

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMMON ORIGINAL OF THE LEICESTER CODEX, THE MILAN MS. AND THE BURDETT-COUTTS MS.

WE have now definitely taken the Leicester Codex back into Italy. The next step is to find a local home for the MS. from which it is most nearly derived. We do not mean by that term the MS. which is the ancestor of the whole group, and which is commonly, but perhaps erroneously, supposed to be an *uncial* MS. of great dignity and critical weight. We have only to look at the common matter which is found attached to Codd. 69, 346, 543, to be convinced of the close relation that subsists between these three, at all events. Each of them, for example, has the peculiar tract on the Patriarchates followed, in two cases out of the three, by the tract on the Climates of Africa: and unless these tracts have been removed from the ancestry of the other members of the group, they constitute a special bond of propinquity between the MSS. in which they occur. Is it possible by a scrutiny of the tracts to find out anything further with regard to the common form from which this subordinate group has been derived? Let us see whether the question can be answered with a sufficient degree of clearness.

In the first place, we remark that the two tracts in question belong together: we shall find them occurring not only in Cod. 346 and Cod. 543, but also in the Graeco-Arabic MS. of the Gospels Cod. 211. The second is an appendix to the first, goes with it traditionally, and we shall, I think, see reason to believe that it is by the same hand as the first. Hence the absence of the tract on the Climates of Africa in the Leicester Codex is merely a case of

omission, perhaps of deliberate omission on account of the unintelligibility of the matter¹. We might, therefore, treat the two tracts as a single work, if we wished. It will, however, be convenient to begin our investigation with the small fragment on the Climates of Africa.

In the Burdett-Coutts manuscript this fragment reads as follows: I take the text from Scrivener, *Adversaria Critica* (p. xx and p. 57), where the MS. is described and collated.

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς·
 πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη καλουμένη λούβια καὶ μαιά δι
 Δεύτερον κλίμα ἢ μαυρουσία ἥτοι αἰθιοπία μέλει
 ἐς σε οὐδ
 Τρίτον κλίμα ἡμίβακ ἡγρονή σέχελ
 Τέταρτον κλίμα ἢ μουμέδα ἡγρον ζέιβ
 Πέμπτον κλίμα ἀφρικὴ ἦν...

Of one leaf only a few letters remain.

This is how the text is given on p. xx, but on p. 57 it appears again with the following variations:

λούβιε for λούβια μαιά δ
 ἐς σε οὐδ
 ἀφρικὴ ἦν...

end of leaf: one leaf torn out: only a few fragments remain.

Our business is to explain this perplexing and barely intelligible little document.

In the first place we remark that the writer has used the word Africa in two different senses: in his headline it is a continent: in his divisions of the continent it appears to stand for proconsular Africa. He is working from a source which has used words in a sense different from his own.

The same thing may be suspected, though we cannot be sure on this point, in his use of the word climate. In the tract on the Patriarchates the word appears to be used in an indefinite

¹ Another conclusive argument for the accuracy of this view lies in the fact that part of the matter which Cod. 543 adds to Cod. 69 belongs to the latter: thus Cod. 543 continues

ἔχει δὲ μητροπολίτας ιβ'. Αἱ τάξεις τῶν

κλιμάτων κτέ.:

where the twelve enumerated metropolitans belong to the fifth patriarchate in the previous tract. Cod. 69 has therefore discarded a little too much, if it deliberately omitted the climates. The text must go further.

sense: the patriarchate of Constantinople is said to include all the northern climes, that of Alexandria all the southern, and so on. Clearly the word is here used indefinitely. But we must examine whether in the subdivision of Africa the word has a technical or a general meaning, and, if it should be the former, whether our writer has taken over this technical meaning from his sources, though he was himself capable of using the word somewhat differently.

What then is the original meaning of the word climate, and how could the world be divided into climates?

Our modern maps and geographies still retain traces of the earlier cosmographies, according to which the Greeks divided up the known and the habitable parts of the world. We still see marked on the globe temperate, torrid and frigid zones, probably without suspecting that they are the substitute for an older and at one time universally accepted division of the world, invented by the Greeks, and taken over from them by the Arabs at the time when Islam stood for civilization as well as faith¹.

According to the Greek cosmographers, the world is (*a*) habitable (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*) and (*b*) uninhabitable. The second division is a negligible quantity: we do not, in the early days of geography, make maps of countries where people do not live. Accordingly the ground to be studied excludes both the Arctic and the Equatorial regions: and when these are excluded, the remainder is divided into a series of parallel zones, called *κλίματα*. The name shows that the division has something to do with the height of the sun in the sky, and its inclination (*κλίνω*) relatively to the equator, the elevation being measured either by the shadows which it casts or by the length of the day. Without going into a detailed account of the progress made by inquisitive man into astronomical truth, it is sufficient to observe that the division into climates, between certain arbitrary limits which define the inhabited portion of the earth, is made practically by observing the length of the longest day at different places on the meridian,

¹ Another curious instance of survival is the term *Ultima Thule* for the end of the world, which merely translates and trans-
literates the "last longitude" of Arab maps and geographies.

and drawing a line of latitude across the meridian each time that the length of the longest day increases by a given amount. Usually there are seven such zones, and these zones are the Greek climates. What we are concerned with is not the question of scientific accuracy, either in the conception or in the delimitation of these zones, but with the historical question of their relative positions as marked on the earliest maps by the first geographers, and as brought down out of the Greek world into the middle ages by the savants of Islam¹.

We shall examine carefully into the meaning of the climates of the world in the Arabic geographers, remembering that all through the middle ages geography is practically an Arabic monopoly; we shall trace the change that slowly comes over the word *climate* as the conventional division of the world's surface into zones is recognized as insufficiently scientific: and then we shall turn to the little tract on the climates of Africa in our group of MSS. and examine in what sense the term is there to be understood.

For instance, if we turn to Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 359, we find the following statement:

"*Iqlim*, *clima*, divisione geografica degli antichi.

Provincia, distretto o contado. In tale significato Edrisi usa questa voce al singolare, come sinonimo di '*aml*.'"

Here it is noted that the Arabic climate is usually the conventional one of the geographers, but that in Edrisi (fl. 1150 A.D.) it is sometimes used in the general sense of district.

In a note on p. 9 of the same work, Amari again observes, with regard to the fluctuation of the meaning of the word *climate* in Edrisi,

"L' arabo '*iqlim*, trascrizione di *κλίμα*, vuol dire una delle divisioni della Terra secondo gli antichi geografi ed anche una provincia. Non è uopo aggiungere che qui ha il primo significato e che gli Arabi non danno mai a questo vocabolo quello che ha preso nelle lingue moderne dell' Europa."

¹ As we shall frequently have to quote from these Arabic geographers, let us say once for all that we make no pretence to more than an elementary knowledge of Arabic, and that, for our purpose, the pub-

lished translations of the greatest works on Arabic geography will be found sufficient. Into the minutiae of Arabic criticism we do not need to enter.

This statement of Amari, that the Arabs never use the word *climate* in the modified sense, had itself to be modified, as being far too rapid a generalisation: and in his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (II. p. 275) we find him speaking as follows:

"La prima cosa è da vedere che valga qui *iklim*; la qual voce gli Arabi tolsero del greco, al par di noi; le serbarono il significato che aveva in geografia fisica; e v'aggiunsero quello di circoscrizione territoriale. Così la troviamo in Affrica nel decimo secolo [sc. Ibn Haukal], in Sicilia nel duodecimo [sc. Edrisi] e in Egitto nel decimo-quarto [sc. Abdallatif]."

It thus appears that the word *climate* underwent in Arabic a slow change of meaning, and came at last to be used in the sense of district or province just in the same way as it passed over in Greek from one meaning to the other, and as, for example, we find it in the tract on the Patriarchates.

Saving this gradual substitution and encroachment of a later meaning, the usage of the Arabic geographers is steady in the maintenance of the word '*iglim*' as an *earth-zone*.

For example, Massoudy, writing in the middle of the tenth century, composed a cosmographic and philosophic work which is described as follows in Reinaud's *Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda* (p. lxvii):

"Outre les *Prairies d'Or*, Massoudy a composé un traité intitulé *Livre de l'indication et de l'admonition*...on trouve dans la préface plusieurs détails intéressants sur les travaux littéraires de Massoudy. En voici quelques fragments:

...Maintenant il m'a paru convenable de joindre aux ouvrages précédents un traité auquel je donne pour titre *L'indicateur et le moniteur*. J'y insérerai d'une manière abrégée ce qui concerne...les vents, le lieu d'où ils soufflent, leurs effets et leurs influences; la terre, sa figure,...la distribution des sept climats et leur attribution à chacune des sept planètes."

Observe that Massoudy's map contains the seven zones¹, which are the traditional division of the earth's surface. Notice also the conventional elements which go to make up a geography: the chapter on the winds is an important one, because we shall

¹ Massoudy speaks of having seen maps with the climates marked in different colours.

"Massoudy, qui écrivait dans la première moitié du X^e siècle de notre ère, à une époque où les monuments de la littérature arabe

étaient restés intacts, s'exprime ainsi, 'J'ai vu les sept climats enluminés de diverses couleurs, dans plusieurs livres.'" Abulfeda, *Introd.* p. xlv.

One of the most famous of Arabic savants is the great Edrisi, and he will be especially important for our enquiry, because he resides in Sicily and is an exact contemporary of Nilus Doxapatrius to whom we shall have presently occasion to refer in connexion with the tract on the Patriarchates which is contained in our group of MSS., and whom we shall identify as its author. Nilus, whoever he was, wrote in Sicily and dates his dedication of his work to the Norman King Roger in 1143 A.D. Concerning Edrisi we are told as follows in the Prolegomena to Abulfeda (p. cxiv):

À l'époque où Édrisi séjourna en Sicile, la puissance normande avait atteint son apogée, et cette circonstance ne contribua pas peu aux facilités de tout genre qu'Édrisi trouva pour son travail. Outre la Sicile, Roger possédait une grande partie du continent italien. D'ailleurs, en Sicile, une partie de la population se composait des anciens Arabes et Africains qui avaient été si longtemps maîtres du pays et qui continuaient à professer l'islamisme. La civilisation chrétienne et la civilisation musulmane se trouvaient en présence à Palerme et à Messine, et ces deux ports

“Raggâr (Ruggiero) rè dei Franchi, principe della Sicilia, morì di angina l'anno 1101.”

voyaient arriver chaque jour des navires de tous les points de l'horizon. Édrisi profita des renseignements que lui communiquaient les voyageurs des côtés de l'Afrique, de l'Égypte, et de la Syrie : en même temps, il tira un parti fort utile des notions que lui fournirent les Chrétiens ; non seulement il rédigea une description détaillée de la Sicile, de l'Italie, de la France, de l'Illyrie, et de l'Allemagne, mais encore il traça un dessin assez exact de la presqu'île de Scandinave, dont les anciens n'avaient eu qu'une idée très-vague. En ce qui concerne les îles situées sur les côtés occidentales de l'Afrique, dont le nombre avait été exagéré, il puisa dans la légende d'un saint Irlandais, appelé saint Brandaine, qui à cette époque jouissait d'un grand crédit en occident."

The foregoing passage is of the utmost importance in our investigation : we shall show that Edrisi's geography is based, like the rest of the Arabic treatises, on the seven zones, although there are cases where he uses the word climate in a more general sense. But even more important than this fact is the glimpse that we get into the intellectual life of the Norman court, at a time when Nilus Doxapatrius either composed or transcribed from some existing source the tract on the Five Patriarchates. Certainly no one will be disposed to deny that the intellectual environment was favourable to the production of either of the tracts which we are discussing. Geography was in the air, and a knowledge of the seven earth-zones was a mark of good-breeding and an introduction to royal favour. Edrisi himself tells us that Prince Roger desired to know the boundaries of his possessions, the lines of communication, the *climates* in which they were situated, &c. He had a planisphere made, of an enormous size, on which were engraved the configuration of the *seven climates*, the regions, countries, &c., seas, gulfs, &c. To accompany the planisphere a book was necessary which should treat of the products of each country, of the peculiarities of each climate, the state of the populations, &c. Such a work was accordingly composed by Edrisi¹.

¹ Edrisi's statement concerning the seven climates is as follows (tr. Jaubert, p. 5):

"La partie habitable de la terre a été divisée par les savants en sept climats, dont chacun s'étend de l'occident à l'orient. Cette division n'est point établie d'après des lignes naturellement existantes, mais bien d'après

des lignes idéales imaginées par les astronomes. Il y a dans chaque climat un grand nombre de villes, de forts, de villages et de peuples qui ne se ressemblent point entre eux."

Note that Jaubert's translation of Edrisi is severely criticized by Dozy and de Goeje for

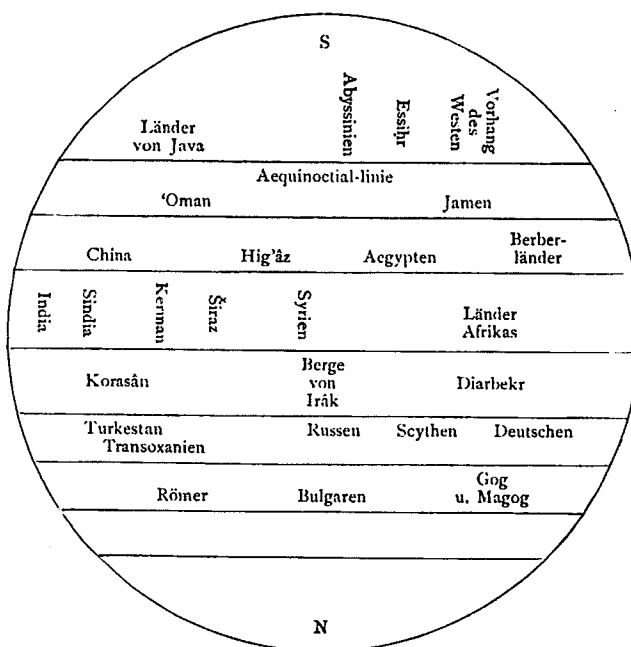
We have shown, then, that his geography, however reinforced by fresh observations, followed the conventional method, and that the seven zones were incorporated in it. But we have done more than this, we have reproduced and recalled the state of learning at the court of King Roger II, and have found that it was exactly the place where such tracts as we are studying would have been welcomed, if they were not actually produced under the stimulus of the royal zeal for Cosmography. The whole court of Sicily was a Royal Geographical Society with Edrisi for President and King Roger for Treasurer. We shall frequently have to allude to Edrisi's work in the following pages.

Without making any attempt at an exhaustive enumeration of the Arabic writers who make maps of the climates, it may not be amiss to give a few more references.

Al-Kazwini (Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud) is another famous African geographer, somewhat later than Edrisi. He died in 1283, and is the author of two famous geographical works, one of which is called *The Wonders of Creation*, the other *Places of countries* [*athar el-belad*]. The former of these works has been translated by Dr Hermann Ethé, from whom I extract the following statement of Kazwini with regard to the climates. It is accompanied by a rude representation of the order and content of the climates on the surface of the Earth.

Wisse dass das bewohnte Viertel sich nun wieder in sieben Abschnitte theilt, deren jeder ein Klima oder eine Zone genannt wird, und aussieht als ob sie ein ausgebreiteter Teppich sei, dessen Länge von Osten nach Westen und dessen Breite von südlicher nach nördlicher Richtung sich erstreckt. Diese Zonen sind nun von verschiedenartiger Länge und Breite: die längste und breiteste derselben ist die erste Zone, denn deren Länge von Osten nach Westen beträgt ungefähr 3000 Parasangen, und ihre Breite von Süden nach Norden ungefähr 150 Parasangen. Die kürzeste aller Zonen an Länge wie an Breite ist die siebente, denn deren Länge von Osten nach Westen beträgt nur ungefähr 1500 Parasangen, und ihre Breite von Süden nach Norden ungefähr 70. Was die übrigen Zonen zwischen beiden betrifft, so ist deren Länge und Breite verschieden, bald etwas mehr, bald etwas weniger. Dies ist die Gestalt der sieben Zonen:

the nonchalance with which it is made: the Edrisi's description of Africa and Spain
critics publish with a translation the text of [Leyde, 1866].



Kazwini's adhesion to the system of zones, and the rudeness of the map by which he explains them, will assist our imagination to realize the sources which were available to the author of our tract on the Climates of Africa, for if he were really treating of the same climates as the ordinary geographers of the time, he must have either taken them from a book, or from some rude system of cartography such as is found in the Arabic geographers.

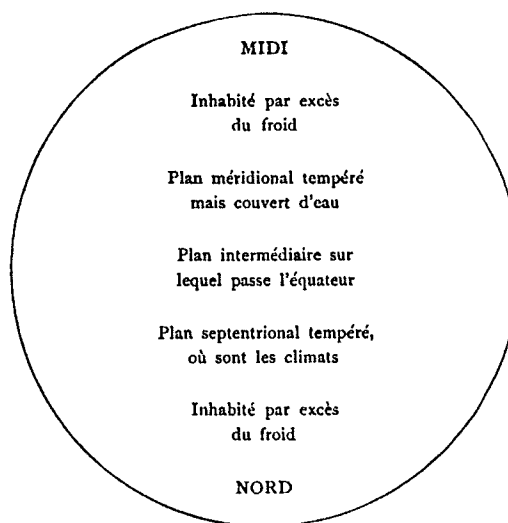
We will conclude this part of our enquiry into the meaning of climates in early geography by examining what is said on the subject by the great Arabic scholar Abulfeda.

Abulfeda was born in 1273 A.D. and died in 1331 A.D. His geography has already been quoted by us in the excellent edition of Reinaud and Guyard. To this translation we shall constantly have to refer for the description of the climates and their identification. In his Prolegomena¹ Abulfeda says :

¹ p. 8.

"Sache que la plus grande partie du monde habité est située entre le 10° degré de latitude septentrionale et le 50°¹. Or les hommes de l'art ont divisé cet espace en sept climats, de manière que chaque climat formât une espèce de zone offrant un caractère commun à tous les pays qui en font partie. Les climats s'étendent en long de l'orient à l'occident. Pour leur largeur, elle est comparativement petite: c'est l'espace nécessaire pour que le plus long jour du pays que chaque climat représente ait une demi-heure de plus que le climat précédent."

Abulfeda's idea of the surface of the earth is illustrated by the following figure²:



¹ The limits are not the same in all geographers.

Shems eddin Abou Abdallah of Damascus, whose Manual of Cosmography was translated by Mehren, makes the climates extend from 12° to 60½°.

"Bien que les anciens n'aient pas été d'accord dans leurs opinions sur la division de la terre, les astronomes et les géographes admettent généralement la division de la terre en climats, qui s'étendent du sud au nord depuis le 12° degré de latitude septen-

trionale jusqu'au 62½° et de l'ouest à l'est, depuis les îles Fortunées et Éternelles situées à une distance de dix degrés dans la mer occidentale ou l'océan jusqu'au bord de la Mer Ténébreuse...un parallèle de l'ouest à l'est fait la frontière du premier climat. Tout ce qui se trouve entre l'Équateur et ce parallèle...est considéré hors des sept climats:...sa largeur est de 12½°, le jour le plus long pendant le solstice d'été durant 12½ heures."

² It is evidently a circular disc with the equator for one diameter.

In dividing the climates he gives the latitudes of the Northern and Southern boundaries of each zone, the reckoning beginning from the south. The division is as follows :

Climate	Latitude N.
7th extends {	to $50\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$
from	$47\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$.
6th " {	to $47\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$
from	$43\frac{3}{8}^{\circ}$.
5th " {	to $43\frac{3}{8}^{\circ}$
from	$38\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$.
4th " {	to $38\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$
from	$33\frac{5}{8}^{\circ}$.
3rd " {	to $33\frac{5}{8}^{\circ}$
from	$27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.
2nd " {	to $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$
from	$20\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$.
1st " {	to $20\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$
from	$12\frac{3}{8}^{\circ}$.

Abulfeda prides himself on assigning each place to its right climate. He criticises other geographers for their carelessness in this respect ;

"la plupart des personnes qui ont publié des tables de longitude et de latitude, ou des ouvrages analogues, n'ont pas tenu un compte exact du climat propre à chaque lieu, et ils ont transporté les lieux d'un climat dans un autre....Pour nous, nous avons fait attention à cela, et nous avons placé chaque lieu dans le climat qui lui appartient."

And now let us turn to the little document on the Climates of Africa and see whether it is made on the ancient lines which the tradition of Arabic geographers favours, or whether it is merely a rough enumeration of countries. The first glance at the list is discouraging ; the writer speaks of five climates. There ought to be only four in which any part of Africa is contained. Most of Sicily, says Ibn Said², is in the fifth climate, which practically shuts up proconsular Africa, with the rest of Sicily, to the fourth climate³.

¹ Edrisi on the other hand, according to M. Reinaud, *Proleg. to Abulfeda*, p. cclxxvii, commenced his climates at the equator and terminated them at the 64th degree of latitude, on the supposition that outside these limits the world was not habitable.

² Muhtasir gıgırafia.

³ Cf. Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 63, quoting the

Taqwim 'al Buldân (Tavola sinottica de' paesi).

"Nel quinto de' climi, comunemente così dette, quello [cioè che abbraccia] le isole de' mari di Ponente [è noverata] la Sicilia, che [sta] realmente [entro i limiti] del quarto clima, nel Mediterraneo, di faccia all' [Africa] proprie."

Another discouraging sign is that the first climate is said to contain Libya: but it is evident that in enumerating climates from the south to the north, Libya ought to be a good way further on; it certainly cannot be the first climate.

On the other hand we note that if the writer were really working from south to north, the province of Africa is rightly placed at the end of the list.

Looking closely at the list of climates as given in the Burdett-Coutts MS., we see, amongst other unintelligible matter, the words

ἐς σε οὐδ

descriptive of something in the second climate. This is evidently the name of a place, and stands for *Assiout* on the Nile.

We observe, in the next place, that it is an Arabic name, or more exactly, a Greek transcription of an Arabic name. That it is Arabic is shown by the prefixed article: the Coptic form would be simply Siout¹; it is much the same as if the name of Cairo appeared in English as al Cairo; we should at any rate know that we were dealing with a bonâ-fide Arabic name². The name, then, is Arabic, the article in its assimilated form, *es-Siout*, shows that. But further it is a transliteration and not simply the borrowing of an Arabic name. Scrivener notes that there is another letter which belongs to the word, and suggests that we read

ἐς σε οὐδζ.

Now the Arabic form of the name is السيوط, and if Scrivener's alternative reading be correct, the δζ of the transcription shows that the writer of the tract has read the final letter as ط, and given a proper Greek equivalent.

If this be correct, he is working either from an Arabic text or from an Arabic map. But, as we shall see presently, it is very doubtful indeed whether Scrivener's reading is correct.

To verify this identification, we remark in the next place that his description of the second climate ends with the word Siout; this can

¹ The Greek name being Lycopolis.

² The French actually translate the article in such a case, and say *le Caire, au Caire*;

this may be called an Arabism; if they said *al Caire* it would be an Arabic transliteration.

only mean that the second climate contains or extends as far as Siout. Is that correct? We can easily test the matter.

Abulfeda's description of Egypt contains the following statement :

p. 154. Osyouth ou Soyouth (ou bien encore Asyouth),
d'après l'Athoual 22° 10' N. Lat.,
„ le Canoun 23½°,
„ un auteur 26° 48'.

Osyouth se trouve dans le Sayd, à l'extrémité du deuxième climat.

Edrisi's Geography will also tell us that Siout is in the second climate, though he does not so definitely say that it is in the limit of the climate.

Edrisi's method is to work across the climates from west to east, telling all the countries, cities and peoples passed on the way. For example, he begins his first climate as follows :

“Ce climat commence à l'ouest de la mer occidentale, qu'on appelle aussi la mer des ténèbres. C'est celle au delà de laquelle personne ne sait ce qui existe. Il y a deux îles, nommées les Îles Fortunées, d'où Ptolémée commence à compter les longitudes.”

He then works across Africa to Nubia, Abyssinia, and so on to China. When he comes to the second climate, he begins again at the west, and crossing the central parts of Africa he reaches the mountain Tailamoun. Then he says :

“De la montagne de Tailamoun à Assiout (Osiout ou Siout), ville considérable sur la rive occidentale du Nil, dont les environs sont très fertiles, on compte une journée de navigation.”

It follows that Siout is, according to Edrisi also, in the second climate. We need not hesitate to say that, as far as we have gone, the evidence is in favour of a belief that the climates in our tract are not very different from the conventional zones of the Arab geographers. But here we must pause and reflect : for while it is quite clear that we have rightly identified in our tract the name Siout, and have also proved that the second climate is the right place for Siout, still there is so much that is perplexing or unintelligible in the rest of the tract, that we ought not to draw any definite conclusions until we have a better text of the fragment itself and have eliminated some of the disorder and unintelligibility which characterise it. So leaving the identification of Siout as a certain point which is

clear, and its place in the second climate as a probable explanation, let us return to Scrivener's text and see if we can improve it.

In my tract on the Leicester Codex I quoted only the first two lines of the tract, as follows (p. 65):

Cod. B.-C. pergit. ἔχει δὲ μητροπόλιτας ιβ'. Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται. πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε καὶ μαίρακι κτέ.

Upon this Scrivener remarked that the last words were incorrect¹: "μαιάδι, *not* μαίρακι κτέ. as in Harris."

This note is repeated on p. 57 as follows:

"καὶ μαιάδι (*videtur*: *non* μείρακι with Harris)."

The whole of the text is given by Scrivener from the MS. as we have transcribed it above, and with the variations that we have noted. In order to clear up the disputed reading and to settle the internal dissonances in Scrivener's two presentations of it, I have retranscribed the text from the MS., and here is the result.

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται².

α. πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε καὶ μαράκι³.

β. δεύτερον κλίμα ἢ μαυρονσία· ἦτοι αἰθιοπία· βελεδ ἐς σε δὲ⁴.

γ. τρίτον κλίμα ἢ βιζακίνα⁵ ἡγουν σέχελ.

δ. τέταρτον κλίμα ἢ νομηδία⁶· ἡγουν ζέβ.

ε. πέμπτον κλίμα ἀφρικὴ ἢ.

And now consider the form in which the tract lies before us, and it will be clear that almost all the unintelligible readings are gone. The names of well-known African provinces spring to light: *μαράκι* probably stands for *μαρμαρική* where a syllable

¹ *Adv. Crit. Sac.* p. xx.

² The last three words appear to be wanting in Scrivener.

³ It seems that there is a superfluous iota in my transcription, unless it should be covered by a slight ridge in the vellum. I do not think it is there; and the accent also seems to be wrong. *Scrivener's reading does not exist.*

⁴ Note that Scrivener has mistaken a minuscule β for a μ: they are certainly very

alike in the MS., only μ has a very small stroke to the left: the δ over *ou* has a curved flourish which Scrivener has read as a ζ: it probably does not mean anything of the kind. There is no ι after *βελεδ*, the curve of the δ is merely brought down vertically.

⁵ This is what Scrivener reads as *ἡμβακ*, taking the minuscule β for a μ, and giving a β of the later cursive form for ζ: the four last letters of the word he altogether drops.

⁶ This has been wrongly read as *μουμεδα*.

has been lost by haplography; *μιβακ* has become the province Byzacene; *μουμεδα* has turned into Numidia.

But this is not all: we removed the impossible word *μελεδι* before Assiout, and restored *βέλεδ*. It is the exact transliteration of the Arabic word for country, introduced no doubt unconsciously by a person acquainted with the language: the second climate is, according to the writer,

the country of Siout.

It is now perfectly certain that the document in question comes from a Graeco-Arabic hand.

In confirmation of the correctness of our transcriptions and interpretation, we append the complete text as it stands in Cod. 346, from photographs which have been supplied to us through the kind offices of Dr Ceriani. The text thus furnished is as follows:

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλημάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται· πρῶτον κλῆμα ἢ λιβύη· ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε· καὶ μαράκιε· δεύτερον κλῆμα ἢ μαυρουσία· ἢτοι αἰθιοπία· βέλεδες σε οὐδ' (sic)· τρίτον κλῆμα ἢ βιζακινία· ἡγουν σέχελ· τέταρτον κλῆμα· ἢ νουμεδία· ἡγουν ζέβ· πέμπτον κλῆμα· ἀφρικῇ· ἡγουν καρθαγέννη

where the facsimile should be studied, and the close relation of the MSS. to one another observed. The final words that are added verify our statement that the fifth climate is Proconsular Africa.

There are still a few points doubtful. We ought to be able to clear up the words *σέχελ* and *ζέβ*, as well as one or two residual confusions in the arrangement of the climates.

Of *σέχελ* I cannot speak very confidently: it may, perhaps, be an attempt to transliterate the Arabic ساحل (*saḥil*), which is used for the sea-shore. But on this point I am not quite easy.

More certain is the recognition of *ζέβ* in the name which the Arabic geographers give to the Western Soudan, the hinterland of Numidia, which they call the country of Zab.

And now we come to the residual difficulties, as well as to the previous question whether the climates are zones or provinces. The correction of the text has certainly brought the provinces to the front, and made the conventional zones retire somewhat into the background. It is not necessary for our investigation

into the origin of the group of MSS., to decide the point one way or another. We are quite satisfied with having established a Graeco-Arabic origin for the MSS. that we were engaged on. We will, however, spend a little time in examining the residual difficulties. If the climates are merely districts, the only difficulty of any moment appears to be the equation of *μαυρουσία*, which ought to mean Morocco, with Ethiopia. If, however, they are the ancient zones, we ought to explain also why Libya has the first place. The difficulty with *μαυρουσία* might perhaps be resolved by regarding it as a corruption of Meroë. Meroë is a city and district which has certainly great importance with ancient geographers, and is synonymous with Ethiopia in one of the senses of that geographical term¹.

The importance of the district lay in the assumption of the ancient geographers that the country between the great bend of the Nile was in reality an island, and that in this island of Meroë the traveller would notice the phenomenon that the solar shadow at midday might fall either north or south. Milton, who knew his ancient geography well, catches the point in *Paradise Regained*, where he speaks as follows²:

"Some from farthest south,
Syene, where the shadow both way falls,
Meroë, Nilotic isle, and more to west
The realms of Bocchus to the Blackmoor Sea."

The identification of Meroë and Ethiopia is confirmed by the following passages from Strabo:

Lib. xvii. 2. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς Αἰθιοπικοῖς) βασίλειον ἡ Μερὴ, πόλις ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ· τὴν δὲ νήσον θυρεοειδῆ φασι τὸ σχῆμα κτέ.

xvii. 3. ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Μερὴν τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰθιόπων πρὸς νότον ἴντι στάδιοι εἰσι περὶ μυρίους.

The perplexity, then, over *μαυρουσία* may perhaps be removed by a plausible emendation.

There remains, then, the question whether it is possible to arrange the five provinces so as to throw them nearly into agreement with the conventional zones. The only way that I can think of by which the correction can be made is as follows.

¹ E.g. it is customary to refer Queen Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, to the kingdom of Meroë.

² *Par. Reg.* iv. 69.

Remembering that we are certainly working over Graeco-Arabic materials, perhaps even on Arabic documents, it is a fair conjecture that *λούβιε* in the first climate is merely a misreading for *νούβιε*, لوبيه having been put for توبيه. The words *λιβύη καλουμένη* are then a gloss which must be bracketed for removal, as having been introduced to explain *λούβιε*¹.

We should then rearrange the climates so as to give Ethiopia the first place, and then follow with Nubia. But perhaps it would be wiser to leave the text as it stands and definitely accept a rough enumeration of African provinces in place of the zones.

For our purpose, as we have said, the great value of the investigation lies in the demonstration of the Arabic element in the tract which we have been discussing. No purely Greek scribe or author produced that tract. The writer was bilingual. And the common origin of the Leicester Codex, the Milan Codex and the Burdett-Coutts MS. must be sought for under Arabic influences, amongst a people who to some extent at least are able to read, write and transcribe Arabic, as well as Greek. This at once removes the ancestry of the Leicester Codex from North Italy to either South Italy or Sicily: it makes also the bridge over the Adriatic by which the Burdett-Coutts MS. comes back from Janina into the same region as the Leicester Codex. For the Milan MS. we have already shown the high probability of a Syracusan origin; and bearing in mind the close consanguinity of the three, we shall be justified in labelling them all as Sicilian MSS., if not actually Syracusan. It will be remembered that we have traced the Paris MS., Codex 13, to the same quarter. And, in fact, wherever we can trace the history of the members of the group, the same geographical and chronological unity is apparent. They are Calabro-Sicilian codices of the twelfth century at the highest².

We proceed, in the next place, to confirm our result as to

¹ We have an almost exactly similar case in the tract on the Patriarchates, where the writer speaks of *ἡ Λομπαρδία καὶ ἡ νῦν λεγομένη Λογγιβαρδία*, where the ancient name *Λογγιβαρδία* has been replaced by the

more modern form.

² Gregory has dated one of the MSS., that which is now at Athens, in the eleventh century: but this is probably a misapprehension.

the Graeco-Arabic hand in the ancestry of 69—346—543 (to which may in a secondary sense be added Cod. Evv. 211) by proving the same thing for the tract which immediately precedes it.

The tract on the Five Patriarchates was published, in part, by Martin, from Cod. 346, along with the patristic parallels in the works of Nilus Doxapatrius and Leo the Philosopher. To this I added¹ the text of the tract as found in the Leicester Codex and some variants from the Burdett-Coutts MS.

According to Martin, the text of the tract on the Patriarchates in the Ferrar-group is an abbreviation of what we find in Nilus Doxapatrius, who has himself drawn upon the writings of Leo the Philosopher. Nilus, whoever he may be, is known both as to time and place, for we are told in the preface (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxxxii.) that he composed his tract on the Patriarchates for King Roger II of Sicily, when he was in the castle at Palermo, in the year 1143 A.D. We observe that we are taken again into Sicily at the very time when Edrisi was conducting geographical researches for King Roger II. If, then, the group 69—346—543 has been borrowing from Nilus Doxapatrius, we cannot put their common ancestor earlier than 1143. An objection may be taken that, according to Martin, the same tract, with slight variations, is found in the writings of the emperor Leo the Philosopher (A.D. 886—911).

The tract in question is indeed bound up with the works of Leo, but who put it there? The answer is that the Patrology has taken it over from printed editions which run back into an *editio princeps* based upon a MS. in the Vatican Library, but neither the *editio princeps* nor the MS. from which it is taken appears to have the slightest idea that it is from Leo the Philosopher. It is a mere editorial guess. The tract first appeared in the *Geographia Sacra* of Carolus à Sancto Paulo (Carolus Vialart), bishop of Avranches, in 1641. It is merely a parergon appended to the *Geographia Sacra*, and headed

Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῶν ἀγνωστῶν Πατριαρχῶν τῶν ὁροθεσιῶν καὶ συναριθμήσεως τῶν ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων

ex vetusto codice MS. Vaticano.

¹ *Leicester Codex*, p. 64.

Ms. B. 1. 1. 1.

Not a word, you see, about Leo the Wise. Nor does there seem any reason for inserting that name in preference to Nilus Doxapatrius, to whom the same tract in a somewhat extended form is referred in other MSS., or at all events what seems to be the same tract, with slight variations. Observe, it is not questioned that Nilus Doxapatrius may have used all kinds of sources of information, including lists of episcopates which may run back to Leo the Philosopher, or to any one else. All that we say is that the tract which we find in the Ferrar MSS. is so intimately connected with the tract published in the name of Nilus Doxapatrius, and with another tract, ascribed on insufficient evidence to Leo the Wise, that we are justified in treating them as variants of a single document, to which it seems reasonable to attach the name of Doxapatrius rather than any other.

It is certain that the documents are very closely connected; the internal variations of the text show that: let us take one or two examples.

In the description of the Roman Patriarchate, we are told by Nilus that it extends as far as the setting of the sun, and the pillars of Hercules, and the Ocean, in which Ocean there are waters that are dead and muddy,

ἐν ᾧ εἰσι νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἱλυώδη.

The Leicester Codex says:

ἐν ᾧ εἰσι νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἀκίνητα ὑλώδη.

Cod. 346 says almost exactly the same.

When we turn to Leo the Wise we have, according to Martin,

ἐν ᾧ εἰσιν νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἀκίνητα καὶ ὑλώδη,

i.e. waters that are dead and immoveable and woody.

Clearly the original text of the tradition did not have either ἱλυώδη or ὑλώδη, but ὑαλώδη, *glassy*. The writer of the tract has found out in his geographical researches that the Arctic Ocean is frozen, and he must needs incorporate the information. The authorities are closely related by their error.

Take another instance that lies near at hand. The text of Nilus

Doxapatrius tells us that the Roman Patriarchate contains a part of Sicily and of Calabria, where the following winds blow :

ἐν οἷς διαπλέουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι Ἄρκτος, Παραίας κτέ.

We translate διαπλέουσιν in this way, although it ought literally to be rendered, 'the winds sail about,' for it is clearly only a phonetic variation for διαπνέουσιν. We find the same phonetic error in the Codex Bezae¹, and it is not unnatural in view of the relation between the Latin *flo* and the Greek πνέω. Now observe that the Cod. 346 has the correct form and reads

ἐν οἷς διαπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι,

and so has the Leicester text.

But what of the text which has been referred to Leo the Wise and taken for the source of all the variant traditions? Leo reads

ἐν οἷς περιπλέοντες διαπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι,

where the error has been conflated with its correction. It is quite clear from this single instance that the supposed text of Leo is not the archetype; *i.e.* it cannot be Leo.

Having said thus much, we may banish Leo, except in the case of materials possibly borrowed from other works of that writer. The tract itself must be labelled Nilus Doxapatrius, and it is reasonable to regard him as the source from which our MSS. derive their knowledge of the patriarchates.

The Abbé Martin, who followed the existing identification of Leo, was, I suspect, influenced by the fact that in the published text ascribed to Leo, the Roman Patriarchate has the first place; it is attractive, as a theory of ecclesiastical pre-eminence, to be able to produce testimony to one's right to a top seat, from some one who is lower down the table. But it ought to have provoked at least a suspicion, as to whether the Emperor of Constantinople was likely so distinctly to have said to Old Rome that her place was at the very front. However that may be, we shall set Nilus to deal with the subject and not Leo.

And this brings us to the important point that we are working towards; who was Nilus? and why is he called Doxapatrius? The cognomen is sufficiently remarkable to provoke criticism. Does it

¹ Luke 12. 55 νότον πλέοντα.

mean *Praise God*, and is he an ecclesiastical double of Praise Barbon in the Long Parliament whom the wits christened anew by the name of Praise God Barebones?

The answer is that the name has nothing to do with the praise of God the Father at all; it is apparently an attempt to imitate a Moslem title, perhaps Abou Hamid or Abou Mohammed. The writer is a converted Moslem, done into Greek and supplied (i) with the name of a famous South Italian saint, viz., Nilus: (ii) with a title that shall replace and imitate his ancient one, 'the father of the praised one,' Doxapatrius.

The result is exactly parallel to what we said of the tract on the Climates, that is, it has passed through Arabic hands, and is derived from Arabic sources. And we are more than ever confirmed in our belief that the same hand wrote the two tracts¹.

Is it possible to identify the hand and to point out the author? We have already seen that Nilus Doxapatrius is one of the savants to whom King Roger II appealed for help. He was at Palermo with the king in 1143, and from the fact that he was singled out to write on the subject of ecclesiastical limits, he appears to have been a person of some distinction. And we have further shown that he was an Arabic scholar and probably a convert from Islam. As we know his place, his date and approximately his name, it ought not to be impossible to identify him.

The Arabic method of supplementary naming of fathers after their sons and of sons after their fathers is open to some confusion when there are more sons than one. For in that case the sons, so far as they are known as ibn Mohammed, will all have the same name, and the fathers will have as many names as there are male heirs²; abu Mohammed, abu Hassan, &c.

We must bear this in mind in searching for the missing Arabic geographer. Our first suggestion is that perhaps the person responsible for the tracts may be Edrisi himself.

¹ In which connexion it may be worth noting that the writer on the Patriarchates uses the word *κλίμα* in the same general sense that we were disposed to attribute to the other tract, which general sense is also found, as we have said elsewhere, in

the writings of Edrisi.

² There will be no confusion in such a case as the English poet has imagined, who commences his work with the line
Abou ben Adhem, may his tribe increase!

Edrisi and Nilus Doxapatrius are certainly contemporary Sicilian sages. They are both in the service of King Roger II, especially in connexion with the Royal Geographical Society of Palermo. Is it possible that we are dealing, not with two Arabic geographers, but with one?

The first objection is that Edrisi's name does not exactly fulfil the requirements. His name is Abu Abdallah Mohammed; and unless we can assume that he had another son besides Abdallah whose name was Hamid or Mohammed, we can hardly equate him with Doxapatrius. On the other hand, it is possible that the Abu is meant to cover both the names that follow, in which case Edrisi is really Abu Mohammed and so is the equivalent of Doxapatrius.

The second objection lies in the ecclesiastical position of Nilus Doxapatrius. It looks as if he were not only a converted Moslem, but even a Christian monk. In the preface to the Greek tract he is called an Archimandrite, and in his own narrative which follows the preface he says that he is not only ready to do 'whatever your Eminence may require,' but that he is also acting under the direction of his ecclesiastical superior (μετὰ καὶ προτροπῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς μου).

Now we are ready to admit that Edrisi was much in sympathy with Christian circles, for it is certain that he got out of sympathy with the Moslem world. Moslem writers say very little about him, though he is a star of the first magnitude: and M. Quatremère has pointed out that this coolness is explained by the fact that they considered it an act of treason for a descendant of the Prophet, as Edrisi was, to take up his residence at the Norman Court¹.

But it is one thing to make Edrisi a warm friend and loyal servant of Christian princes, themselves the very patterns of religious tolerance, and it is quite another thing to make a monk of him and put him under an ecclesiastical superior, or promote him to the rank of archimandrite. The case, then, for the identification appears to break down, nor does there seem to be a second candidate for the place that seemed at first to be the very one that Edrisi could fill.

There is, indeed, a celebrated geographer named Abu Hamid

¹ *Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 214, 215; quoted in Dozy and de Goeje, p. 11.

who is almost the exact contemporary of Edrisi and Nilus Doxapatrius. We learn from the Introduction to Abulfeda that the first half of the 12th century was occupied by the travels of an Arab from Spain, who would have rendered signal services to geography and natural history, if he could have joined to his natural inquisitiveness a larger measure of criticism and research. Abu Hamid¹ was born at Granada in A.D. 1080, and when he left home on his travels, Sicily was the first place that he visited. The following account of his travels is given by M. Reinaud :

"L'an 511 (1117 A.D.) il se mit en mer et relâcha dans l'île de Sicile. Il passa le reste de cette année et l'année suivante à Bagdad, où il fit quelque séjour. L'an 525 (1131) il s'embarqua sur la mer Caspienne et arriva sur les bords du Volga. Pendant plusieurs années, il parcourut les pays des Khazars et des Bulgars, &c. Il mourut à Damas, l'an 565 (1170). Outre les régions déjà indiquées, Abou-Hamid paraît avoir visité l'Arabie, le Khorassan, l'intérieur d'Afrique et d'autres pays."

Amari remarks that in his geographical work published in 1162 he speaks of the islands of the Mediterranean and of Etna, but apparently only from descriptions made by others. If this statement be correct he can hardly be credited with the authorship of the tracts we are studying, one of which betrays a close knowledge of Sicily. Moreover there is not the least suspicion that he was not a good Moslem. We conclude, therefore, that although the name and the date of Abu Hamid are such as are satisfactory to the conditions required, the identification with Nilus Doxapatrius cannot be made.

On the whole, then, we have reached a limit in our investigation. The personality of Nilus Doxapatrius seems too decided to be reduced to a mere pseudonym : but as he does not seem to stand for Edrisi and cannot be equated with the Abu Hamid mentioned above, there must be an unknown person in or near the Sicilian court who satisfies the conditions, a contemporary of Edrisi and one who was occupied in the very same researches. To his hand² we

¹ He is sometimes called Abu Hamid and sometimes Abu Abdallah, on account of his two sons, as explained above.

² The question may be asked whether we should not rather say 'to the hand of some

one who was familiar with his work.' Strictly speaking, this would perhaps be better. But remembering that two of the MSS. involved are 12th century hands, and that the assumed Abu Hamid is no earlier than the middle of

may refer the original MS. from which the group 69—346—543 is derived. Whether this original MS. is the parent of the whole Ferrar-group remains to be investigated.

the 12th century, there is little probability Hamid and the parentage of the group in
of another person intervening between Abu question.