The Contribution of the Speculum historiale to the History of the Latin Risālat al-Kindī and the Corpus Cluniacense

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Abstract: Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (*SH*) includes a group of chapters on Islam and its Prophet (Book XXIV, c. 39–67), mainly based on a compilation of excerpts from the Latin translation of the *Risālat al-Kindī* (AK-Lat). Though the *SH* presents an abridged yet faithful version of the AK-Lat, it contains a Qur'anic verse (Q 15:47), within the description of the Islamic paradise, which does not appear in any manuscript of the *Corpus Cluniacense*. The aim of this article is to evaluate what the presence of this additional verse within the *SH* can tell us about the history of the AK-Lat and the *Corpus Cluniacense*.[1]

Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* is a monumental compilation that narrates the history of humankind from the Creation up to the times of Louis IX. It constitutes the third part of a larger work, an encyclopedical *opus* known as the *Speculum maius*. Thanks to the hundreds of sources on which it relies, the *Historiale* is a textual treasure which gives us access to several texts otherwise lost, such as the narration of the embassy to the Mongols led by Simon de Saint-Quentin in 1245. Moreover, the *Speculum historiale* (henceforth *SH*) can give us precious elements for a better understanding of well-known textual traditions by approaching them from a different angle.

In book XXIV, Vincent of Beauvais provides a rich portrayal of the prophet Muḥammad and Islam (chapters 39–67), drawn from the *Risālat al-Kindī*, an epistolary exchange allegedly written at the court of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 813–833) by a Muslim and a Christian.[2] In the first epistle, the Muslim, al-Hāshimī, invites his Chris-

1 This article is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (SyG grant agreement no. 810141), project EuQu "The European Qur'an. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1150–1850". I would like to thank Anthony J. Lappin, Fernando G. Muñoz, Irene Reginato, Emmanuelle Stefanidis, John Tolan, and Tristan Vigliano for their valuable comments and suggestions.

2 Nothing is certain about the real identity or existence of the two protagonists. The date and place of redaction are also questioned. Numerous studies highlight internal historical and theological references that confirm the exchange was written at the court of al-Ma'mūn. Samir Khalil Samir, "La version latine de l'*Apologie d'al-Kindī* (vers 830 ap. J.-C.) et son original arabe," in *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos*

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tian friend to convert by presenting him with the foundation and precepts of Islam; in the second epistle, the Christian, al-Kindī, refutes each section of the invitation, addressing the origins of Muḥammad, the Qur'an and its law. He bases his argumentation on various elements of the 9th-century polemical and doctrinal debates that take place in the Muslim *milieu*, but also on Muslim and Christian scriptures.[3] He then uses this refutation to elaborate an apology for Christianity in the last section of his epistle. Vincent of Beauvais became familiar with this text thanks to the translation undertaken by Peter of Toledo and Peter of Poitiers in 1142. This epistle, together with Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'an, are the key texts of a collection known as *Collectio Toletana*, *Corpus Islamo-Christianum*, or *Corpus Cluniacense*.

Vincent of Beauvais (henceforth VB) extracted from the Latin *Risāla* an important informative text on Islam, and particularly on the history of the collection of the Qur'an and of its early canonization. The *SH* also includes literal quotations of one hundred Qur'anic verses, most of which are condensed in the last chapters (*SH* XXIV, chapters 64–67). These quotations describe fasting during Ramadan and the Islamic afterlife. The *SH* presents an abridged yet faithful version of the Latin *Risāla* (henceforth AK-Lat). However, within the description of the paradise, the *SH* contains a Qur'anic verse that does not appear in any of the manuscripts, including the manuscript Arsenal 1162 on which the critical edition of the AK-Lat made by Fernando González Muñoz in 2005 is based.[4] This manuscript is thought to be the original model of the collection, the archetypal *Corpus Cluniacense*.[5] The absence of this verse in the entire manuscript tradition of the AK-Lat raises important questions: which version of the AK-Lat did VB use? How can this version be integrated into the tradition? What does it show about the collection of the *Corpus Cluniacense*?

IX-XII), ed. Cyrille Aillet et al. (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008); Laura Bottini, "The Apology of al-Kindī," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, Volume 1 (600–900)*, ed. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Sandra T. Keating, "Manipulation of the Qur'an in the Epistolary Exchange between al-Hāshimī and al-Kindī," in *Arab Christians and the Qur'an from the Origins of Islam to the Medieval Period*, ed. Mark Beaumont (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

3 Bottini, "The Apology of al-Kindī," 588.

4 Fernando González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam. La versión latina de las epistolas de al-Hāšimī y al-Kindī* (La Corogne: Universidade da Coruña, 2005).

5 Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Âge," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 22/23 (1948): 77–78.

1 The Compilation of the Latin Risāla in the Speculum historiale

As he explains in the *Libellus Apologeticus*, VB defines himself primarily as a compiler and not as an author.[6] According to this principle, his compilation methods essentially rely on the quotation of blocks of text that conserve the formal specificities of their sources.[7] "[G]arantir l'autorité exige l'assurance de l'authenticité des citations" or, at least, to follow its words, in abridging the text according to the rules of classical grammar.[8] VB's compilation of the AK-Lat is one of the best examples of the application of this rule, which led González Muñoz to use two recensions of the *SH* as additional witnesses in establishing his critical edition of the AK-Lat: the first is Theodore Bibliander's (Basel, 1543, 1550), the second is Balthazar Belleri's (Douai, 1624).[9]

Because they combine several levels of discourse, the chapters dedicated to the Qur'anic conception of the afterlife particularly illustrate VB's fidelity to the source text. A relevant example is found at the beginning of chapter 65:[10]

6 He wrote in the *Libellus Apologeticus*, *i.e.* the introduction to the *Speculum maius*: "presertim cum hoc ipsum opus utique meum simpliciter non sit, sed illorum potius ex quorum dictis fere totum illud contexui." Serge Lusignan, *Préface au* Speculum maius *de Vincent de Beauvais : réfraction et diffraction* (Paris-Montréal : Vrin-Bellarmin, 1979), 119.

7 Vincent of Beauvais' compilation methods have been studied by Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart : cf. Lusignan, *Préface au* Speculum and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand miroir du monde*, with the collaboration of M.-C. Duchenne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). They also have been studied in specific cases: cf. Monique Paulmier-Foucart, "La compilation dans le *Speculum historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais : le cas Hugues de Fleury", in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation européenne de la science au Centre de recherches historiques et juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1991), 51–66.

8 Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart, "Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum maius*," *Journal des Savants* 1: 1–2 (1990): 102.

9 Theodor Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum uitae, doctrina, ac ipse Alcoran* [. . .], vol. 2, Basileae, Ioannes Oporinus, Anno MDXLIII, Anno MDL; *Bibliotheca Mundi. Seu Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Bellovacensis, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Theologi ac doctoris Eximii, Tomus Quartus, qui Speculum historiale inscribitur* [. . .], Ex officina Typographica Baltazaris Belleri, sub Circino aureo, Anno MDCXXIV.

10 All the *SH* quotations are drawn from the Douai version (Ms. Douai BM 797) that can be found on the *Sourcencyme* website (http://sourcencyme.irht.cnrs.fr/), accessed March 30, 2020.

AK-Lat, AH's epistle, § 16–17	*SH*, liber XXIV, c. 65
Iterum inuito te ad confessionem Dei, ad cuius nutum resuscitabuntur mortui, qui iudicabit eos in iusticia, et bonis bona retribuet et malis mala, et faciet suum populum eos, qui sibi obedierunt et, confitentes singularitatem eius, testificati sunt quod Mahumet propheta est ipsius et nuntius, et crediderunt omnibus que super eum descenderunt a Deo in excipiendo legem, uidelicet, de paradiso, in quo multa bona preparata sunt. . .	Iterum invito te ad confessionem Dei, ad cuius nutum resuscitabuntur mortui, qui iudicabit eos in iusticia et bonis bona retribuet et malis mala, et faciet suum populum eos qui sibi obedierunt, et confidentes singularitatem eius testificati sunt quod Mahumet propheta est ipsius et nuntius, et crediderunt omnibus que super eum descenderunt a deo, in excipiendo legem videlicet de paradyso in quo multa bona sunt illis preparata, Non erit ibi luctus neque meror. Habebunt mulieres venustis oculis,
"Cum habuerint armillas de auro et electro, eruntque uestimenta eorum serica", "et dicent: Gratias Deo, qui abstulit a nobis tribulationem"; nulla oppressio uel molestia eos tanget. "Habebunt certum alimentum et fructus, et erunt in paradiso deliciarum exultantes et sibi inuicem occurrentes honorificati. Discurretur per eos uasis argenti candidi cum uino, quibus bibentes delectabuntur. Non erit ibi luctus neque meror. Habebunt mulieres uenustis oculis".	cum habuerint armillas de auro et electro, eruntque vestimenta eorum serica, et dicent: 'Gratias deo, quia non abstulit a nobis retributionem'. Nulla oppressio vel molestia eos tanget, habebunt certum alimentum et fructus. Et erunt in paradyso deliciarum exultantes et sibi invicem occurrentes honorificati. Discurrentque per eos vasis argenti candidi quibus bibentes delectabuntur.
"Habebunt cenacula et supercenacula, sub quibus erunt flumina. Numquam enim Dei promissio fallit"	habebunt cenacula et supercenacula sub quibus erunt flumina. Numquam enim dei promissio fallit.

Through the process of *excerptio*, VB transfers the formal specificities of the AK-Lat into his encyclopaedia.[11] He conserves the formulation of the original invitation pronounced by the Muslim (*invito te ad confessionem Dei*), but also the entire system of direct quotations within the invitation. In doing so, the *compilator* keeps the literal quotation of the Qur'anic verses about paradise without altering them.

When VB works on the text, he simply reduces it but respects its grammatical and syntactic coherence. Where the source text does not allow him to proceed thus, he slightly modifies it to preserve its coherence.[12]

11 It accounts for approximately 63% of al-Hāshimī's epistle, *i.e.* 1093 words out of 1722. These numbers are drawn from Sourcencyme (excluding the titles and chapter headings) and from González Muñoz critical edition.

12 For a deeper analysis of the compilation methods used with the AK-Lat, cf. Florence Ninitte, "Defining the Perception of Muḥammad and Islam in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*

The collation of all the manuscripts of the AK-Lat and the editions of the *SH* encouraged González Muñoz to put forward the idea that "[e]l ejemplar de la versión latina de las cartas que conoció Vincent de Beauvais era de buena calidad y probablemente no pertenecía al mismo hiparquetipo del siglo XIII representado por el códice de Oxford".[13] He took as a basis, several lessons which oppose the text in ms. Arsenal 1162 (henceforth A) and in the *SH* to the sub-archetype Ω (the *consensus codicum* of the rest of the tradition), best represented by the Corpus Christi College in Oxford, ms. 184.[14] As to the relationship between A and the *SH*, González Muñoz identifies at least 213 variants, of which a large proportion is attributable to the tradition of the *SH*.

To formulate his observations, González Muñoz used Bibliander and Balthazaris' printed editions of the *SH*. However, both contain several imperfections and are of varying quality.[15] The philological relationship between A and the *SH* must be re-examined in the light of a textual witness of better quality. Nevertheless, in the absence of a critical edition and of a complete philological review of the manuscripts containing the section at issue (XXIV chapters 39–67), it is only possible for us to consider the existing material and, consequently, to deliver new provisional observations. To this end, we turned to the transcription of the manuscript Douai BM 797 (early 14th century) carried out by the "Atelier Vincent de Beauvais". The manuscript contains the privileged model of the Douai version,[16] *i.e.* the final redaction of the *SH* belonging to the *Speculum maius trifarium*.[17] It still presents imperfections, although it is of better textual quality than the printed editions.

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and its French Translation by Jean de Vignay," *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter* 41 (2017), 22–26.

13 González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, lxxiv.

14 González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, cxvii-cxviii. The Oxford codex (ms. Corpus Christi College 184) dates from the second half of the 13th century. It is the only manuscript, except for A, that contains a text of the AK-Lat of a higher quality. It is important to note that the *stemma* presented should be subject to modification according to the progress that has been made through the studies of the other texts constituting the *Corpus Cluniacense*. González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, cxxiii.

15 The quality of this edition has been assessed by Monique Paulmier-Foucart and Marie-Christine Duchenne, "La matière de l'Histoire selon Vincent de Beauvais : les titres des chapitres du *Speculum historiale*," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté : Etudes offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. Françoise Autrand (Paris: Publications Presses de la Sorbonne, 1999), 180, n. 3.

16 Manuscript Douai 797 was chosen by the Atelier Vincent de Beauvais for the following reasons: first of all, it dates back to the 14th century, when there was an increased diffusion of the *SH*; second, the codex seems to be homogeneous; finally, it is from the Benedictine abbey of Sainte-Rictrude (Marchiennes), the centre of an acknowledged historiographical activity, implying a text of higher quality. Cf. http://atilf.atilf.fr/bichard, accessed April 7, 2020.

17 This version of the *SH* is divided into thirty-two books and contains all the additions and modifications made by Vincent of Beauvais during his reworking phase. Cf. Johannes B. Voorbij,

Upon a close examination of the text of the Douai manuscript, a considerable number of the variants isolated in the 2005 edition disappear. From 213, the number of variants drops to 132. The remaining variants between A and ms. BM 797 are still isolated from the rest of the AK-Lat tradition and are attributable to the *SH* tradition. It is interesting to note that among the 132 remaining variants, almost two-thirds still primarily concern proper nouns and transliterated Arabic terms (93 variants), which represent the categories of words most likely to be altered during the copying of the text. Others comprise copy errors due to misreading or overlooking abbreviation signs.

In the section of the *SH* devoted to Islamic afterlife, it is possible to list twenty-five variants: three omissions of a single word, three inversions of two nouns (for example, *uxores oculis* becomes *oculis uxores*), six additions (ranging from a single adverb to a group of three words, except for the additional verse found in chapter 65), and thirteen *variae lectiones* that are of varying degrees: we can isolate simple letter changes that do not alter the meaning of the word (*optinebit* becomes *obtinebit*), and misreadings (due to a misleading number of descenders or to an interference from the semantic context). There are only a few significant variants, one of which concerns Q 35:34–35,

AK-Lat, AH's epistle § 17	***SH*, liber XXIV, c. 65**
Cum habuerint armillas de auro et electro, eruntque uestimenta eorum serica", "et dicent: Gratias Deo, qui abstulit a nobis tribulationem"; nulla oppressio uel molestia eos tanget. "Habebunt certum alimentum et fructus [. . .]	[. . .] cum habuerint armillas de auro et electro, eruntque vestimenta eorum serica, et dicent: Gratias deo, **quia non abstulit a nobis retributionem**. Nulla oppressio vel molestia eos tanget, habebunt certum alimentum et fructus.

The reading in bold is specific to the *SH*, as A is closer to the Arabic version.[18] In this case, the compiler or the copyist must have mistaken *tribulationem* for *retributionem*, and then added the negation *non* so that the verse would remain semantically logical and coherent.

Het 'Speculum historiale' van Vincent van Beauvais, een studie van zijn ontstaansgeschiedenis (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1991).

18 Georges Tartar, "Le dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife al-Ma'mûn (813–834)" (PhD diss., Université de Strasbourg, 1977), 19; Georges Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife al-Ma'mûn (813–834)* (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1985), 98: "Ils diront : Gloire à Dieu qui a éloigné de nous la tristesse. Notre Seigneur est plein de pardon et il est digne de reconnaissance. Il nous a installés, par sa grâce, dans la demeure éternelle où aucune peine ni fatigue ne nous atteindra".

Returning to the ms. BM 797 text enables us to significantly reduce the number of variants between the *SH* and A, reinforcing González Muñoz observation that the compiler relied on a text of remarkable quality.

2 An Additional verse on the Islamic Paradise

In chapter 65, a major exception to these observations must be pointed out. Indeed, there is a substantial addition in the *SH* compared to the AK-Lat:

AK-Lat, AH's epistle, § 17	***SH*, liber XXIV, c. 65**
Hec est gratia Dei tui, ipsa est enim liberatio magna."	Hec est gratia dei [tui]. Ipsa est enim liberatio magna.
	Dixit etiam deus gloriosus et excelsus: In paradyso quem pollicitus sum timentibus me sunt flumina aquarum in quibus nichil noxium est. Sunt flumina lactis cuius sapor numquam deficit, flumina quoque vini bibentium delectatio, flumina vero mellis purissimi, habent siquidem omnes in eo fructus et remissionem a domino.
Dixit etiam Deus, gloriosus et excelsus: "Timentibus Deum obtima erunt in ultimis. Aperientur eis porte orti Eden, [. . .].	Dixit quoque gloriosus et excelsus: Timentibus deum optime erit in ultimis, aperientur eis porte orti Eden, [. . .].

In his description of paradise, the Muslim includes the first part of the verse Q 47: 15 that describes the four rivers of paradise and their flavour, and omits the last part that briefly discusses one of the punishments that awaits the wrongdoers in hell. This verse is missing in all the manuscripts of the AK-Lat and, therefore, in the 2005 edition as well.[19]

Referring to the Arabic *Risāla* may help us determine the origin of the verse. However, besides Tartar's partial edition in 1977, no thorough critical edition of

19 Ms. Arsenal 1162, f. 142v. The verse at issue can be found in the printed editions: *Bibliotheca Mundi. Seu Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi Praesulis Bellovacensis, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Theologi ac doctoris Eximii, Tomus Quartus, qui Speculum historiale inscribitur* [. . ..], Ex officina Typographica Baltazaris Belleri, sub Circino aureo, Anno M.DC.XXIV, 922; *Speculi Maioris Vincentii Burgundi praesulis Belvacensis, Ordinis praedicatorum, theologi ac doctoris Eximii, Tomus quartus. Qui Speculum Historiale inscribitur*. [. . .], ADS. D. N. Gregorium XIIII. Pontificem Maximum. Venetiis, Nicolinus, MDXCI, 317.

the Arabic version has been established.[20] The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the Latin translation only partially corresponds to the Arabic text. Samir Khalil Samir compared both versions and found that the Latin text was approximately 10% shorter than the Arabic one. In addition, he noted that some sections, in both the Arabic and the Latin recensions, varied in size. The manuscript tradition of the Arabic version shows texts of unequal length.[21] It is therefore difficult to assess the differences between the Arabic and Latin versions, since it is almost impossible to determine whether a detectable addition or deletion in the Latin text is the result of a decision by the translator or of a feature of the translated Arabic version. Another complication is that the *Risāla* is not extant in any manuscript earlier than the 17th century.[22] Nonetheless, analysing several sections common to both the Arabic and the Latin versions, Samir observed that a large proportion of them coincided.[23] We too undertook this work on the section devoted to the description of the afterlife in the epistle of al-Hāshimī, and reached the same conclusion; indeed, the major differences between the texts primarily concerns translation errors. The Qur'anic verses are presented in the same order and are identical in both versions, except for the verse at issue.

In Tartar's edition, Q 47:15 appears in the same place as in the Latin version by the *SH*. If we focus on its form and style, the verse in the *SH* renders the Arabic in a way consistent with Peter of Toledo's *ad verbum* translation of the AK-Lat; consequently, it does not reveal any stylistic change which would indicate a later addition by a copyist familiar with a more complete Arabic version (or another Latin translation):[24]

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20 Tartar, "Le dialogue islamo-chrétien." The edition is partial as Tartar made use of only four manuscripts. A project of critical edition, supervised by Sandra T. Keating and Krisztina Szilagyi, is ongoing. Keating, "Manipulation of the Qur'an," 50, n. 1.

21 Samir, "La version latine de l'*Apologie d'al-Kindī*," 48–50.

22 The oldest reference can be found in the Arabic manuscript 2884 of the Forschungsbibliotheck in Gotha, a copy that dates back to 31 October 1656 and is signed by the Syrian copyist Khuri Yūḥannā ibn Ghurayr al-Zurbābī ash-Shāmī. He claims to have copied a manuscript said to date back to 1173. Carmella Ciaramella, "Le long voyage de l'*Apologie d'al-Kindî*," in *La fuite en Égypte : Supplément aux voyages européens en Orient*, ed. Jean-Claude Vatin (Le Caire: SEDEJ, 2012), 32.

23 Samir, "La version latine de l'*Apologie d'al-Kindī*," 65–66.

24 Robert of Ketton translates the same verse as follows: "Eme paradisum timentibus tributam, ubi sunt aquae, caeteris odore saporeque consimiles. Sunt illic alii rivi saporiferi, alius lactis, alius meri, alius mellis dispumati. Sunt et ibi omnimoda poma. Peccatores autem in igne perpetuo mansuri, potum sument igneum, intestina sua cocturum." Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1162, f. 121r. It is worth mentioning the existence of the so-called *Gregorian report*, a Latin text closely related to the Arabic *Risāla*, whose circulation is attested in Europe from the 12th century onwards. Cf. Ottfried Lieberknecht, "Zur Rezeption der arabischen Apologie des Pseudo-Kindi in der lateinischen Mohammedliteratur des Mittelalters," in *De orbis Hispani linguis litteris his-*

Arabic *Risāla*[25]	*SH*, liber XXIV, c. 65
وقال عزَّ وجلَّ: مثل الجنة التي وعد المتقون، فيها انهار من ماء غير اسن، وانهار من لبن لم يتغير طعمه، وانهار من خمر لذَّة للشاربين، وانهار من عسل مصفًّى، ولهم فيها من كل الثمرات، ومغفرة من ربهم.	Dixit etiam deus gloriosus et excelsus: In paradyso quem pollicitus sum timentibus me sunt flumina aquarum in quibus nichil noxium est. Sunt flumina lactis cuius sapor numquam deficit, flumina quoque vini bibentium delectatio, flumina vero mellis purissimi, habent siquidem omnes in eo fructus et remissionem a domino.

The Latin text is a literal translation from Arabic, except for what appears to be due to a translation mistake or to a misreading of the beginning of the verse: the Arabic passive formula *wuʿidda al-muttaqūna* ("it has been promised to those who fear [God]") has been translated into *pollicitus sum timentibus me* ("I promised those who fear me"). From a syntactic point of view, the Latin follows the construction of the Arabic. From a lexical point of view, Q 47:15 is translated in a manner that is perfectly coherent with the rest of the AK-Lat. Peter of Toledo is particularly consistent in his choices, as he tends to translate all the occurrences of a given Arabic root into the same Latin equivalent. So, *al-muttaqūna*, the active participle Form VIII of the verb *t-q-y*, is translated as *timentibus*. The same participle appears three more times in the *Risāla* and is always rendered by an inflected form of *timentes Deum*; the same applies to the occurrences of the plural substantive *ʿanhārun*, systematically rendered by the word *flumina*; the deponent *pollicitus sum* translates the form *wuʿidda*. The presence of the root *w-ʿ-d* is clearly representative of Peter of Toledo's consistency in translation, as it proves that he equates an Arabic root with a Latin root: the four other occurrences of the words derived from the root *w-ʿ-d* found elsewhere in the *Risāla* are systematically translated by the same deponent or by one of its derived forms, as exemplified by *qui pollicitus est uera pollicitatione* that translates the construction *waʿadanā al-waʿd*.[26] The substantives *ath-thamarāti* (*fructus*) and *maghfiratun* (*remissionem*) are the only occurrences quoted in the Arabic version of the *Risāla* and the AK-Lat we identified.

toria moribus, ed. A. Schönberg e.a. (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), vol. 1, 523–538; Leah Giamalva, "The Gregorian Report," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 4 (1200–1350)*, ed. Alex Mallett et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 259–263.

25 Tartar, "Le dialogue islamo-chrétien," 20.

26 González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, § 3, 30; Tartar, "Le dialogue islamo-chrétien," 36.

The identical location of the verse in the Arabic version and the *SH*, as well as the consistency of the translation style, clearly indicate that this verse is part of the translation by Peter of Toledo and Peter of Poitiers.

3 An Exemplar Anterior to the Manuscript Arsenal 1162?

Since Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's 1948 article, A is considered as the original codex of the *Corpus Cluniacense*. The manuscript was written at about the same time as the translations and contains, according to the French scholar, "perfect" texts, despite some shortcomings due to the mutilations it suffered. She describes the manuscript as composed of distinct parts, confirmed by the handwriting variations and the heterogeneous foliotation. She therefore considers the Arsenal codex as the first gathering of the original translations, "juxtaposées par un ordonnateur qui a fait ajouter des rubriques et des gloses".[27] The codex was probably composed in Spain, as evidenced by the different hands and decoration, all in Iberian style.

González Muñoz discusses this view in the introduction to his critical edition. He approves d'Alverny's conclusion, uses the 1162 as the base manuscript for his edition and grants it a capital position in the st*emma codicum*. He nevertheless nuances the question. According to González Muñoz, the problem of different hands can be solved if one assumes that a single copyist worked at different times. From a philological point of view, although the text is of high quality, it still contains blatant copy mistakes.[28] The editor concludes that the Arsenal manuscript does not bring together the original translations but rather their copies. Each translator is thought to have worked separately, and the fruit of their labour was then copied and compiled in one place before being assembled into the codex known today as Arsenal 1162.[29]

These reflections also lead González Muñoz to question where the translations were assembled. Some clues, such as the typical Iberian writing style and decorations, suggest that this was done in Spain. González Muñoz assumes that the different translations were undertaken in Spain and then sent to Cluny, already partially annotated and corrected by Robert of Ketton and Peter of Toledo.

27 D'Alverny, "Deux traductións latines", 78.
28 González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, cxv-cxvi.
29 González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, cxvi.

Once in Cluny, they benefited from additional annotation work, overseen by the supervisor(s) of the *Corpus*. Various elements were then added, and the texts were copied again.[30] The copy of the *Alcoranus* in manuscript 1162 partially reinforces this chronology insofar as it serves as an exemplar: it displays erasures and corrections that were applied in later copies.[31]

The elements identified earlier in our analysis support González Muñoz, assumptions: on the one hand, VB used an exemplar of the AK-Lat of remarkably good quality, much closer to A than to any other manuscript of the AK-Lat, with the exception of a few significant variants that can be attributed to the textual history of the *SH* and the verse at the centre of this study. The first observation enables us to rule out the entire stemma of the AK-Lat as a potential source for the *SH*. On the other hand, the analysis provides concrete proof that A does not embody the original work of Peter of Toledo and Peter of Poitiers, and that another copy pre-existed. First, the text in the AK-Lat contains several copyist errors; second, the superior textual proximity between the Arabic version and the *SH vis-à-vis* Q 47:15 implies the existence of a more complete copy of the Latin translation. However, the status of the Arsenal ms. as the model of the *Corpus* seems to be confirmed; the texts constituting ms. 1162 served as the basis for the other copies. This would explain, in the case of the AK-Lat, why the lacuna spread to other copies and, in the case of the *Alcoranus*, why the corrections contained in the Arsenal were applied in the later copies.

VB probably used, therefore, another copy of the AK-Lat, likely copied from a model that existed before A and one whose text was closer to the original translation accomplished by Peter of Toledo and Peter of Poitiers. The existence of an earlier copy of the AK-Lat makes it possible to explain the lacuna in A as the result of a *saut du même au même*. In fact, the missing verse and the one directly following it are introduced by two very similar formulas which mark the beginning of the Qur'anic speech: the paragraph containing Q 47:15 opens with *Dixit etiam deus gloriosus et excelsus* and the following one with *Dixit quoque gloriosus et excelsus* (which introduces Q 38:49–54). The copyist's eyes jumped from the first *gloriosus et excelsus* to the second one, leading him to omit Q 47:15. This copyist mistake is revealed by the fact that the sentence *dixit etiam deus gloriosus et excelsus* now introduces Q 38:49–54. All these elements enable us to formulate the hypothesis that A and the copy used in the *SH* might be both copies of the original draft of the translation, and that the second copy circulated independently of the tradition of the *Corpus Cluniacense*.

30 González Muñoz's, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, cxvi. Anthony J. Lappin also discusses the collection of the *Corpus*, bringing new insights into this topic. See his contribution in the same volume.

31 See González Muñoz's contribution in the same volume.

4 The Copy used by Vincent of Beauvais

One last question that needs to be addressed is that of the origin and transmission of the exemplar of the AK-Lat VB used. As the answer lies far beyond the limits of this paper, we will limit ourselves to formulating some hypotheses, which will require further analysis.

Absent from the first version of the *SH*,[32] the section on Islam is one of the major additions that characterize the revision of VB's encyclopedical *opus*. It has now been established that this revision was profoundly influenced by the various circles and institutions that supported its realization.[33] VB undertook this task after being appointed *lector* at the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont (1246–1260). This nomination was decisive, since he integrated a particularly dynamic milieu – on a political, religious, and intellectual level – where several spheres of influence and high-profile personalities interacted. The most important relationship that VB developed was with King Louis IX. Many updates of the historical material can therefore be associated with the major events of the time and with royal decisions. Thus, the addition in the section on Islam echoes the crusade project undertaken by Louis IX from 1244 onwards.[34] In addition, the *SH* revisions were made possible by the material situation associated with VB's new function at Royaumont. On the one hand, he benefited from the help of collaborators who supplied him with new resources. On the other hand, he was now able to consult the resources afforded by the libraries in Paris and its surroundings – such as the Dominican convent of Saint-Jacques or the Abbey of Royaumont –, thanks to the financial support he received from Louis IX. The Dominican compiler therefore had access to many sources that were unavailable at the time of the completion of the first version of the *SH*, including the AK-Lat.

An overview of the context suggests that the AK-Lat was transmitted to the compiler through two possible ways. First, through the Cistercian order, by way of the monks of Royaumont, and second, through William of Auvergne, then bishop

32 The contribution of the first version of the *SH*, known as the Klosterneuburg version, is limited to a *verbatim* reproduction of the chapter devoted to Muḥammad in Hugh of Fleury's *Historia ecclesiastica*.

33 Lusignan and Paulmier-Foucart, "Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum maius*," 98.

34 Johannes B. Voorbij, "The 'Speculum Historiale': Some Aspects of its Genesis and Manuscript Tradition," in *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great. Studies on the `Speculum Maius' and its translations into medieval vernaculars*, ed. Willem J. Aerts, et al. (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1986), 11–55; Ninitte, "Defining the Perception of Muḥammad," 32–33.

of Paris and close advisor to Louis IX. They were both in contact with VB and played a significant role in the transmission of the *Corpus Cluniacense*.[35]

The Cistercians of Royaumont were of invaluable help to the compiler.[36] They contributed by researching and preparing extracts to be integrated into the *SH* and by offering access to texts otherwise unavailable.[37] Concerning the AK-Lat, the Cistercian collaboration is a promising lead: as their correspondence shows, Peter the Venerable sent a copy of the AK-Lat, as well as other texts from the *Corpus*, to Bernard of Clairvaux.[38] This exchange marked the starting point for the independent circulation of translations, as well as for their reception in the Cistercian milieu. Moreover, the Cistercian order was favorable to their diffusion. Indeed, the order, behind the charismatic personality of Bernard of Clairvaux, developed an institutionalized and organized network, notably through the organization of general chapters.[39] This network played a fundamental role in the transmission of information and material. Several clues suggest that the dialogue with Islam was gradually incorporated within the concerns of the order, or at least those of some of its representatives. This was the case of Alan of Lille, who discussed Muḥammad's law in the fourth book of his *De fide catholica contra haereticos*. His remarkable knowledge of Islam may be explained by his consultation of works such as Peter Alfonsi's *Dialogi* or Peter the Venerables' *Summa*, although this has

35 This *Rezeptionspanorama* had already been sketched by M. Tischler. Basing himself on González Muñoz's observations on the textual proximity between the AK-Lat as preserved in A and the *SH* against the rest of the AK-Lat tradition, he raises the question of a possible circulation of the Arsenal manuscript within the Parisian area. Matthias Tischler, "Orte des Unheiligen. Versuch einer Topographie der dominikanischen Mohammed-Biographik des 13. Jahrhunderts zwischen Textüberlieferung und Missionspraxis," *Archia Verbi* 5 (2008): 47–48.

36 Lusignan, *Préface au* Speculum maius, 72–3.

37 Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Vincent of Beauvais and Helinand of Froidmont," in Lector et compilator. *Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur. Un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, ed. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart (Grâne: Creaphis, 1997), 233–247; Paulmier-Foucart, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand Miroir du monde*, 17–19.

38 Whether in the *Epistula* or in the Letter 111 of Constable's edition, the abbot of Cluny mentions a *novam translationem*, carried out by Peter of Toledo, assisted by Peter of Poitiers. This exemplar could be a copy of the same model from which the text of the ms. Arsenal comes from. Cf. Giles Constable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, vol. I (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1967), 274–299; James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 212–214.

39 The general chapters ensure the development of a common homogenous rule for all aspects of monastic life, as well as communication between the different branches of the order. Matthias Tischler, "Warum Clunys Islamprojekt zunächst scheitern musste und schließlich doch ein Erfolg wurde. Die Auseinandersetzung des Reformmönchtums mit dem Islam vor und nach Petrus Venerabilis (11.-13. Jahrhundert)," in *Die Wirkmacht klösterlichen Lebens. Modelle – Ordnungen – Kompetenzen – Konzepte*, ed. Mirko Breitenstein et al. (Göttingen: Schnell & Steiner, 2020), 288–290.

not yet been proven;[40] there are, moreover, explicit traces of his knowledge of the works of the *Corpus Cluniacense* in the universal chronicle of the Alberic of Troisfontaines, which refers to the translation of the Qur'an ordered by the abbot of Cluny.[41] The existence of a Cistercian transmission has also been evoked in the case of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, who used a copy of the *Fabulae Sarracenorum* under another name, the *Liber narrationum*, which does not appear anywhere in the history of the transmission of the *Corpus*.[42] These scattered mentions provide many clues that may be considered when studying the Cistercian reception of the translations commissioned by Peter the Venerable.

In addition, the influence of the events and intellectual activities that marked the years 1220–1250 should not be neglected, in particular the new discussions on the concept of *lex* and, consequently, on the status of the Talmud and the Qur'an,[43] as well as the crusader spirit that impelled more than one king of France to engage in crusades. In this context, it is plausible that the texts, or a copy, sent by Peter the Venerable to Bernard of Clairvaux, could have been transmitted to one of the Cistercian monasteries of Paris, where they were thought to be of some use.

The second figure who stands out is William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris. He was considered as one of the secular protectors of VB.[44] The latter acknowledged him as one of the rare persons, among the few partisans of the young Dominican order, whose intellectual position and reading appetite made him the most competent scholar to assess the encyclopedical *opus*, as he stated in the *Epistola actoris ad regem Ludovicum*.[45] William of Auvergne possessed an "esprit favora-

40 Matthias Tischler, "Religiöse Alterität und scholastische Irrtumsbekämpfung. Neue Umgangsformen der hochmitteralterlichen Bildungselite mit dem Islam," in *Irrtum – Error – Erreur*, ed. Andreas Speer et al. (Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 305–311.

41 Tischler, "Orte des Unheiligen," 47–48. Alberic of Troisfontaines explicitly quotes Peter the Venerable's contribution. "Quo anno per industriam abbatis Petri Cluniacensis, liber qui dicitur Alcoranus cum tota secta impii et pseudoprophete Mahumet de Arabico in Latinum translatus est [. . .]". The Cistercian chronicler also refers to the year of completion of the translation according to the *Hijri* calendar, a reference directly drawn from the preface of Ketton's translation.

42 We would like to thank Anthony J. Lappin for sharing with us the results of his research on Riccoldo.

43 Matthias Tischler, "*Lex Mahometi*. Die Erfolgsgeschichte eines vergleichenden Konzepts der christlichen Religionspolemik," in *Das Gesetz – The Law – La Loi*, ed. Andreas Speer et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 546–549; Tischler, "Warum Cluny Islamprojekt," 291–294.

44 Monique Paulmier-Foucart, "Les protecteurs séculiers de Vincent de Beauvais," in "Lector et compilator". *Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur. Un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, ed. Serge Lusignan and Monique Paulmier-Foucart (Grâne: Creaphis, 1997), 215–231; Voorbij, *Het 'Speculum historiale' van Vincent van Beauvais*, 8–9.

45 Vincent of Beauvais mentions the "venerable bishops of Paris and Cambrai", namely William of Auvergne and Guiard de Laon. Cf. Gregory Guzman, "Vincent of Beauvais' *Epistola actoris ad*

ble à la nouveauté" and read from a wide range of sources.[46] It is undoubtedly this attitude that led him to turn to works such as the AK-Lat. In the section of the *Tractatus de fide et legibus* (1223–1228) dedicated to Islam, he refers his reader to the "*libellus disputationum cuiusdam Christiani et cuiusdam Sarraceni, qui tacitis nominibus suis, de legibus suis disputant utroque legem suam defendente, et legem alterius impugnante*", *i.e.* the Latin version of the *Risāla*.[47] In this way, William of Auvergne may have contributed, by the authority he endowed upon the AK-Lat by classifying it among his sources on Islam, to its transmission, directly or indirectly, to VB.[48]

Another possible clue to William of Auvergne's role as a *passeur de savoirs* appears in the *De legibus*. In chapter XIX, the author refutes the Qur'anic conception of paradise:[49]

> De Paradiso Macometi, scilicet et foelicitate quam nonnisi carnalem eis promisit, et illam spurcissimam. Promisit si quidem eis delitias epularum corporalium, dapiferos, et pincernas Angelos. Deinde pretiositatem vestium, et lectorum, umbracularumque amoenitates. Tertio delitias concupiscentiarum, et blandimentorum muliebrium [. . .]. Cum enim promisit eis flumina lactis, et vini, et mellis, non promisit eis alios liquores secundum speciem, quam habeat vita ista, et si forte gustu suaviores: eodem modo se habet, et de saporibus, cum determinati sint numero specierum suarum, nec ampliores, aut alii esse possint. Eodem modo se habet de omnibus generibus ciborum; [. . .].[50]

William of Auvergne enumerates, in a set of details that only the *Risāla* contains in full, the main characteristics of paradise. He describes the rivers of milk, wine, and honey – omitting water –, and comments on their taste, purportedly better

regem Ludovicum: A Critical Analysis and a Critical Edition," in *Vincent de Beauvais. Intentions et réceptions d'une œuvre encyclopédique au Moyen-Âge*, ed. Serge Lusignan et al. (Saint-Laurent – Paris: Bellarmin – Vrin, 1990), 78.

46 Lesley Smith, "William of Auvergne and the Law of the Jews and the Muslims," in *Scripture and Pluralism. Reading the Bible in the Religious Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Thomas Burman et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), 123–142, 124; Paulmier-Foucart, "Les protecteurs séculiers de Vincent de Beauvais," 218.

47 Sean Murphy, "William of Auvergne," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, vol. 4 (1200–1350)*, ed. Alex Mallett et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 288–294; about William's sources, cf. Smith, "William of Auvergne and the Law of the Jews and the Muslims"; Tischler, "*Lex Mahometi*," 546.

48 Ninitte, "Defining the perception of Muḥammad," 21.

49 About this particular topic, cf. Winston Black, "William of Auvergne on the Dangers of Paradise: Biblical Exegesis between Natural Philosophy and Anti-Islamic Polemic," *Traditio* 68 (2013): 233–258; Smith, "William of Auvergne and the Law of the Jews and the Muslims".

50 Michelina Di Cesare, *The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medieval Latin Literature: A Repertory* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 254.

(*gustu suaviores*) in paradise. The presence of this fragment of Q 47:15 as well as the comment on taste could indicate that William of Auvergne read a version of the AK-Lat close to the one used by Vincent of Beauvais. However, William's comments are not sufficient to determine whether he had access to the same version of the AK-Lat as the Dominican. The description of paradise as found in the *De legibus* shows marked similarities with the one given by Peter Alfonsi, albeit without Q 47:15, as well as with other well-known sources available at that time.[51]

51 Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi*, *Titulus V*, l. 76–90: "Promisit itaque Deus sibi et Mahometh suo fideli prophete credentibus legisque eius mandata complentibus paradisum, id est, ortum deliciarum preterfluentibus acquis irriguum, in quo sedes habebunt perpetuas. Proteget eos arborum umbra nec frigore affligentur neque calore. Omnium fructuum, omnium ciborum uescentur generibus. Quicquid appetitus cuique suggeret coram se confestim inueniet. Sericis induentur uestibus omnicoloribus. Accubabunt in deliciis et angeli pincernarum ministerio inter eos cum uasis aureis et argenteis deambulabunt, in aureis lac, in argenteis uinum offerentes et dicentes : 'Comedite et bibite in omni leticia et quod uobis Deus promisit, eccecompletum est.' Iungentur uirginibus quas nec humanus nec demonicus uiolauit contactus iacincti coraliique splendore forma prestantioribus. Hec bona dabuntur credentibus, non credentibus uero Deo et prophete eius Machometo erit infernalis pena sine fine. Quantiscunque autem peccatis quisque obligatus fuerit et in die mortis sue Deo et Machometo crediderit, in die iudicii Mahometo interueniente saluus erit". This detail of the rivers mentioned by William of Auvergne is also similar to what can be found in works dependent on the tradition of the *Gregorian report*, a text closely related to the *Risāla*. The *Report*, now lost, has been reconstituted by Maurits Vandecasteele: Maurits Vandecasteele, "Étude comparative de deux versions latines médiévales d'une apologie arabochrétienne : Pierre le Vénérable et le Rapport Grégorien," *Academia Analecta (Medelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschapen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren)* 53 (1991): 81–134. The reconstituted *Report* contains a brief description of the Qur'anic paradise: "Credunt post hanc vitam temporalem aliam vitam ducere perpetualem, et eternaliter collocari in paradiso unde flumina mellis procedunt et vini et lactis, ad suavitatem hominis viventis [. . .]." The rest of the description does not contain details about the cupbearers or shaded areas. The description given by the *Gregorian report* is adapted in treatises such as the *Historia orientalis* by James of Vitry: "Addidit etiam seductor ille quo tria flumina, lactis scilicet et mellis et uini optimi aromatici, habebunt in paradiso" (Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, ed. Donnadieu, 140. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). According to Oscar de la Cruz Palma, Jacobus da Varagine could have drawn this information from the *Historia orientalis*: "Tria flumina, scilicet lactis, mellis et uini optimi aromatici eos habere dixit Magumethus in paradiso" (Jacques de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. G. P. Maggioni (Florence: Sismel, 1998), vol. 2, 1265–66; Oscar de la Cruz Palma, "La *Vita Magumethi* de Voragine – Iacobus a Voragine (Iacopo da Varazze) c. 1226–1298," *Mirandum* 19 (2008): 31. Finally, one can note that Peter the Venerable also alludes to the rivers of paradise: "Ibi carnium et omni genorum fructuum esum, ibi lactis et mellis rivulos et aquarum splendentium, ibi pulcherrimarum mulierum et virginum amplexus et luxus, in quibus tota eius paradisus finitur, sectatoribus suis promittit." Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, 190–200. While these texts do contain this detail about the rivers, the rest of the description is not as complete as what can be read in William of Auvergne's text – and in the AK-Lat.

A more accurate answer would require further analysis of the sources of William of Auvergne.[52]

However, it cannot be ruled out that William of Auvergne and the Cistercian order may have played a complementary role in transmitting the AK-Lat to VB. Through his various functions and his relationship with Louis IX, William was regularly brought into contact with the Cistercian order. Moreover, a certain receptivity to Cistercian ideas is apparent throughout his work.[53] If this assumption is correct, William could have found out about the AK-Lat through the order or, at least, through one of its libraries.

5 Conclusion

Thanks to VB's compilation methods, the *SH* contains a shortened, but very faithful version of the AK-Lat. This degree of fidelity makes it possible to exploit the historical encyclopedia as an essential witness of the AK-Lat tradition, and of the history of the *Corpus Cluniacense*.

González Muñoz's first analyses of the relationship between the AK-Lat and the *SH*, based on Bibliander and Balthazaris' printed editions, already enabled him to conclude that the Dominican compiler used a text of high quality. The version used by VB presents remarkable similarities with the text of A, the oldest copy of the AK-Lat, compared with the rest of the tradition. A return to a witness of superior textual quality of the *SH*, the ms. Douai 797, took this hypothesis further. Indeed, the *SH* contains a Qur'anic verse Q 47:15, within the description of paradise given by al-Hāshimī, which does not appear in any manuscript of the *Corpus*.

This verse belongs to the original translation by Peter of Toledo for the following reasons: first, it occupies the same place in the *SH* as in the Arabic version of the *Risāla*; second, it is consistent with the rest of the translations by Peter of Toledo and Peter of Poitiers.

52 M. Tischler and L. Smith also suggest the bishop's knowledge of the Qur'an, which would indicate that he may have had access to a manuscript of the *Corpus*. Tischler, "*Lex Mahometi*," 546; Smith, "William of Auvergne and the Law of the Jews and the Muslims," 124. It is also worth noting that William of Auvergne most probably had knowledge of the work of Peter Alfonsi. Cf. Tischler, "*Lex Mahometi*," 547.

53 This relationship is established throughout the book of Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette (eds.), *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); cf. specifically Francesco Santi, "Guglielmo d'Auvergne e l'ordine dei Domenicani tra filosofia naturale e tradizione magica," in *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249)*, ed. Franco Morenzoni et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

This confirms that A does not contain the original texts of the translations. It contains blatant copying mistakes, to which we can add the omission of Q 47:15 which results from a *saut du même au même*. The presence of this additional verse in the version of the AK-Lat used in the *SH* not only discards the text of ms. 1162 as a source for the historical encyclopedia, but also enables us to posit that an extra-stemmatic witness of the AK-Lat of a better textual quality existed and may have been a second copy of the original draft. Moreover, its use in the *SH*, coupled with its high position in the AK-Lat tradition, testifies to an independent circulation from the *Corpus* tradition, even before it was first assembled.

Concerning the provenance of this AK-Lat copy, a first examination of the context of compilation of the *SH* brings to light two plausible way of transmission within the Parisian milieu, namely the Cistercian order, through the monks of Royaumont, and William of Auvergne. Both played a role in the revision of the *SH* and in the transmission of certain texts of the *Corpus*. The possibility that the Cistercian played a role in this transmission leads us back to the copy mentioned by Peter the Venerable in his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux. This aspect deserves further research: the work of the abbot of Cluny still has many secrets to reveal, as does VB's encyclopedia.

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