
London, British Library

Harley Ms 2506

Cicero, *Aratea* with *scholia* from ps-Bede, *De signis caeli*

Fleury

end 10th century

text

- ff: 36r-48v Cicero, *Aratea* with *scholia* from ps- Bede, *De signis caeli*
- fol. 1r: In patris natiq̄e sui sed flaminis alm I – Ipsi olli gratia per s̄cula cuncta manent I
(= *Precatio Cristiana*, 33 vers)
- ff. 1r-30r Hyginus, *De astronomia*, Books I-IV
- ff. 1r-4r (in lavender) INCIPIT LIBER HYGINI DE ASTRONOMIA. (in green)
 HYGINUS MAGISTRO FABIO PLURIMAM SALUTEM. (in black) ETSI TE STUDIO
 GRAMMATICAE ARTIS INDUctum – in simili causa posse constitui suspicamur.
 (= Hyginus, *De astronomia*, I, preface-9; cf. Viré 1992, pp. 1-13)
- ff.4r-17v Sed quoniam quae nobis de terrę positione dicende^a fuerunt – Nos autem
 omnium corporum deformationem dicere instituimus. (= Hyginus, *De astronomia*,
 II, preface- 43; cf. Viré 1992, pp. 14-94)
- ff. 17v-23r (first initial in red, then in black) IGITUR INCIPIEMUS (in red) DE URSA MAIORE (in
 black) apolo boreo protinus dicere – cum piscibus stellarum omnino . xii.
 (= Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 1-40; cf. Viré 1992, pp. 95-124)
- fol. 23r (in red) DE RATIONE CIRCULORUM (red first initial, then black) QUAE AD
 FIGURATIONEM SYDERUM pertinent ad hunc – dicta. Reliqua protinus dicemus.
 (= Hyginus, *De astronomia*, III, 40; cf. Viré 1992, p. 124)
- ff. 23r-30r Quoniam initio sphaeraę circuli quinque quomodo efficerentur –CCC.LXV dies suo

- cursu transigit. (in black with red) EXPLICIT HYGINUS. (= Hyginus, *De astronomia*, IV, 1-645 *post*; cf. Viré, 1992, pp. 125-57 (note))
- fol. 30r: Terminat hyginus volumen doctus moderns eT – qui bene regnaT (= Christian author on the *De astronomia*.)
- ff. 30r-30v Ad boreae partes arcti vertuntur & anguis –
Celsior his Sauturnus tardier omnibus astris.
(= Ausonius *dubia*, *Anthol lat.*; cf. ed. Riese , I, 2, n. 69)
- ff. 30v-32r STUDIOSUS ASTROLOGIAE PRIMO sciendum –similiter de reliquis (= *Sententia Abbonis de differentia circuli et spere*, etc.)
- fol. 32v blank
- fol. 33r (first initial in red, then black) Domine deus omnipotens sancta trinitas et indivisa – ministrare valeamus. per. (= religious verse; cf. Vogels 1884, pp. 9-13)
- (first initial red, then black) Sancta scriptura nobis a deo per beatum moysen – ut pre esset nocti. (= incomplete text with references to the Sun and Moon, cf. Vogels 1884, *scholia*, p. 13)
- ff. 33r-35r (in red) DE XII. SIGNIS. PRIMITUS DE ARIETE.
(initial red letter, then black ink)
Regiones .xii. cęli in quam sol cursum suum dirigit die primo – diabolicus error confirmavit sed Christus domini salvator mundi evertit. (text based on Isidore, *Etymologiae*, III, lxxi; cf. Vogels 1884, pp. 9-13)
- fol. 35v blank, but the page has a semi-circle with a double border scribed on it that may have been intended as the frame for a celestial planisphere.
- ff. 36r-36v blank

- ff. 36r-48v Cicero, *Aratea* with *scholia* from ps- Bede, *De signis caeli*
- fol. 36r The page is divided by scoring vertically into 3 columns. The verse (the first initial in red and the rest in black) and the illustration fill two of these columns on the inner side of each page. The *scholia* (in red) is written in the outer column on each page.
- The verse begins:
- A quibus hinc subter possis cognoscere fultum
 Ima poli ^{celi} mediam partem terit. ut prius illę ...
 (= Cicero, *Aratea*, vv. 1-2, cf. Soubiran 1972, pp. 166)
- The *scholia* begins: Aries habet stellam in capite . i. ...
- (note: the *scholia* flanking each illustration is taken from ps-Bede, *De signis caeli*, cf. Maass 1898, pp. 587-94. The *scholia* added to the picture of Perseus actually belong to Hercules. This choice is suggested by the presence of stars in the head and the sword which in the traditional descriptions of Perseus, including the *De signis caeli* text, are lacking. The scribe adding the *scholia* seems to have concluded that the stars in the picture fitted better the description of Hercules.
- fol. 44v The verse on the constellations ends with an elision between the verses on Canis Minor and the planets:
- Ante canem graio procyon qui nomine fertur.
 Haec sunt que visens nocturno tempore signa
 Aeternumque voles mundi pernoscere motum
 Namquae perbis sex signorum labier orbem.
 (= Cicero, *Aratea*, vv. 222-225 , cf. Soubiran, 1972, p. 179)
- The *scholia* ends: ... & ideo anticanis vocatur. eo quod contraria sit cani.
- ff. 45r- 48v After a blank space, the text continues:
- Quinque solent stellae similiratione notari—

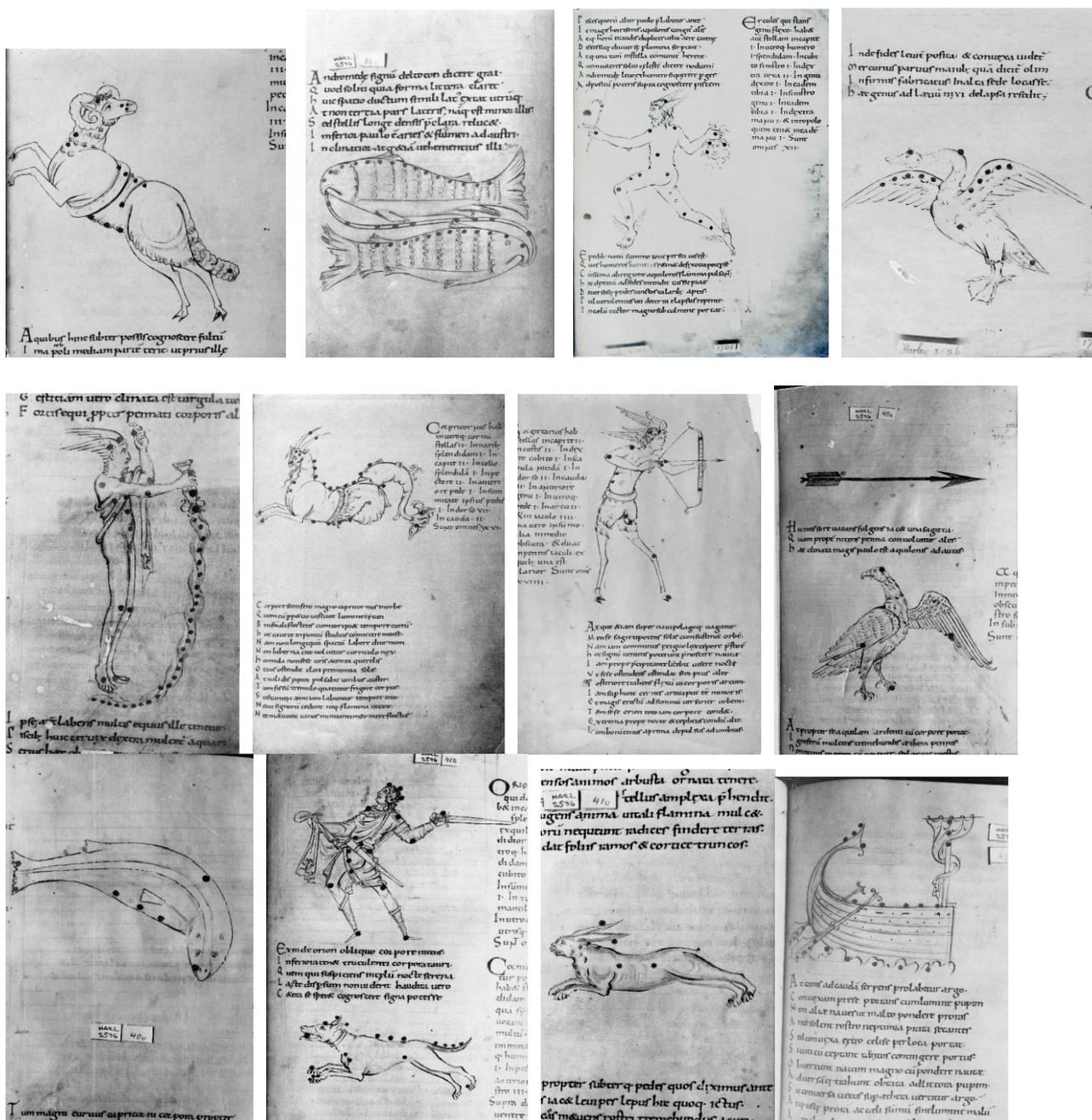
Hanc autem totam properant depellere pisces.

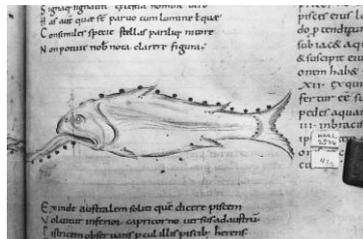
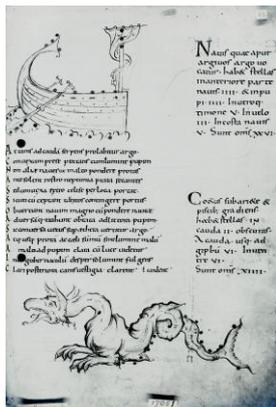
(= Cicero, Aratea, vv. 227- 481, cf. Soubiran 1972, pp. 179-92)

ff. 49r-93v

Series of texts taken from Pliny, Macrobius, 'Aratus' and Martianus Capella (with a commentary by Remigius of Auxerre). For details, see Saxl-Meter III 1953, 1, pp. 157-60.

illustrations





ff. 36r-44v

Drawings in black/dark brown ink of 25 constellations with some details added in red ink. The Pleiades and the constellation Lyra are not depicted.

As the section begins incompletely, the following constellations are not included are Ursa Maior and Minor, Draco, Hercules, Corona Borealis, Ophiuchus and Serpens, Scorpio, Libra, Boötes, Virgo, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Auriga, Taurus, Cepheus, Cassiopeia, Andromeda and Pegasus. In addition, Equuleus and Corona Austrinus are absent.

The stars are marked with red circles. Pen drawings with some wash in tan, blue and yellow and stars marked in red.

fol. 53r

Diagram of the spheres of the planets with the planets marked as red circles and Luna as a crescent.

fol. 36r

ARIES leaps to the left with his head turned back to look to the right. He has curled horns and a long, fluffy tail. There is a band decorated with 6 blue dots

around his waist. It has 1 star in its head, 3 on the nose, 2 in the neck, 4 on the back, 1 in the middle, 3 on the belly, 1 on the right forefoot, 1 in the tail and 1 on the rear back foot, or 17 stars in all. There is evidence pencil under-drawing or copying above the head and below the hind feet.

[**TRIANGULUM** is missing]

- fol. 36v **PISCES** swim in opposite directions with both their backs facing upwards. They are connected by a cord at their mouths. The top fish has 15 stars, the cord has 9 stars and the bottom fish has 12 stars, or 36 stars in all.
- fol. 37r **PERSEUS** is nude flies to left with his left leg leading. He has wings on his head and on his ankles. He holds a stick with a hook (*harpe*) in his left hand, which is extended in front of him. Two fingers on this hand are extended as if in benediction. In his right hand, he holds the Medusa's head by the hair behind him. He has 1 star in his head, 1 on each shoulder, 1 on the waist, 1 on the buttock, 1 in each hand (the one on the left hand may have been crossed out), 1 on the sword, 2 on the left thigh (which have been crossed out), 1 on each knee, 1 on the left shin (which has been crossed out), 2 on the right shin (one of which has been crossed out), 1 on the left foot and 3 in the Medusa's head. In all, there are 19 stars, of which 5 has been crossed out. In addition, there are 3 black circlets: 1 on the left elbow and 2 on the right thigh.
- fol. 37v There is no picture for the **PLEIADES**, but there is a faint pencil sketch of 7 circlets.
- fol. 38r **LYRA** is not drawn.
- CYGNUS** stands to the left with S-shaped neck and its wings outstretched to either side. It has 1 star in the head, 1 in the neck, 1 in the chest, 1 in the tail and 5 in each wing, or 14 stars in all.
- fol. 38v **AQUARIUS** is nude and is standing in profile to the right with drape wrapped around his upper torso ending in a fall from his left arm. He has huge wings on head. In his extended right hand, he holds a two-handled urn upside-down, pouring water which falls vertically and then curls under his feet. He appears to

scratching his head with his right hand. He has 2 stars on head, 1 on each hand, 1 on each shoulder, 1 on each elbow, 1 in each nipple, 1 below each nipple, 1 on his belly, 1 on each knee, 1 on his right shin, 1 on each foot, or 18 stars in all. In addition, there are 2 bright stars on the urn and 28 in the stream of water, or 30 stars in all.

fol. 39r **CAPRICORN** has a long beard and long straight horns. He has a curl in his tail and an elaborate belt with 7 bosses where his goat and fish halves meet. His tail is very elaborate in its decorative elements. He has 1 star on each horn, 3 in his head, 3 in the neck, 2 in the chest, 1 on each forefoot, 7 on the back, 4 on the belly, 1 after the curl and 2 at end of the tail, or 26 stars in all.

fol. 39v **SAGITTARIUS** is depicted as a standing satyr with his body facing towards the left, with his buttocks and tail visible. The body twists so that his upper torso and feet (!) face to the right. This makes it difficult to differentiate his right and left legs. He holds a bow and arrow that he points to the right. He has large red wings on head and there are light touches of blue in his goat parts and yellow in the band at his waist. He has 2 stars on his head, 1 in his right shoulder, 1 on his right elbow, 2 on his belly or back, 2 on his tail between his buttocks, 1 on his (right) knee, 1 on each hoof, 1 in the fore hand, 2 in the bow and 1 in (the notch of) the arrow, or 15 stars in all.

fol. 40r **SAGITTA** is an arrow pointing to the right. It has a slight yellow wash, but no stars.

AQUILA stands to the right holding his left wing out in front of him and looks over his shoulder to the left. He has 1 star in his head, 1 on each wing and 1 in his left claw, or 4 stars in all.

fol. 40v **DELPHINUS** is a fish with surprisingly human eyes, turned in a J-shape, so that his head curls towards the bottom of the page at the right side. He has 1 star on his nose, 1 on the back, 3 on the belly and 2 on his tail. In addition, there are 2 open circlets on the head which are believed to be stars and, therefore, bring the total to 9 stars in all.

fol. 41r **ORION** faces away from the viewer (the lower torso seems to be facing away, but upper torso is facing towards) and lunges to the left with long sword held horizontally behind him in the (right?) hand that is following. He is dressed in a short tunic and has a long cloak, which is held by a button on his (left?) leading shoulder. He holds the end of the cloak bunched in his extended (left?) leading hand. He has knee-length boots. He has 3 stars on his head, 1 on each shoulder, 1 on his (right?) elbow that is following, 1 on the handle of the sword, 3 on his waist, 3 close to the scabbard on his hip, 1 on each knee and 1 on each foot, or 17 stars in all.

CANIS MAIOR rushes to the left with his mouth open and has a collar around his neck. He has 1 star in the mouth, 1 in the head, 1 on each ear, 3 on the back, 2 on the chest, 1 on the right fore foot, 3 on the left forefoot, 1 on the groin, 4 on the tail and 1 on the left hind foot, or 19 stars in all.

fol. 41v **LEPUS** is a rabbit leaping to the right. It has 1 star on each ear, 2 on the body, 1 in the tail and 1 on each hind foot, or 7 stars in all.

fol. 42r **ARGO** is half a ship that sails to the left. It has a mast with a furled sail, a curled stern and 2 steering oars. It is set on the water. It has 3 stars in the mast, 5 along the deck, 4 in the top of the stern, 4 in one oar and 5 in the other and 5 along the keel, or 26 stars in all.

CETUS is a classical sea monster with claw-like flippers, beaky nose and tongue sticking out so that he has a very depressed demeanour. He has 6 stars on his belly, 6 along his tail, 2 at the end of his tail and 1 star in the neck, or 15 stars in all.

fol. 42v **ERIDANUS** seated beside stream flowing from upturned urn upon which he rests his left arm. He holds a plant in his right hand and wears a toga around his bottom half. He is bearded and long-haired. The stream crosses the gutter of the opening and flows to the right into the mouth of Piscis Austrinus in the facing page. Eridanus has no stars on his body, but the urn has 3 stars, the stream that flows out of the urn has two groups of 3 stars and there are 7 stars on the stream on the next page, or 16 stars in all.

- fol. 43r **PISCIS AUSTRINUS** is an upside-down fish facing to the right with a stream coming out of mouth. The fish is marked by 12 stars along his back. The 7 stars in the stream belong to Eridanus (see above). There are 3 smudges beneath his belly, but these appear to be marks left by the wet ink from Eridanus's stars, left when the book was closed.
- fol. 43v **ARA** is a square altar with 3 steps leading up to an structure that is arcaded on the lower level and has alternating rectangular and circular inset panels at the upper level. There are 2 stars in the flames and 2 at the base, or 4 stars in all.
- fol. 44r **CENTAURUS** is clean-shaven. He walks to the left with his right foreleg raised. He is nude on top, but has a band where his halves meet. He holds a spear with ribbon in the crook of his left elbow and holds **LUPUS** (a lamb with long tail) on its back with its legs pointing upwards. He has 3 stars in his head, 1 in each shoulder, 1 on his left elbow, 1 on the right hand, 1 on his (human) chest, 1 on his (human) belly, 1 on the horse's chest, 1 on the horse back, 1 on each front knee, 2 on the right front hoof, 1 on the left front hoof, 3 on the tail, 1 on the left hind foot, or 20 stars in all. There are 3 stars in the tail of Lupus.
- HYDRA** is a big, lumpy slug with a detailed face and its tongue sticking out. It has 3 stars in the head and 21 stars along its body, of which 1 is marked with starry rays and 2 in the tail are drawn as open circlets. In addition there may be 2 stars in the neck. Although the significance of some of these marks is unclear, there seem to be at least 24 stars.
- CRATER** is a 2-handled pot standing in the middle of the body of Hydra. It is marked with 2 stars in the centre and 2 in each handle, or 4 stars in all.
- CORVUS** is a bird standing on the tail of Hydra and pecking its body. It is facing to Hydra's head and has 1 star in the beak, 2 in the wings (and perhaps some in the tail and feet, but this is not clear), or at least 3 stars.
- fol. 44v **CANIS MAIOR** is a dog with a collar running to the left. It has 3 stars below its belly.

notes

note that the scholia here is not the same as the other mss, but is taken from the ps-Bedan star catalogue; this ms is partly produced by English hands (Winchester), but main text of star catalogue probably comes from Fleury, c. 1000 *****CHECK**

bibliography

A CATALOGUE OF THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPTS 1808, II no. 2506.

de GRAY BIRCH and JENNER 1879, p. 4.

VOGELS 1884

KAUFFMANN 1888.

KÖHLER 1912, pp. 52-77 (p. 56).

VAN DER VYVER 1935, pp. 141, 143 etc.

WORMALD 1944, p. 130, pl. Ib.

SWARZENSKI 1949, 77-83 (pp. 77-78).

WORMALD 1952, pp. 70-74, nos. 35, 36, 45.

SAXL-MEIER III 1953, 1, pp. 157-60.

SAXL 1957, pp. 96-110, esp. p. 99.

'**Harley 647** is a ms purely classical character which was brought over from France' it was copied into **Cotton Tib BV**; **Cotton Tib C I**, **Harley 2506**, **Bodley 614** and **Digby 83**; (p. 102) one of the best draughtsmen of the end of the 11th century, who belongs to the Winchester

school; applied his gifts to the decoration of **Harley 2506**; ‘nothing more beautiful in medieval illustrations of the constellations’; reminiscent of the Greek vases of antiquity in his ability to render the nude body; notes how Orion differs from the ‘model’ (Harley 647) in posture and the loss of his aedicule; says come (p. 103) ‘Orion in the Hyginus manuscripts ..., in the Greek tradition, and elsewhere’. [!]; the artist sought out special models, such as introducing a satyr for Sagittarius; = archaic Greek tradition; ‘He was obviously a man of strong archaeological interest and possessed of the will to give new artistic life to the old models’.; With Aquarius, the posture is also taken from a Hyginus manuscript; this is a better artistic composition, but moves further away from the posture of the constellation in the sky. ‘Evidently the interests of these scholars is in the first place pictorial and archaeological; astronomy takes second place’.

(p. 105) illustrated in Winchester, but the script is continental; Ker and Van de Vyver says that this curious medley may have originated in Fleury (something having to do with the substitution of the name of Berno in a place where other manuscripts mention Abbo of Fleury; Berno later became Abbot of Reichenau on Lake Constance, and he lived in Fleury at the time when this manuscript was written) therefore the ms was written in the ‘purlieu’ of Fleury if not in the monastery itself; the model which it copied must have been identical to Harley 647 or at least the same type (cites Van de Vyver *Osiris*, 1936; *Revue Benedictine* 1935 and N.R. Ker ‘Two notes on MS. Ashmole 329’, *Medium Aevum*, IV, 1935, p. 18). Idea that the astronomical tradition was alive and well in 2nd half 10th century and this was known to French and English communities. Fleury as the cradle of English monastic reform and the home of Abbo, came to newly-founded monastery in Ramsey and taught Byrhtferth, who wrote on astronomy at the beginning of the 11th century; so ms came over in the 10th century as part of the monastic reforms, when new studies in astronomy were started

(p. 107) notes that Ottley thought it was an original 2nd or 3rd century manuscript; Utrecht Psalter also brought over before the 2nd half 10th century

c. 1000, English (Winchester) parchment, 93 ff, 35 and 73 blank.

LEONARDI 1960, pp. 3-5.

EVANS 1969, no. 13.

PHILLIPS 1968, p. 17-18:

Harley 2506 depends in text and illustration on Harley 647 has 19 dark stars and three light

ones. He says 'certain stars have been added but this manuscript may contain stars which have faded from Harley 647'. [??] the right foot on Harley 2506 has a star in exactly the same place that it does on the **Leiden Aratea**, and it is on the corresponding left foot of Harley 647; a slightly darker spot [where?] indicates that a star was originally on that foot also, so perhaps it was not noticed by the later scribe who wrote the total number of stars on the figure in Harley 647, not by the artist of Harley 2506. Hipparchus and Ptolemy mention stars on both feet; therefore, there has been a conflation of 2 sources and Harley 647 preserves part of the 3 Hellenistic versions of the stars 1) Cicero, 2) Rustic capitals from Hyginus that date back to a model from the 4th c and 3) the stars from the rival catalogue of Hipparchus and Ptolemy (therefore prototype no later than 161-26 BC)

BOUTEMY 1970, 79-98 (pp. 88, 90).

BISHOP 1971, p. xii, nos.18, 20.

DIE KAROLINGISCHEN MINIATUREN 1930-99, 4, 2 parts, 4.2 (1971), p. 77 n. 5.

KLINGENDER 1971, p. 200, pls 126-27.

KAUFFMANN 1975, p. 58.

TEMPLE 1976, no. 42, pp. 19, 64, 66, 67, 104, 116.

VOIGTS 1977, pp. 3-16 (fol. 40), esp. p. 14, n. 29.

EVANS 1979, pp. 71-89.

VIRÉ 1981, p.169.

10th century; Fleury, re: Hyginus = ff. 1-30r; 4 books

MUNK OLSEN 1982-1989, I, p. 529 no. B. 19.

TEXTS AND TRANSMISSION 1983, pp. 22-24, 187-88.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ANGLO-SAXON ART 966-1066 1984, no. 43, pl. X.

KRISTELLER IV 1989, p. 160.

BROWN 1991, p. 30, pl. 26.

LAPIDGE 1992, pp. 99-129, esp. p. 111.

NOEL 1992.

DODWELL 1993, pp. 114-16, 415, pl. 104.

MOSTERT 1996 pp. 19-40 (p. 33).

BOVEY 2002, p. 34, pl. 28.

BROWN 2007, pp. 90 and 122-23.

DOLAN 2007, *passim*.

HESLOP 2008, pp. 267-90, esp. p. 273 n. 16.

FLATMAN 2009, pls 18-19.

HOLCOMB 2009 , p. 9, no. 13.

GAMESON '2010' / 2011, pp. 87-134, esp. pp. 100-05.

Material from BL website (2012)

ff. 1-35; 49-93v

Title	An astronomical compilation
Origin	France, N. (Fleury?)
Date	last quarter of the 10th century
Language	Latin
Script	Caroline minuscule
Artists	Attributed to the artist of the Ramsey Psalter
Decoration	Large initials in blue, green or red, some with penwork decoration (from f. 20 in red only). Small initials in brown. Rubrics in green or red. Highlighting of some letters in combinations of red, green, or blue. Large diagrams or tables in red (f. 31v), or in brown with red (ff. 53, 65). Full-page calendrical tables in brown and red (ff. 70-73v). Drawing of a bird in pencil (f. 84).
Dimensions mm	295 x 215 (230 x 170) in two columns

ff. 36-48v

Author	Aratus of Soli, translated by Marcus Tullius Cicero
Title	Phaenomena (also known as the Aratea)
Origin	France, N. (Fleury)
Date	last quarter of the 10th century
Language	Latin
Script	Caroline minuscule
Artists	Drawings attributed to the artist of the Crucifixion drawing in the Ramsey Psalter
Decoration	21 drawings in ink with highlighting in blue and dots in red of personifications of the constellations (ff. 36, 36v, 37, 38, 38v, 39, 39v, 40, 40v, 41 (x2), 41v, 42 (x2), 42v, 43, 43v, 44 (x2), 44v). Small simple initials in red. Text in the outer column in red
Dimension mm	295 x 215 (240 x 190) in one or two columns

Official foliation ff. 93 (+ f. 35x + 73x + 4 unfoliated modern flyleaves at the beginning and 3 at the end)

Form Parchment codex

Binding Post-1600. Black leather with gold tooling on inside covers; gilt edges.

Provenance Probably written at Fleury; taken by Abbo to England or given later to the Benedictines at Ramsey. The inscription of Abbo of Fleury replaced by Berno, a German monk at Fleury, c. 994. The Harley Collection, formed by Robert Harley (b. 1661, d. 1724), 1st earl of Oxford and Mortimer, politician, and Edward Harley (b. 1689, d. 1741), 2nd earl of Oxford and Mortimer, book collector and patron of the arts. Edward Harley bequeathed the library to his widow, Henrietta, née Cavendish Holles (b. 1694, d. 1755) during her lifetime and thereafter to their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (b. 1715, d. 1785), duchess of Portland; the manuscripts were sold by the Countess and the Duchess in 1753 to the nation for £10,000 (a fraction of their contemporary value) under the Act of Parliament that also established the British Museum; the Harley manuscripts form one of the foundation collections of the British Library.

Notes Containing Hygenius De Astronomia (ff. 1-30); Priscian, De Duodecim Signis (f. 30r-v); Abbo of Fleury, De differentia circuli et sphere (ff. 30v-32); De nominibus stellarum (ff. 33-35); De Concordia solaris cursus et lunaris (ff. 49-51); Pliny, De cursu earum per zodiacum circum (ff. 53v-54v); Macrobius, Extract from the Commentary in somnium Scipionis II, 11,5-17 (ff. 54v-55); Preceptum ingrediendi canonis Tholomei (ff. 55v-69);

Calendrical tables (ff. 70-73v);

Martiani Capella, De Astrologia, liber VIII (ff. 74-83v);

De divisione (ff. 84v-85v);

Remigius Autissiodorensis, Commentarius super Marcianum de Capella (ff. 86-93v).