worked in Damascus and other cities of the Near East: Ramusio traveled to Beirut, and Alpago made several long journeys in the Near East, in search of manuscripts. 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 Alpago were physicians to the Venetian embassy in Damascus; Burana was a teacher of logic in Padua and later worked as a physician, probably in Verona; Paolo Ricci, a Christian convert from Judaism, was a teacher of medicine and philosophy in Pavia, when he translated Averroes; the Jewish scholars Abraham de Balmes,
Caló Calonymos ben David and Jacob Mantino all worked as physicians in cities of the Veneto and in Rome; 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 III. 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 philosophy.

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 classes. And secondly, Arabic medicine was about to reach the highpoint of its influence in the West as late as in the sixteenth century. Medicine was the Arabic science par excellence in the Renaissance.

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 Averroes, and who apparently also was the patron of a Hebrew-Latin translation of Ibn Tufayl’s Hayy ibn Yaqzân; (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

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48 See the two articles by Tamani cited in nt. 41 above.
50 Cf. Bartòla, Eliyahu 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.“
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: Grundsätzliche zum Forschungsstand, in: Neulateinisches Jahrbuch 3 (2001), 65–79.
54 See B. Kieszkowski, Les rapports entre Elie de Medigo et Pic de la Mirandole (d'après le ms. lat. 6508 de la Bibliothèque Nationale), in: Rinascimento 4 (1964), 41–91, and the very informative article by Bartòla, Eliyahu del Medigo (nt. 41), 253–278.
particularly interested in Aristotelian logic. 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 Trent. 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 'Meteoras' of Aristotle, used to escort the young nobleman from his house to the lecture room. 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. Francesco. 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 intellect. On the other hand, the evidence of patronage for translations of Averroes clearly shows that there was a broad

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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. Pietro Pomponatio vien ogni di alle ventidue vel circa a levarle il S. te di casa et li fa compagnia al Studio, dove a quella hora legge et la lezione sua è il Meteoro d'Aristotele molto delevole a sentirlo.'


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 Padua. And Alpago, in his more than 30 years in the Near East, kept in contact with his home university and eventually sent him 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 students. One of the professors who sat on this commission, Oddo Oddi, initiated yet another textual revision of the ‘Canon’ in the 1550s by Andrea Gratiiolo (which reached print in 1580).

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 Ketton, and lectures on astronomy offered to the Peripatetics in Francia by Petrus Alfonsi. 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

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63 Siraisi, Avicenna (nt. 41), 141-142.
64 This promise is contained in Robert’s preface to the translation of the Koran: “Seu ne prooemium fustidium generet, ipsi sinem impono tibique coelesti, coelestum omne penetrans, coeleste munus vovere, quod integritatem in se scientiae completitum.” (Patrologia latina, vol. 189, Paris 1849, col. 660).
West. But the reception of the Spanish translations was not immediate for the most part; it begins several decades after the date of translation. 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 1240s. 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 Italy. 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

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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 Johannes 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.


translation was dedicated to archbishop Raymond of Toledo (by John of Seville)\textsuperscript{70}, one to his successor archbishop John of Toledo (by Avendauth)\textsuperscript{71}, seven to bishop Michael of Tarazona (by Hugo of Santalla)\textsuperscript{72}, one to Teresa, queen of the Portuguese (by John of Seville)\textsuperscript{73}, one to Thierry of Chartres (by Hermann of Carinthia)\textsuperscript{74}; and there are the translations of texts concerning Islamic religion commissioned by Petrus Venerabilis, abbot of Cluny\textsuperscript{75}. 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 Dominican Gundisalvi. The expressions in Avendauth’s dedication are in summum vestrum, and vestro munere, which seems to indicate financial support\textsuperscript{76}. 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, Dominican 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


\textsuperscript{71} Avicenna, Liber de anima (nt. 66), vol. 1, 3. ‘Johannes reverentissimo Toletanam sedis archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primati, Avendauthis israelita philosophus gratiam debuit, qua impetum obtinuerit.’

\textsuperscript{72} The dedications ‘ad Michaelem Trassone antiquum’ are conveniently collected by Haskins, Studies (nt. 5), 67–81.

\textsuperscript{73} See nt. 35 above.

\textsuperscript{74} Ch. Burnett, Arabic into Latin in Twelfth-Century Spain: the Works of Hermann of Carinthia, in: Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch 13 (1978), 110. ‘Quod igitur omnium humanitatis studiorum summa radix et principium est ut politis desitiarem quam tibi ... diligentissime preceptor Thedorie.’ The translation is of Prolemy’s ‘Planisphere’.

\textsuperscript{75} R. Glei, Petrus Venerabilis: Schriften zum Islam, Altenberge 1985, 20 (aus ‘Summa totius haecresis Saracenorum’): ‘Nam et hae tota causa fuit, qua ego ... magni studio et impetuis totum impiam secatam esse possint inventoribus ecclesiabilium vitam de arabis in latinum transferi ac denudatum ad nostrorum notitiam venire fact;’ 24 (aus ‘Epistola de translatione sua’): ‘[ ... ] legem ... ] ex arabis ad latinatem perhiberi interpretaciones solitavit utriusque linguae peritis, Roberto Ketomensi de Anglia, qui none Panfilovenensis ecclesiae archidioecetatis est, Hermanno quoque Dalmaea, auctissimi et litteratis ingenii scholastico, quos in Hispania circa Hiborum astrologiae artem studenter invenero eosque ad hoc faciendo multo pretio concordi.’ See also nt. 80 below.

\textsuperscript{76} Avicenna, Liber de anima (nt. 66), vol. 1, 3–4: ‘Quapropter ipsum vestrum, Domino, de transierendo libro Avicennae philosophi de anima, effectui manoeuvre caravui, ut vestro munere et meo labore Latinis fieret certum quod haecreses exitit 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 century. 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-Castille. 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 Johannes Hispanus collaborated with the Latin translators Dominicus Gundisalvi and Gerard of Cremona. In the 1160s, Mozarabs were first admitted to the cathedral chapter of Toledo. 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 Muhammad, non […] armis, sed verbis, 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. Diez 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 Glei, Petrus Venerabilis (nt. 75), 62: 'Agreditor inquam vos non, ut nostri saepe faciunt, armis sed verbis, non vi sed ratione, non odio sed amore.'
The Social Conditions

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 south, 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 peninsula, 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 Léon-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 kings. 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-Denis, as well as the other French schools. A reflection of the political situation can be traced in

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82 Cf. Linehan, History (nt. 79), 269–270, 277–278. Note, e.g., Petrus Venerabilis’ description of Compostela in 1142 as „inter omnes Hispaniae 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.

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": "Johanni reverentissimo Toletanae sedis archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primati."

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 Arabic.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Name</th>
<th>Arabic Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girolamo Ramusio (d. 1486), active in Damascus, translating from Arabic</td>
<td>Avicenna:</td>
<td>Canon I (Ms. Paris BN arabe 2897) [interlinear translation]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous Hebrew scholar attached to Pico della Mirandola (before 1493)</td>
<td>Ibn Ṭufayl:</td>
<td>Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān (Ms. Gerua Bibl. Univ. A.X.29)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), Damascus</td>
<td>Avicenna:</td>
<td>Canon I–V, Cantica, De virtutibus cordis, 1527 [corrections]</td>
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</tbody>
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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 (Gūzānī’s biography of Avicenna), Juan de Segovia, Juan Andrés, Flavius Mithridates, Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis, Guillaume Postel (Koran).
The Social Conditions

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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), Damascus</td>
<td>Avienna: Compendium de anima [...], 1546 De removendis nocumentis, De syrupo acetosu, 1547 Ibn al-Nafis and Qutb al-Din al-Shafi'i, commentaries on the Canon, 1547 [selections] Eiambulator (Ibn al-Baytari): De limonibus, 1583 Serapion: Practica, 1550 [corrections]</td>
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<td>Calo Calonymos ben David (d. after 1526), Venice</td>
<td>Averucco: Theorica planetarum, 1531 Averroes: Destructio destructionum, 1527 Epistola de connexione intellectus abstracti cum homine, 1527</td>
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<td>Vitalis Nisso (d. ?)</td>
<td>Averroes: Comp. Gen., 1550/52</td>
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<td>Paolo Ricci (d. 1541), Padua and Pavia</td>
<td>Albucasis: Liber theoreticae, 1519 (first two books of the Kitab al-tasrif li-man 'agiza 'an al-tulif) [ed. by Ricci, translator uncertain]</td>
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<td>Paolo Ricci (d. 1541)</td>
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<td>Comm. med. Cael., 1511</td>
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<td>Comm. mag. Metaph. Proem. XII, 1511</td>
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<td>Jacob Mantino (d. 1549)</td>
<td>Bologna, Venice, Rome H</td>
<td>Averroes:</td>
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<td>Comm. med. Animal., 1521</td>
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<td>Jean Cinqarbres (d. 1587)</td>
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<td>Canon III.1.4, III.1.5, III.2, 1570, 1572, 1586</td>
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<td>Chronologica et astronomica elementa, 1590</td>
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<td>Jean Faucher (d. before 1630), ? A</td>
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<td>al-Abhart:</td>
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