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IBN AL-JAZZĀR'S *ZĀD AL-MUSĀFIR*
AND CONSTANTINUS AFRICANUS'
LATIN VERSION
VIATICUM PEREGRINANTIS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY

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UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

JULY 2005

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ABSTRACT

This study entails a comparative analysis of an Arabic medical handbook, *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-Īālir* (Provisions for the traveler and sustenance for the sedentary), written by Ibn al-Jazzār of Qayrawān (d. 369/979-80), and its Latin translation, *Viaticum peregrinantis*, authored by Constantinus Africanus (d. ca. 483/1090). The Latin version was introduced into a different intellectual environment than the Arabic original, and the text is examined for the changes that it underwent in order to suit the needs of its Latin readers. The textual analysis of the Latin translation shows that it remains very close to the Arabic original in terms of structure and contents, yet differs in terms of length and identification of sources. The *Viaticum* was designed as a concise textbook for the medical school of Salerno and only conveyed the factual contents of the original work. References to contemporary Arabic sources are omitted whilst references from the Greek and Hellenistic traditions are preferred in order to ensure its acceptance in Latin medical circles. The author then explores the place of the *Viaticum* in Latin medieval medicine as taught at medical faculties during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The popularity the *Viaticum* enjoyed remained limited to French medical circles, as documented in a number of commentaries written upon it up to the fourteenth century. The majority of Constantinus Africanus' translations including the *Viaticum* have remained unpublished. Critical editions of his works are necessary to provide a firm ground for an adequate appraisal of his role as a transmitter of Islamic-Arabic medicine to the West.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History and Civilization.

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July 2005

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit reference and a bibliography is appended.

Name

Signature Date

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DMA	<i>Dictionary of the Middle Ages</i>
DSB	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biographies</i>
DYNAMIS	<i>Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiamque Historiam Illustrandam (Granada)</i>
EI ²	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition</i>
GAL	<i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GAS	<i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i>
HdO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of African-Oriental Studies</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>

NOTE OF TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration of Arabic characters the thesis has followed the transliteration system described in the Thesis Presentation Guidelines prepared by the Center for Postgraduate Studies, International Islamic University Malaysia. The names of Arabic scholars that have become known in the Western world under their Latinized names (Avicenna, Rhazes) appear in their original Arabic forms (Ibn Sīnā, al-Rāzī). All names of geographical locations (Baghdad, Cairo) are rendered according to common English usage, with the exception of Kairouan where preference is given to common Arabic usage (Qayrawān).

To my parents and my sons

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The translations of Arabic works into Latin began in twelfth-century Europe on the initiative of individual scholars, who decided to supplement their poor and backward Latin sciences with the sciences of the East.¹ Although the Latin translation movement aimed at the revival of ancient Greek knowledge that had been further developed during the Hellenistic era, the actual sources it drew from were contemporary Arabic-Islamic works.

One of the most eminent figures of this Latin translation movement was Constantinus Africanus (fl. 452-483/1060-1090), originally from Carthage and towards the end of his life lay brother of the monastery of Monte Cassino near Salerno in southern Italy.² In this respect Constantinus Africanus paved the way for a large number of his successors in Europe, who greatly contributed to the development of the Latin translation movement. Here one can single out Stephen of Pisa (Antioch)³, and John

¹ See M.T. D'Alverny, Translations and translators, ins. *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Age*, edit. C.F. Burnett, Aldershot, Variorum reprints, 1994, p. 426: "Latinorum cogente penuria", the penury of the Latins.

² Constantinus translated works of ḫunayn Ibn Isīāq, Isīāq al-Isrā'īlī, ṢAlī Ibn al-ṢAbbās al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Jazzār, and Yu'annā Ibn Māsawayh.

³ Stephen of Pisa translated ṢAlī Ibn al-ṢAbbās al-Majūsī's *Kāmil al-sinā'at al-tibbīyah (Regalis dispositio)*.

of Seville (Spain)⁴ in the first half of the sixth century/twelfth century, Gerard of Cremona (Toledo)⁵, and Mark of Toledo in the second half of the seventh century/thirteenth century, Giles of Santarem (Portugal), Rufin of Alexandria (Murcia), Dominicus Marrochinus (Murcia), Bonacosa (Padua),⁶ Arnald of Villanova (Montpellier), Profatius and Bernardus Honofredi (Montpellier), Armengaudus Blasius (Montpellier), John of Capua (Padua), Faraj Ben Salem (Sicily),⁷ Simon of Genoa (Italy)⁸ in the second half of the thirteenth century C.E., and John Jacobi (Lerida) in the second half of the eighth century/fourteenth century.⁹

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to give a textual analysis of the distinguished Latin work of Constantinus Africanus entitled *Viaticum peregrinantis*. This work is largely based on the medical compendium of the Muslim medical scholar and physician Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979-80), known as *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-Īlīr* (Provisions for the traveler and sustenance for the sedentary). The *Zād al-musāfir* was written in the fourth century/tenth century as a reference for medical practitioners in North Africa and other parts of the Muslim World.

⁴ John of Seville translated Quslā Ibn Lūqā's *Risālah fī al-fā'īl bayna al-rū' wa-al-nafs* (*De differentia spiritus et anime*).

⁵ Gerard of Cremona translated works of ṢAlī Ibn Riḵwān, Yulānnā Ibn Øarābiyūn, al-Kindī, al-Rāzī, Islāq al-Isrā'īlī, al-Zahāwī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Wāfid, the most popular and influential being his Latin version of al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-manĪūrī fī al-Ībb* (*Liber ad Almansorem*) and Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-qānūn* (*Liber Canonis*).

⁶ Bonacosa translated Ibn Rushd's *Kitāb al-kulliyāt* (*Colliget*).

⁷ Faraj Ben Salem translated al-Rāzī's *al-Hāwī* (*Continens*).

⁸ Simon of Genoa translated al-Zahrāwī's *Kitāb taqwīm li-man Ṣajaza Ṣan al-tā'īf* (*Liber servitoris*), one of the most influential works on surgery.

⁹ See D. Jacquart, The Influence of Arabic medicine in the medieval West, in *Dictionary of Islamic Sciences*, ed. R. Rashed, Routledge, London, 1996, Vol. 3, pp. 981-84.

Its first Latin translation appeared in Europe at the end of the twelfth century C.E. and was given the title *Viaticum peregrinantis*. Afterward commentaries on the *Viaticum* written in Paris and Montpellier focused on certain diseases and their inherent philosophical problems. Medicine as taught at the European universities was raised to a “philosophy of the body”, and the commentators on the *Viaticum* added elaborate discussions on certain aspects of Aristotelian philosophy such as the relation of body and soul, an issue that had not been addressed in the original *Zād al-musāfir*.¹⁰

The Latin version of the *Zād al-musāfir* was successfully incorporated into the Latin medical corpus, but within a different theoretical framework. The rise of the universities and medical faculties in the seventh century/thirteenth century, and the change of the Latin *medicus* (physician, practitioner) into a *physicus* (medical scholar) are documented in the way that the *Viaticum* was received in Europe. It was studied together with the *articella* - a collection of medical texts which formed the curriculum at the medical faculties - as a useful practical compendium, became then a subject of more theoretically oriented commentaries, and was eventually removed from the medical curricula with the introduction of Ibn Sīnā’s more philosophically oriented *Canon of Medicine* and al-Rāzī’s *Liber Almansorem*.¹¹

¹⁰ M.F. Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: the Viaticum and its commentaries*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1990.

¹¹ D. Jacquart, *The influence of Arabic medicine*, p. 971.

2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

After the main body of Arabic-Islamic sciences in the fields of logic, mathematics and astronomy had been successfully translated and adapted, many of the original Greek works were recovered and translated directly from Greek into Latin. Towards the end of the seventh century/thirteenth century, the literal translations of rediscovered Greek originals (the so-called *corpus recentius*) were given preference over their more recent Arabic redactions.¹²

In the field of medical studies the case was different. In medicine the Arab scholars were able to gain a very high level of recognition and were regarded as medical authorities. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, ṢAlī Ibn al-ṢAbbās, and Ibn Sīnā, known in the Latin world as Rhazes, Haly Abbas, and Avicenna, became as familiar to Latin medical scholars as Hippocrates and Galen, and acquired nearly the same status of authority as that of their Greek predecessors. The works of Arabic medical scholars were widely known in medical circles and used as references and textbooks at the European medical faculties. In the case of Ibn al-Jazzār, his work *Zād al-musāfir* gained its

¹² Aristotelian works on astronomy translated from the Arabic into Latin by Adelard, Gerard of Cremona, and Hermann of Carinthia were replaced by the new Latin version authored by William of Moerbeke who had translated the Greek original texts. See C.L. Montgomery, *Science in translation – movements of knowledge through cultures and time*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2000, pp. 177-78.

initial prominence as the original work of its translator, Constantinus Africanus, and remained for a century and a half part of the Latin medical core curriculum. Up to the tenth century/sixteenth century early-printed editions of his works listed the *Viaticum* among the works of Ibn al-Jazzār's teacher, Isḥāq al-Isrā'īlī, known in the Latin world as Isaac Judaeus.¹³

The study of the translation of Ibn al-Jazzār's medical compendium and its subsequent integration into Latin medicine is of considerable relevance to scholars who deal with the history of Arabic and Latin medicine. It illustrates the various stages of the translation movement, beginning with the first translations of Constantinus Africanus.

By the seventh century/fourteenth century Arabic medical scholarship had become well established through renowned Arabists such as St. Victor, Robert Grossteste, and Bartholomew. Latin works associated with Arabic sources were guaranteed immediate appraisal and reception in the academic circles.¹⁴ In the ninth century/sixteenth century Italian commentators such as Taddeo Alderotti, Gentile da Foligno, and Ugo Benzi who mastered Arabic medicine, became the most influential members of the medical community. This had not been the case in the earlier days of

¹³ M. Steinschneider, Constantinus Africanus und seine arabischen Quellen (Constantine the African and his Arabic sources), in *Virchows Archiv* 37, 1866, p. 369.

¹⁴ D. Campbell, *Medicine and its influence on the Middle Ages*, Philo Press, Amsterdam, 1926, p. 135.

Constantinus Africanus. During the early stages of the translation movement the main motivation for translations lay in the retrieval and revival of the Greek heritage. Arabic works were only considered indirect sources for the Greek material. Early translators such as Constantinus Africanus did not feel particularly obliged to acknowledge Muslim authors as the original authors of the works that they translated, such in the case of Ibn al-Jazzār and Ḥalī Ibn al-Ḥabbās al-Majūsī. Muslim authors were considered as mere transmitters of Greek medicine and not as medical authorities in their own right.

The study of the translation of the *Zād al-musāfir* will illustrate the specific circumstances in which the first translations from Arabic into Latin took place. Constantinus Africanus, originally from Carthage, wrote his translations from Arabic at the Benedictinan monastery of Monte Cassino in southern Italy. Monte Cassino was closely affiliated with the school of Salerno, a center of Hippocratic medicine with commercial and cultural ties to Sicily as well as the Byzantine Empire.

Apart from revealing the explicit purpose of these early translations, namely to revive lost Greek knowledge rather than to promote Arabic sciences and Muslim civilization,¹⁵ the study will also identify the methods of translation applied at this

¹⁵ M.T. d'Alverny, *Translations and Translators*, p. 422: "The desire to recover Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, and Ptolemy was the main incentive that provoked the flood of translations from Greek

early stage of the Latin translation movement by examining Constantinus Africanus' motives for concealing the Arabic source of his *Viaticum* and adding significant changes to its content.

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The process of translation from Arabic into Latin was far from being a simple act of pouring the Arabic medical work into a Latin cast by substituting the Arabic text with an exact Latin equivalent. In most cases, as in the case of the translation of the *Zād al-musāfir*, the Latin version was more an adaptation rather than a literal translation. It contained numerous omissions, changes and personal comments added by Constantinus Africanus.

The study compares the text of the Arabic original, the *Zād al-musāfir*, with the text of its Latin version, the *Viaticum peregrinantis*. It aims at identifying the changes the original Arabic text underwent in the process of translation, and at determining the various factors that were responsible for these changes.

and Arabic into Latin. The "Arabic additions", important as they might be, were frequently presented as commentaries derived from the main stream of Greek ancestors."

It also sketches in brief the biographical and historical backgrounds of Ibn al-Jazzār and Constantinus Africanus and describes the history and content of the *Zād al-musāfir*. It then highlights the different aspects of the Latin version in comparison with the Arabic original, and examines the reasons that led to these differences, such as the purpose of the translation, Constantinus' mastery of the subject, the audience it intended to address, and its subsequent use. Furthermore the study illustrates how the Latin version was received in the medical circles of Europe, investigate how it was integrated into the medical curricula at medical faculties, and to what extent the *Viaticum* remained a relevant source for medieval scholastic medicine.

Constantinus Africanus' translations were subject to a number of criticisms by his contemporaries, such as Moshe Ben Tibbon (ca.638-682/1240-1283),¹⁶ Stephanus de Saragossa,¹⁷ as well as by modern historians of medicine. Moshe Ben Tibbon and Stephanus de Saragossa criticized Constantinus for not identifying the authors and titles of the Arabic originals he translated from, as well as for the poor quality of his translations. Modern scholars such as Daremberg¹⁸, Meyerhof¹⁹ or Ben Yahya²⁰

¹⁶ In the introduction of his Hebrew translation entitled as *Zedat ha derakhim* (652/1254). See M. Steinschneider, *Constantinus und seine arabischen Quellen*, p. 369.

¹⁷ Author of the second translation of the *Zād al-musāfir* written 658/1259. See S.L.Volger, *Der Liber ficudiae de simplicibus medicines des Ibn al-Jazzār in der Übersetzung des Stephanus de Saragossa* (MS München Co. Lat. 253), ins. *Islamic Medicine*, Vol. 39: Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979) – texts and studies, edit. F. Sezgin, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Medicine, Frankfurt, 1996, p. 229.

¹⁸ C. Daremberg, *Recherches sur un ouvrage qui a pour titre Zad el-Mouçafir, en arabe, Éphodes, en grec, Viatique, en latin, el qui est attribué, dans les textes arabes et grecs, à Abou Djafar, et, dans le texte latin, à Constantin*, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 2, 1851, pp. 507-8.

accused him of outright plagiarism and incompetence. The justifiability and validity of these critiques will be discussed and commented upon within the larger context of the cultural, religious and ideological aspects that characterized this early period of the translation movement.

4. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Primary sources

This study is based on two works, namely Ibn al-Jazzār's *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-Īlīr* and its Latin version, *Viaticum peregrinantis*, translated by Constantinus Africanus. Ibn al-Jazzār's work has been recently edited and published in two volumes.²¹ The *Viaticum peregrinantis* of Constantinus Africanus is accessible as a manuscript and as part of the early-printed edition of Isġāq al-Isra'īl's works in Latin, the *Opera omnia Ysaaci* (Lyon 1515). This research is based on a microfilm copy of a thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Viaticum* obtained from the National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, Maryland).²²

¹⁹ M. Meyerhof, Science and medicine, ins. *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. T. Arnold and A. uillaume, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1931, pp. 345-6.

²⁰ B. Ben Yahya. Constantinus Africanus, *EP*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

²¹ M. SuwaysĒ et al., *Zād al-musāfir wa qūt al-Īlīr*, 2 vols, Bayt al-×ikmah, Tunis, 2000.

²² MS 12, National Library of Medicine (Bethesda), Early Western Manuscript Collection, 136 fols.; recorded under entry No.12 in De Ricci and Wilson, *Census of medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the United States*, 1935-1940.