

St Gallen

Stiftsbibliothek

Ms 902

Revised *Aratus latinus*

West German (Bodensee area; St Gallen?)
middle years of the 9th century

A collection of Greek grammatical texts combined with astronomical and computistic texts.

text

Part I

p. 7 Greek fragment of a text on Lazarus.

pp. 8-68 Greek grammar text derived from Dositheus with phrases, paradigms, a Greek-Latin glossary, *Sententiae Adriani*; a fragment from Aesop's *Fables* and Graeco-Roman declinations and conjugation examples (ed. KEIL 1869-71).

Part II

pp. 69-104 *Revised Aratus latinus* (ed. MAASS 1898, pp. 172ff).

pp. 69-71 I. Arati quae videntur ostensionem quoque de quibus videntur oportet fieri — que ab eo dicta sunt.

p. 71 lia. Eratotenis de circa exornationem stellarum — piscis quinque stellae erratice.

pp. 71-73 IIb. Ipparchus de magnitudine et positione errantium stellarum — quia simillimo indipsum suggerunt.

pp. 73-75 IIIb. ALIA DESCRIPTIO PREFATIONIS. Subtus terra in quo adfirmantur — pisces caetus orion.

p. 75 IV. DESCRIPTIO DUO SEMISPERIUM. Habet autem pondus totum — iacet duobus semisperus.

- p. 77 V. ARATI GENUS Aratus patris quidem est anthinodori filius — reperimus illum et super.
- pp. 77-78 VI. DE CELI POSITIONE. Caelum circulis quinque distinguntur — maxima solida ante posita his deformia.
- pp. 78-79 VII. DE STELLIS FIXIS ET STANTIBUS. Stellarum aliae cum caelo feruntur — et quo modo consentit aut visus est.
- pp. 79-80 VIII. INVOLUTIO SPERE. Hic est stellarum ordo — vero piscium communem habet stellam.
- p. 82 IX. Porro duodecim signorum ordo hic est — sol venus mercurius luna.
- p. 82 X. Vertices extremos circa quos sphaera volvitur — observantur maria enim conturbat.
- pp. 82-97 XI. Helicem autem dicit Hesiodus licaoinis —exercitatus extiterit habet quidem stellas. ANTECANIS.
- pp. 97-99 XII. Cum sole et luna septem astra — et mercurio demonstrata est credebantur.
- p. 99 XIII. Lacteus circulis quem graeci galaxian vocant — tantum se contingunt.
- pp. 99-100 XIV. Zodiacus vel signifer est — saturni duabus ut sol.
- p. 101 XV. Luna terris vicinior est — certissime auctor. LUNA.
- pp. 102-03 XVI. Solem per se ipsum moveri — occasibus pronus incumbat.
- p. 104: XVII. Sydera quae gentiles praesepe et asinos — opinabantur victoriam.
EXPLICIT LIBER ASTROLOGORUM.
- Part III**
pp. 106-52 Hrbanus Maurus, *De computo* (ed. STEVENS 1979).
- Part IV**
pp. 153-79 Various computistic tables and texts.

illustrations



p. 75



p. 76



p. 81



p. 82



p. 83



p. 84



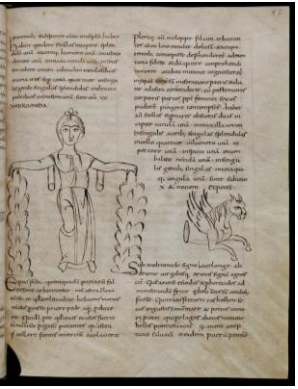
p. 85



p. 86



p. 87



p. 88



p. 89



p. 90



p. 91



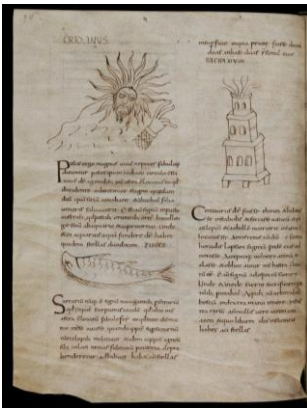
p. 92



p. 93



p. 94



p. 95



p. 96



p. 99



p. 100



p. 102



p. 103

p. 75: An incomplete drawing of a large circle with a double frame. There are 3 stars placed slightly outside the sphere. This may be an unfinished attempt at a planispheric map. If so, it would be important for the history of maps within the *Revised Aratus latinus* tradition. Equally, though, it could be a first attempt to draw the celestial globe on 7 columns, which was aborted because there was not sufficient room at the bottom of the page to include the columns (note, especially, the similarity of the stars placed near the top of both spheres). The picture of the globe on 7 columns appears on p. 81. This feature seemed to have been interpreted as a mistake and was not taken up by the illuminator of St Gallen 250.

p. 76 Summer and winter celestial hemispheres, the summer on top and the winter on the bottom and both with north at the top. Noteworthy features include: the IVY LEAF as a vase; Aries with a frilly band; GEMINI as male and female; CANCER with a scalloped shell; VIRGO as a male figure with a staff; a second anomalous CAPRICORN facing CETUS; CEPHEUS seated on a pig (UMi?); DELPHINUS as a worm; ANDROMEDA standing between rocks; OPHIUCHUS on SCORPIO and SAGITTARIUS as a satyr. For a fuller description, see DEKKER 2013, pp. 124 and 219-221 (H8).

p. 81 Picture of a celestial globe showing 10 constellations: PERSEUS, AURIGA, and

URSA MAIOR are above the zodiacal band, ARIES, TAURUS and GEMINI are within it and ERIDANUS, the hind legs of CANIS MAIOR and ARGO are below it. In addition, there is a jumping animal below URSA MAIOR and to the right of GEMINI which extends below the horizon ring, which may be a slight misunderstanding of the constellation figure of Leo. The stand consists of 6 columns supporting the horizon ring and of one central support for the meridian ring; the columns and the central support are decorated (the 4 columns in front are distinguished from the two in the back and on the sides by their decoration). Note the inclusion of two large stars at the top of the globe re: the image on p. 75. See DEKKER 2013, p. 255.

pp. 82-97 Slightly rough pen drawings of 40 constellation groupings. The drawings have a hesitant quality that suggests they were copied (or possibly traced?) from another source. No stars are marked. Most of the constellations are labelled with capital letters.

p. 82 **URSA MAIOR** (labelled: ARCTURUS MAIOR) stands to the left with long toenails, his tongue sticking out and a very short tail.

p. 83 **URSA MINOR** (not labelled) stands to the left with its tongue out and with long toenails and a very short tail.

DRACO INTER ARCTOS (labelled: SERPENS INTER AMBAS ARCTURAS) with **DRACO** as a snake having 3 curves in its body and the end of the tail runs along flat so that URSA MAIOR can stand on it. DRACO has very long ears. The Bears are set back-to-back, facing in opposite directions and into the body of the snake with their tongues sticking out.

p. 84 **HERCULES** (labelled: HERCULIS) is in the Garden of Hesperides with the fire-breathing, horned snake wrapped around the trunk of the tree placed to the left. Hercules is nude and kneels to the left, with his lower body is in profile, but the orientation of the upper half is unclear – perhaps facing the viewer judging from the hand holding the ‘club’, though the double lines in the middle of the torso look more like a back than a chest. He holds the lion’s skin (with tail, head and 3 legs visible) over his extended, leading (right?) arm and holds a foliate club upraised vertically in his other, following hand.

CORONA BOREALIS is series of hairy ovals with dots in the centre of each and with the ovals set in a D-shaped pattern.

p. 85 **OPHIUCHUS** (labelled: SERPENTARIUS) is nude and faces the viewer, standing slightly to the left and with both feet on **SCORPIO**, which is facing to the left. Ophiuchus has the **SERPENS** held horizontally in front of his body (not wrapped) and the Snake’s head faces the man and breathes fire. The SCORPIO has an almond-shaped body, 2 claws, 8 legs and a segmented tail.

SCORPIO² (labelled: SCORPIUS) is presented as a single constellation with an almond-shaped body, 2 claws, 8 legs and a segmented tail.

BOOTES (labelled: BOOTIS) stands facing the viewer and is nude to the waist, wearing a short skirt. He turns his head to look to the left and holds a lion's skin over his extended right arm (with head, tail and 3 legs visible). He holds a curved branch in his upraised left hand.

p. 86 **VIRGO** (labelled: VIRGO) stands facing the viewer in a long dress with a decorative band around the neck and down the front. She has a mantle over her shoulders, and her head is covered with a cap with a trefoil on top. She has no wings and holds both her arms out to the side. She holds a palm frond in her right hand and the Scales (LIBRA) in her left.

GEMINI (labelled: GEMINOS) stand facing the viewer, wearing short tunics and calf-length cloaks with spears in their outer hands and gesturing across their bodies with their inner hands.

CANCER (labelled: CANCER) is shaped like a beetle with its face to the right. It has 2 large claws and 8 legs and very heavy eyebrows over its humanoid eyes.

p. 87 **LEO** (labelled: LEO) leaps to the left with his tongue out.

AURIGA kneels to the right and wears a short tunic with decorated leggings and a cape over his left shoulder. He holds a stick with a single thong in his extended right hand and there are two goats facing each other on his outstretched left arm. There is another goat standing to his right, facing him.

TAURUS (labelled: TAURUS) is depicted as half a bull, facing to the right with his right leg bent under and the left leg sticking out in front of him.

p. 88 **CEPHEUS** stands facing the viewer, wearing a short tunic and with a mantle that falls over his shoulders into V-shapes and the ends of which fall into cascades from his elbows. He has a pointed cap on his head and his arms are outstretched to the sides.

CASSIOPEIA sits on a low-backed throne with a sausage-shaped pillow. Her hands are held out to her sides and she has a pointed hat on her head.

p. 89 **ANDROMEDA** (labelled: ANDROMEDA) stands facing the viewer, wearing a long dress with tube-like sleeves falling from her elbows. Her hair is exposed, but she has a trefoil on her head. She stands with her hands resting on top of (pinching?) the tops of two large lumpy bush-like piles.

PEGASUS (labelled: EQUUS) is depicted as half a winged horse facing to the right with his legs stretched out in front of him.

p. 90 **ARIES** leaps to the left with his head turned back to the right so that he looks upwards. He has a lacy belt around his middle and a long tail.

TRIANGULUM is three nested triangles with filigree decoration.

PISCES swim in opposite directions with both backs upwards and are connected at their mouths with a cord.

p. 91 **PERSEUS** stands to the left, facing the viewer. He is nude with a striped cloak across his shoulders (held by a circular pin on his left shoulder) and flowing out behind him. He has a triangular hat. He holds the severed head of Medusa by her hair directly in front of him with right hand and holds a long, leaf-like sword held out in left hand horizontally behind his body.

The **PLEIADES** are 7 veiled busts of women, each set within a circle.

p. 92 **LYRA** (labelled: LIRA) HAS a rectangular base decorated with parallel lines as if it were bamboo, with one straight side support and two further supports shaped like oxen horn. There are numerous strings, of which 11 are curled.

AQUARIUS (labelled: AQUARIUS) faces the viewer and walks to the right, wearing a short tunic with a longer cape and calf-high boots. He holds a water-pouring, upside-down urn in both of his hands in front of his body.

CYGNUS (labelled: CIGNUM) is a stork walking to the right with its wings raised behind its back.

p. 93 **CAPRICORN** faces to the left with long, curved knobbed horns, a beard and a curled tail.

SAGITTARIUS is a centaur running to the left with long, curved horns and a long cloak flowing behind him. He holds the bow in his right hand and pulls the string with his left.

AQUILA is a stork-like bird that walks to the right but turns back over shoulder as if to bite his right wing.

p. 94 **DELPHINUS** (labelled: DELFINUS) is a long-bodied fish that faces to the left. It has a dog's face and a broom-like tail.

ORION (labelled: ORION) faces the viewer and rushes to the left, wearing a short tunic and a voluminous calf-length cloak that covers his extended right arm. He

holds a sword held vertically in his extended left hand.

CANIS MAIOR (labelled: CANIS) RUSHES to the left with its tongue sticking out and a halo around its head.

p. 95 **LEPUS** (labelled: LEPUS) leaps to the left.

ARGO (labelled: NAUIS) is depicted as half a boat, truncated at the right side with a vertical mast that seems to soften at the top so that it forms a loop like a pennant. The left end is curved and has pennant flying from it. There is a small house on deck and two steering oars coming from the stern, with two small fish in the water beneath the keel.

CETUS (labelled: COETUS) faces to the right and has a dog-like face, pointed ears, a long mane and paws.

p. 96 **ERIDANUS** (labelled: ERIDANUS) is wild-haired bearded face coming out of the water with his hand raised in a gesture of benediction. The sleeve of his hand has a criss-cross pattern.

PISCIS AUSTRINUS (labelled: PISCES) swims to the left and is upside-down.

ARA (labelled: SACRARIUM) is 3-storied building set on 3 rectangular feet, with a cylindrical top story, many windows and flames coming from the top.

p. 97 **Centaurus** (labelled: centaurus (in a later hand)) prances to the right with his right foreleg shooting straight forward. He is bearded and holds **LUPUS** (a rat? piglet?) in his right hand outstretched in front of him. There is a second animal impaled by the stick carried over his left shoulder.

HYDRA (labelled: YDRA?) is depicted as a snake moving to the left with its mouth open with a cup-shaped **CRATER** and **CORVUS** on his back. **CORVUS** faces forward and pecks at the snake.

CANIS MINOR (labelled: ANTECANIS) LEAPS to the left and is wearing a studded collar.

p. 98 5 planet busts (2 bearded males, 1 male youth and 2 females) with haloes and no attributes at the top of the page.

Two concentric circles representing the Milky Way below (labelled: LACTEUS CIRCULUS)

p. 100 Sol and Luna inside zodiacal circle. Sol stands with a halo behind his head; Luna appears to sit and has a crescent moon behind her head. ARIES has a lacy belt;

TAURUS is half-a-bull; the right GEMINI has lost the features of his face; VIRGO is kneeling; LIBRA is held by a male figure and SAGITTARIUS is man with horns and a bow and arrow pointing at Scorpio's tail, with his cloak flowing behind him. CAPRICORN has short, curved horns and no beard. The orientation of Taurus and Cancer is reversed (*i.e.*: mirrored/ facing towards Aries).

- p. 102 LUNA stands behind the curved edge of a *biga* that is drawn to the left by two bulls. She holds a torch in the crook of her left arm and raises her right in salute. She has a crescent Moon on her head.
- p. 103 SOL stands behind the curved edge of his *quadriga* the horses of which are splayed into 2 pairs. He holds a sphere (the Sun) and a torch in his left hand and raises his right hand in salute. There are rays coming from his head.

notes

320 x 255 mm. 180 pp., parchment, with the text in Greek uncial and Carolingian miniscule.

The manuscript is the model for St Gallen 250. The illustrations fall within the **RAL Ia** group, the defining features of which are discussed in the Commentary.

bibliography

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Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Miniaturmalerei, eds. Rahn, J. Rudolf und Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen, : St. Gallen: Druck der Zollikofer'schen Buchdruckerei. In Commission von Huber & Cie. (F. Fehr), 1878, pp. 36, 54

BECKER 1885, no. 22, item 339.

MAASS 1898, p. xxii.

THIELE 1898, pp. 160-61.

MERTON 1911, pp. 56-57 (1923, 2nd edn, pp. 56-57, pp. 49-51).

LEHMANN 1918, I, p. 118.

SAXL 1917, II, figure 6.

GOLDSCHMIDT 1928

A. Goldschmidt, *German Book Illumination. I. Carolingian period*, p. 61, pl. 80

LÖFFLER 1937

Löffler, K., 'Die Sankt Galler Schreibschule in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* N. F. 3 (1937), II, p. 30, 40 note 8.

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Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi helvetica: St Gallen II. Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz*. III, p. 122, plate XXXVIII.

ROTH 1945, p. 189 and 332, figure 40.

BRUCKNER 1949, p. 54, no 70; p. 56, no. 78; p. 61, no. 109.

BYVANCK 1949, no. 70.

BOECKLER 1951, *S Galler Fragmente*, p. 42 note 25.

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Cordoliani, Alfred, Les manuscrits de comput ecclésiastique de l'abbaye de Saint Galle du VIIIe au XIIe siècle. (1955). *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* vol. 49 (1955), pp. 188f.

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Cordoliani, Alfred, 'L'évolution du comput ecclésiastique à Saint Gall du VIIIe au XIe siècle.' *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 49 (1955) pp. 288-32 esp. pp. 299-312.

KNOEPFLI 1961

Knoepfler, *Kunstgeschichte des Bodenseeraums*, 1961, I, pp. 37-39

BELTING 1968, p. 129.

EVANS 1969, p. 24 and plate 15.

WEITZMANN 1970:

(p. 72) 'column picture' is a picture that interrupts that continuity of the column of writing. '...

and is found in the majority of those illustrated codices whose archetype existed back in the period when the roll was the prevailing form'. Some of the most striking examples are preserved among astronomical manuscripts, which go under the common name of 'Aratea' Not certain if the *Phaenomena* of Aratus was actually illustrated, 'but with greater likelihood there were already pictures in the *Katasterismoi* of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (ca. 275-195) BC, which were later taken over into the commentaries and translations of Latin writers such as Germanicus, Cicero, Hyginus and others.

Earliest illustrated Latin Aratus mss belong to Carolingian period, they are without frame or background and the manner of papyrus style, are placed within the writing columns: **Munich 210** (Salzburg dated 818) and **Vienna 387** (Salzburg, same period) 'were copied from the same model and show an identical arrangement of their pictorial decoration'. Short descriptions are in two columns and the drawings 'which in spite of their crudeness are still close to the ancient archetype', inserted before the paragraph they intend to illustrate; '... and if all the pages of these manuscripts were placed side by side, the result would resemble ancient illustrated rolls, not unlike the early Eudoxus Roll from the 2nd C BC.' (cites: Bethe, Thiele, Swarzenski, Goldschmidt, Hermann)

72-73: In contrast, the pictures in a codex from **St Gallen 902**, from the 9th c, the miniatures are placed after the passage; no way of telling which arrangement is more ancient. Perhaps classical rolls used both methods. (cites: Thiele, Merton, Goldschmidt, Bruckner)

p. 85 space provided for the picture could be heightened and then picture itself could be enlarged. cf **St Gallen 902** and **St Gallen 250** (9th and 10th c), both made in the same scriptorium in St Gallen; St Gallen 902 is written in 2 columns and distributes the pictures in the traditional manner as the roll (ie: with Eridanus and Pisces to the left of the column and Ara on the right (cites Merton); St Gallen 250 has fused the two columns of the model into one, reducing the size of the whole codex and widening the columns so that the preceding passage about Piscis, which needed 10 lines in St Gallen 902, now only needs seven. Correspondingly, the constellation illustrations are enlarged in about the same ratio as the column of text is widened (but even then does not fill whole space). note 6: Thiele says that 250 is earlier than 902 (p. 160) and this point is corrected by Merton, p. 66, and Bruckner III, p. 86.

O'CONNOR 1974, p. 65, n.2.

BERSCHIN 1980

Walter Berschin, *Greco-Latin Middle Ages I. From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, Bern and Munich 1980, pp. 158-193

O'CONNOR 1980, p. 60, n. 3, p. 65.

says first to second quarter 9th century, West German.

McGURK 1981, p. 320.

St Gallen, mid-9th century.

OCHSENBEIN 1983, p. 21.

LeBOURDELLÈS 1985, p. 77.

believes comes from the south-west, so is not the same family as the other RAL manuscripts from the North of France; dates 9/10th century; p. 77: of the 9/10 century; BREYSIG 1867 (p. xxviii) noted that corrections in a second hand in St Gallen 250 came from the Sangermanensis; content almost identical to Dresden 183 of the 9th century.

EGGENBERGER 1987, *Psalterium aureum*, pp. 179, 185.

KERSCHER 1988, pp. 1 ff, esp. fig. 25.

KACZYNSKI 1988, pp. 36, 48, 50-56, 62=64, 66, 72, 120, 122, 124ff.

BISCHOFF 1989, fig. 18.

MÜTTERICH 1989, pp. 35, 37-044, 47-51, figs 17 and 18.

Duft 1990

Johannes Duft, *Abtei St. Gallen. I. Beiträge zur Erforschung ihrer Manuskripte*, Sigmaringen 1990, p..58.

ERNST 1991, p. 585.

STUCKELBERGER 1994, p. 32, n. 17.

HAFFNER 1997, p. 176.

Mechthild Haffner, An ancient constellation cycle and its transmission in manuscripts from the early Middle Ages to Humanism. Investigations into the illustrations of Germanicus's "Aratea" (Studies in Art History Vol. 114), Hildesheim, Zurich, New York 1997, p. 28 passim; p. 176, says *recensio interpolata*.

von EUW 1999

Anton von Euw, 'St. Galler Kunst in frühen und hohen Mittelalter' in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter. Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ochsenbein, Peter, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 167-204, esp. p. 181.

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Anton von Euw, 'Der Aratus Latinus in Hs. 83 (II) der Kölner Dombibliothek', in: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 41, 1999, pp. 405-422, esp. p. 415.

KÜNZL 2000 [2003], pp. 495-594, esp. pp. 550, n. 324.

OBRIST 2001, pp. 24, 26 and n. 77.

EUW 2002, pp. 446-49(number 119).

KÜHNEL 2003

Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things*. 2003, pp. 47, 104, 164, fig. 100.

BERSCHIN 2005

Walter Berschin, *Griechisches in der Klosterschule des alten St. Gallen* [Mittellateinische Studien], 2005, pp. 180, 182, 184, 187-188, 192.

BERSCHIN 2005

Walter Berschin, *Eremus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter - Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft*, 2005, pp. 80, 83, illustration p. 81.

von EUW 2005

von Euw, 'Astronomie und Zeitrechnung im Karolingerreich', *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek*, I, pp. 23, 37, Fig. 4, 23.

BLUME 2009, pp. 546 f.

BLUME/HAFFNER/ METZGER 2012, I, I, pp. 75, 515-21 and figs 864-83.

The ms forms a group with Cologne 83 II, Laon 422 and Montecassino 3 of computus texts with the RAL that derives from Corbie; the palaeography suggests that it was executed in the ambit of St Gallen under Abbot Gromalt (841-72); it is documented in the Abbey since the middle of the 10th century.

DEKKER 2013, pp. 124, 219 and 255.

DOLAN 2017, p. 413.

HADRAVAVÁ 2019, pp. 364 and *passim*.

The manuscript has been digitised on;
<https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/csg/0902>

and (in higher resolution):
<https://iiif.biblissima.fr/collections/manifest/da312be72f6774bf24df8178cfa0e5b8c50c6dc4>

the St Gallen website adds:

- Parts II, III, and IV are to be identified with the “Liber Astrologiae et compotus Rabani et alius compotus in volumine I” (MBK I, p. 80) mentioned in the oldest library catalog , [Sang. 728, p. 18](#) , with the now last (IV) part being the oldest, dating from around 820–830. Its initial I(ncipit) p. [153](#) , the hollow capitals, and the script with the open a show a relationship with manuscripts from the Wolfcoz period, such as Stuttgart HB II 54 (No. 21). Part III, with the Liber de computo of Hrabanus Maurus, begins on p. [106](#). Its initial d(ilecto fratri Marchario monacho Hrabanus), written in minium, seems to me to be typical for the middle 9th century in St. Gall. The draftsman also writes the rubricated title in rustica, "Incipit prologus Hrabani abbatis," and continues to line 8. He is then replaced by another hand. The entry of Willihart's death date (OBITVS VVILLIHARTI) could be a memorial to the monk Willihart (Schaab, Mönch in St. Gallen, p. 74, no. 218), who entered the monastery in 827 and is believed to have died early around 850.
- The text-image source of Sang. 902 appears to have been a single column, like, for example, Cologne Cathedral, 83 (II). The two-column rewriting and illustration is sometimes unsuccessful; even the drawing on p. [75](#) , which, like Paris BNF. lat. 12957, fol. [63v](#), was probably intended to be a planispherium with a view of the North Pole, is misunderstood. Since Cordoliani (p. 188), the dating of Aratus and Hrabanus (II.-III.) to around the middle of the 9th century seems to have become established (McGurk, O'Connor).

consulted 2004