Title
Semitica Iberica: Translations from Hebrew and Arabic into the Medieval Romance Vernaculars of the Iberian Peninsula

Permalink
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Journal
Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 81(7-8)

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Publication Date
2004

Peer reviewed
My purpose is very straightforward: to examine, as a group, the texts translated from Hebrew or Arabic into one of the medieval Romance vernaculars of the Iberian Peninsula, Castilian, Catalan, or Portuguese, and to seek to identify their commonalities and differences. Why these texts? What subject areas do they represent? When were they translated? Were they translated directly from the original language into the target language, or via one or more intermediate languages? How often are Hebrew and Arabic used as intermediating languages? What conclusions, if any, can be drawn for our understanding of cultural and intellectual relations among the three peoples of the book in medieval Spain?

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper given at the conference on Wine, Women and Song: Poetry of Medieval Iberia, University of California, Berkeley, April 29, 2001. For help in identifying the translated texts I am indebted to Adelaida Cortijo Ocaña, Ángel Sáenz Badillo, and David Wacks.
Until very recently a research project of this type, extremely simple in concept and absolutely basic, would have been almost impossible, requiring an enormous amount of effort just to locate the translations that are its object. But the existence of the PhiloBiblon database system of the primary sources for the study of the medieval Iberian vernacular literatures, in the broadest sense of the word, makes this almost a trivial exercise.¹

The existence of this tool allows us to find data rapidly and according to a wide range of search criteria. Similar work, based on these three corpora of medieval vernacular texts, opens dramatic possibilities for the study of medieval literature as a social or prosopographical phenomenon, that is, focusing on the social groups that created it as well as the ones for whom it was created.

Before examining the data, however, some caveats are in order. In the first place, the databases are not yet in fact exhaustive. Until very recently not much attention was paid to translations as objects of serious study in their own right; and we still have a long way to go before we can answer all the questions, even such a seemingly simple one as whether or not a given text is a translation, an adaptation, or an original composition based on Arabic or Hebrew sources. It is very likely that numerous texts which are in fact translations from Hebrew or Arabic have not been so identified. It is more than probable that some of the exíemplos in El conde Lucanor are of Arabic origin, but specific sources are wanting. Nor have we added systematically texts which are now lost but which we can confidently surmise to have existed on the basis of concrete references to them, like the Tasrīf of Abū-l Qāsim al-Zahrāwī (Abulcasis), whose translator, Berenguer Eimeric, states that he translated it first into Catalan and then into Latin.² Finally, there are texts that have traditionally been assumed to be of Arabic origin, like


² Lluís Cifuentes, “Translatar sciència en romans catalanesch. La difusió de la medicina en
the titillating *Speculum al foderi* attributed to Albafumet, but on which further research is needed in order to trace their exact filiation.\(^3\)

Thus the figures for the number of translations should be understood to be minimal. Similarly, the question of intermediate translations must be treated with caution. To what extent do texts which entered Spain from other languages via Hebrew and Arabic reflect Semitic influence? Undoubtedly some Semitic texts were translated through the intermediary of Latin (e.g. the *Compendio de los boticarios* of Saladino da Ascoli). At that point, was the translator from Latin aware that the text had originated in Hebrew or Arabic? Did it matter? By the same token, the ultimate origins of many texts purportedly translated from a Hebrew or Arabic original should in fact be traced beyond the Hebrew or Arabic to Greek, Syriac, Persian, and even Sanskrit (e.g., *Calila e Digna*).

Another problem is the fact that none of the three teams working on this project includes a specialist in medieval Hebrew or Arabic. Thus it is very likely that texts of Hebrew and Arabic origin have been overlooked through our own ignorance.

The data presented below, then, with very few exceptions, are based on existing texts identified as having been translated from Hebrew and Arabic in the secondary literature. Thus any conclusions are likely to be conservative, in the sense that there were undoubtedly more translations than those discussed here. Moreover, the results for each language are not strictly comparable because the corpora on which they are based are not comparable. The Portuguese corpus of 9089 texts includes all of the lyric poetry and large numbers of royal ordinances; the Catalan corpus of 4104 texts includes most of the lyric poetry; the Castilian corpus of 3244 texts still omits most of the lyric poetry.\(^4\) In addition, the three teams working on the databases have not been overly preoccupied with harmonizing their results, which has made comparison more difficult. In some cases it is impossible to know whether in fact one is dealing with the same text in two or more of the bibliographies because the original title is not indicated. Finally, another problem or, perhaps better, condition is that almost by definition we are talking about the culture of the lettered elite. The rich oral literature of medieval Iberia is an (almost) closed book.

All of this has some very palpable consequences. Before looking at the specific texts

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3 Cifuentes, 21.

4 All figures represent the state of the various databases as of October, 2003.
translated from Semitic languages, however, let me put them within the broader context of the entire corpus of translations into the medieval peninsular languages: The Portuguese corpus contains 1021 translations, 11% of its total of 9089 texts. The Catalan corpus contains 514 translations, 12.5% of 4104 texts. The Castilian corpus contains 924 translations, 28.5% of 3244 texts. It is certain, however, that the proportion of translations into Castilian will be comparable to the Catalan and Portuguese figures once the lyric poetry is included.

There are a total of 141 translations from Arabic and Hebrew into Castilian. These data lend themselves to a number of observations when compared to the three translation corpora. What stands out immediately is the enormous preponderance of translations from Latin: 923 into Portuguese (90.4% of 1017 translations), 647 into Castilian (70% of 9924 translations), and 410 into Catalan (79.8% of 507 translations).5

In contrast, the number of texts translated from Hebrew and Arabic into any of the Romance vernaculars is exiguous: 100 texts translated into Castilian, 25 from Hebrew and 76 from Arabic; 32 texts translated into Catalan, five from Hebrew and 27 from Arabic; and just nine translated into Portuguese, three from Hebrew and six from Arabic. It should be pointed out, however, that Hebrew and Arabic are not unique in this respect. Only 48 French texts were translated into Castilian, and only 24 Italian ones.

What are these 141 texts translated from Hebrew and Arabic? As a first cut, they can be broken down by subject matter. The single largest category consists of scientific texts, in the broadest sense of the word; but their distribution is quite different in Castilian and Catalan. The Castilian results are skewed heavily toward astronomical and astrological texts because of the efforts of Alfonso the Learned (1252-84), who commissioned the translations (or composition based on Arabic sources) of some twenty texts from Arabic, known collectively as the Libros del saber de astrología (7.1-7.20).6 A precursor to that large-scale effort was the translation, dated March 12, 1254, of `Alī ibn Abī al-Rijāl's Judicios de las estrellas, as well as XXX. Samsó argues cogently that this burst of activity corresponds to the discovery of the Arabic texts in question in Cordova and Seville after their reconquest in 1236 and 1248 respectively.7 After this early effort

5 See Table 1 below.
6 Numbers in boldface are keyed to the Appendix.
7 Julio Samsó, ‘Traducciones científicas arabo-romances en la Península Ibérica’, in Actes del VII Congrés de l’Associació Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Castelló de la Plana, 22-26 de
we find nothing until an anonymous text called *Alcabienis*, translated before 1432; and three texts by Māshā'allāh, found in a manuscript dated 1521.

The same 1432 manuscript contains five astronomical and astrological texts by the 12th-c. Jewish savant Abraham ibn Ezra, while two more translations of his works are found in another 15th-c. MS. Abraham Zacuto's *Ha-hibbūr ha-gadol* was translated at Salamanca in 1481 as the *Compilación magna*; eleven years later the author would be exiled to Portugal.

There are five astronomical texts in Catalan, an anonymous Arabic *Almanach* based on al-Zarqālī (Azarquiel) but translated from a Latin version of 1307, three texts by Jacob ben David Bonjorn, and a *Llibre dels judicis de les estrelles* of Abraham ibn Ezra. There are but two astronomical texts in Portuguese, another *Almanaque perduravel*, also from the the Latin translation of al-Zarqālī of 1307 and translated around 1321 in Coimbra, and a translation, via the Castilian version, of the *Livro Cumprido nos Juízos das Estrelas*.

There are twelve medical texts, including Hippocrates' *Prognostica*, from the version of Constantinus Africanus, and Ishāq ibn Sūlaymān al-'Isrā'īli's *Tratado de las fiebres*, both translated into Castilian. The same author's *De la coneixença de les orines* was translated into Catalan after 1392. Also translated into Catalan were Ibn Sīnā's *Canon*, Ibn Wāfid's *Llibre de les medicines particulars*, Galen's *Letters on the Cure of Diseases of the Eye*, and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī's *Isagoge*, or introduction to Greek medicine.

Other subjects treated are veterinary medicine, particularly for birds of prey, such as the spectacular mid-13th-c. MS of al-Bayzār's *Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ* (*Libro de los animales de caza*); agriculture, with treatises by Ibn Bassāl and pseudo-Ibn Wāfid, the latter translated into both Castilian and Catalan.

Only slightly less numerous than the scientific texts are those that are moral, religious, or philosophical in nature. The earliest of these are the 13th-c. translations of the Old Testament, probably commissioned by Alfonso the Learned. Perhaps the oldest of these is the translation of the Psalms attributed to Hermannus Alemannus, or Herman the German. There are at least two other 13th-c. versions, one from the 14th century, and two from the 15th century, including the *Biblia de Alba*, a profusely illuminated version translated between 1422 and 1432 by Rabbi Moses Arragel of Guadalajara. There is at least one partial version, a 15th-c. *History of the

*setembre de 1997*, ed. Santiago Fortuño Llorens and Tomás Martínez Romero (Castelló de la Plana: Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 1999), 199-231 (pp. 221-22).
Macchabees.

There are apparently no biblical texts translated from Hebrew in either Catalan or Portuguese; but Portuguese has a late medieval translation of the Mishna (Pirqei Avot); while a Catalan translation of the Qu'ran was known to have existed in the library of the Kings of Aragon in 1410 but is no longer extant. There are texts in Castilian that were obviously written for Jews, but it is not clear that they are translations. Thus MS 2015 of the library of the University of Salamanca has a Paraquem (BETA texid 2065), to be recited from the "pascua de Pezah hasta la pascua de Zucod," a Libro del rey Asueros (BETA texid 2066), a text called Orahaym or Carrera de vidas (BETA texid 2067), with instructions on how to guard the precepts of Mosaic law, a text De la prosperidad, felicidad y generosidad del pueblo judío (BETA texid 2068).

There was a darker side as well, religious polemics, principally anti-Jewish, such as the exchange of letters, purportedly in Arabic, between Samuel Yahūdī of Fez and Rabbi Isaac de Subiulmesta (Isaac de Sujulmeza), starting with the former's Epistola contra errores Judaeorum, supposedly written in 1078 and translated into Latin in 1339 by Alfonsus Bonihominis, bishop of Marrakech, and thence into both Castilian and Catalan; or the Disputation between Abutalib the Saracen and Samuel the Jew, over which faith should have precedence, that of the Christians, that of the Jews, or that of the Saracens, translated into Castilian in 1458. The authenticity of both of these disputations has been called into question; Marsmann believes them to have been written in Latin by Alfonsus Bonihominis.8 The 14th-c. Moreh Tzedek or Mostrador de justicia of Alfonso de Valladolid, or Abner of Burgos before he converted to Christianity, belongs to the same tradition.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the increasingly hostile atmosphere toward the Jews in 15th-c. Spain, two of the greatest works of the Jewish speculative tradition were translated almost simultaneously, around the middle of the century: Yehuda Halevi's Kitāb al-Khuzārī and Maimonides' Moreh Nevukhīm, translated as Mostrador y enseñador de los turbados and known in English as the Guide of the Perplexed.

There was a parallel current as well, also focused on ethics, but almost entirely practical and secular in nature, the series of texts known generically as "wisdom literature" in English, or

"libros de sapiencia" in Spanish. In Spain this tradition goes back as far as Petrus Alfonsi at the beginning of the 12th century; but it flourished in the 13th, particularly in Castile. Thus we have three separate translations of the pseudo-Aristotelian Sirr al-ʿasrār, in Castilian the 13th-c. Poridad de las poridades, based on the western branch of the text, and the Secreto de los secretos, contemporary Catalan Secret del secrets, and a 14th-c. Navarro-Aragonese De secreto secretorum, on the eastern. Exactly similar in their didactic purpose are Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Kitāb adab al-falāsifa or Libro de los buenos proverbios and al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik's Mukhtār al-ḥikām or Bocados de oro, both enormously popular. Just slightly less so was the beast fable Kalīla wa-Dimna, which entered Castilian directly from Arabic in the 13th c. and then again in the late 15th-c. via Hebrew and Latin as the Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo. And of course there is the Sindibad, or Sendebar, translated by order of the infante Fadrique, son of Fernando III el Santo, in 1253. These texts soon gave rise to others based on them, although composed in the vernacular, such as the Flores de filosofía or the Llibre de saviesa attributed to Jaume I of Aragon, who died in 1276.

The scattering of remaining texts can be grouped under the general rubric of history or politics. The only purely historical text is the Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Rāzī, or the Crónica del moro Rasis, translated first into Portuguese before 1315—although that version is missing—and from Portuguese into Castilian around 1425 or 1430; and the Bancroft manuscript that we showed you on Friday is one of the earliest ones. Finally, there is a series of extremely interesting letters mostly exchanged between Christian and Islamic monarchs, beginning with Abū Saʿīd's Carta al rey de Benimerín, addressed to Abū al-Ḥasan, king of Morocco, before 1348, and ending with Muhammed Muley Xeque's letter to king Manuel I of Portugal in 1498. Undoubtedly there are many more.

What are we to make of this? I find it interesting that the texts can be grouped so easily into two large spheres, the scientific, and the religious or moral. Only one text is found in all three languages, the Sirr al-ʿasrār (Secretum secretorum). Only five texts are found in more than one language, the Judizios de las estrellas and the Mishna, in Castilian and Portuguese, pseudo Ibn Wāfid's De agricultura in Castilian and Catalan; and the exchange of letters between Samuel of Fez and Isaac de Subiulmesta (Isaac de Sujulmeza), also in Castilian and Catalan. It is perhaps not surprising that there is no biblical commentary. It is surprising, at least to me, that there is no 'adab, (nothing of what we would call literature, no evidence of any interest in narrative prose or lyric poetry—at least as direct translations. Don Juan Manuel, for example,
undoubtedly drew on Arabic texts in El conde Lucanor, at least indirectly, but it has proven impossible to trace direct translations. As Juan Vernet points out, "La relación de la narrativa árabe con la occidental es fácilmente detectable en lo que se refiere a la temática y más compleja cuando afecta a la estructura o cuadros del relato." Where there are direct translations (e.g., *Calila e Digna* or *Sendebar*), they have an evident didactic function.

If we look briefly at the texts translated from Latin, as I did in a paper published several years ago, we shall see that almost two-thirds of the texts are religious in nature, ranging from the sacred texts to liturgical works, devotional works, saints' lives. There is a coincidence in moral philosophy, for example, the *De regimine principum* tradition.

Chronologically speaking, we see scientific texts translated in the second half of the thirteenth century, and then again in the second half of the fifteenth century, due primarily to the influence of the universities. The ethical texts also profited from the burst of activity in the second half of the 13th century but tapered off rapidly after that. For the religious texts there seem to be two countervailing tendencies: an early flourishing of biblical translations, and a gradually intensifying level of polemical literature that led, especially after the pogroms of 1391 incited by the preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer, to an ever-increasing number of converts from Judaism to Christianity, and increasing pressure on the Jews who remained true to the faith of their fathers. At the same time certain members of the great noble families encouraged the translation of works by Jewish authors. More research is needed on religious factionalism in 15th-c. Spain. Of the 141 texts listed here, XXXX remain unidentified. They are assumed to be translations, but the original texts have not been located. In fact they may be free versions or even texts originally written in Spanish on the basis of Hebrew or Arabic source materials. Each of these "unidentified" texts is worthy of, at least, a transcription in order to make it available to the scholarly world and, preferably, a monographic study.

Absent such studies, further conclusions can only be tentative; but it is obvious that a topic like this one needs to draw together bits and pieces of evidence from scattered sources. What can we learn from medieval library inventories? What about source studies? What about the reverse trend? What texts were translated from Catalan, Portuguese, or Castilian into Hebrew and Arabic? Of which texts are there aljamiado versions? (19 in BETA). Does it help to think of prestige vs. non-prestige languages? And once we get past these more-or-less external

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considerations, how should we evaluate the translations themselves? What can they tell us of medieval translation practice? Do the translators work ad sensum or ad verbum? Are there metacritical commentaries on the translation process itself?

In short, there are a lot more questions than answers.

References


Table 1: Statistics concerning translations into Castilian, Catalan, and Portuguese to ca. 1500.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Castilian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of texts in corpus(^{10})</td>
<td>3244</td>
<td>4104</td>
<td>9089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of translations(^{11})</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>1021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Latin</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>90.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Arabic</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Hebrew</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Greek</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from French</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Italian</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Castilian</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Catalan</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Portuguese</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{10}\) Data as of October 2003.

\(^{11}\) The total number of translations is smaller than the combined total of translations from each language because of cases of multiple original languages or doubt as to the identity of the original language. The number of translations from each language is expressed as a percentage of the total number of translations.

\(^{12}\) Translation from Portuguese into Castilian and then back into Portuguese.
### Data from Syriac and English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Castilian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from Syriac</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: Translations into the Romance Vernaculars of Medieval Spain from Arabic and Hebrew

The following list is intended to be complete, but it undoubtedly lacks texts that were translated from Hebrew and Arabic and includes texts that were not. In addition to the identification of the text, with its identification number (texid) in BETA, BITAGAP, or BITECA, the best or most recent editions of the original, where known, are also given, although this list is incomplete.

For most secondary literature concerning each text as well as manuscripts and editions of the translations, see the relevant entry in BETA, BITECA, or BITAGAP (http://sunsite.Berkeley.EDU/PhiloBiblon/phhm.html). Please send additions or corrections to Charles Faulhaber (cfaulhab@library.berkeley.edu). Some editions and secondary references have also been added for more obscure or problematic texts.

The texts are arranged by target language (Castilian, Catalan, Portuguese), then by language of origin (Arabic, Hebrew), then by subject matter, then roughly in chronological order by date of translation, although in many cases the latter is conjectural.

Castilian: From Arabic

Scientific

Astronomy / Astrology


Yehūdah ben Mošeh ha-Kohen, 1256. The Castilian version was lost after the Latin version was translated from it. Alvar and Lucía Megías contend that the Astromagia is not a trans. of Picatrix but rather an independent compilation of magical texts from Arabic sources.\footnote{Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías, Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión, Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica 21 (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), 39-41.}

3. \textit{BETA} texid 1022. 'Ubayd 'Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭulayṭūlī\footnote{Samsó, 205.},\textsuperscript{16} Abū Marwān 'Ubayd 'Allāh ibn Khalaf al-Istījī\footnote{Vernet, 314.}\textsuperscript{17} (Oveidalla, Oveidalá). \textit{Kitāb al-ṣulūb (Libro de las cruces)}. Trans. by order of Alfonso X by Yehūdah ben Mošeh ha-Kohen and Juan d'Aspa, 1256.

4. \textit{BETA} texid 1051. al-Zarqālī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā (Azarquiel). \textit{Tablas de Zarqueil}. Trans. by order of Alfonso X, 1262 - 1272.\footnote{Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-Zarqālī, al-Šakkazīyya, ed. Roser Puig Aguillar (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona Instituto "Millás Vallicrosa" de Historia de la Ciencia Árabe, 1986) (This is a work on the astrolabe, may not be the same work as the Tablas).}


6. BETA texid 1397. Claudius Ptolomaeus. Tetرابiblos\footnote{Ptolemy, Tetرابiblos, ed. and trans. F. E. Robbins, Loeb Classical Library 350 (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press; Heinemann, 1940).} (Quatrapatito). Trans. by order of Alfonso X [?] by Yehūdah ben Mošeh ha-Kohen, before 1272. The original translation is lost, but there exists a compendium in Madrid: Nacional, MS 1866.\footnote{José S. Gil, La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores judíos (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos; Diputación Provincial, 1985), 68.}

7. \textit{BETA} texid 1025. \textit{Libros del saber de astronomía (Libro del saber de astrología)}. Trans. and compiled by order of Alfonso X, 1278. This text is composed of the following treatises, some translated, others composed on the basis of Arabic sources:

7.1. \textit{BETA} texid 2450. al-Ṣūfī, 'Abū al-Ḥusayn. \textit{Kitāb ṣuwār al-kawākib (Libro de la ochava esfera, Libro de las figuras de las estrellas fijas, IIII libros de las estrellas de la ochava}
esfera). Compiled or trans. by order of Alfonso X by Yehūdah ben Mošeh ha-Kohen and Guillén Arremón d'Aspa, 1256; revised by Juan de Cremona, Juan de Messina, and Samuel Halevi, 1276. Vernet claims that it is a translation of the Kitāb al-kawākib al-thābita al-muṣawwar of `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sūfī (d. 986).

7.2. BETA texid 4490. Judāh (Yehuda) ben Mošē ha-Kohen and Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag). Libro de las tablas alfonsíes Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1258 – 1277. Lost text?

7.3. BETA texid 3979 Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (Costa ben Lucca). Kitāb al-ˈamal bi-l-kura al-falakīyya (Libro del alcora, Libro de la facción de la esfera y de sus figuras y de sus obras). Trans. by order of Alfonso X by Yehūdah ben Mošeh ha-Kohen and Juan d'Aspa, 1259.

7.4. BETA texid 3985. al-Zarqālī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā (Azarquiel). Kitāb al-ˈamal bi-l-ṣafīḥa al-zījīyya (Azafea, Astrolabio, Libro de la açafehaj. Trans. by order of Alfonso X by Abraham de Toledo (Abraham Alfaquí) and Bernardo el Arábigo, after 1276.


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22 Vernet, 291; al-Ṣūfī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar, Suwarul-Kawākib or (Uranometry) (Description of the 48 Constellations) Arabic Text, with the 'Urjuza of Ibn as-Sufi (Hyderabad-Deccan: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1954).

23 Gil, 66-67; Alvar and Lucía Megías, 38; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 111-83.


28 Alvar and Lucía Megías, 37.
7.7. **BETA texid 3980.** Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag). *Libros del astrolabio redondo.* Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.


7.13. **BETA texid 3977.** Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag). *Libro de las armellas (Libro de la Azafea).* Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.


7.15. **BETA texid 3988.** Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag). *Libro del relogio de la piedra de la sombra.* Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.


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31 Gil, 73; ed. Rico y Sinobas, III, 5-132.
32 Alvar and Lucía Megías, 37.
33 Alvar and Lucía Megías, 37.
34 Gil, 73; ed. Rico y Sinobas, II, 298-309.
35 Gil, 71; ed. Rico y Sinobas, II, 3-78.
37 Gil, 75; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 5-23.
38 Gil, 75; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 24-64.
7.17. BETA texid 3990. Isaac ibn Cid (Rabiçag). *Libro del relogio de argent vivo.*
    Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.\(^{39}\)

    Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.\(^{40}\)

    Composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278.\(^{41}\)

7.20. BETA texid 4484. Samuel Halevi Abulafia. *Libro de la fábrica y de instrumento del levantamiento que en arábigo se llama ataçař.* Trans. or composed by order of Alfonso X, 1278. Lost text.\(^{42}\)


10. BETA texid 4491. al-Zarqālī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā (Azarquiel). *Almanaque.* Trans. by order of Alfonso X, before 1284.\(^{44}\)


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\(^{39}\) Gil, 75; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 65-76.

\(^{40}\) Gil, 82; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 79-97.

\(^{41}\) Gil, 75; ed. Rico y Sinobas, IV, 96-107.

\(^{42}\) Gil, 82.


\(^{44}\) Samsó, 200.


16. BETA texid 2836. Yūsuf Abū Ḥāmid [?]. Sobre la circunferencia. Anon. trans. from Arabic [?] by order of Alfonso X [?], before 1284 [?].


18. BETA texid 2838. Anonymous. Tablas de las conjunciones verdaderas de la luna. Anon. trans. from Arabic [?] by order of Alfonso X [?], before 1284 [?].


45 Samsó, 205
46 Vernet, 314.
48 Vernet, 211n51.
49 Vernet, 284.
24. BETA texid 1928. Māšā'allāh (Messahalla). De rebus eclipsium et de conjunctionibus planetarum (Libro de conjunciones). Anon. trans., before 3 January 1521.50


Mathematics


Zoology
28. BETA texid 2396. al-Bayzar, Muḥammad ibn `Abd `Allāh ibn `Umar. Kitāb al-jawāriḥ (Libro de los animales de caza, Libro de las animalías que cazan, Libro de Moamín, Libro de la montería, Tratado de la venación). Trans. by Abraham de Toledo [?], 9 April 1250 [?]. There is a Latin translation and from it Italian and French versions.51

Agriculture


51 Anthony J. Cárdenas, Alfonso X, and Biblioteca Nacional (Spain), ed. The Text and Concordance of Biblioteca Nacional Manuscript Res. 270-217 Libro Que Es Fecho De Las Animalias Que Caçan, the Book of Moamin, Microform (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987).

52 Ibn Bassāl, Kitāb al-filaḥah / Libro de agricultura, ed. and trans. José María Millás Vallicrosa and Mohamed Aziman (Tetuan: Instituto Muley El-Hasan, 1955 [repr. with preliminary study by
Kitāb al-qaṣd wa-l-Bayyān [title of another text by the author perhaps in the same MS], 
Tratado de agricultura). Anon. trans., after ca. 1400.

Earth sciences / Astrology
Arabic by Abū al-`Ayş (Abolays) and to Castilian by order of Alfonso X by Yehūdah ben 
Mošeh ha-Kohen and Garci Pérez, before ca. 1250.53
32. *BETA* texid 1023. Abū al-`Ayş, Timtim, Pythagoras, Yluz, Belienus, Pliny, Utarit, Ragiel, 
Yacoth, Ali, Hermuz. *Libro de las formas y de las imágenes*. Trans. by order of Alfonso X, 
1276-1279. Expanded version of the *Lapidario*.54

Medicine
33. *BETA* texid 1940. Pseudo-Hippocrates. *Prognostica (versio Constantini), Taqdimat al-
ma’arīfa*. Anon. trans., before ca. 1500.55 Based on the version of Hunayn ibn Ishaq? 56
34. *BETA* texid 1941. Pseudo-Hippocrates. *Capsula eburnea (Ṣinā’at al-Tībb, Liber sapientiae, 
Liber veritatis Hippocratis de istis qui laborant in agone mortis, Libro de Ypocras)*. Anon.

Explicación García Sánchez and J. Esteban Hernández Bermejo (Granada: El Legado Andalusí, 
1995)).

Sabio’s Lapidario*, Microform (Madison: Hispanic Seminar of Medieval Studies, 1978); Alfonso 
X, *Lapidario Del Rey D. Alfonso X*, ed. José Fernandez Montaña (Madrid: J. Blasco, 1881); 
Alfonso X, and Escorial, Real Biblioteca, *Primer Lapidario Del Rey Alfonso X El Sabio : Edición 
Facsímil Del Códice H.I.15 De La Biblioteca De San Lorenzo El Real De El Escorial*. (Madrid: 
Editora Internacional de Libros Antiguos EDILÁN, 1982).
54 Alvar and Lucía Megías, 27-29; Alfonso X, *Libro De Las Formas Y De Las Ymagenes: 
Concordance and Text*, Microform. (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1978); 
Alfonso X, Lapidario and *Libro De Las Formas & Ymagenes*, ed. Roderic C. Diman and Lynn W. 
Winget, Microfiche (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1980).
55 Vernet, 244n163.
56 Hippocrates, *Kitāb Taqdimāt al-ma’rīfah*, trans. Ḥunayn ibn ʿIshaq al-ʿIbādī, ed. Şādiq 
Kammunah (al-Najaf: Matbaʿat al-Ǧārī, 1938).
trans., before ca. 1500. Greek original lost.\textsuperscript{57}

35. \textit{BETA} texid 1559. Isaac Israeli (al-Isrā‘īlī, Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān al-ma´rūf). \textit{Fi al-ṣill (De febribus, Tratado de las fiebres)}. Anon. trans., before ca. 1500.\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Religion}

36. \textit{BETA} texid 1846. Abū Naṣr, Samū‘īl ibn Yaḥyā al-Mağribī al-Andalusī (d. ca. 1174) [?].\textsuperscript{59} (Samuel Marochitanus, Samuel Yehudi, of Fez). \textit{Epistola contra errores Judaeorum, Epistola Samuelis Maroccani ad Rabbi Isaacum (Carta que envió rabí Samuel de Israel a Isaac de Sujumenza)}. Anon. trans. via the 1339 Latin version of Alfonsus Bonihominis (OP), bishop of Marrakech, before ca. 1410. Addressed to Rabbi Isaac de Subiulmesta. Purported original dated ca. 1078. Marsmann suggests that both this text and the following response were written by Bonihominis.\textsuperscript{60}


\textsuperscript{58} Kitab al-ḥummāyāt li-Iṣḥaq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā‘īlī (al-maqāla al-thālitha, fi al-ṣill) (Isaac Judeaus, On fevers [the third discourse, On consumption]): together with an appendix containing a facsimile of the Latin version of this discourse (Venice, 1576), ed. Haskell D. Isaacs and John Derek Latham (Cambridge: Published for the Cambridge Middle East Centre by Pembroke Arabic Texts, 1981).


\textsuperscript{60} Marsmann.
39. BETA texid 2738. Abutalib; Samuel. *Disputatio Abutalib sarraceni et Samuelis iudaei, quae fides praecellit, christianorum, an iudeorum, an saracenorum* (Disputación que hubieron Abutalib moro y alfaquí y rabí Samuel judío sobre una cuestión que es cuál fe o secta precede y es más fundada sobre mayor fundamento de verdad, la de los moros o de los judíos o de los cristianos). Trans. by Álvaro de Villaescusa at the request of Juan de Villafuerte via the Latin version of Alfonsus Bonihominis (OP), 14 May 1458.  

**Philosophy**  

**Wisdom Literature**  
42. BETA texid 1228. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-`Ibādī (Johannitius), ca. 809-873. *Kitāb adab al-falasifa* (Libro de los buenos proverbios). Anon. trans., before 1250. Arabic original, after

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ca. 840 – before December 873.63

43. BETA texid 1395. Pseudo-Aristotele. *Sirr al-`asrār*64 (*Poridat de las poridades*) Anon. trans. from Greek? via Arabic, ca. 1250?, of version A (western) of the text. Arabic version by Yahya ibn al-Batrīq. The source of the lapidary at the end is the *Libro de Alexandre*.


45. BETA texid 1203. Anonymous. *Ḥikāyat tawaddud al-ḡārīya* (*Historia de la doncella Teodor*). Anon. trans., ca. 1250.66


50. BETA texid 1314. Bidpai. *Directorium humanae vitae* (Ejemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo, *Calila y Digna*). Anon. trans. via Hebrew and the Latin version of Johannes de Capua, before 30 March 1493.\(^7^0\)

**Politics**


**History**

54. BETA texid 1400. al-Rāzī, Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā. *Akhbār Mulūk al-Andalus* (Crónica del moro Rasis), Trans. by Pedro del Corral via Portuguese, 1425 - 1430. Trans. into Portuguese by Gil Peres and Mahomed by order of King Dinis and with the support of


Leisure

Castilian: From Hebrew

Scientific
Astronomy / Astrology

57. *BETA* texid 1921. Ibn Ezra, Abraham. *Sefer ha-Te 'amim* (*De rationibus, Libro de las razones*). Anon trans., before 14 September 1432.73


60. *BETA* texid 1923. Ibn Ezra, Abraham. *Sefer ha-She 'elōt* (*Libro de las cuestiones o demandas*). Anon. trans., before 3 January 1521.76


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73 Sela, 59-62.

74 Sela, 62-64.

75 Sela, 67-69.

76 Sela, 64-66.

77 Sela, 66-67.


65. *BETA* texid 2398. Zacuto, Abraham ben Samuel. *Ha-ḥibbūr ha-gadol (Compilación magna, Almanach perpetuum celestium motuum).* Trans. into Latin by José Vizinho (Joseph Vizinum) and thence into Castilian by Juan de Salaya, 5 December 1481.


**Pharmacy**

68. *BETA* texid 4001. Saladino Ferro (Saladino da Ascoli). *Sefer ha-rokḥîm (Aromatariorum compendium, Compendio de los boticarios).* Trans. by Alonso Rodríguez de Tudela via Latin, before November 1515, probably on the basis of the ed. of Venice, 1495. Original text, ca. 1440 - 1460.

**Religion**


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78 Sela, 64-66.


70. BETA texid 2938. *Biblia (Biblia hebrea romanceada antigua)*. Anon. trans., 1300 - 1400.
71. BETA texid 3013. *Biblia (Biblia romanceada judío-cristiana)*. Anon. trans. from Hebrew and Latin, 1300 - 1400. The text appears to be a revision of that of Esc. I.I.5, *Biblia hebrea romanceada antigua*. The protocanonical books of the Old Testament were translated from Hebrew; the deuterocanonical books and the Psalms, from the Vulgate. 81
72. BETA texid 3012. *Biblia (Biblia hebrea romanceada preferrariense)*. Anon. trans., 1300 - 1400.
74. BETA texid 3011. *Biblia (Biblia hebrea romanceada moderna)*. Anon. trans., 1400 - 1500.
75. BETA texid 2789. *Biblia de Alba*. Trans. by Mosé Arragel de Guadalajara, 1420 - 1433. Translated directly from Hebrew or based on an existing translation from the Vulgate? 82
78. BETA texid 2066. *Megillat Esther (Libro del rey Asueros)*. Anon. trans., before ca. 1500

**Politics**

**History**


Catalan: From Arabic

Science

Astronomy / Astrology


Zoology


Agriculture


Medicine


85. *BITECA* texid 1020. Ibn Wāfid, `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (fl. 998-1067). *Kitāb al-


85 Samsó, 215

adwiya al-mufrada (De medicina, Llibre de les medicines particulars). Anon. trans., 1300 - 1350. 87

86. BITECA texid 3610 Ibn Zuhr, Abū Marwān `Abd al-Malik (Avenzoar). Kitāb al-Ağdiya (Tratado de los alimentos, Remembrança de les viandes). Anon. trans., 1300 - 1400 [?]. Abbreviated and incomplete trans. of the original Arabic text. 88

87. BITECA texid 1578. Hippocrates. Aforismes. Anon. trans. via the Arabic version of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Johannitius), 1300 - 1400. 89


89. BITECA texid 2103. Claudius Galenus. Lletres de Galien que trames a Coris, el mestre, en la cura de las malalties de l’uyl. Trans. by Joan Jacme from Arabic [?], 1350 - 1390. 91

90. BITECA texid 2116 Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-ʿIbādī (Johannitius), ca. 809-873. Isagoge (Introducció a l’art del tigni) Anon. trans. via Latin, 1350-1400. Introduction to Galen’s


91. **BITECA** texid 1013. al-Qūṭī, Sulaymān ibn Hāricht (Alcoatí). *Oculis (Llibre de la figura de l’ull)*. Trans. by Joan Jacme, 1350 - 1400 [?]. Original text, ca. 1140 - 1160 [?].

92. **BITECA** texid 2115. Johannes Paulinus [?]. *De corio serpentis*. Anon. trans. via Latin, before 1392. According to the prologue, Johannes Paulinus is not the author but rather the translator. Translated into Latin in Alexandria.


95. **BITECA** texid. Hippocrates. *Aforismes*. Anon. trans. via the Arabic version of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Johannitius) and the Latin version of Constantinus Africanus of the commentary of Galen, before 1500.93


97. **BITECA** texid. Abū-l-Salt, of Denia (Albumesar). *Tractat de simples (Llibre de medecines simples)*. Anon. trans. via the Latin version of Arnau de Vilanova, before 1500.95

**Religion**

98. **BITECA** texid 1594. Isaac de Nínive. *De religione seu de ordinatione animae (Liber de ordinatione animae, Liber de accessu animae, De contemptu mundi, Llibre d’Ysach)*. Anon. trans. from Syriac via Greek, Arabic, and Latin [?], 1200 – 1300 [?].96

99. **BITECA** texid 1687. Ramon Llull. *Llibre de contemplació*. Written in Arabic and trans. by

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92 Cifuentes, 15n12.

93 Cifuentes, 15n14; Hippocrates, *Aforismes*; Hippocrates, *al-Fuşūl*.


95 Cifuentes, 19.

96 Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian), *Ysaac De Religione* (Saragossa: Juan Hurus, 1489); Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian), *Mayāmir Mār Ishāq* (Cairo: Abna’a; Bāba Kirlis al-Sādis, 1974) (ed. of original Syriac).
Llull, 1273-1274

100. BITECA texid 2062. Abū Naṣr, Samū’ī ibn Yaḥyā al-Mağribī al-Andalusī [?]97 (Samuel Marochitanus, Samuel Yahūdī de Fes). Epistola contra errores Judaeorum (Epistola Rabbi Ysaach, Epistola a rabbi Ysaach). Anon. trans. (via Latin version of Alfonsus Bonihominis [OP], bishop of Marrakech, 1339?), 1340 – 1360. Addressed to Rabbi Isaac de Subiulmesta (Isaac de Sujulmeza). Purported original dated ca. 1078. Marsmann suggests that both this text and the following response were written by Bonihominis.98 Lost text?


Philosophy

103. BITECA texid 1008. Pseudo-Aristotle. Kitāb al-tuffāḥa (De pomo, Mort d'Aristòtil). Anon. trans. via Hebrew and Latin, ca. 1430 – 1450. The Arabic text (9th-10th c.) was trans. into Hebrew by Abraham ben Šemu'el ibn Ḥasday as Sefer ha-ṭappuaḥ at the turn of the 13th c. and then into Latin between 1250 and 1254.99


Wisdom literature


106. BITECA texid 1848 Sirr al-ʿasrār100 (Secret dels secrets, Llibre del regiment dels

97 Samū’il ibn Yaḥyā al-Mağribī al-Andalusī, ed. al-Šarqāwī.

98 Marsmann.

99 Re’aḥ ha-tapuaḥ: be’ūr neḥmad ’al Sefer ha-tapuaḥ le ha-filosof Aristotelos, ed. Avraham Menahem Mendl (Warsaw: [s.n.], 1881).


**Catalan: From Hebrew**

**Science**

**Astronomy / Astrology**

108. **BITECA texid 2058.** Bonjorn, Jacob ben David. *Regles per a la utilització de les taules de Bonjorn (Regles breus).* Anon. trans., 1406. Original text, 1361.101


111. **BITECA texid 1002.** Ibn Ezra, Abraham. *Sefer Mishpetei ha-Mazalōt (?) (Llibre dels judicis de les estrelles).* Anon. trans. via Castilian [?], 1450 - before 1500. Original composed, 1153 - 1156, in Rouen.102

**Religion**


Portuguese: From Arabic

**Science**

Astronomy / Astrology


**Wisdom Literature**


**Politics**


**History**

118. *BITAGAP* texid 7245. al-Rāzī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā. *Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus* (*Crónica do Mouro Rasis*). Trans. by Gil Peres and Maomé by order of King Dinis and with the support of Pero Anes de Portel, before 1315. Arabic original before 955. Lost text.

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\(^{103}\) Samsó, 215.

Portuguese: From Hebrew

Religion


121. BITAGAP texid 9820. Mishnah\textsuperscript{105} (Pirqei Avot, Sentença dos Padres). Anon. trans., before or after 1500?

\textsuperscript{105} Mishnah, ed. Kesar.