

Latin Averroes Translations of the First Half of the Thirteenth Century

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Palermo is a particularly appropriate place for delivering a paper about Latin translations of Averroes in the first half of the thirteenth century. Michael Scot and William of Luna, two of the translators, were associated with the court of the Hohenstaufen in Sicily and Southern Italy. Michael Scot moved to Italy around 1220. He was coming from Toledo, where he had already translated at least two major works from Arabic: the astronomy of al-Bitrūǧī and the 19 books on animals by Aristotle. In Italy, he dedicated the translation of Avicenna's book on animals to Frederick II Hohenstaufen, and he mentions that two books of his own were commissioned by Frederick: the *Liber introductorius* and the commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco. He refers to himself as *astrologus Frederici*. His Averroes translation, however, the Long Commentary on *De caelo*, is dedicated to the French cleric Étienne de Provins, who had close ties to the papal court. It is important to remember that Michael Scot himself, the canon of the cathedral of Toledo, was not only associated with the Hohenstaufen, but also with the papal court.² William of Luna, the other translator, was working *apud Neapolim*, in the area of Naples. It seems likely that William of Luna was associated to Manfred of Hohenstaufen, ruler of Sicily.³

Sicily therefore is a good place for an attempt to say something new about Michael Scot and William of Luna. In this article, I shall try to do this by studying particles: small words used by translators. This topic is worthwhile also because Michael Scot is an impressive figure – as a translator, but also as an author. His magnum opus, the *Liber introductorius ad astrologiam*, is the first major astrological work to make use of Arabic astrology. The *Liber introductorius* covers much more than astrology and astronomy: it contains large

¹ I am grateful to the advice of Silke Ackermann, Charles Burnett, Ruth Glasner, Roland Hissette and Horst Schmieja, to suggestions from the audiences in Palermo at the SIEPM congress and in London at the Warburg Institute, and also to several scholars who have provided me with electronic versions of Latin texts (see n. 26 below). I am also grateful to the help of my research assistants in Würzburg (see n. 27 below). Research for this article was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

² The current state of knowledge on Michael Scot is summarized in the forthcoming article by CH. BURNETT, *Michael Scotus*, in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg*, Schwabe, Basle, vol. 13. *Jahrhundert*, ed. P. SCHULTHESS and CH. FLÜELER. Among the older literature, three studies shall be singled out: CH. H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge 1924, pp. 272-298 (chapter *Michael Scot*); L. THORNDIKE, *Michael Scot*, Thomas Nelson Ltd, London – Edinburgh 1965; and 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), pp. 101-126. On Michael Scot and the papal court see n. 4 below.

³ F. DELLE DONNE, *Un'inedita epistola sulla morte di Guglielmo de Luna, maestro presso lo Studium di Napoli, e le tradizioni prodotte alla corte di Manfredi di Svevia*, in «*Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévale*» 74 (2007), pp. 225-245. On William of Luna see also R. HISSETTE, *Guillaume de Luna ou de Lunis ou Lunense: Un même traducteur d'Averroès et de traités d'Al-Jabr?*, in «*Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*» 39 (1997), pp. 121-129, and the articles mentioned in nn. 16 and 17 below.

sections on natural philosophy, cosmology, music and the occult sciences. After his death in the early 1230s, he became a legendary figure as a magician and necromancer. And Michael Scot also wrote the above-mentioned commentary on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco and the *Liber de signis et imaginibus celi*, a popular illustrated astrological treatise. In view of the fact that Michael Scot is such an interesting figure, it is disappointing that we do not know for certain which Averroes commentaries he translated.⁴ Is he the person who was mainly responsible for the translation of Averroes into Latin – a translation with wide-reaching consequences?

It has long been claimed that he was the main translator of Averroes: for instance by Ernest Renan,⁵ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld,⁶ and Moritz Steinschneider.⁷ Their principal argument is that Averroes translations are often transmitted in the same manuscripts. It is in line with this scholarly tradition that Harry A. Wolfson writes in 1963 that Michael Scot was the translator of the four big commentaries (*De caelo*, *Physics*, *De anima*, *Metaphysics*), of two middle commentaries (*De generatione* and *Meteorology*, book IV) and of one epitome (*Parva naturalia*).⁸ But other scholars have pointed out that there is only one Averroes translation which is explicitly attributed to Michael Scot: the Long Commentary on *De caelo*.⁹

⁴ This is only one of many riddles that scholarly work on Michael Scot is facing. In particular, it is unclear which parts of the *Liber introductorius*, which is transmitted in different recensions, can be attributed to Michael Scot, and where we have to locate his main activity as translator and author: in Spain, Bologna, the papal court, or the Hohenstaufen court. See BURNETT, *Michael Scot* (as in n. 2), and S. ACKERMANN, *Habent sua fata libelli ... Michael Scot and the transmission of knowledge between the courts of Europe*, in G. GREBNER – J. FRIED (eds.), *Kulturtransfer und Hofgesellschaft im Mittelalter*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2008 (the article being submitted Nov. 2002), pp. 273-284. For an argument that Michael Scot's translations were produced at the papal court, see A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento*, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto 1991, pp. 58-62.

⁵ E. RENAN, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris 2002, pp. 154-158, esp. p. 155: "Ces deux commentaires [scil. *Comm. mag. Cael.*, *Comm. mag. An.*] sont les seuls qui portent dans les manuscrits le nom de Michel Scot. Mais comme presque toujours on trouve à leur suite et dans un ordre donné les commentaires sur la *Génération et la corruption*, sur les *Météores*, les paraphrases des *Parva naturalia* et le *De substantia orbis*, on est autorisé à attribuer également la traduction de ces ouvrages à Michel Scot. Dans les manuscrits 943 de Sorbonne et 75 de Navarre, aux traductions précitées se trouvent joints les commentaires sur la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique*."

⁶ F. WÜSTENFELD, *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert*, Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Göttingen 1877, pp. 106-109.

⁷ M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Carl Gerold's Sohn, Wien, 1904 / 1905 (repr. Graz 1956), part I, pp. 55-58, esp. p. 56: "W[üstenfeld] ... faßt S. 108/9 die Kommentare des Averroes zusammen, indem er drei mss. hervorhebt (Oxford Balliol 112, 114, Merton 282), worin drei von ihm hervorgehobene Bücher vorkommen, wie schon Renan (Averroes p. 161) die stehende Reihenfolge in anderen mss. als ausreichenden Grund annahm, Üb[ersetzungen] ohne M[ichael Scotus]' Namen demselben beizulegen".

⁸ H. A. WOLFSON, *Revised Plan for the Publication of a Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem*, in «*Speculum*» 38 (1963), pp. 88-104, here p. 92.

⁹ E.g. HASKINS, *Studies* (as in n. 2), p. 278. Cf. also Ch. Burnett, *The "Sons of Averroes with the Emperor Frederick" and the Transmission of the Philosophical Works by Ibn Rushd*, in G. ENDRESS – J.A. AERTSEN (eds.), *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition*, Brill, Leiden etc. 1999, pp. 259-299, here p. 269: "The conventional attribution of the Large Commentaries to Michael Scot needs confirmation".

Latin Averroes translations of the first half of the thirteenth century

anonymous	Comm. med. De interpretatione Comm. med. Analytica priora Comm. med. Analytica posteriora Comm. mag. Physics De substantia orbis Comm. med. De generatione Comm. med. Meteorology, book IV Comm. mag. Anima Comm. med. De animalibus Comp. Parva naturalia Comm. mag. Metaphysics Comm. med. Nicomachean Ethics
William of Luna	Comm. med. Isagoge (Porphyry) Comm. med. Categories
Theodore of Antioch (probably)	Comm. mag. Physics Prooemium
Michael Scot	Comm. mag. De caelo
Hermannus Alemannus	Comm. med. Poetics Comm. med. Rhetoric fragm.

This is a list of all commentaries translated in the thirteenth century, plus *De substantia orbis*. From prefaces and colophons we can identify the translators of six pieces: William of Luna translated the Middle Commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*; Theodore of Antioch probably translated the preface to the Long Commentary on the *Physics* (according to the testimony of one manuscript), but apparently not the rest of the commentary;¹⁰ Michael Scot is the translator of the Long Commentary on *De caelo*: and Hermannus Alemannus translated the middle commentaries on the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* in Toledo. The rest is anonymous.

It is often said that the Middle Commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* was translated by Hermannus Alemannus. But in fact the colophon only tells us the following: "The translator says: I have completed the translation of this treatise from Arabic into Latin on the third of June of the year 1240 in Toledo in the

¹⁰ G. LACOMBE, *Aristoteles Latinus: codices*, 2 vols, La libreria dello stato, Rome 1939-1945, vol. I, p. 104: "Istum (sic!) est prohemium commenti A. super libro Physicorum Aristotilis, quod transtulit magister Theodorus ... rogatus scolarium qui erant Padue" (Ms. Erfurt, Amplon. Fol. 352, fol. 104v). On Theodore see CH. BURNETT, *Master Theodore, Frederick II's Philosopher*, in *Federico II e le nuove culture: atti del XXXI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 9-12 ottobre 1994*, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1995, pp. 225-285. On Theodore as an Arabic-Latin translator see now also S. GEORGES, *Das zweite Falkenbuch Kaiser Friedrichs II. Quellen, Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption des Moamin. Mit einer Edition der lateinischen Überlieferung*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2008, p. 319 ff.

Chapel of Saint Trinity".¹¹ This case is different from the commentaries on *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, because there we have prefaces by the translator Hermannus Alemannus. Since we know that Hermannus was an active translator in Toledo around 1250, it is probable that he translated the commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, but it is not certain. In the preface to his translation of the *Rhetoric*, Hermannus refers to his own translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, remnants of which have recently been identified, but not to his commentary.¹²

Sometimes it is maintained that Michael Scot translated the Long Commentary on *De anima*. But only one of the 57 or so manuscripts has a reference to Michael Scot, and this reference says that Averroes wrote his commentary in Greek and that Michael Scot translated it into Latin. This is not a reliable piece of information.¹³ It is as unreliable as the attribution of the translation of the Compendium of the *Parva naturalia* to Gerard (of Cremona) in the same manuscript.¹⁴

As to William of Luna, Wolfson says that not only the commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories* were translated by William, but also the commentaries on *De interpretatione*, and on the *First* and *Second Analytics*.¹⁵ Roland Hissette, the editor of the commentary on *De interpretatione*, agrees that this is probable, because the commentaries on *Isagoge*, *Categories* and *De interpretatione* are grouped together in the manuscript which is central for the transmission (Erfurt, Ampl. Fol. 318).¹⁶ But Hissette adds the warning that the commentaries on the *First* and *Second Analytics* are not contained in this manuscript.¹⁷

We therefore have twelve anonymous translations. Can this be changed? Is it possible to identify the translators? In the first part of my paper, I will try to solve the problem by a comparison of translation styles of all 17 commentaries.

¹¹ *Aristoteles Latinus: codices* (as in n. 10), vol. I, p. 233: "Dixit translator: et ego complevi eius translationem ex arabico in latinum tertio die iovis mensis junii anno ab incarnatione millesimo quadringentesimo (=ducesimo) quadagesimo apud urbem Tolet(anam) in cappella sancte trinitatis".

¹² As is convincingly argued by A. AKASOY and A. FIDORA, *Hermannus Alemannus und die alia translatio der Nikomachischen Ethik*, in «Bulletin de philosophie médiévale» 44 (2002), pp. 79-93.

¹³ The manuscript is Paris Bibl. Nat. Vat. lat. 14385, 13th cent.; see AVERROES, *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libros*, ed. F. S. Crawford, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, p. xi, note 3: "Incipit commentum libri de anima Aristotelis philosophy quem commentatus est Averroes in greco et Michael Scotus transtulit in latinum" (Vat. lat. 14385, f. 133r); "Explicit liber de anima Aristotelis commentatus ab Avenrost et a magistro Michael Scoto positus in latino" (ibid., f. 160v).

¹⁴ AVERROES, *Compendia librorum Aristotelis qui Parva naturalia vocantur*, ed. A. L. Shields, The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, p. xiii, n. 8: "Incipit liber Aristotelis phylosophy, viri clarissimi et totius philosophye principis, de Sensu et Sensato quem Gerardus transtulit in latinum" (Vat. lat. 14385, f. 44v).

¹⁵ WOLFSON, *Revised Plan* (as in n. 8), p. 92.

¹⁶ On this manuscript see R. HISSETTE, *Die Handschrift CA 2^o 318 und die mittleren Kommentare des Averroes zur Logica Vetus*, in K. PAASCH – E. DÖBLER (eds.), *Der Schatz des Amplonius. Die große Bibliothek des Mittelalters in Erfurt*, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek, Erfurt 2001, pp. 130-141.

¹⁷ R. HISSETTE, *Le vocabulaire philosophique des traductions d'Averroès attribuées à Guillaume de Luna*, in J. HAMESSE – C. STEEL (eds.), *L'élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique au moyen âge*, Brepols, Turnhout 2000, pp. 99-110, here pp. 99-101.

In the second part, I will say something on Michael Scot's motives and techniques.

I – Who translated the Averroes' commentaries into Latin?

One way to solve the problem of the anonymous translations would be to compare the translation of commentaries with Michael Scot's translations of al-Bitrūḡī, Aristotle *De animalibus* and Avicenna *De animalibus*. The editions of Francis Carmody and Aafke van Oppenraay would be very helpful for such a project. Another method would be to compare the commentaries with Michael Scot's original works, the *Liber introductorius* and the commentary on the *Sphaera*. I have made some attempts of such comparisons, and other scholars such as Horst Schmieja¹⁸ have too, but we have not got very far. The reason is that the Latin Averroes commentaries have a very specific linguistic structure: they are deeply influenced by the format of the commentary, by the structure of the Arabic language, and in particular by Averroes' stylistic preferences.

One method tried by Carmody and others was to compare technical vocabulary, for instance, in astronomy and cosmology. Again, this did not lead very far, because translators change their technical vocabulary, sometimes consciously, sometimes inadvertently.¹⁹ In 1999, Aafke van Oppenraay made a stunning observation.²⁰ Michael Scot produced two translations of zoological works, of Aristotle's *De animalibus* in Toledo, and of Avicenna's *De animalibus* in Italy, but the technical vocabulary in the second translation is much more deficient and incompetent than in the first. In the earlier translation, many Arabic animal names are correctly rendered with Latin animal names, whereas in the later translation they are rendered with a loan word or a wrong Latin name. Apparently, Michael Scot did not have a copy of his earlier translation at hand, when he translated Avicenna, and it seems to have been more difficult for him to get expert advice by Arabic speakers in Italy than in Toledo.²¹

¹⁸ Horst Schmieja has shown that the seventh book of the Long Commentary on the *Physics* was thoroughly revised against the Arabic by an unknown translator. He presents stylistic evidence for identifying the anonymous translator of book seven with Hermannus Alemannus. See AVERROES, *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis physicorum librum septimum (Vindobonensis, lat. 2334)*, ed. H. Schmieja, Schöningh, Paderborn 2007, introduction and pp. 85-135. Cf. also H. SCHMIEJA, *Secundum aliam translationem – Ein Beitrag zur arabisch-lateinischen Übersetzung des großen Physikkomentars von Averroes*, in G. ENDRESS – J.A. AERTSEN (eds.), *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition*, Brill, Leiden etc. 1999, 316-336.

¹⁹ Francis Carmody has compared the technical vocabulary of Michael Scot's translations of al-Bitrūḡī and of the Long Commentary on *De caelo*, concluding that "his vocabulary may be said to have expanded considerably and rapidly" (p. 17); he presents a combined list of the vocabulary of both texts. See AL-BITRUJI, *De motibus celorum*, ed. F. J. Carmody, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1952, pp. 17-20.

²⁰ A. M. I. VAN OPPENRAAY, *Michael Scot's Arabic-Latin Translation of Aristotle's Books on Animals*, in C. STEEL – G. GULDENTOPS – P. BEULLENS (eds.), *Aristotle's Animals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leuven Univ. Press, Leuven 1999, 31-43.

²¹ Note that Silke Ackermann's editorial work on Michael Scot's *Liber de signis et imaginibus celi* has cast doubt on Michael Scot's command of Arabic (see her forthcoming edition of the *Liber de signis*). Cf. also her article mentioned in n. 4 above.

I have therefore turned away from technical vocabulary, and also from al-Bitrūḡī, Aristotle, and Avicenna, and concentrated on the 17 texts by Averroes. My primary focus is on particles, because particles appear in texts of all philosophical disciplines. This is an idea I had for some time, at least since the time I read Lorenzo Minio-Paluello's impressive 1952 article on James of Venice, which differentiates between several Greek-Latin translators on the basis of the translation of particles.²² But the task is more difficult than it seems. For one thing, Arabic is not as rich in particles as is Greek (albeit rich enough, as we will see). Furthermore, the 17 translations share many particles: *quia*, *quoniam*, *enim*, *verbi gratia*, *iam*, *quemadmodum*, *igitur*, *ergo*, *immo*, *quare*, *tamen* and many others – they also share some Arabisms: such as *cum hoc*, for "inspite of this" or "in addition to this".

But finally, I hit upon a term which was promising: *iamque*.

iamque
(translating wa-qad, fa-qad)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	8
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	16
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	13
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	84
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	59
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

the other translators have: et iam

²² L. MINIO-PALUELLO, *Iacobus Veneticus Grecus. Canonist and Translator of Aristotle*, in «Traditio» 8 (1952), pp. 265-304, repr. in: idem, *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle*, Hakkert, Amsterdam 1971, pp. 189-228. This is perhaps the most impressive of a series of articles by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello on the Greek-Latin translators of the Middle Ages, most of which are reprinted in the *Opuscula*. Minio-Paluello's methods were adopted by other scholars, such as by Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem with respect to William of Moerbeke; see ARISTOTLE, *Aristoteles Latinus. XXV 3, Metaphysica lib. I-XIV: recensio et translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, 2 vols, Brill, Leiden 1995, vol. 1, pp. 16-17.

This table presents the Averroes translations listed in the traditional sequence of Aristotle's works. The brackets contain the initials of the names of identified translators: WL is William of Luna, MS is Michael Scot, and HA is Hermannus Alemannus. The numbers indicate how often the term appears in this work, counting occurrences both in Aristotle's textus and in Averroes' commentary. The present article is entitled "Averroes translations", but, naturally, it is also a study into the Arabic-Latin translations of Aristotle. This is particularly true for the *Rhetoric*, since Hermannus Alemannus' translation is a translation of Aristotle's text in the first place, interspersed with thirteen short sections from Averroes' Middle Commentary on the *Rhetoric* and one section from Avicenna's *aš-Šifā'*.²³ Theodore's translation of the preface to the *Physics* does not appear on the table, because it is too short to be of any statistical relevance. Not considered either is Pedro Gallego's partial adaptation of Averroes' Middle Commentary on *De animalibus*²⁴ and other translations of the later thirteenth century, such as Bonacosa's rendering of Averroes' main medical work, the *Kitāb al-Kulliyāt* (known in Latin as *Colliget*).

Iamque is a feature which distinguishes the first five logical commentaries from the rest. In fact, *iamque* does not appear a single time in any of the other texts. Remember that some of these texts, the long commentaries, are several hundred pages long. The relative length of the texts is indicated on the table by the percentage given in brackets, relative to the length of the longest text, which is the Long Commentary on the *Physics* with the percentage 100%.²⁵

Iamque usually translates the Arabic particles *wa-qad* and *fa-qad*, for which the other translators use the phrase *et iam*. Of course, we do not have the Arabic original for all the texts listed: The Arabic, for instance, of the long commentaries on *De anima* and *Physics* are lost. Hence, I cannot guarantee that it is *wa-qad* or *fa-qad* which is always behind the phrases *iamque* and *et iam*. This is true also for all following tables: The remark in brackets "(translating the Arabic ...)" is always an extrapolation. What is much more certain, however, is the numbers of Latin occurrences listed: the Latin *iamque* only appears in the first five texts.

A brief note on the textual basis is appropriate. For about two thirds of the texts, I have been using electronic versions of printed editions or of editions in

²³ See W. F. BOGGESE, *Hermannus Alemannus' Rhetorical Translations*, in «Viator» 2 (1971), pp. 227-250, esp. pp. 236-245.

²⁴ Of which the editor says that it cannot be called a "traducción directa y original"; see J. MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, *Petri Galleci Opera omnia quae exstant*, Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, Florence 2000, p. 74.

²⁵ For the purpose of calculating the relative length of the texts, I have calculated for each text how many pages it would cover in the Giunta edition of 1562. This is the result (note that for many commentaries I had to subtract from the actual Giunta pages the space covered by the Greek-Latin translations of Aristotle which are printed together with the Arabic-Latin translations): Comm. med. Isag. 10 (virtual Giunta pages); Comm. med. Cat. 20; Comm. med. Int. 23; Comm. med. An. pr. 79; Comm. med. An. post. 49; Comm. mag. Phys. 378; Comm. mag. Cael. 233; De substantia orbis 12; Comm. med. Gen. 23; Comm. med. Meteor. IV 11; Comm. mag. An. 133; Comp. Parv. nat. 14; Comm. med. Animal. fragm. 24; Comm. mag. Metaph. 263; Comm. med. Eth. Nic. 90; Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. 55; Comm. med. Poet. 14.

progress, and I am grateful to the scholars who have given me such versions.²⁶ The remaining texts, about one third of the whole, had to be read word by word – and, of course, in these cases the danger is greater that terms are overlooked.²⁷ The editorial quality of the texts varies to a great degree. Some of them exist in excellent critical editions, some only in Renaissance editions, two of them only in manuscript.²⁸ The provisional numbers in the tables will therefore change a little bit when new critical editions appear, but I doubt that this will change the picture to a relevant extent.

When I had hit upon the term *iamque*, I knew what to look for.

illud est quia (translating wa-*dālika* anna)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0 (quod est quia: 5)
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	20
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	34
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	26
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	22
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	9
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	1
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0

²⁶ I thank Richard Taylor, Rüdiger Arnzen, Gerhard Endress, Andreas Speer and Roland Hissette.

²⁷ In reading and counting, I am very grateful for the help of my research assistants Katrin Fischer, Raphael Kretz, Andreas Lammer and Fabian Meinecke.

²⁸ The editions and manuscripts used are the following: Comm. med. Isag.: Venice, 1483 (editio princeps by Nicoletto Vernia); Comm. med. Cat.: Venice, 1483 (Roland Hissette has corrected some of the numbers against the edition he is about to publish); Comm. med. Int.: ed. R. Hissette, Peeters, Leuven 1996; Comm. med. An. pr.: Venice, 1483; Comm. med. An. post. Venice, 1483; Comm. mag. Phys.: Venice, 1473 (editio princeps by Lorenzo Canozio), in an electronic version provided by the Thomas Institute, Cologne, which integrates manuscript readings, especially from Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15453; Comm. mag. Cael.: ed. R. Arnzen, Peeters, Leuven 2003; De substantia orbis: ed. M. Alonso, in: *Comentario al "De substantia orbis" de Averroes (Aristotelismo y Averroismo) por Alvaro de Toledo*, Instituto filosofico "Luis Vives", Madrid 1941; Comm. med. Gen.: ed. F. H. Fobes, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1956; Comm. med. Meteor. IV: Giunta, Venice 1562 (Giunta edition), vol. 5, ff. 467-487; Comm. mag. An.: ed. F. St. Crawford, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1953; Comp. Parv. nat.: ed. A. L. Shields, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1949; Comm. med. Animal. fragm.: Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 14385, ff. 167r-170r, and Ms. Würzburg, Mp. Med. f. 3, ff. 198v-199v, 200v, 203r-206r, 209rv; Comm. mag. Metaph.: electronic version of the critical edition in progress by Stefan Georges and myself, University of Würzburg; Comm. med. Eth. Nic.: Giunta, Venice 1562, vol. 3, ff. 1-160; Comm. med. Rhet. fragm.: Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 16673, ff. 65r-147r; Comm. med. Poet.: ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Desclée de Brouwer, Brussels / Paris 1968.

Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

the other translators have: quoniam, enim, vero, nempe

There is another feature that is distinctive of the logical commentaries: the phrase *illud est quia*, which translates the Arabic *wa-dālika anna*. The other translators use the terms *enim*, *quoniam* or *vero* instead. *Illud est quia* is an Arabism, because the formula repeats the demonstrative pronoun *dālika* and the conjunction *anna*. In the *Isagoge* commentary *illud est quia* does not appear, but a similar phrase: *quod est quia*.

Please note that the commentary on the *Meteorology* shares the predilection for this Arabism; I shall come back to this.

**verum (as adverb)
(translating: lākinna, bal)**

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	1
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	5
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	8
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	5
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	4
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	2 (non solum ... verum etiam)
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	1
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

**the other translators have: sed, autem, immo,
sed tamen, verumtamen**

This is another feature which binds the five logical commentaries together. They share a predilection for the adversative conjunction *verum*. *Verum* is not as often

used in the five commentaries as is *sed*, but the important point is that the other translators hardly ever use *verum* as a conjunction.

It turns out that two of the alternative translations are indicative for other translators: *sed tamen* and *verumtamen*.

sed tamen

(translating: lākinna)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	1
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	25
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	72
De substantia orbis (3%)	2
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	10
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	34
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	41
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	1
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	1
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

Sed tamen is a favourite phrase of Michael Scot. It appears 72 times in the Long Commentary on *De caelo*. But it also appears often in the other long commentaries. It is a feature which binds the long commentaries together. Here we have for the first time a hint that there may exist a large group of translations which can be attributed to Michael Scot.

verum(p)tamen

(translating: lākinna)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	1
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0

Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	5
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	1
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	92
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	44
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	7

Verumtamen is a term which is very typical of the last three items on the list, two of which are attributed to Hermannus Alemannus.

My principal aim now was to find clearcut cases like *iamque* for this last group – single words that are often used by one translator and not used by others. That is, they are common and specific at the same time: commonly used by a translator, but nevertheless specific for him. I omit all the disappointing tables with particles that are typical of one translator, but not used exclusively by him (such as *secundum veritatem* for William of Luna, *ideoque* for Hermannus Alemannus, or *in rei veritate* and *econtrario* for Michael Scot).

Fortunately, there are such special words in the texts of Hermannus Alemannus:

prout
(translating *mitla*)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	2
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	4

Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	92
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	32

The other translators use: sicut, ut.

nempe
(translating: wa-dālika anna, fa-inna)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	2
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	8
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	27
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	7

The other translators use quoniam, quia, enim, namque, vero, illud est quia

interdum
(translating: qad with foll. imperfect, or: tāratan)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0

Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	18
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	96
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	7

**The other translators use
for *qad* with foll. imperf.: *iam*.
for *tāratān*: *quandoque*, *aliquando*.**

One such term is *prout*: hardly ever used by the other translators, only by Hermannus Alemannus. It renders the Arabic *miṭla*. The other translators have *sicut* or *ut* instead. Another favourite term of Hermannus' is *nempe*, which translates the causal particles *wa-dālika anna* and *fa-inna* ("for", "because"). It appears regularly in the last three items on the list, but is extremely rare in the other texts. The third table shows a term often and exclusively used by Hermannus: *interdum*, as a translation of *qad* or *tāratān*. Here the more usual translations are *iam*, *quandoque* or *aliquando*.

I add a final example of Hermannus' style:

**cum (hoc) sic sit, cumque sic sit, quando sic sit (or: fuerit)
(translating: *idā kāna dālika ka-dālika* and similar phrases)**

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	0
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	0
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	0
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0

Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	0
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	46
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	2
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	5

**The other translators use the particle:
ita (cum ita sit, cum hoc sit ita).**

This is a favourite phrase of Averroes, which appears in nearly all his commentaries: "since (or if) this is the case", *idā kāna dālika ka-dālika*, literally: "if this is like this". The translation with *sic* appears only in Hermannus.

The tables you have seen up to now demonstrate two things: First: There are stylistic features that appear often and exclusively in the five logical commentaries (*iamque, illud est quia, verum*), which strongly suggest that all five of them are translations by William of Luna. And second: There are stylistic features that appear often and exclusively in the commentaries on the *Poetics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, and *Rhetoric* (*verumtamen, prout, nempe, interdum, cum sic sit* and similar phrases), which show that all three commentaries were translated by Hermannus Alemannus – including the anonymous *Ethics* commentary.

At the same time, the other commentaries in the middle of the table are united by the negative evidence that the translators do not use the mentioned stylistic features. Here one may object and say: It may well be that William and Hermannus are very peculiar stylists; if that is the case, any sensible translator will fall under the middle group; the negative evidence does not unite this group, as long as we do not have any features that tie these translations together.

That is a valid objection. Is there any positive evidence for the rest of the translations? Is it possible to pinpoint the stylistic preferences of Michael Scot? I continue with my last example, Averroes' phrase: "since this is the case".

cum ita sit, si ita esset

(translating: *idā kāna dālika ka-dālika* and similar phrases)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	89
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	250
De substantia orbis (3%)	5
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	9

Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	47
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	3
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	5
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	65
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	2
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

the other translators have: phrases with *hoc, illud* or *res (cum hoc ita sit)* or phrases with the particle *sic*.

Here we have favourite phrases of Michael Scot: *cum ita sit* and *si ita esset*. They appear 250 times in the Long Commentary on *De caelo*, and very often also in the other long commentaries. And also time and again in the *De substantia orbis* and the commentaries on *De generatione, Parva naturalia* and *De animalibus*. William of Luna does not use the phrases at all, nor does the translator of the commentary of the *Meteorology*; Hermannus has them only twice. William usually has phrases with *hoc, illud* or *res* (for instance: *cum hoc sit ita*), and Hermannus prefers the particle *sic*.

This is not yet a perfect table, because Hermannus uses the phrases too, even if rarely. But now comes a first phrase which is so Michael Scotian that it is never used elsewhere: *facere rememorationem* – a term pointed out to me by Stefan Georges.

**facere rememorationem
(translating: dakara)**

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	16
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	17
De substantia orbis (3%)	0
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	0
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	1
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	0
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	23

Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

The other translators have: rememorari, narrare, facere mentionem.

dakara is a very ordinary Arabic verb, which means "to mention". The phrase *facere rememorationem* is not only rare outside the long commentaries, but also rare in Latin literature as a whole, as far as I can tell from lexica and the Library of Latin Texts. This is very convincing evidence that the four long commentaries are translated by the same person.

But there is more evidence for the translator Michael Scot:

quapropter
(translating li-dālīka, fa)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	20
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	190
De substantia orbis (3%)	1
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	47
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	36
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	4
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	46
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

The other translators have: ideo, ideoque, unde.

declaratum est
(translating: tabayyana)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	254
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	248
De substantia orbis (3%)	18
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	24
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	105
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	17
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	4
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	202
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	5
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

The other translators have: manifestum est, ostensum est.

These are very indicative tables. Michael Scot's translations of Averroes have a certain sound to them, which many medievalists are familiar with from reading these texts. The sound is difficult to describe, but this is one way to do it: It is particles like *quapropter* and *declaratum est* that contribute to this sound – and the other phrases mentioned already: *sed tamen*, *cum ita sit*, *si ita esset*.

What is particularly convincing about these tables is the very high numbers for Michael Scot, the many zeros for William and Hermannus, and especially the number zero for the *Meteorology*, a translation which has often been listed among the possible translations by Michael Scot. This shows that the method works. The method establishes three groups of translations, which we can attribute to William, Hermannus and Michael Scot, but it is also sensitive enough to alert us if a fourth translator was involved.

It is very clear from the tables above that the translator of the commentary of the *Meteorology* does not share Michael Scot's choice of particles. The last two tables back up this finding.

ex hoc sermone (translating: min hādā l-qawli)

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	0
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0

Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	32
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	24
De substantia orbis (3%)	1
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	7
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	1
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	15
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	2
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	0
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	21
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	0
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	1
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

The other translators have: *ex hoc quod dictum est*.

***et forte* (translating: *wa-rubbamā, wa-yaḥtamilu an*)**

Comm. med. Isag. (WL) (3%)	0
Comm. med. Cat. (WL) (5%)	1
Comm. med. Int. (6%)	0
Comm. med. An. pr. (21%)	0
Comm. med. An. post. (13%)	0
Comm. mag. Phys. (100%)	114
Comm. mag. Cael. (MS) (62%)	52
De substantia orbis (3%)	4
Comm. med. Gen. (6%)	4
Comm. med. Meteor. IV (3%)	0
Comm. mag. An. (35%)	33
Comp. Parv. nat. (4%)	4
Comm. med. Animal. fragm. (6%)	4
Comm. mag. Metaph. (70%)	112
Comm. med. Eth. Nic. (24%)	1
Comm. med. Rhet. fragm. (HA) (15%)	0
Comm. med. Poet. (HA) (4%)	0

The other translators have: *et fortassis, et forsitan*.

Ex hoc sermone and *et forte* are two further phrases typical of Michael Scot. Apart from a single usage of *ex hoc sermone*, they do not appear in the commentary on the *Meteorology*. The translator of this commentary does not

share any of the stylistic features typical of Michael: He does not once use *et forte*, *quapropter*, *declaratum est*, *sed tamen*, *cum ita sit* or *si ita esset*, and there is only a single occurrence of *ex hoc sermone*. In addition, he has a stylistic predilection untypical of Michael Scot: the frequent usage of *illud est quia*. I am very sure: It was not Michael Scot who translated the commentary on the *Meteorology*. I am not sure who the translator was.

This is one conclusion. The other conclusion about the middle group of commentaries on our list is that Michael Scot not only translated the Long Commentary on *De caelo* and the other long commentaries, but also *De substantia orbis* and the commentaries on *De generatione* and *Parva naturalia*. Because these treatises are much shorter, the numbers are never as impressive as for the long commentaries. But these three treatises have always sided with the long commentaries on our tables: they share their stylistic features. And there is also the negative evidence: their style never resembles that of the other three translators.

The Middle Commentary on *De animalibus* lacks some of the distinctive particles used by Michael Scot, but shares enough important features to make it very probable that Michael Scot was the translator: *si ita esset*, *cum ita est*, *et forte* and *declaratum est*. Note that this case is different from the *Meteorology* commentary, which does not contain any of Michael Scot's favourite particles. In sum, the evidence shows that Michael Scot was the translator of seven, probably even eight commentaries by Averroes, but not of the commentary on *Meteorology*, book IV.

As remarked above, the manuscript transmission of the Latin Averroes has been used as an argument for attributing anonymous translations to Michael Scot.²⁹ The case of the commentary on *Meteorology* IV shows that the argument rests on thin ice. The *Meteorology* commentary is often transmitted together with Michael Scot's Averroes translations, also in thirteenth-century manuscripts (such as Paris BN lat. 15453, with the well-known colophon of a Milan scribe dated 1243, and Paris BN lat. 14385).³⁰ But translation and distribution are different topics. The inclusion of the anonymous *Meteorology* translation into this group may indicate different things: that the manuscript transmission of Averroes was systematized at some point, or that all translations have roughly the same context of origin, e.g., Toledo, the papal court, or the Hohenstaufen court. But it does not allow us to identify a translator.

²⁹ See nn. 5 and 7 above.

³⁰ The two mss. are discussed in the partially outdated, but still useful article by R. DE VAUX, *La première entrée d'Averroès chez les Latins*, in «Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques» 22 (1932), pp. 193-245, here: pp. 223-227.

Latin Averroes translations of the first half of the thirteenth century

Michael Scot	Comm. mag. De caelo Comm. mag. Physics Comm. mag. Anima Comm. mag. Metaphysics De substantia orbis Comm. med. De generatione Comp. Parva naturalia
probably Michael Scot	Comm. med. De animalibus
Anonymus	Comm. med. Meteorology, book IV
William of Luna	Comm. med. Isagoge (Porphyry) Comm. med. Categories Comm. med. De interpretatione Comm. med. Analytica priora Comm. med. Analytica posteriora
probably Theodore of Antioch	Comm. mag. Physics Prooemium
Hermannus Alemannus	Comm. med. Nicomachean Ethics Comm. med. Rhetoric fragm. Comm. med. Poetics

William of Luna, Hermannus Alemannus and Michael Scot appear from this analysis as prolific translators. Michael Scot, in particular, emerges as a major figure in the history of medieval translations, alongside such names as John of Seville, Dominicus Gundisalvi and Gerard of Cremona. Michael Scot must have been a very productive person. It was only 10 to 15 years that he was in Italy (and Roger Bacon reports that he also visited France). Given that he was also translating Avicenna's *De animalibus* and composing his own works, it is possible that some of the Averroes translations were not produced in Italy, but already in Toledo, as Charles Burnett has suggested before.³¹ Michael Scot's primary interest clearly was in natural philosophy and astronomy. Apart from the *Metaphysics* commentary, he translated six or seven commentaries on Aristotle's natural philosophy, plus al-Bitrūḡī on astronomy, Aristotle on

³¹ As Charles Burnett has suggested before; see his *Michael Scot* (as in n. 2), pp. 110-111 and p. 117. Cf. also ACKERMANN, *Habent sua fata libelli* (as in n. 4), pp. 273-284.

animals and Avicenna on animals. His personal works show a very similar range of interests.

In the case of William of Luna and Hermannus Alemannus, no personal works have been found. We do not know, therefore, whether William's translations of logical works and Hermannus' translations of "humanistic" works reflect personal interests, or the interests of an audience, or of someone who commissioned the translations. It is possible that Frederick II Hohenstaufen commissioned the logical translations, because there are indications that he was interested in logic: Jacob Anatoli finishes in Naples in 1232 a Hebrew translation of the very same five logical commentaries translated into Latin by William of Luna in the same city and acknowledges in the colophon the financial help of Frederick II.³²

II – Michael Scot's translation techniques and motives

The second part of my paper continues the discussion of one of the above translators: Michael Scot. Starting with evidence from the Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, I shall try to pinpoint Michael Scot's techniques and motives in translating.

The above results correspond with other evidence for the attribution of all four long commentaries to one person: the uniform usage of formulae for references to Aristotle, such as *inceptit declarare* or *inceptit dicere*, and for the citation of Aristotle's lemmata. The most regular method of citation is the following: the lemma is introduced with the phrase *deinde dixit* or *dicit* ("then Aristotle says", translating *qāla*), then follows an abbreviated quotation of Aristotle's lemma, which ends with the formula *etcetera idest*. The Arabic text always cites the full lemma, ending with *yurīdu*, "he intends". We can compare this translation technique with the three Hebrew-Latin versions of the Long Commentary on *Posterior Analytics* which were produced in the Renaissance by Abraham de Balmes, Giovanni Burana and Jacob Mantino. Instead of abbreviating the lemma with *etcetera*, the three translators prefer to cite the lemma in full or occasionally abbreviate with the term *usque ad* ("until"). And instead of using the term *idest*, they usually write *intendit quod* (Balmes), *sensus est* (Burana) and *hoc est* (Mantino).³³ But there is even a text to compare in the thirteenth century: As Horst Schmieja has shown, Michael Scot's translation of the seventh book of the Long Commentary on the *Physics* was thoroughly revised by a translator who added sentences and paragraphs which he translated from the

³² M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Kommissionsverlag des Bibliographischen Bureaus, Berlin, 1893 (repr. Graz, 1956), pp. 57-59; see the discussion of the colophon in M. ZONTA, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico*, Paideia, Brescia 1996, pp. 74-75 ("Evidentemente, il passo di Anatoli non allude ad un espresso ordine di Federico"), and BURNETT, *The Sons* (as in n. 9), pp. 272-273.

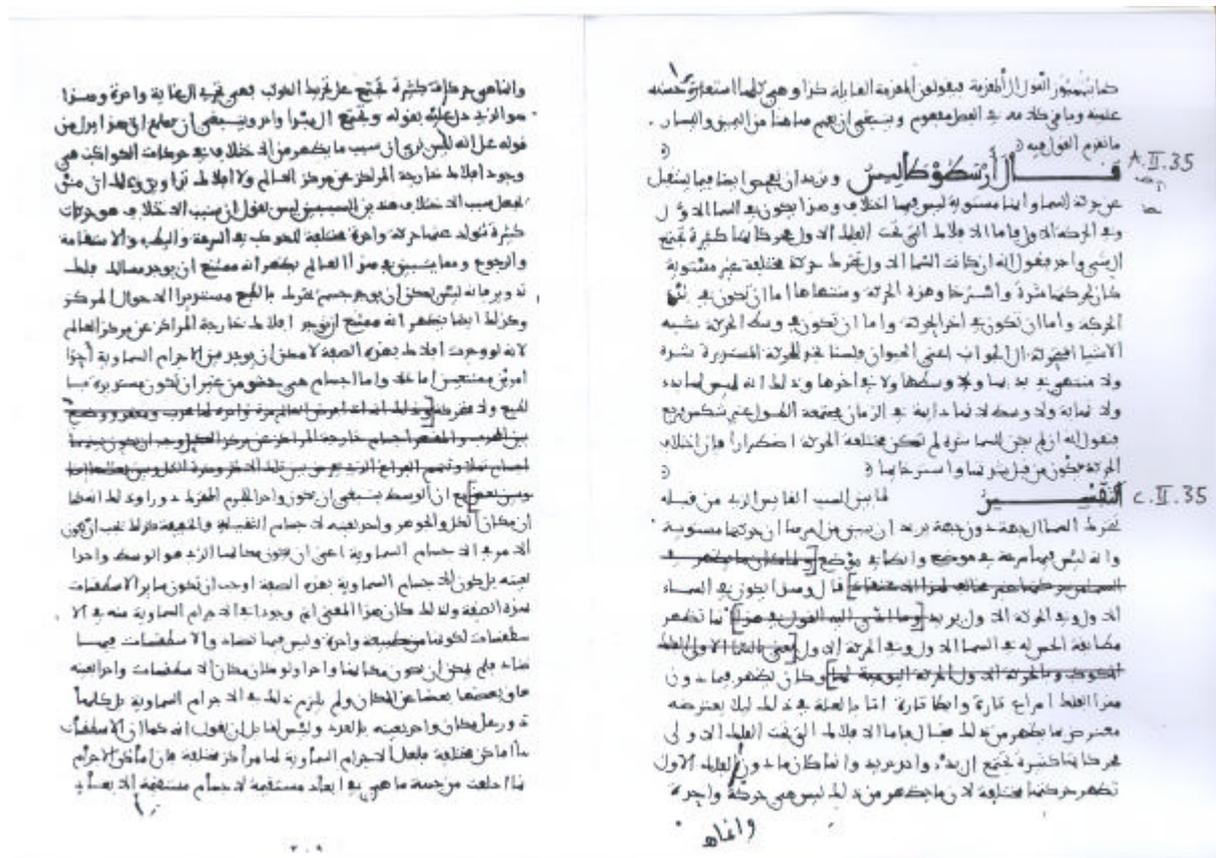
³³ ARISTOTLE / AVERROES, *Aristotelis opera cum Averrois commentariis*, Giunta, Venice 1562, (repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1962), vol. I,2.

typical of Aristotle that he treats the universal in the science of logic and the particular in the single sciences" (Alpha elatton 15).³⁶

When I first presented the finding that Michael Scot abbreviated the Long commentary on the *Metaphysics* to a small colloquium in 2005, some participants were not convinced that it was Michael Scot who abbreviated the text. It is equally possible, they argued, that Michael Scot was translating an Arabic text that had already been shortened: an Arabic compendium of Averroes' commentary, which is now lost. I was convinced that this was not true, but I did not have conclusive arguments at that time. Now, however, I think I have them. There are two of them.

First: We encounter the very same abbreviation technique in the Long Commentary on *De caelo*.

Plate 2



This is a sample page of the Tunis manuscript (in the reprint edition of Gerhard Endress) which is our only Arabic witness.³⁷ The right hand side shows the textus of chapter II.35 of *De caelo*, and below the beginning of the commentary

³⁶ AVERROES, *Tafsīr mā ba'd at-ṭabī'ā*, ed. M. Bouyges, 3 vols, Imprimerie catholique, Beirut 1938-48, Lambda 5, p. 1426; Alpha elatton 15, p. 48.

³⁷ AVERROES, *Commentary on Aristotle's Book on the Heaven and the Universe: Šarḥ kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī 's-samā' wa-l-ālam. With an introduction by Gerhard Endress. Reproduced from MS 11821, National Library, Tunis (Aḥmadiyya Fund, 5538)*, Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main 1994, pp. 208-209.

on II.35. Again, Michael Scot eliminates sentences and small paragraphs (as for instance on the left hand side). I have compared Arabic and Latin for several sample chapters and I have always encountered this technique. It would be a great coincidence if both long commentaries had been abbreviated in the Arabic in the very same manner, if both Arabic compendia were available in manuscript to Michael Scot and if both are now lost. It is much more natural to assume that the abbreviations appear in the two translations because they are due to the same translator.

Let me briefly mention that Ruth Glasner has compared the Hebrew and the Latin versions of the Long commentary on the *Physics* (for a monograph on Averroes' *Physics* commentaries, which is about to appear).³⁸ In the *Physics* case, the Arabic is not extant. Glasner has observed that the Hebrew and Latin versions often differ in clauses, sentences and whole paragraphs. No such differences occur in Aristotle's textus. It is not clear which version, Hebrew or Latin, is closer to the original. But we have a hint here that Michael Scot may have abbreviated the *Physics* commentary in a manner similar to the *Metaphysics* and *De caelo* commentaries.

My second argument concerns the nature of the abbreviations. As I said, the great majority of what is omitted is information that the abbreviator found superfluous. But there are also several omissions that concern topics of Islamic culture and Arabic language. Here are some examples from the *Metaphysics* commentary: In Alpha elatton 15, Averroes refers to "a kind of Kalām", and the abbreviator extinguishes the statement: "which is called in our time the science of the Ashariyya".³⁹ In Alpha elatton 2, the abbreviator omits a passage about the "sharia of the philosophers"; Averroes here holds that the sharia of the philosophers is to investigate all beings, since this is the most noble way to worship the creator.⁴⁰ In Delta 30, the abbreviator omits the proper name of the astronomer Ibn Mu'ād.⁴¹ In Gamma 11, he omits an entire paragraph on the grammar of negation and affirmation in the Arabic language, including two quotations from the Quran.⁴² In Delta 14, he omits a large section, in fact 21 lines in Bouyges, which discuss the grammatical form of the term "huwīyyat".⁴³ In Alpha elatton 12, he omits a section on "another" Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.⁴⁴ In Theta 12, he omits a comparison between the Greek and Arabic language about the derivation of adjectives from nouns – that is, a grammatical remark.⁴⁵ What these abbreviations have in common is that they discuss issues pertaining to Arabic culture, especially to Islamic theology and to Arabic grammar. I do not see a reason why an Arab should have

³⁸ R. GLASNER, *Averroes' Three Commentaries on Aristotle's Physics*, forthcoming.

³⁹ AVERROES, *Tafsīr*, ed. Bouyges (as in n. 36), Alpha elatton 15, p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Alpha elatton 2, p. 10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Delta 30, p. 655.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Gamma 11, p. 364.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Delta 14, pp. 557-558.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Alpha elatton 12, p. 40. For context see A. BERTOLACCI, *The Reception of Aristotle's Metaphysics in Avicenna's Kitāb al-Šifā'*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2006, p. 14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Theta 12, p. 1173.

suppressed these passages. It is much more likely that they have disappeared because the text has been transported into a different culture.

The conclusion is that it was Michael Scot himself who abbreviated the text when translating it from Arabic into Latin. It is obvious that he wanted to Latinize the text. He apparently was convinced that his Latin readers were not interested in matters of Islam and of Arabic language, nor in the textual transmission of Aristotle's text in Arabic.

What can be said about Michael Scot's motives in abbreviating? It is instructive to compare his method with the abbreviation techniques of other Arabic-Latin translators.⁴⁶ The three most famous translators of twelfth-century Spain, John of Seville, Dominicus Gundisalvi and Gerard of Cremona, did not abbreviate in any significant manner. "I translated every word", John of Seville says in a preface, "lest I might depart from the path of truth".⁴⁷ Gerard of Cremona, too, tries to render as much information as possible; if a fitting Latin term is missing, he gives a transliteration.

Michael Scot is different. But neither does he resemble Constantine the African and Hermann of Carinthia, the classicizing translators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Constantine the African systematically omits Arabic names and titles so that the text is cleaned of Arabic traces. Also, he compiles several Arabic sources to produce a concise handbook. Hermann of Carinthia writes a classicizing Latin which is hardly ever influenced by the Arabic source language. His abbreviation method is periphrastic; Hermann's translation of Albumasar's *Great Introduction to Astrology* is about half as long as the literal translation by John of Seville of the same text. While Constantine the African was influenced by a southern Italian milieu very interested in Greek culture, Hermann of Carinthia's principal motive seems to have been stylistic: to write a Latin acceptable to the prospective audience of his translation in the French schools. Michael Scot does not share the classicizing ideals of Constantine the African and Hermann of Carinthia. He does not hide the Arabic origin of the text,⁴⁸ but only occasionally omits Islamic material in order to adopt the text to his own cultural surrounding. His translation technique differs from Hermann's, since he does not paraphrase the Arabic text in Latin. What specifically characterizes Michael Scot's technique is that he both translates literally and

⁴⁶ This I have done in greater detail in my *Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Translations from Arabic*, forthcoming in the proceedings of the conference "Vehicles of Transmission, Translation, and Transformation in Medieval Cultures", organized by C. Fraenkel, J. Fumo, F. Wallis, R. Wisnovsky, Montreal, 26th to 28th April 2007.

⁴⁷ In the preface to his translation of Thabit b. Qurra, *De imaginibus*. See CH. BURNETT, *Translating from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: Theory, Practice, and Criticism*, in S. G. LOFTS – P. W. ROSEMANN (eds.), *Éditer, traduire, interpreter: essais de méthodologie philosophique*, Éditions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, pp. 55–78, here pp. 77–78: "Ego autem in omnibus magis litteraturam secutus sum ne longius a veritatis tramite recederem".

⁴⁸ On this attitude see CH. BURNETT, "Humanism and Orientalism in the Translations from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages", in A. SPEER – L. WEGENER (eds.), *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, deGruyter, Berlin – New York: 2006, pp. 22–31.

abbreviates. Those passages that he does translate are rendered *verbum de verbo*; in this, he continues the tradition of Toledo.

When surveying the abbreviating Arabic-Latin translators of the Middle Ages – among whom one must also count Theodore of Antioch, who translated Arabic texts on falconry (known in Latin as *Moamin*), which were then abbreviated and revised either by Theodore or Frederick II⁴⁹ – one sees that they often tried to produce readable and concise texts and that they wanted to provide information for a specific discipline, such as medicine or falconry, without transporting superfluous material. Michael Scot shares some of these encyclopaedic or compilatory interests – that is, the interest not in the author or text, but in concise information on a specific topic. When translating the Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics*, he to a certain degree treats Averroes as a secondary source. What Michael Scot appears to be interested in is Aristotle and his metaphysical doctrine. This is why he never abbreviates the Aristotelian textus. Averroes is interesting for him because he offers information on Aristotle's philosophy; if this information is not relevant enough, Michael Scot abbreviates.

Note, however, that it would be rash to conclude that Michael Scot generally regarded Averroes as a secondary source. We do not yet know whether he used similar abbreviating techniques for the other commentaries and *De substantia orbis*.

In conclusion: I have tried to present convincing evidence for the attribution of seven anonymous translations to Michael Scot, of three anonymous translations to William of Luna and of one anonymous translation to Hermannus Alemannus. One translation, the Middle Commentary on the *Meteorology*, book four, turns out to be by a fourth person, who is not identical with any of the three translators mentioned.

In the second part I have tried to show that the Long Commentary on the *Metaphysics* was heavily abbreviated not by an Arabic redactor or Averroes himself, but by Michael Scot, as was the Long Commentary on *De caelo*; that Michael Scot's method of translation is peculiar in combining the *verbum de verbo method* with heavy abbreviation; and that his motives for abbreviating were both cultural and compilatory.

⁴⁹ See GEORGES, *Das zweite Falkenbuch* (as in n. 10 above), esp. pp. 311, 335, 339.