

THE HERITAGE OF MEDIEVAL ERRORS IN THE LATIN
MANUSCRIPTS OF JOHANNES HISPALENSIS
(JOHN OF SEVILLE)

MAUREEN ROBINSON

Murcia

After the Christian reconquest of Islamic-held territory, many Arabic texts had to be translated into Latin in twelfth century Spain. Johannes Hispalensis (John of Seville) knew both Arabic and Latin and worked alone, whereas others needed collaborators to complete the process. The duplication of Latin texts became popular and quickly spread. Over the following centuries, the medieval scribes involved made multiple copies of the manuscripts and during the reproduction process, many errors occurred. These contributed to confusion between the correct version of the translator's name and his identity. Consequently, Hispalensis appeared in later copies of his work with various titles such as "Master" or "Bishop", or was coupled with a collaborator. Modern-day historians added to the complexities by creating one personality out of two diverse translators. At times, the ownership of some of the manuscripts rested solely on the names appearing in them, when only scribal errors had contributed them. An attempt is made to clarify the translations accredited to Johannes Hispalensis, working alone, and those working with collaborators.

Keywords: Translation of Arabic texts; Medieval scribes; Manuscripts; Johannes Hispalensis; Juan de Sevilla; Spain-12th Century.

Después de la Reconquista, se tuvieron que traducir al latín muchos textos árabes en la España del siglo XII. La mayoría de los copistas necesitaban colaboradores para concluir el proceso, sin embargo, Johannes Hispalensis (Juan de Sevilla) conocía tanto la lengua árabe como el latín, por lo que podía trabajar solo. La duplicación de textos latinos se popularizó y divulgó rápidamente. Durante los siglos siguientes, los copistas medievales hicieron múltiples copias, y durante el proceso de reproducción cometieron muchos errores que contribuyeron a la confusión entre la versión correcta del nombre del traductor y su identidad. Por consiguiente, Hispalensis apareció en copias posteriores de su trabajo con varios títulos añadidos, tales como "maestro" u "obispo", o unido a un colaborador. Los historiadores modernos aumentaron las complejidades creando un solo personaje de dos traductores distintos. En ocasiones, la propiedad de algunos de los manuscritos estaba basada únicamente en los nombres que aparecían en sus folios. Se hace aquí una tentativa de aclarar cuáles son las traducciones de Johannes Hispalensis trabajando solo, y aquéllas en que colaboró con otros.

Palabras clave: Traducción de textos árabes; Copistas medievales; Traductores medievales; Manuscritos; Johannes Hispalensis; Juan de Sevilla; España-siglo XII.

The Christian reconquest of Islamic-held Iberian territory eventually led to a concerted effort to translate Arabic texts and treatises into

Latin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ As a consequence of the popularity of some of these Latin texts another industry later developed, that of the duplication of manuscripts, which in turn led to the birth of multiple copies.² However, although this method proved advantageous for some cathedrals and monasteries, ultimately it created a mystery. On a simple level, the monks and scribes made mistakes during the copying process, which were then reproduced by subsequent copyists until a new word or name replaced them. Little prominence has been given to these scribal errors and if a rationale for the mistakes has to be found, the very nature of the working conditions of the time, poor eyesight and lighting, coupled with a difficult to distinguish medieval shorthand system devised to save ink and parchment, seem likely candidates. The errors include innocuous changes to dates, additions of names, and text carried from previous manuscripts into following ones where there is no connection. Examples of this class of relatively unimportant mistakes, which did not distort history at all, include the following:

1. A 13th century manuscript,³ which contains an erroneous ascription to Isaac, although the *incipit* belongs to Gundissalinus's treatise ascribed to Felix. The change was probably due to the fact that the copyist had just copied into the manuscript a translation of a medical work by Isaac.⁴

2. Some copies of al-Farghānī's *Rudiments of Astronomy* differ in the dating. These include representing the Islamic year as 529 or 528 and the Spanish era date as 1173, 1170 or 1070 depending on the manuscript.⁵ The errors appear to have arisen because careless copyists misread the dates quoted and changed them accordingly.

3. A scribe of the original Toledan documents listed El Cid as having died in 1199 instead of 1099. Complications obviously arose over the transcription of the Roman numeral and the calculation to con-

¹ Robinson, M. L., *Johannes Hispalensis and the Manuscript Tradition: The history surrounding the time of John of Seville and the spread of his work*, PhD Thesis, Exeter University, 2000, 1-3.

² Surtees Society, *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm*, compiled by the Rev. Raine, Nichols and Son, London, 1838, iv-v, xxiv-xxv.

³ Sloane 2946, ff. 209-16.

⁴ Thorndike, L., *A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. II. During the first thirteen centuries of our era*, New York, 1923, 78-79, note 8.

⁵ Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 74-75.

vert the Spanish era into A. D. Entering the date of 1199 sandwiched between entries for 1108 and 1109 further compounded the error.⁶

Apart from minor date changes and additions of names and non-related text, there were others, however, which created multiple problems for those attempting to identify the translators of certain tracts. These involved the translator's name. As a result, the identities of some of the more important translators of the time have become distorted over the centuries owing to the repeated errors in the copying process.

The translators of the original Arabic tracts worked alone if they knew both Latin and Arabic, whilst those who did not, collaborated as part of a team. In the latter case, the text was translated from Arabic into the vernacular by one translator, and then into Latin by another. Gundissalinus was a prominent figure in the activity surrounding Toledo in the mid-twelfth century. Apart from spelling changes, his identity remained constant and he was never confused with any of his peers.⁷ As he knew no Arabic, he needed a collaborator and worked with various intermediaries including Avendauth, Magister Iohannes⁸ and Johannes Hispanus, who died in 1215.⁹ The identities of these associates, however, suffered greatly through scribal errors over the centuries.

Another important translator of the time, who has been inextricably linked to Gundissalinus through errors on the part of the scribes and later historians, is Johannes Hispalensis.¹⁰ He cannot be identified with Ma-

⁶ Against the 1199 entry is written, "Murió *Mío Cid* el campeador en Valencia Era MCXXXVII". Flórez tells us of more errors he encountered: "En Berg. MXXXVII. Falta un centenario. Una copia, MCXXXVII en que sobra un X. El Burg. Era MCXXXVII", Flórez, H., *España Sagrada Tomo XXIII, (Anales Toledanos I)*, Antonio Marín, Madrid, 1767, 386.

⁷ Dominicus Gundissalinus also appears in texts as Domingo Gundisalvi, Dominicus Gondisalvi, and Gundisalvus, etc. See D'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", 444-445; Thorndike, L., "John of Seville", *Speculum*, 34 (1959), 20-38, 21; Rivera Recio, J. F., "Nuevos datos sobre los traductores Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano", *Al-Andalus*, 31 (1966), 267-280, 268; Burnett, C., "Magister Iohannes Hispanus: towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator", in *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge, mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*, Geneva, 1994, 425-36, 426.

⁸ Thorndike, "John of Seville", 29.

⁹ Burnett, C., "The translating activity in Medieval Spain", in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Salma Jayyusi (ed.), Boston and London, 1994, 1036-1058, 1045; *idem*, "Magister Iohannes Hispanus", 434-435.

¹⁰ John of Seville.

gister Iohannes.¹¹ His identity is even provoking thought and argument today. Some scholars still put forward explanations in an attempt to find a rationale for the mistakes,¹² whereas others admit that the differences between copies of manuscripts are owed to scribal errors.¹³ Johannes Hispalensis's identity is so confused it has resulted in his being erroneously connected to a multitude of diverse, distinct translators, including some of those already mentioned — Johannes Hispanus, Magister Iohannes, and Ibn Dā'ūd (Avendauth). The work ascribed to him under these different versions of his name is quite prolific.¹⁴ He started by translating three medical tracts, two of which were originally dedicated to acquaintances, whereas the third was only dedicated on being revised later. It has always been accepted that he moved to Toledo during the time of Archbishop Raymond to continue translating for him. However, a study of his translations shows that although he used an identifying place name which links him in his early years to Limia, he did not identify Toledo or mention the place in which he was working in any of his later work.¹⁵ Some of the names associated with him also have additional titles, such as "Master" or "Bishop". The truth would appear to be that he had only the one name, which consisted of an extra place-name when he first began to translate: Johannes Hispalensis et/atque Limiensis.¹⁶ When he later dedicated the revised version of one of his original three translations to Raymond of Toledo, he dropped the latter part of his surname and appeared solely as Johannes Hispalensis in this and future translations.¹⁷

¹¹ Allard, A., *Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī: Le Calcul Indien (Algorismus). Histoire des textes, édition critique, traduction et commentaire des plus anciennes versions latines remaniées du XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1992, xviii-xix; *idem*, "The Influences of Arabic Mathematics in the Medieval West", 542, 561; D'Alverny, M-T., "Translations and Translators", in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), Oxford, 1982, 421-462, 445-446; *idem*, "Avendauth?", in *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, Barcelona, 1954, 1, 19-43, 27.

¹² Burnett, C., "Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis and Quista ibn Luqa's *De differentia spiritus et animae*: A Portuguese Contribution to the Arts Curriculum?", *Quodlibetaria Mediaevalia Textos e Estudos*, 7-8 (1995), 221-267, 226, 234-236.

¹³ Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 74-75; D'Alverny, "Avendauth?", 27, 28, 32 — 33; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 88.

¹⁴ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 84-105; *idem*, "The History and Myths Surrounding Johannes Hispalensis", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 80, 4 (2003), 443-470, 444.

¹⁵ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, Appendix A, 118-269.

¹⁶ John of Seville and Limia.

¹⁷ Robinson, "The History and Myths", 466.

The reasons for the confusion in his true name can be seen when the references and extant copies of each of his translations, and those of others, are collected together for study.¹⁸ At times the differences relating to Hispalensis's texts and those of his contemporaries are merely part of the heritage of medieval manuscripts, and only confuse the issue slightly. However, when careless scribes confused and muddled the texts and copied parts of one into another, or changed Hispalensis's name to that of a translator born fifty years later, they contributed to a more complex problem. There is not only confusion in the field of identity caused by these scribal errors in the first few centuries after the original translation, but also misquotations and erroneous library catalogue entries in modern times based on the errors. Amongst so many misquotations and misspellings, it is little wonder that at times it is virtually impossible to discover who really did translate certain texts.

The problems and complexities have led to four groups of thought. There are those who think that Johannes Hispalensis, Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis, Johannes Luniensis, Johannes Hispaniensis, Johannes Hispanensis, Johannes Hispanus, Magister Iohannes and Ibn Dā'ūd (Avendauth) are all one personality.¹⁹ Another group of historians couple the names of Johannes Hispanus and Ibn Daud to create the single identity: Johannes Avendauth Hispanus, whilst still respecting the identity of Johannes Hispalensis.²⁰ As previously mentioned, these translators are additionally associated as working with Gundissalinus, who began translating after 1140.²¹ The

¹⁸ *Idem*, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 118-269 for a comprehensive list of manuscripts and further information not included here.

¹⁹ Haskins, C. H., *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, Massachusetts, 1924, 13; Sarton, G., *Introduction to the History of Science, vol. 1: From Homer to Omar Khayyam*, Baltimore, 1927 (Reprinted 1950), 115; Crombie, A. C., *Augustine to Galileo. Vol. I: Science in the Middle Ages. V-XIII centuries*, London, 1961, 41; Grant, E. (ed.), *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, Massachusetts, 1974, 53.

²⁰ Millás Vallicrosa, J., "Una obra astronómica desconocida de Johannes Avendaut Hispanus", *Osiris*, I-II (1936), 451-475, 263; Alonso Alonso, M., "Traducciones del Árabe al Latín por Juan Hispano (Ibn Dāwūd)", *Al-Andalus*, 17 (1952), 129-151, 129, 134 (Hereafter "Juan Hispano"). Alonso thought Hispanus was also Ibn Dāwūd (Avendaut). *idem*, "Juan Sevillano, sus obras propias y sus traducciones", *Al-Andalus*, 18 (1953), 17-49, 17, 18, 30, 49 (hereafter "Juan Sevillano"); *idem*, "Notas sobre los traductores Toledanos Domingo Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano", in *Temas Filosóficos Medievales (Ibn Dāwūd y Gundisalvo)*, Santander, 1959, 26, 30, 49.

²¹ For more sources on this subject: Millás Vallicrosa, J., *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo*, Madrid, 1942, 9;

third group feels that Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis might have been a different translator to the one who translated for Raymond from 1133-1142 under the name of Johannes Hispalensis.²² At times, the former is thought to have been a “Master” and a “Bishop”. The last school of thought identifies Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis and Johannes Hispalensis as one personality, although accepting that at times his name is corrupted to “Hispaniensis” or “Hispanensis” by scribal errors. This group also identifies Ibn Dā’ūd, Johannes Hispanus and Magister Iohannes as translators in their own right.²³

One source thought that Johannes Hispalensis translated from 1133 to 1153, although commenting on the fact that he appeared to stop using his own name after 1142 and began to translate under a different surname such as “Hispanus”.²⁴ As a result of research, the dates in which Johannes Hispalensis worked spanned 1118-1142, and there is evidence to show that he started his career in Limia, Portugal, in 1118 as Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis.²⁵ He later dispensed with the second identifying place name when he addressed the revision of an earlier medical translation to Raymond of Toledo. After 1135 there were no more translations bearing “atque Limiensis” and the last work attributed to him as Johannes Hispalensis is dated in 1142. It is to be noted that his original works were executed directly from Arabic into Latin, proving that he knew both languages prior to 1118 and never needed to collaborate with a partner.

Hispalensis’s phraseology was quite distinctive at times and this helps to identify his work from amongst the errors and misquotations.

idem, “Una obra astronómica desconocida de Johannes Avendaut Hispanus”, 451-452; Sarton, G., *Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, part 1 (From Rabbi Ben Ezra to Roger Bacon)*, Baltimore, 1931, 169; Dunlop, D. M., *Arab Science in the West*, Karachi, 1958, 30; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 12.

²² Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispalensis”, 226, 234-236.

²³ Lemay, R., *Abu Ma’shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century: The Recovery of Aristotle’s Natural Philosophy through Arabic Astrology*, Beirut, 1962, 10; Thorndike, “John of Seville”, 21, 27, 30; Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispanus”, 427, 434-435; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 105-112.

²⁴ D’Alverny, “Translations and Translators”, 444, 446-447.

²⁵ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 109 — 110; *idem*, “The History and Myths”, 453-455.

²⁶ *Idem*, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 127, 160, 226, 241. See also 84-104.

tions.²⁶ A more focused look at a selection of the work emanating from the twelfth century, concentrating on the work of Johannes Hispalensis and his contemporaries, reveals the proof of this. The following information is divided into separate sections and attempts to bring to light and catalogue some of the errors and ensuing problems. All translations appearing in this list are included because at least one source has quoted Hispalensis as being the translator, or his name appears in some of the manuscripts. Additionally, a catalogue of some of Hispalensis's work features in a 13th century manuscript held in Corpus Christi 248,²⁷ and because of its early dating, the information it contains has been given appropriate prominence. It states quite clearly that Iohannes Hispalensis executed the translations from Arabic into Latin. One interesting fact emerging from the catalogue is that it contains translations attributed to both Hispalensis and Hispalensis atque Limiensis, whilst no differentiation between the two is made. It is also worthy of note that the catalogue does not contain details of his first three medical translations, which contained dedications. The information given here is necessarily brief, but a more comprehensive view is available.²⁸

1. **Abū Ma'shar: Albumasar**

1.1. *Introductorium maius*²⁹

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohanne Hispalensi;³⁰ Iohanne Hispaniensi³¹ (14th c.); Iohannis Hispalensis³² (15th c.);

²⁷ Thorndike, "John of Seville", 37-38.

²⁸ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, Appendix A, 118-269.

²⁹ Lemay edited this text and used the following manuscripts on which to base his edition: Paris BN 16204, (13th c.); Paris BN 14704; Paris BN 16203; Bibliothèque de l'Université ms 640; Paris BN 7314; Paris BN 7315; Paris BN 7316. *Idem*, *Abu Ma'shar*, 389. Hermann of Carinthia also translated the Arabic text in 1140. Yamamoto, K., and Burnett, C., *Abu Ma'shar on Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties (On the Great Conjunctions)*, Vol. Two, *The Latin Versions*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, Vol. XXXIV, H. Daiber and D. Pingree (eds.), Leiden, 2000, xi.

³⁰ Paris BN 7315.

³¹ Paris BN 16203.

³² Vienna 5392, ff. 341r-345v.

Ioh. Ysp.³³ (14th c.); Iohanne Hispalense³⁴ (16th c.); Iohannis Hyspanensis ex luna³⁵ (13th c.); Iohanne ispalensi ex luna³⁶ (12th c.).

1.2. *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum revolutionibus*³⁷

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Johannes Hispalensis³⁸ (1489); Iohanne Hisp³⁹ (15th c.); Ioh. Hisp.⁴⁰
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Juan de Sevilla & Domingo González.⁴¹

1.3. *Flores astrorum [astrologie] siue liber de reuolutionibus annorum*

- Names occurring in manuscripts: Johannes Hispalensis⁴² (12th c.).
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Juan de Sevilla & Domingo González.⁴³

³³ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 376, ff. 1-92.

³⁴ In the following pages, where the translation is ascribed to Johannes Hispalensis, there will be no manuscript references unless it is deemed an important copy. This is because there exist many copies too numerous to cite here, although as complete a list as possible is available in Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, Appendix A, 118-269. Manuscript references will only be given for those manuscripts that contain errors.

³⁵ Cambridge University, Kk, 1. 1, ff. 2-61a.

³⁶ Oxford Corpus Christi 95, f. 248.

³⁷ The Arabic and Latin texts have been edited by Yamamoto, K., and Burnett, C., *Abu Ma'shar on Historical Astrology*. In the second volume (xiii), the authors tell us that none of the extant manuscripts names the translator, although the translation belongs to the context of John of Seville's translations.

³⁸ Edited Augsburg, 1489.

³⁹ According to Alonso, MS Munich 274 contains the words *Liber Introductorii... Iohanne Hisp. interprete*, "Juan Sevillano", 40.

⁴⁰ According to Alonso, "Juan Sevillano", 40, the words "*Introductorium... ab Ioh. Hisp. translatum*", appear in MS Munich 122.

⁴¹ González Palencia, A., *El Arzobispo don Raimundo de Toledo*, Barcelona, 1942, 155. Only this author mentioned the name González (Gundissalinus).

⁴² Erfurt, Amplon Q. 381.

⁴³ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 155.

The *Introductorium maius* (1.1.) was executed in 1133 and only scribal errors appear to have transformed the translator's name from various versions of Johannes Hispalensis to Hyspanensis and Hispaniensi. The translation also contains references to Luna (in error for Limia), which are appended to the word *ex* instead of *atque* or *et*. Perhaps this might suggest that Hispalensis only left Limia temporarily, as all other translations executed by Hispalensis without the second identifying place-name after he left Portugal, are dated 1135 or later. Apart from this one translation in 1133, he appears to have been in Limia until 1135. It contains Hispalensis's signature, *Sub laude Dei et auxilio ejus/Sub laude Dei et eius auxilio*.⁴⁴ As we have seen above, the *De magnis coniunctionibus* (1.2.) is linked by a modern source to Johannes Hispalensis and Dominicus Gundissalinus although there is no doubt that it was translated by Hispalensis alone, after he stopped using the place-name "Limia".⁴⁵ Those manuscripts of the *Flores astrorum* (1.3.) encountered during the research bear the name Hispalensis and only González Palencia coupled the name with that of Gundissalinus. The translation contains the signature, *Sub laude Dei et eius adiutorio* and as all three translations appear in the 13th century catalogue of Hispalensis's work, there is no doubt of ownership.

2. Al-Qabīsī: Alcabitius

2.1. *Introductorius abdilaziz/De iudiciis astrorum*

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Hisp⁴⁶ (14th c.); Ioh Yspal⁴⁷ (14th c.); Johanne Hy[s]panico⁴⁸ (1318); Anne Yspalensi⁴⁹ (14th c.); Johannes Hispanicus⁵⁰ (14th c.); Johanne Hispanico⁵¹ (15th c.); Iohanne Yspalensi⁵² (13th-14th c.); Johanne Hispalensi⁵³ (Paris, 1448).

⁴⁴ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 89, 126-127.

⁴⁵ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 90.

⁴⁶ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 348, ff. 54-87v; Q. 374, ff. 136-159; and O. 80, ff. 17-30.

⁴⁷ Erfurt, Amplon F. 383, ff. 57-76.

⁴⁸ Oxford Bodleian 464, ff. 98-120.

⁴⁹ Oxford Bodleian 463, f. 1.

⁵⁰ Oxford Bodleian 491, ff. 65-96.

⁵¹ Oxford Bodleian, Savile 17, ff. 60v-94.

⁵² British Museum, Arundel 268, ff. 7vb-23ra.

⁵³ Paris BN 7321, ff. 1-79r.

It could be that erroneous copies originated from the same copying establishment, which then contributed to many manuscripts bearing the same spelling variation. The amount of scribal errors could, therefore, be attributed directly to the accuracy of certain establishment's scribes. From the manuscripts quoted above, Erfurt's 14th century copies used abbreviations, whilst Oxford's copies, dating from 1300 — 1499, have the "Hispanicus" form of the surname, with one earlier copy shortened to "Anne" followed by one of the correct versions of the surname — "Yspalensi". However, the problems do not always appear to relate to the date when the copy was made, because in the examples given, two later copies are correct. Conversely, one manuscript dated 1503 had the name "Ioh Hisp". Using abbreviations in this way could be one of the main contributions to the morass of inconsistencies. If a later attempt was made to return the abbreviation to its original rendering, "Hisp" could be expanded to Hispanus, Hispalensis, Hispanensis or Hispaniensis, but only one would be correct. The distorted versions of Hispalensis's surname in this translation cannot deflect from the fact that this is one of his translations. It bears the signature *Cum laude Dei et eius adiutorio*⁵⁴ and only scribal errors introduced the notion that it was translated by someone else. If final proof is needed, it is listed in the 13th century catalogue as having been translated from Arabic into Latin by Iohannes Hispalensis and could not therefore have been translated by Johannes Hispanus, who knew no Latin.

3. Al- Farghānī

3.1. *Rudiments of Astronomy/Kitāb al-fuṣūl al-thalāthīn*

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Ioh Ispalensi Ilimia atque Limiensi⁵⁵ (12th c.); Iohanne Hispaniensi atque lunensi⁵⁶ (1300); in one manuscript, "Iohanne Hispaniense atque lunensi" appears at the beginning and "Iohanne Ispalensi Ilimia

⁵⁴ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 92.

⁵⁵ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 351, ff. 103-130 (dated 1135). Two more copies are held in Digby 190 and Corpus Christi 224 and bear the dates 1173 and 1132 AD.

⁵⁶ Erfurt, Amplon F. 378, ff. 1-18v.

atque limensi” at the end;⁵⁷ Iohanne hyspalensi atque lunensi (1300); Iohanne Hispalensi atque Luniensi (13th c.); Iohanne hispalensi atque lunensi; Iohanne Hispalensis; and Iohanne Yspalensis in Limia.

This translation bears the name Iohanne Ispalensi ilimia atque limiensi in the early 12th century copy⁵⁸ although some distortion occurred a few centuries later. It contains Hispalensis’s signature, *In Dei nomine et eius auxilio* and is dated 1135 in some manuscripts.⁵⁹ It is definitely ascribed to Johannes Hispalensis.

4. Yahyā b. al-Bīṭriq

4.1. *Sirr al-asrār/Secretum Secretorum*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohannes Yspalensi (12th c.); Joannes Hispalensis; Iohanne;⁶⁰ Iohannes Ispanus⁶¹ (14th c.); Joh’s Yspañ⁶² (13th c.); Joh⁶³ (14th c.); Iohannes Hispaniensis;⁶⁴ Ioannes Hispaniensis;⁶⁵ Ioannes Hispanus⁶⁶ (13th c.); Iohannes⁶⁷ (14th c.); Yspanus⁶⁸ (1473); Iohannes Hyspanus⁶⁹ (16th c.); Iohannes hyspaniensis at the beginning and Iohannes Hyspanus in the salutations.⁷⁰
- Modern quotation distorting the name in the manuscripts: Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis.⁷¹

⁵⁷ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 163.

⁵⁸ Erfurt, Q. 351.

⁵⁹ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 89.

⁶⁰ British Library, Arundel 123, f. 71b.

⁶¹ Sloane 420, ff. 180r-183v.

⁶² Harley 978, f. 22r.

⁶³ Arundel 459, f. 69 va.

⁶⁴ Erfurt, Amplon F. 32, f. 73r; Paris BN 16170, f. 23r.

⁶⁵ Laurentian Plut. 13, sinis., cod 6.

⁶⁶ Laurentian Plut. 30, cod. 29, f. 57.

⁶⁷ Padua, Anton II, 50, f. 74r.

⁶⁸ Basel F. II. 6, f. 207 va.

⁶⁹ Paris BN. 6679, ff. 32rv²; (16th c.) Vatican, Chigi H. VII, 238 (13th c.).

⁷⁰ In a copy held in Toledo Cathedral. For full manuscript references, Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales*, 62.

⁷¹ D’Alverny, “*The Conclusion*” in *Pseudo-Aristotle: The Secret of Secrets. Sources and Influences*, W. F. Ryan and C. B. Schmitt (eds.), London, 1982, 132-140, 135.

This translation also contains an enigma concerning the name of the dedicatee. Many errors occur in the dedication to a “Queen T. of Spain”. These include: *Domine T. gratia dei Hispaniarum regine*; *Domine Ispaniarum regine*; *Domine regine dei gracia Hyspanie*; *Dne G. dei gracia Hyspanieñ regine*; *Dominae T. Hispanorum reginae*; *Domine T. dei gratia hyspan. regine*; *T. Hyspanarum regine*; ⁷² *Domini T*; ⁷³ *Teophina*; ⁷⁴ and *Thapsia*. ⁷⁵ In view of research done on this manuscript ⁷⁶ the date of this translation is most likely to have been c. 1118, probably Hispalensis’s first attempt at translation and executed in Limia, although he did not identify himself as working there when he translated it for Queen Tarasia of Portugal. ⁷⁷

5. Qustā b. Lūqā: Costa ben Luca

5.1. *De differentia spiritus et animae* ⁷⁸

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: *Johannis Hispalensis* ⁷⁹ (15th c.); *Hispalensi et/atque Limiensi* ⁸⁰ (12th c.); *Johannes Hispaniensis* ⁸¹ (12th/13th c.); *Ioh’s Hispaniensis* ⁸² (13th c.);

D’Alverny tells us that she has seen the manuscript herself and that the *Secretum Secretorum* was expressly attributed to *Iohannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis*. Unfortunately, the author is in error here, as only the name *Iohannes Yspalensis* appears in the *Secretum Secretorum*, Adv. 18.6.11 held in the National Library, Edinburgh. See Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 174.

⁷² Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 28.

⁷³ According to this author, the T. refers to Theophana or Tharasia. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales*, 62.

⁷⁴ British Museum, Additional 26770, ff. 116ra-117vb.

⁷⁵ Sloane 405, ff. 23v-25v.

⁷⁶ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 28-38.

⁷⁷ Robinson, “The History and Myths”, 448, 452-454.

⁷⁸ Wilcox, J., *The transmission and influence of Qusta ibn Luqa’s “On the difference between spirit and the soul”*, PhD Thesis, City University, New York, 1985. She has written a new Latin edition and also contributed to a Hebrew edition in collaboration with Mordechai Friedlander. Forthcoming in the series *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science* (E. J. Brill).

⁷⁹ Cambridge, Peterhouse College 208, f. 17v.

⁸⁰ National Library of Scotland, Adv. 18.6.11.

⁸¹ Durham, B. IV. 20.

⁸² British Museum, Sloane 2454, ff. 82ra-84va.

Ioh(annes)s ispolñsis episcopus⁸³ (12th — 13th c.); Iohannes Hispalensis⁸⁴ (12th c.); Iohannes Hispaniensis⁸⁵ (13th c.).

Many other errors appear in the various copies of this translation. Some concern the name of the Arabic author, often written as Constabulus Luce, Constabe Luce, Constantinus Luce, Constabulus, Constabuluce or Constabolute.⁸⁶ The earliest extant manuscript of this translation shows that Hispalensis translated this work in Limia,⁸⁷ possibly c. 1120.⁸⁸ When a revised copy surfaced later it bore a dedication to Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo⁸⁹ and although the additional place name had been omitted, there is no doubt of ownership because of the original, unrevised version. The copy of the *De differentia spiritus et animae* found in Ireland named Hispalensis as “Iohannes ispolñsis episcopus” and the Constabulus manuscript in Durham featured Hispaniensis.⁹⁰ The latter manuscript also contained an error in the dedication, which was addressed to Raymond the Archbishop of Collectario.⁹¹ The inclusion of the words “Episcopus” and “Collectario” does not indicate a different personality or identification, and is the result of corruptions and scribal errors. This translation also bears Johannes Hispalensis’s distinctive signature, *In dei nomine et eius auxilio* and is undoubtedly by Johannes Hispalensis.⁹²

⁸³ GPA Bolton Library, Cashel, Tipperary, MS n.º 1. Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispalensis”, 234.

⁸⁴ Brussels Royal Lib. 2772-89, ff. 72r-82v.

⁸⁵ Basel, F. IV. 23, ff. 42v-46v.

⁸⁶ Robinson, M. L., “The Constabulus Manuscript in Durham Cathedral Library: A Forgotten Treasure?”, *Al-Qanṭara*, XXVI, 1 (2005), 31-42, 37-40.

⁸⁷ Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis. Advocates 18. 6. 11, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 29.

⁸⁸ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 86.

⁸⁹ Wilcox, *The transmission and Influence*, 119.

⁹⁰ Robinson, “The Constabulus Manuscript”, 32.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 37.

⁹² Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 87.

6. **Abū Ja'far b. Yūsuf Ibrāhīm b. Dāya**

6.1. *Centiloquium*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Mag. Ioh. Tol. ⁹³ (14th c.); Johannes Hispanus ⁹⁴ (13th c.); Johannes Hispalensis.

Most authors ascribed this translation to Hispalensis ⁹⁵ although in some instances, scribal errors changed the name to Magister Iohannis Toletanus or Johannes Hispanus. This translation should be ascribed to Hispalensis. ⁹⁶

7. **Masha' Allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya**

7.1. *De rebus eclipsium*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohannes Hispalensis ⁹⁷ (ed.1493); Iohanne Hispalensi in Limia ⁹⁸ (13th c.); Iohanne Hyspaniensi in Lingua; ⁹⁹ Iohanne Ispalensi; ¹⁰⁰ Ioh. Hispaniensi ¹⁰¹ (1373); Iohanne Yspalensi in Limia. ¹⁰²
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Juan Hispalense & Domingo González. ¹⁰³

This translation features in the 13th century catalogue. As many manuscripts exist bearing the signature, *Sub laude Dei et eius auxilio*

⁹³ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 361. Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 199; Alonso, "Juan Sevillano", 42.

⁹⁴ Madrid BN. 10015, f. 19v-20.

⁹⁵ Thorndike, L. and Kibre, P., *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*, London, 1963, Cols. 650 and 1403; González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 155; Thorndike, "John of Seville", 35; Carmody, F. J., *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translations*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956, 16; Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, I, 729, II, part I, 170.

⁹⁶ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 93.

⁹⁷ Venice.

⁹⁸ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 82, ff. 186-189.

⁹⁹ In error for "limia". Erfurt Amplon O. 82, ff. 186-189. Alonso, Juan Sevillano, 34.

¹⁰⁰ Madrid, BN 10012, ff. 1r-2v; Madrid BN 10053, ff. 84r-85r.

¹⁰¹ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 361, f. 52.

¹⁰² Paris, BN 7016A.

¹⁰³ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 154.

and the name Johannes Hispalensis it is undoubtedly one of his earlier works, most probably executed in Limia.

8. ‘Umar b. al-Farghānī: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Farrūkhān at-Ṭabarī

8.1. *De nativitatibus*¹⁰⁴

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Johannes Hispalensis¹⁰⁵ (13th c.); Iohannes Hyspalensis et [or atque]¹⁰⁶ Lunensis; Iohannes Hyspalensis episcopus¹⁰⁷ (14th c.); Magister Iohannes Hispalensis atque lunensis¹⁰⁸ (15th c.); Magister Iohannes Hyspalensis atque lunensis episcopus¹⁰⁹ (12th c.); Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Lunensis epc.¹¹⁰

Nearly all sources are unanimous in naming Iohannes Hispalensis as the translator, and some added the extra place-name “atque lunensis”, an error for Limiensis. Alonso, Thorndike and Burnett¹¹¹ also quoted copies that allude to Magister Iohannes Hispalensis and Magister Iohannes Hyspalensis atque lunensis episcopus. The *De nativitatibus* also features in the 13th century list of Hispalensis’s work, in which he appears solely as Iohannes Hispalensis. The additions of the titles “Magister” and “Episcopus” are therefore obviously scribal additions. This work is definitely by Johannes Hispalensis whilst working in Limia.

¹⁰⁴ Edited 1503 and 1551, Venice.

¹⁰⁵ Florence, Conventi Soppressi J. 11. 10 .ff. 119r.

¹⁰⁶ At least three copies name him thus. Thorndike, “John of Seville”, 23.

¹⁰⁷ Venice, St. Marks Lib., Fondo Antico 343 (San Marcos), Valentinelli XI, 102, ff. 131-148.

¹⁰⁸ Oxford Bodleian, Digby 194, f. 127v.

¹⁰⁹ Erfurt, Amplon Q. 365, ff. 100-119.

¹¹⁰ “Epc” for “episcopus”. British Library, Harley 3731, f. 81v.

¹¹¹ Alonso, “Juan Sevillano”, 42; Thorndike, “John of Seville”, 28, 33; Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispalensis”, 226, 235.

9. Thābit b. Qurra: Abū l-Ḥasan b. Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī Thābit b. Qurra

9.1. *Liber O/De imaginibus*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohanni hispaniensi atque luniensi in lunia¹¹² (13th c.); Iohanne Hispalensi atque lunensi in luna (15th c.); Iohanne Yspalensi atque lanninensi¹¹³ (15th c.); Iohanne Hispalensi atque Luniensi in lunia (14th c.); Iaothane Hyspalensi.¹¹⁴
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Johannes Avendeath (14th c.).¹¹⁵

The evidence uncovered appears to definitely indicate Johannes Hispalensis working from various renderings of “Luna”, which are in error for Limia. The last entry above is due to a propagation of an error by Jourdain.¹¹⁶ The translator ends his work with, *Finit liber imaginum Thebith ben Chorah translatus a Iohanne Hispalensi atque lunensi in lunia ex arabico in Latinum* — a familiar ending in Hispalensis’s texts.¹¹⁷

10. Anonymous¹¹⁸

10.1. *Cure for the disease of the stone*

- Discrepancies occurring in the manuscript: Johannes Hispalensis;¹¹⁹ Magister Johannes Ispalensis.¹²⁰

¹¹² Paris BN, Lat. 16204, p. 539. Florence, Laurentian Plut. 30. Cod. 29, f. 59r. This translation follows the *Secretum Secretorum* in the same manuscript.

¹¹³ Berlin 964, ff. 213r-215r.

¹¹⁴ Venice, San Marcos, Fondo antico 343, ff. 150-153.

¹¹⁵ British Library, *Index of Manuscripts in the British Library*, Cambridge, 1985, VI, see entry for “Avendeath” Hispalensis. British Library, Royal 12C, XVIII. This is a prime example of Jourdain’s error being propagated by modern cataloguers. The manuscript reads: Iohanne hispalensi, ff. 10v-12r.

¹¹⁶ For details of this error, see the section below dealing with Ibn Sīnā’s *De anima*.

¹¹⁷ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 248-252.

¹¹⁸ Vienna 5311.

¹¹⁹ Thorndike and Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, Col. 23; Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 76.

¹²⁰ Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispalensis”, 233.

This interesting translation is dedicated to a Pope Gregory and helps to place Hispalensis's earlier work in Limia.¹²¹ Dated through historical research c. 1118/1119 it exists in only the one manuscript, yet modern quotations have produced two versions of the translator's name, one of which included the title "magister". Many historians agree that this translation is ascribed to Johannes Hispalensis.¹²²

11. **Abū 'Alī al-Khayyāt Albohali**

11.1. *De iudiciis nativitatum/Liber Introductorius/De iudiciis astrorum*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohanne Toletano¹²³ (14th-15th c.); Johannes Hispalensis¹²⁴ (15th c.); Magistro Iohanne Toletano¹²⁵ (14th c.).
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Juan de Sevilla & Domingo González;¹²⁶ John of Toledo/John of Spain.¹²⁷

This translation causes various problems in the identification process. Most of the manuscripts and quotations referred to Johannes Hispalensis. Of all the manuscripts researched, only three contained the translator's name as "Magistro Iohanne Toletanus" or "Iohanne Toletanus". The signature, *cum laude et eius auxilio*, also appears in some copies of the manuscripts. In one case at least, the signature was added to a manuscript by a nearly contemporary hand.¹²⁸ Many of the sources and manuscripts quote the date 1152 or 1153. The translation is listed in the 13th century catalogue as being translated by Johannes

¹²¹ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 25; *idem*, "The History and Myths", 452-454.

¹²² Thorndike, "John of Seville", 27; Lemay, R., "De la scolastique à l'histoire par le truchement de la philologie: Itinéraire d'un médiéviste entre Europe et Islam", *La diffusion delle scienze Islamiche nel medioevo europeo*, Oct., 1984, 2-4, 399-535, 413; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 85.

¹²³ Oxford Laude Misc. 594, ff. 94-106.

¹²⁴ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Conventi soppressi, MSS) J. IV, ff. 150r-151v. Edited in Nuremberg 1548.

¹²⁵ British Museum, Royal 12, CXVIII, ff. 2-9v; Erfurt Amplon, F. 395, ff. 220-225.

¹²⁶ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 155.

¹²⁷ Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 75; *idem*, "John of Seville", 21.

¹²⁸ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 123.

Hispalensis. As he worked between 1118 and 1142, it appears that the inclusion of the year 1153 in some manuscripts might be attributed to scribes' errors.

12. Johannes Hispalensis

12.1. *Epitome totius astrologie/Quadripartitum*

- Discrepancies occurring in the manuscripts: Hispanensis¹²⁹ (14th c.); Johannes Hispalensis (ed. Pastrengo 1547); Iohanne Hispalensi Hispano (ed. Nuremberg 1548); Iohannes Hispalensis (15th c.); Iohannis Hispalensis (14th c.); magister Iohannes Hyspalensis¹³⁰ (14th c.); Ioannis Hispalensis.

The contents of this treatise fix its date of composition to 1142. It is not a translation but an original work by Johannes Hispalensis and confirms the last known date where he used the correct rendering of his name, after ceasing to use the extra identifying place name of Limia. After 1142 there were no more translations or works by Hispalensis, although scribal errors placed him in the occasional copy of other translator's work executed in a period up to approximately 13 years after he ceased translating. Even though there is no doubt of authorship of the *Quadripartitum*, scribal errors corrupted Hispalensis's name to Hispano and Hispanensis, and added "magister".

13. Al-Ghazālī

13.1. *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa/Liber Algazel*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Johannes Hispalense¹³¹ (1506); Magistro Iohanne & D. archidiacono in Tolet.¹³² (1200); Magistro Iohanne & Dominico¹³³ (13th c.).

¹²⁹ Vienna 2436, ff. 136v, 138r.

¹³⁰ Paris BN 7316A, ff. 45-47.

¹³¹ Edited in Venice.

¹³² Vatican, Ottob. Lat. 2186.

¹³³ Assisi Comunale 663, ff. 146r-153r.

- Modern language translations or propagation of errors of the names in the manuscripts: Dominicus Gundissalinus and Magister Iohannes.¹³⁴

A 12th century manuscript of the treatise offers “Magistro Iohanne et Dominico Archidiacono” as the translators and is the oldest extant copy,¹³⁵ yet by 1506 these had become corrupted to just one name: Johannes Hispalense. All the evidence provided by the copies of this translation points to it being a translation belonging to the working pair Dominicus Gundissalinus and Magister Iohannes in 1150, and not to Hispalensis.

14. **Mashā’ Allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya: Messahala**

14.1. *De compositione et utilitate astrolabii*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohannes (Johannes Hispanus);¹³⁶ Ioannis Hispalensis¹³⁷ (13th c.); Io. Hispanien-sis;¹³⁸ Magistro Iohanne.¹³⁹
- Modern language translations or propagation of errors of the names in the manuscripts: Johannes Avendeth Hispalensis;¹⁴⁰ John of Seville;¹⁴¹ Johannes Hispalensis (John of Seville).¹⁴²

¹³⁴ Allard, *Le Calcul Indien*, xviii, who quotes MS Vatican 2186; D’Alverny, “Avendauth?”, 40.

¹³⁵ Burnett, “Magister Iohannes Hispanus”, 427.

¹³⁶ Vienna 2452, ff. 1r-10r. Quoted by Alonso, *Juan Sevillano*, 35-36 as featuring the name Iohannes and by Thorndike and Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits*, Col 454 as Johannes. The Österreichische National Bibliothek confirms that the manuscript bears the name Johannes Hispanus. Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 216, note 7. The name Iohannes also appears in Oxford Canon Misc. 340, ff. 49-59 dated 14th — 16th century.

¹³⁷ Paris BN 7292.

¹³⁸ Paris BN 16652, f. 1.

¹³⁹ Toledo Cathedral 98-27, ff. 35r-49v.

¹⁴⁰ Jourdain’s erroneous personage. British Library, *Index of Manuscripts*, see section headed “Avendeth”, Hispalensis.

¹⁴¹ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 154; Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical*, 5, 23, 24, 169.

¹⁴² Seville Biblioteca Colombina y Capitularia 7-6-2. This version of the translator’s name was contributed by Alonso, *Juan Sevillano*, 46. However, the library confirms that no name appears in the manuscript, only in their bibliography. Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 206, note 5 & 216, note 9.

With so many references to Magister Iohanne and Johannes Hispanus, and the information contributed by modern sources¹⁴³ this translation was obviously translated by a collaborator of Gundissalinus, and only scribal errors led to its being ascribed to Hispalensis.

15. Anonymous

15.1. *Speculum Elementorum/Tractatus de perfecta et infallibili medicina arte Alkimie*

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Magistri Johannis Viennensis¹⁴⁴ (15th c.); Johanne Hispanico.¹⁴⁵

Each copy of the *Speculum Elementorum* contains a different spelling of the translator's name and there is no evidence to suggest that this translation originated from Hispalensis. In the chain of copying Viennensis (15th century) seems to have become corrupted to Hispaniensis (16th century), and then to Hispanico.¹⁴⁶

16. Ibn Sīnā: Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sīnā

16.1. *De Anima*

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Joh. Hispaliensis¹⁴⁷ (15th c.); Iohannes Israelita physicus¹⁴⁸ (14th c.); Dominico

¹⁴³ Thorndike, "John of Seville", 35; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 104.

¹⁴⁴ Cambridge Univ. Ff. IV. 12, ff. 204a-218a; Cambridge Univ. Ff. VI, 50, ff. 1-16a. *Cambridge University Catalogue, Vol. II*, 540 (1388). Although Ff. IV. 12 is cross-referenced as being anonymous, the catalogue entry gives the name Magistri Joannis Hispaniensis. However, Ff. VI. 50, written before the above, gives the name Magistri Johannis Viennensis. Perhaps this corruption of the surname shows how ambiguities concerning Hispalensis have occurred. The route from Hispalensis-Hispaniensis is but a slip of the pen, a scribe's error. In the same way, so too is Magistri Johannis Viennensis-Magistri Joannis Hispaniensis, albeit the latter is only mentioned in the catalogue, and not in the manuscript itself. However, the British Library has catalogued its entry as "*Johannes Hispalensis*". Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 171, note 7.

¹⁴⁵ British Library, Arundel 251 (Latine Section VIV), f. 35b.

¹⁴⁶ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 95.

¹⁴⁷ Cambridge, Peterhouse College 157 (II), ff. 13ra-49ra.

¹⁴⁸ Oxford Bodleian 463, ff. 139-175. The catalogue states that this manuscript has a prologue showing that *Iohannes Israelita physicus* and an *archdeacon* translated it. It

Gundisalvo & Magister Io. Havendana; ¹⁴⁹ Johannes; ¹⁵⁰ Gundissalinus; ¹⁵¹ Avendeuth & Dominico ¹⁵² (13th-14th c.); Avendeuth & Dominico ¹⁵³ (14th c.); Gundissalinus and Avendauth ¹⁵⁴ (1320).

— Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Dominicus Gundisalvi & John; ¹⁵⁵ Iohannes Israelita physicus ¹⁵⁶ (14th c.).

16.2. *Kitāb al-Shifā'*

— Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Avendeuth; ¹⁵⁷ Avendeuch Israhelite. ¹⁵⁸

— Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: John of Seville. ¹⁵⁹

queries whether the latter could have been an archdeacon of Toledo and is followed by the information that the translator John is Johannes Ibn Dā'ūd, and has the name Hispalensis added in parenthesis. *Oxford Bodleian Catalogue (1-3490)*, 375, sect. 2456.

¹⁴⁹ Rome, Vat. Urb. Lat 187, ff. 101v-168v. Alonso, *Juan Hispano*, 146; Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 181, note 2.

¹⁵⁰ Mazarine 629; Oxford Bodleian 463; Paris BN 14854.

¹⁵¹ Cambridge, Peterhouse 157. Inside the front cover of Peterhouse 157, which dates from the 14th century, is a list of contents. The original title of the penultimate treatise has been overwritten with "Sextus Naturalium Avicenne scilicet de anima". The same hand has written "Sextus naturalium Avicenne" at the top of the treatise. The original heading has faded or else been erased, and cannot be read properly, even with the aid of ultra violet light. The only part of the heading that can be seen, reads "Tractatus a--s (or perhaps d--s) C--sali de anima". Perhaps it might originally have said, "Tractatus Dominicus Gundisalvi de anima". The name Hispalensis does not appear to feature in the text.

¹⁵² Naples VIII, E 19 (1327); Rome, Casanatensis 957, (13th-14th c.); Bruges 510 (14th c.); Basel DIII, 7, f. 2r (12th-13th c.).

¹⁵³ Paris BN 6443; Paris BN 1793 (from the Sorbonne, now Paris BN 16613); Paris BN 8802.

¹⁵⁴ Cesena Bibl. Malatest XXII, ff. 2r-24v; Milan Ambrosiana, H. 43. Inf, ff. 89r-148v.

¹⁵⁵ Identified by the author as son of David (Avendeuth), John of Spain, of Seville or of Luna. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, 13.

¹⁵⁶ Oxford Bodleian 463, ff. 139-175. This appears to be the library catalogue propagating the error made by Jourdain. Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 179, note 9.

¹⁵⁷ Vatican 4428; Bruges 510.

¹⁵⁸ Bruges 510. Two authors quote this manuscript: D'Alverny, "Avendauth?", 32-33 and Thorndike, "*John of Seville*", 30. (See previous entry for Avendeuth.) They differ on their interpretation of the name in the same manuscript.

¹⁵⁹ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 131.

16.3. *De celo et mundo*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Gundisalvo & Iohanne Hispalensi; ¹⁶⁰ Gundisalvo. ¹⁶¹
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Domingo Gundisalvus. ¹⁶²

16.4. *Liber de Causis*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: David; ¹⁶³
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Johannes Hispalense; ¹⁶⁴ Hispalense. ¹⁶⁵

The wording of the salutation in the *De Anima* has caused immense speculation and confusion, and arose when Jourdain divided the dedication and identified the dedicatee as *Reverentissimo Toletane sedis archiepiscopo et yspanorum primati*, meaning “Raymond”, and the translator as *Iohanni Avendauth Israelita philosophus*. In fact the dedicatee is “Iohanni”, also Magister Iohannis, the Archbishop who followed Raymond. By changing the punctuation, Jourdain consequently created a new personality. ¹⁶⁶ According to D’Alverny, the punctuation is Jourdain’s own. ¹⁶⁷ Further fuel was added to the controversy when Jourdain subsequently linked his erroneous “Johannes Avendehut Israelita” to Johannes Hispalensis. It is obvious that these four translations were worked on by the team of

¹⁶⁰ Rome, Vat, Lat 2186, ff. 50v-57v (1200). Edited, Venice 1508.

¹⁶¹ Paris BN 6443, ff. 337r-351v.

¹⁶² Jourdain, A., *Recherches critiques sur l’age et l’origine des traductions latines d’Aristote*, Nouvelle Edition, Joubert, Paris (1843), 109.

¹⁶³ Paris BN 14719 S. Victor 209.

¹⁶⁴ Edited 1505. González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 123.

¹⁶⁵ Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I, 404.

¹⁶⁶ “Liber Avicenna de Anima translatus de arabico in latinum a Dominico archidiacono — Prologus ejusdem ad archiepiscopum Toletanum Reimundonem. Reverendissimo Toletanae sedis archiepiscopo et Hispaniarum primati, Joannes Avendehut Israelita, philosophus, gratum debitae servitudinis obsequium”, Jourdain, *Recherches critiques*, 113. This was the only reference to Raymond in any of the copies researched for this section.

¹⁶⁷ D’Alverny, “Avendauth?”, 21, 27-28, 32-33.

Gundissalinus, Johannes Hispanus and Avendauth and were only connected to Hispalensis by scribal errors and modern sources.¹⁶⁸

17. **Ibn Gabirol: Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā ibn Ibn Gabirol; Avencebrol**

17.1. *Fons Vitae*

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Iohannis Hispanis & Domingo;¹⁶⁹ Dominicus Gundissalinus & Magister Iohannes;¹⁷⁰ Iohanne Hispano¹⁷¹ (16th c.); Dominicus Gundisalvi¹⁷² (14th c.); Joanne Hispano & Dominico Gundissalino.¹⁷³
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: John of Spain & Dominicus Gundissalinus;¹⁷⁴ Hispalense/Juan Hispano & Domingo González.¹⁷⁵

Dated c. 1150 and with most references in manuscripts leading to the team of Magister Iohannes, Johannes Hispanus and Dominicus Gundissalinus, this translation is definitely not by Johannes Hispalensis.

¹⁶⁸ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 97-98, 178-184.

¹⁶⁹ Mazarine 3472, ff. 33r-79r.

¹⁷⁰ D'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", 446.

¹⁷¹ Paris Mazarine 510, f. 79. This manuscript is also quoted by Burnett as being on folio 59, "Magister Iohannes Hispanus: Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator", 427 and by D'Alverny, "Avendauth?", 40, as folio 79.

¹⁷² Seville, Biblioteca Colombina y Capitularia 5-6-14.

¹⁷³ Edited, Münster, 1892-1895.

¹⁷⁴ *El*, London, 1971, III, 770.

¹⁷⁵ Although the author quotes Hispalense as the translator on one page, on the following he mentions that the translation was executed by Juan Hispano and Domingo González. González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 133-134.

18. Al-Zarqālī (Azarquial)

18.1. *Sententie* (MS 188, St John's College, Oxford & MS BN 10053, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)

- Discrepancies occurring in manuscripts: Johannes Hispanus (13th c.); Iohannes Hyspalensis (14th c.).
- Modern language translations of the names in the manuscripts: Avendeut/John of Seville;¹⁷⁶ Johannes Avendaut Hispanus.¹⁷⁷

18.2. (*Al-Farghānī*) *Scientia annorum Arabum (Introductio de cursu planetarum)* (MS 188, St John's College, Oxford)

Scribal errors and modern misquotations have seriously distorted these two manuscripts, both almost universally ascribed previously to Johannes Hispalensis. The manuscripts in question are MS 188 held in St. John's College, Oxford, and dated in recent years in the 14th century,¹⁷⁸ and MS BN 10053 in Madrid (13th century). The Oxford copy contains two translations, the *Sententie* and the *Scientia annorum Arabum*. The manuscript in Madrid only contains the *Sententie*. The two copies of the *Sententie* differ owing to an original scribal error made to the Oxford copy. Although they both begin with the same text, and follow similar lines for approximately four hundred words, they later diversify. Notice was first made to the *Scientia annorum Arabum* by Thorndike in 1923, who wrote: "Steinschneider fails, I think, to note in his list of John's translations an *Introductio de cursu planetarum* (St. John's 188, late 13th c., fol. 99v -) ¹⁷⁹ which he translated from Arabic into Latin at the request of two *Angligenarum, Gauconis scilicet et Willelmi*."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 156. The author quotes this work in his section on John of Seville (Juan de Sevilla).

¹⁷⁷ Millás Vallicrosa links the name Avendaut with that of Johannes Hispanus in "Una obra astronómica", 459 onwards.

¹⁷⁸ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 188.

¹⁷⁹ Now dated in the 14th century.

¹⁸⁰ Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 76, note 3.

A year later, Haskins quoted Thorndike's remarks but inadvertently linked them, and the translation of the *Scientia annorum Arabum*, to the *Sententie* held in Madrid. He wrote:

Thorndike calls attention to a brief tract at St. John's College, Oxford, MS 188, f. 99v, which has the following reference: *Scire oportet vos, karissimi lectores, quod debetis aliquos annos scire super quod cursus planetarum valeatis ordinare vel per quos possitis ordinatos cursus in libro quem ego Johannes Yspalensis interpres existens rogatu et ope duorum Angligenarum, Gauconis scilicet et Willelmi, de arabico in latinum transtuli*. In MS. 10053 of the *Biblioteca Nacional*, we have however, (f. 86v): *Scire debes, karissime lector, quia oportebit te aliquos annos scire super quos cursus planetarum valeas ordinare vel per quos possis ordinatos cursus in libro quem ego Johannes Ispanus interpres existens de arabico in latinum transtuli*.¹⁸¹

Although the Oxford copy of the *Scientia annorum Arabum* gives Johannes Hispalensis as the translator, the *Sententie* in Madrid ascribes it to Johannes Hispanus. In 1936, Millás Vallicrosa edited the text from the copy held in Madrid BN 10053, ff. 86v-88v. He told us that it is written in the form of a letter to an unknown friend, with a reference to Hispanus's translation of al-Fargānī's *Astronomy*. Millás Vallicrosa admitted that he had not been able to see the Oxford manuscript himself, and made reference to Haskins's quote regarding the manuscript, advising us to see that variant of the text held in MS 188.¹⁸² Conversely, Thorndike made no mention of the Arabic author's name. Only Haskins appeared to have established a connection. In 1966, D'Alverny continued his misquotations, telling us that the manuscript in Madrid contained the name Joannes Ispanus, although she felt the manuscript in Oxford bore the correct form: Johannes Yspalensis.¹⁸³ She based her argument on the fact that the Oxford manuscript was originally thought to be the oldest copy although we now know that it is dated later than the Madrid copy, possibly up to a hundred years.¹⁸⁴ Although the same translator probably made the two translations, the references cannot be coupled together. The original confusion caused by Haskins when he quoted Thorndike's re-

¹⁸¹ Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science*, 13, note 39, quoting Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 73-78.

¹⁸² Millás Vallicrosa, "Una obra astronómica", 453, 454, 459-475 and note 8 on 461.

¹⁸³ D'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", 447, footnote 109.

¹⁸⁴ Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 188.

marks about the *Scientia annorum Arabum* and tied them to the *Sententie* in Madrid provoked later unnecessary speculation, but the complex nature of the two copies remains at the root of the problem. The original scribe of the manuscript in Oxford confused the issue by beginning the text of the *Sententie* correctly for about 400 words, and then breaking off and inserting a completely different work. Three pages later he amalgamated some of the text of the *Sententie* into the *Scientia annorum Arabum*.

The two texts of the *Sententie* appear to be almost identical up to “promissum opus”. In Millás Vallicrosa’s edited version, the Madrid manuscript continues at this point with, *Scire debes, karissime lector*, etc.

Oxford St John’s College, 188,
ff. 102ra-103va
Al-Zarqālī *Sententie*

Incipiunt sentencie de diversis libris excerpte in quibus exponuntur multe dubitationes que fiunt in regulis equacionum planetarum et in ascensionibus signorum et in ceteris que in tabulis continentur, et in quibus sunt multa legentibus astronomiam utilia breviter quidem composita... promissum opus.

Madrid BN 10053, ff. 86 v.-88v.a.
Al-Zarqālī *Sententie*.
Edited by Millás Vallicrosa

In nomine domini incipiunt sentencie de diversis libris excerpte in quibus exponuntur dubitationes multe que fiunt in regulis equacionum planetarum et in ascensionibus signorum et in ceteris que in tabulis continentur..... promissum opus.

The *Sententie* in Oxford, however, digresses after *promissum opus* into a different text. In place of the words, *Scire debes, karissime lector*, etc., we have, indented in the original, *Geometrie due sunt partes* etc. The text, which follows, appears to bear no resemblance to that edited by Millás Vallicrosa from BN. 10053. It is mathematical in content, contains drawings that the Madrid copy does not have and no name appears in the manuscript. It spans four folios and is followed by three or four columns from which there appears to have been an attempt to expunge the writing. In the intervening blank spaces there are a wad of 14th century astronomical notes. The only other texts originally included were the Messahala and a similar piece of astronomy.

Oxford St John's College, 188,
ff. 102ra-103va
Al-Zarqālī *Sententie*

[Geometrie] due sunt partes principale scilicet theoretica et practica. Theoretica est quando mentis sola speculante quantitatem proportionales ad invicem intuemur. Practica est quando per animam notar quantitatem noticiam quantitationis minus note sensitue comparamus.

Madrid BN 10053, ff. 86 v.-88v.a.
Al-Zarqālī *Sententie*.
Edited by Millás Vallicrosa

Scire debes, Karissime lector, quia oportebit te aliquos annos scire supra quos cursus planetarum ualeas ordinare, uel per quos possis [computare?] ordinatos cursus in libro quem ego Iohannes Ispanus interpres existens de arabico in latino transtuli.

The *Scientia annorum Arabum* begins a few columns later on 99v (now 104vab) with *scire oportet* and contains the name Johannes Yspalensis and the reference to the two Englishmen. Curiously, it then rejoins the text edited by Millás Vallicrosa and continues, *sunt enim ipsi anni arabici*, as does BN 10053.

St John's College 188, f. 104 va-104 vb
Al-Farghānī *Scientia annorum Arabum*

Scire oportet vos karissimi lectores quod debetis aliquos annos scire supra quos cursus planetarum valeatis ordinare vel per quos possitis ordinatos cursus in libro quem ego Johannes yspalensis interpres existens rogatu et ope duorum angligenarum Gauconis scilicet Willelmi de arabico in latinum transtuli
...sunt enim ipsi anni arabici ...as per the *Sententie* in Madrid

Madrid BN 10053,
Sententie (continued)

... sunt enim ipsi etc.

After this short amalgamation, the texts separate again and differ completely. Apart from scribal errors, both copies of the *Sententie* are only the same for approximately 400 words at the beginning. The words *scire debes* in BN 10053 signal the parting. MS 188 appears not to return to a similar text. The *Scientia annorum Arabum* continues after the incipit with the same text as BN 10053 for approximately 50 words. The texts in St John's 188 are separated into two diverse tracts,

whereas the Madrid manuscript contains only the *Sententie*, the contents of which are not the same as the copy in Oxford. There appears to be no logical reason for removing *scire debes, karissimi lectores* from the *Sententie* in MS 188 and using similar words in a separate translation under the name *Scientia annorum Arabum*. There also appears to be no reason for including in the latter, approximately fifty words from the version of the *Sententie* held in Madrid.

The extraordinarily confused reproduction of the manuscript held in Oxford consequently generated misquotations from modern specialists in this field. The *Sententie* in Madrid contains the name Johannes Ispanus, although the name Avendauth, contributed by Millás Vallicrosa, does not appear.¹⁸⁵ In St John's College 188 no translator's name appears, although Alonso provides the information that Iohannes Hyspalensis translated it,¹⁸⁶ even though the text is anonymous.¹⁸⁷ Burnett comments that the phrase used to identify the translator is strikingly similar to that used in the *Fons Vitae* by Magister Iohannes, suggesting a link between them.¹⁸⁸

The *Scientia annorum Arabum* names Johannes Yspalensis in the manuscript and the reference to the two Englishmen helps to date the composition of the text. Lemay¹⁸⁹ makes reference to the year 1148 and offers an identification of the two Englishmen, basing his argument on that of González Palencia. The latter tells us that "William Stattford", an English gentleman,¹⁹⁰ appeared in 1148 and later obtained the prebend as the archdeacon of Madrid and signed documents until 1154. The author suggests that he is perhaps the same "William" for whom John of Seville translated a treatise. He then mentions Gauco and Willemo and refers to St John's College 188, f. 99.¹⁹¹ González Palencia is one of the sources that believes that Johannes Hyspalensis worked with Gundissalinus, and nearly all his references are to "Juan de Sevilla", regardless of whether they should

¹⁸⁵ Millás Vallicrosa, "Una obra astronómica", 451-475.

¹⁸⁶ Alonso, "Juan Sevillano", 32.

¹⁸⁷ Robinson, *Johannes Hyspalensis*, 102.

¹⁸⁸ "Magister Iohannes Hispanus: Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator", 427, 429.

¹⁸⁹ "Dans L'Espagne du XIIIe siècle. Les traductions de L'Arabe au Latin", *Annales*, 18, 4 (1963), 639-665, 653.

¹⁹⁰ The author refers to him as "Guillielmus Stattford, personaje inglés".

¹⁹¹ González Palencia, *El Arzobispo don Raimundo*, 114.

be Johannes Hispanus or Avendauth in their own right. However, his historical research is excellent and as he quotes his sources for the references to the Englishman, it is quite feasible to accept that “William Stattford” was one of the Englishmen mentioned in this translation. The date would be after 1148, which again brings us to c.1150 when Hispanus worked with Gundissalinus. As Hispalensis stopped translating and working after 1142, later references must belong to Gundissalinus’s team. Ownership of both these translations probably belongs to the same translator. The earliest manuscript is more likely to be correct, leading to Johannes Hispanus, a member of Gundissalinus’s team, being the translator of both the *Scientia annorum Arabum* and the *Sententie*.

Concluding Remarks

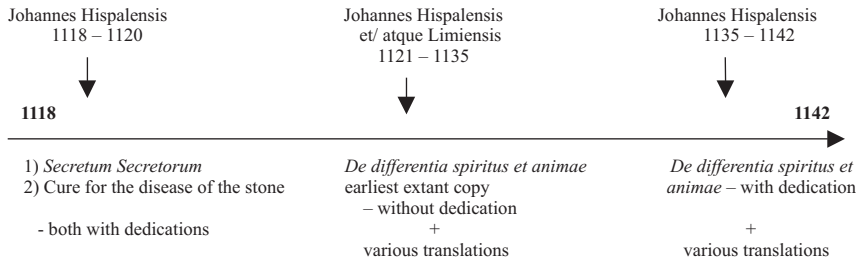
In conclusion there has been a plethora of mistakes in the process of copying manuscripts throughout the centuries. The discrepancies in the renderings of the name “Hispalensis” and the inclusion of titles such as “Magister” and “Episcopus” can all be attributed to these scribal errors.¹⁹² This is further highlighted by a lack of stability between manuscripts of the same translation. The earlier manuscripts provide enough evidence to show the translator’s name in its correct form. From these correct, early manuscripts, corrupted versions appeared centuries later.

Until 1142 there was only one translator working first under the name of Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis and then as Johannes Hispalensis. There is no evidence to show there was another translator working during the same period with a name remotely similar to his. There also appears to be a historical link between the first three medical translations and his later work. The first of the medical translations was the *Secretum Secretorum*, dedicated to Tarasia of Portugal, and was followed by a cure for gout dedicated to Gregory VIII, the anti-pope. The third, the *De differentia spiritus et anima*, is still extant in its earliest unrevised copy and contains the name “Iohanni Hispalensi et/atque limiensi”,¹⁹³ whereas the previous two transla-

¹⁹² Robinson, *Johannes Hispalensis*, 53, 66, 70, 80, 95, 99, 105.

¹⁹³ Advs. 18. 6. 11.

tions bore only the name Johannes Hispalensis. At that early stage, the third translation did not contain a dedication. When it resurfaced years later as a revision, the translator's name had become Johannes Hispalensis, and it was dedicated to Raymond, archbishop of Toledo. After this, no translations ever bore a dedication. The linking of the two names Johannes Hispalensis atque Limiensis and Johannes Hispalensis in the *De differentia spiritus et animae*, provides the final evidence that the Hispalensis of later translations was the same translator who added "et/atque Limiensis" to his earlier translations.



The misuse of Johannes Hispalensis's name and corruptions of the English form have been the main contributors to the problems surrounding this translator. To call him John of Seville or John of Seville and Limia is fairly safe as no other translator used these forms. However, problems arose in using the English translation: "John of Spain". This could refer to Johannes Hispanensis or Johannes Hispaniensis, both errors for Hispalensis, or conversely, Johannes Hispanus, Johannes Hispano, Johannes Hispanico or Johannes Hispanicus. The latter four versions are renderings of the name of the translator who worked with Gundissalinus c.1150. Additionally, scribes often helped to confuse the issue by abbreviating names to "Hisp", which were themselves written out in full years later so that they became Hispanus for Hispalensis or vice versa. Later copyists also appear to have been possessed of a great deal of knowledge concerning various titles and names and as a result made many errors by adding what they thought *should* belong in the translation, even though earlier copies did not carry the information. There appears to

be no evidence to suggest that Hispalensis ever deliberately signed himself as Hispaniensis or Hispanensis (of Spain), nor that he was a Master or a Bishop, and they continue to be scribes's errors.

Recibido: 17/09/05

Aceptado: 29/06/06