# The Students and Their Books

# Renaissance Mind

Studies in the History of Knowledge

Edited by
Valentina Lepri



# Volume 2

# The Students and Their Books

Early Modern Practices of Teaching and Learning

Edited by
Danilo Facca

DE GRUYTER

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# Table of Contents

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| BOZ | Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskiej |
| CC BY | Creative Commons Attribution License |
| fl. | floruit ("flourished") |
| HTR+ | Handwritten Text Recognition |
| MS | Manuscript |
| NRRP | National Recovery and Resilience Plan |
| NRS | National Records of Scotland |
| ODIS | Onderzoekssteunpunt en databank intermediaire structuren in Vlaanderen, 19e-20e eeuw |
| R Acad. Dorp. | Academia Dorpatensis |
| USTC | Universal Short Title Catalogue |

Handwritten Copies of Francesco Panigarola's *Trattato della Memoria Locale:*

| | |
|---|---|
| A1 | Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.Q.+II. 57., f. 172 – 184. |
| A2 | Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, X 307 inf., f. 138 – 139. |
| L | London, British Library, Add. ms. 12038, f. 209 – 233. |
| M | Macerata, Biblioteca Mozzi-Borgetti di, Manoscritto 137-IX, 95r – 99v. |
| P | Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Espagnol 448, f. 183r – 190r. |
| V1 | Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.1352. |
| V2 | Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.1743.pt.3, f. 428r – 436r. |

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Danilo Facca

# Introduction

The topic of this volume is the teaching and learning practices in the major and minor academic centers of Renaissance Europe and their relevance to early modern intellectual history. The interest in this topic derives from considering knowledge, particularly that proper to academic environments, less as a finished product and more as a process, to which a plurality of factors and conditions contribute: the personalities and intellectual profiles of teachers and learners, the dialectic between their respective interests and roles. And then again, the institutional context, from the immediate one given by the particular school or university, with their courses and curricula, to the more remote one given by governing political power or surveilling religious authority, or the interplay between the two. And last but not least, the several impulses of an epoch that seem to impart to the course of history a sudden acceleration, inducing decisive, sometimes disruptive, changes to the development of that phenomenon we call "knowledge": the spread of humanistic culture, the Religious Reformation and its consequences, encounters with new epistemologies, access to education of new social subjects, and—behind all these and as their common catalyst—the progressive establishment of the printing press as a means of learning consolidation and dissemination.

The focus on processuality in the shaping of knowledge, which is characteristic of the last decades of scholarship on the intellectual history of the 1500s and 1600s, could well be qualified by the term "materialist" or "neo-materialist." Perhaps the term raises reservations because it comes to us laden with many epistemological assumptions that recall past and even present ideologies. Nonetheless, there would be no resistance to accepting this term if we were to consider it simply as an expression of the attention that today's scholars—for example, those in this collection—pay to documents, texts, and sources as products of those dynamic factors mentioned above. What matters here is less to isolate the content of an idea than to show its actual genesis in a concrete situation, at the hands of singular agents, moved by determinate ends. But if that is not enough to make this perspective "materialistic," I will add that it has been suggested to the authors to choose or privilege the student's perspective. It is fundamentally the theme of student agency that unites these studies, whether we are talking about little-known or even anonymous students or "peak" figures in the intellectual history of the Renaissance—

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whether this active role is evident, preponderant, or barely visible or even marginal, whether it is expressed within institutional guidelines (expressed in *leges*, *statuta*, or other official documents) or emerges from practices and motivations the contents of which only analysis of the individual document can show.

It is not difficult to justify this choice. In effect, it seems to me that just looking at the literary output of professors, which has dominated so far, can only return a static image of knowledge, especially if one considers that this is delivered as printed text, i. e. a "finished" product, where there is a tendency to minimize if not erase the traces of its real genesis. The consideration of the text itself, as a semantic unit conveying accomplished thought, must therefore be supplemented by book history, where "book" is understood as any document considered in the process of its intellectual and material making. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in the perspective adopted here, particular prominence is given to the manuscript that has come out of the student's calamus. It tells us a story, sometimes complex, sometimes unclear, sometimes even contradictory or without definite sense, but for that very reason *magis sapit hominem!* Lecture reports, reworkings of them for personal use, compendia, transcripts with marginal or interlinear annotations, commentaries—a flood of writing activity matched by frantic mental work about which the psychology of learning and memory could tell us much. But the student's "mind" as we understand it here is not, or is not only, a sequence of pure cognitive processes, but is also and above all the sphere of his interests, expectations, pursued ends—in a word, of his life before, during, and after his passage through a school. The individual at the moment he enters higher education is the ultimate recipient, or rather, the principal social user of that massive and extraordinarily complex school machine, the establishment of which marks like a few other factors the beginning of the modern era.

This "student-centered" perspective has several advantages. I do not pretend to list them all, not least because I believe we are just beginning and there are many things we will learn that we cannot yet foresee. So allow me to point out some of them, somewhat rhapsodically. One of these has already been alluded to: escaping the temptation to reconstruct intellectual history as a process in which a few particularly important contributions of a few particularly important thinkers ("great peaks" as one of the contributors calls them) count, instead of focusing on the intellectual and organizational work that took place around educational institutions and was intended to train the political, intellectual, religious elites. No one will deny that the historical importance of the latter is second to nothing else. And it should come as no surprise that in a great many cases, perhaps too many to represent exceptions, the knowledge expressed by these institutions was not, or was not only, a heritage received and to be transmitted as such, but a content subjected to test and stress, open to criticism and innovation. In every era, the youngest generation knew the allure of passing through the Pillars of Hercules, that is, of the risk associated with challenging old tenets and prospecting new ones. The scholarly youth of the Renaissance was no exception.

By this one can also open a further perspective, suitable for studies of historical sociology, about the relationship between university studies and political, military, religious careers, or so many other directions, whether this concerns figures who became famous or others who remained obscure. And still, it allows us to observe how at the dawn of modernity a phenomenon characteristic of academic life in Europe throughout the ages and that was so decisive for the formation of its elites continued in so many and peculiars forms: the phenomenon of student mobility, the directions of which (east-west/north-south, center-periphery, confessional key) are at the center of current historical research. And again, I would like to touch on the issue of the role of *auctoritates* in curricula, since it is evident from printed books and manuscript sources, and despite certain historiographical vulgate, that authors such as Aristotle or St. Thomas assume a wholly and merely functional role in teaching and learning: their doctrines became pieces of "knowledge," only and exclusively in the work done in and around the classroom in discussing, analyzing, objecting to, and synthesizing that ideal content. It is all work done by students in collaboration and competition with their classmates and professors.

Finally, we cannot fail to mention the long-discussed issue of the impact of the press on the intellectual history of early modernity. Most of the chapters here confront us with practices and processes that are in continuity with those already known in the Middle Ages. Lectures, seminar discussions, public disputations, and so on, if compared with those of the earlier Renaissance forms of teaching and learning do not display major innovations. If anything, the discontinuity is more detectable at the "material" level than at the formal level, and here again, I mean those factors external to the schools that we were mentioning: the rupture of religious unity, the broadening of literary canons, geographical and astronomical discoveries, the social race for education and knowledge, all this seem to be decisive in giving a modern character to the authors and texts that are presented in this volume. But beyond all that there is no doubt that on the production and management of knowledge, the increasing presence of printed texts was destined to profoundly change the habits and expectations of students and professors. Not for the first nor for the last time, a factor belonging neither to the realm of institutional organization nor to that of factual history, but to that of technology, produced or decisively accelerated the most significant changes. This, too, is discussed in the nine chapters of this volume.

In the first of them, Jarrik Van Der Biest offers us a demonstration of the fruitfulness of the "material" approach to intellectual history in the mid-1500s. The "book" here is ms 434 held at the University Library of Utrecht, which contains notes on a course on the Holy Scriptures compiled by an unknown Johannes Lomelensis, a Flemish Dominican active on the Flanders-France border in the 1670s. Studying the manner in which Lomelensis formed the quires in which he placed the biblical courses attended at the Leuven Faculty of Theology allows us to recognize the layering of distinct text units and, from this layering, the manuscript's function, or rather, functions. A support for collecting scholastic courses, it soon became a preparatory tool for preaching during the liturgy, i. e., the task for which the Order had in all likelihood destined this Dominican (and the brethren who would hold the manuscript after him). The troubled years of the beginning of the Flanders Revolt and the spread of the Reformation in the border area provide the context of this operation of "applying" and "disseminating" biblical theology over decades. Important and surprising for the history of biblical exegesis in the Renaissance, despite a certain historiographical model, is the leading role assigned by a Dominican like Lomelensis to St. Augustine as well as the focus he put on St. Paul and St. James.

The topic of the continuity and discontinuity of modern practices with medieval ones is at the core of Dieter Cammaerts' study, which takes us to the Faculty of Arts in Louvain at the turn of the 400s and 500s. The crucial question is that of the impact of printed book production on the everyday practice of university teaching, particularly that of Aristotelian-Boetian logic, which had been dominant throughout the Middle Ages and continued to be so at this time. In the foreground emerge figures of printers organic to the university, such as Braem, Martens, and van Westflen, with their strategies of adapting to the demands of the "market." What changes did the provision of their "products" induce in the student's *modus operandi?* The texts of the *auctoritates* presented in class became readily available in these printed publications and relieved the student of the need to transcribe a copy *manu propria.* Moreover, the printed page, thanks to layout adaptations and other graphic devices, was prepared for subsequent annotation work. But what is remarkable is that the increasing "hybridization" of the teaching process occurred without upsetting its essentially oral nature, which in the mid-1600s was still based on the medieval practices of *expositio* and *quaestio.*

Crucial questions of method are raised by Clément Poupard. The inspiring principle of the study is in fact Ann Blair's intuition of a "*total histoire*" of a single "book," where the object is not so much and not only the text conveyed by it, but the history of its editing, transmission, and use (or lack thereof, in this case). These principles are employed by Poupard in the case of the *Trattato della memoria locale*, composed by the Milanese Franciscan Francesco Panigarola for teaching within the order in the 1570s. The work had initial circulation through manuscript copies and by 1599 was included in the printed editions of a successful practical manual for preachers by Panigarola himself. The two phases of the life of this text and the books that transmit it, therefore, require a complex of erudite techniques attentive to all of their material aspects. Ultimately, all of the information provided by each of the copies available to the scholar must be taken into consideration. As far as manuscripts are concerned, the determination of the *stemma codicum* of manual transcriptions leads to merely hypothetical results, where even the very notion of archetype must be reconsidered and integrated with other techniques of analysis. The editorial history of the printed texts must consider the material analysis of the editions, e. g., page layout, relationship to manuscript versions, gaps, misunderstandings, and then the presence of specimens in library and archival collections. In this way, we gain insight into one of the aspects of the education of Franciscan novices, where mnemonics was seen as a practical aid for the future preachers of the Order, within the classical setting of the parts of rhetoric. The important ideological implications it takes on in other contexts of late Renaissance intellectual life are absent.

The relationship between what is decreed in school statutes and actual teaching practices as they emerge from student notebooks is thematized by David McOmish. He studies the evolution of school teaching in Edinburgh in the late 1500s and early 1600s, a turning point for many school centers in Reformed Europe. In this way, it is possible to delineate the organic relationship between three moments of the teaching process: the front lecture, the class discussion of the topics raised in it, and the public dispute for obtaining a title. In Edinburgh, all of these steps proceeded under the control of the "regent," the single professor responsible for all of the disciplines for a given class. One is quite wrong, however, if one thinks that this articulation of learning served the simple and repetitive assimilation of the books of Aristotle, his commentators, or Sacrobosco, as prescribed by the statutes. Rather, the direct influence of a corpus of astronomical-cosmological notes by one of the most celebrated regents, Adam King, on lectures, discussions, and especially disputations reveals that the teaching of Aristotelian doctrines was little more than a pretext (a "skeleton") for discussing post-Copernican cosmological theses and conceptions in full freedom. The probable Parisian-Ramist derivation of this educational strategy motivates us to reflect on the importance of the inter-academic circulation of people and ideas in the genesis of early modern knowledge.

Of the Zamość Academy, another new institution and defiladed from the great European university centers, the ideological profile of the "civil school" and the political reasons that led to its foundation in the early 1600s are well known. But now the study of the manuscript bequest of the school's library allows Luisa Brotto and Danilo Facca to move beyond this "idealistic" perspective and focus instead on teaching practices and the involvement of students and professors in them. The scrutiny of these texts first allows them to distinguish different degrees of derivation—from the most to the least immediate—from the classroom lecture, their supposed common source: preparatory notes by the professor, direct reports taken by students, copies derived from one and/or the other by selected students or professional scribes, or even texts in which these mostly anonymous contributions are layered. These different stages and activities give us a dynamic and real picture of teaching that must necessarily complement the static and prescriptive one we find in statutes and in other organizational documents. Seen from the perspective of the transmission of knowledge, the Zamość school thus appears as a community endowed with vitality, which contrasts with the image of intellectual conservatism (late humanistic) with which it is usually branded. Given these assumptions, the analysis of a manuscript bearing a course in Aristotelian logic allows one to detect traces of these multiple contributions to the formation and transmission of knowledge. Not surprisingly, this collective work is also an anonymous one, since it is difficult to even trace the author of the course from which it might have been derived.

With Ove Averin's work, we take ourselves to another "peripheral" center where, however, some dynamics of early modernity are clearly visible. The topic of the chapter is the curriculum of the *Academia Gustaviana* of Tartu in Estonia, with particular reference to dialectic and rhetoric, as witness to the virtually unimpeded reception of Ramism in Northern Europe. The printed disputations and orations are a particularly eloquent source, allowing us to highlight the interplay of intellectual trends and teaching methods adopted in these two disciplines. Averin returns to the *vexata quaestio* of the authorship of the disputations and their function in the teaching process, with the probable conclusion that these texts were the result of a negotiation between student and professor, though the weight of each side must be determined by the scholar on a case-by-case basis. Another important point highlighted by Averin is how at the stage, so to speak, of mature Ramism, the textual basis of didactics was provided by both a mix of author texts (Cicero, Virgil, Herennius) and systematic compendia, such as those of Alsted, Dieterich, and Ramus himself. Perhaps even more interesting is the presence—around the mid-17$^{th}$ century—of disputations that, instead of being articulated as usual in simple *theses*, provide punctual analyses (*resolutiones*) of a classical text (Virgil, Cicero) according to the Ramist method, whether it is accomplished by highlighting the argumentative structures of the text itself or breaking it down according to a pre-established network of topoi, or even treating it as an allegory (!) that alludes to the gnoseology underlying Ramist dialectic. The question then is whether we are facing an evolution—already pointed out by scholars of the subject—of the form of *disputatio* from a sequence of microtexts (*theses*) into a long essay, with the possible implications of this evolution in the tasks and functions practices assigned to students and professors. In any case, the priority given in the curriculum to dialectic and oratorical technique situates Tartu Academy in continuity with the humanistic tradition of the 1500s.

Dennj Solera's study takes us to Padua, another fundamental ganglion of the European academic system of the 1500s, though in a somewhat anomalous situation and at the intersection of public institutions and private circles. The perspective for this research is that provided by the famous Paduan circle of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and his relationship with the milieu of university students. In various capacities, the latter were admitted, after careful selection, into the ranks of those who had access to the vast and varied library resources acquired by this famous patron of studies. At least for certain periods of Pinelli's activity, one can even speak of a recruitment policy on his part to secure for his circle the most talented youngsters coming out of the University of Padua, and thus of a somehow organic relationship between the celebrated librarian and this *Studio.* The young people thus recruited enjoyed within the circle and the library all the conditions for carrying out research activity free from any restriction, thus exalting the principle of *patavina libertas*, quite exceptional against the background of the time. It is therefore no coincidence that among the beneficiaries of Pinelli's care were names that later became famous and belonged to that pan-European network of intellectual relations that we are wont to call the Republic of Letters.

Pasquale Terracciano's research confronts us with one of those "peaks" of Renaissance thought that is Pico della Mirandola, and in particular his famous *900 Theses*, considering him, however, as one of the many students who populated the European universities of the late 15$^{th}$ century. According to the author, Pico's idea of *concordia philosophorum* arose from an anonymous literature of manuals on disputation that circulated widely in the universities of the late Middle Ages. The comparison of the *viae* through which the Aristotelian intellectual legacy was assimilated by the various schools of interpreters posed the problem of overcoming their differences or of their compatibility. It seems, therefore, that Pico, like any other student of his time who witnessed the debates among the followers of Thomas, Albertus, Scotus, or Occam, referred not only and not so much directly to the texts of these *auctoritates*, but to widely circulated manuals such as the *Promptuarium argumentorum* of Cologne, which in fact offered a synthesis of the different philosophical positions in a form that could immediately be used in disputes. It is thus shown how these "intermediate sources," the importance of which for the education of any university student is easily imaginable, played no less important a role even in the inspiration and composition of works of high scholarly and philosophical level, such as the *900 Theses.*

Closing this volume, a reflection on the general attitude of scholarship in the 16$^{th}$ century is presented by Marco Sgarbi in a study on another peak of post-medieval thought, the Aristotelian professor and thinker Pietro Pomponazzi. In Sgarbi's view, the "contextualist" turn of the last 50 years that has taken place among historians of philosophy has induced them to skip their gaze from the immanent dialectic of philosophical ideas towards the understanding of the latter genesis through academic institutions, their intellectual function, and social diffusion. In other words, historians sought to understand how such philosophical ideas became "knowledge," that is, the tools through which generations of intellectuals have tried to grasp the reality in which they find themselves. It is precisely from the perspective of the history of knowledge that Sgarbi returns to a classic theme of research on early Renaissance thought, namely Pomponazzi's famous university lectures, with their lively pace and frequent interlocutions with the student auditorium. Thus, from the reading of the numerous manuscripts that preserve them, the texture of this professor's relations with his students emerges, but also those with his own masters (Neritone) and even with colleagues with whom he polemicized (Nifo). With his innovative conception that philosophical truth is a process of sifting ideas in the light of experience and not the mere exegesis of a truth consigned to the texts of authorities such as Aristotle and Averroes, Pomponazzi proves that he understands the function of the post-medieval university as a place in which knowledge is "produced" (and as the place *par excellence* of this production): a paradigm shift that would spread from philosophy to all branches of knowledge and would come to its apogee in the next century.

# Part I: The Genesis of the Text: Stories of Lessons, Manuscripts, Books, and Editions

Jarrik Van Der Biest

# From the Lecture Hall to the Confessional Frontier: Student Notebook Production and the Transmission of Biblical Knowledge from Leuven

**Abstract:** How did early modern theology students apply their university education? Traditional scholarship has often portrayed Catholic theology faculties during the Reformation as stagnant ivory towers, focused on rigid scholastic knowledge. This study challenges that view by examining the career of a student, rather than a professor. Manuscript 434, held at the University Library of Utrecht, contains notes from royal lectures on Sacred Scripture at the University of Leuven in the 1560s and 1570s. The manuscript, authored by Dominican friar Johannes Loemelensis, reveals the stages of knowledge dissemination, production, and application. Through a book-archaeological approach, this research uncovers the learning process of Loemelensis, his later application of biblical knowledge in preaching, and the manuscript's intellectual legacy. This case study broadens our understanding of 16th-century Catholic intellectual history, highlighting the dynamic circulation of ideas beyond the classroom.

## 1 Introduction: Catholic Student Notes on the Bible?

Manuscript 434 of the Utrecht University Library was found in one of 11 book chests tucked away in a dark corner of the *Gouvernementsgebouw* of Maastricht.[1] Dutch clerks must have stumbled upon them in 1839, when they were organizing local government in the border town that rather unwillingly passed into Dutch hands following Belgium officially gaining independence. The collection consisted of incunabula and manuscripts confiscated during the sequestration of the monasteries after the conquest of the region by the French Republic in 1794. After being brought to the building, the seat of the new departmental government, they had been stored in the chests and subsequently forgotten (Hermans 1987). Today,

**1** Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht MS 434 (HS 5 E 16). The manuscript has been digitized through: https://utrechtuniversity.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1107040398, last accessed July 30, 2024.

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codex 434 is safely kept in a climate-controlled environment by Utrecht University's Special Collections (Van der Horst 1994, 303–304).[2] However, its water stains, fragile sewing structure, and holes remain, as material witnesses to its many travels.

A provenance note on the flyleaf (fol. 1r) reveals that the manuscript once belonged to Dominicus Nullens, a 17th-century Dominican friar from the convent of Maastricht. At the time, the city already found itself in the borderlands between the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg-held Southern Low Countries, and thus on the confessional frontier between Calvinists and Catholics. Nullens did not produce the codex or its contents, however. In a series of small jottings scattered throughout the manuscript, the actual scribe identifies himself as Johannes Loemelensis, a *frater Dominicanus.* A final colophon (fol. 537v) reveals that he finished writing in 1575 in Lille, another city on the early modern frontier, this one between the Habsburg Low Countries and France.[3] The manuscript contains Loemelensis' notes on biblical commentaries taught by a number of professors from Leuven's Faculty of Theology, covering all of the epistles of the New Testament and the Apocalypse (Table 1). Moreover, it is interleaved with half-leaves containing a wealth of references to the Church Fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place (Figure 1). As such, it is a rare witness of the transmission of theological knowledge in 16th-century Leuven's lecture hall, and more importantly, beyond it.

How *did* early modern theology students from Leuven apply the biblical knowledge taught to them during their university studies to the multi-confessional field of the Low Countries? The importance of such a query for the intellectual history of the Reformation cannot be understated. However, due to the ephemeral nature of learning, it is one that is rarely asked. If we are to believe older historiography, the existence of a biblical notebook, holding references to Augustine, made by a Dominican university student is an anomaly in itself. The inability of early modern Catholic intellectual culture to shake off its medieval scholastic heritage has been identified as one of the root causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism. According to David Bagchi, Catholic controversialists were unable to "think biblically" or "pastorally" and clung to the model of the university disputation in their rebuttals of Luther and Calvin's attacks (Bagchi 1991, 9).

In contrast, Protestant theologians supposedly held a monopoly on the study of the Bible, applying humanistic principles to their scholarship and weaponizing scriptural knowledge in their preaching. Indeed, especially for the Low Countries, the so-called hedge-sermons have been credited with the first waves of Calvinist

**2** I would like to thank the Special Collections Department of Utrecht University, and especially Drs. Frans Sellies, for their digitization support during the COVID-19 pandemic, making this research possible.

**3** "Haec scripsi Insulis a[nn]o 1575"; fol. 537.

**Table 1:** Codicological structure of Johannes Loemelensis' student manuscript (Utrecht, University Library MS 434). Different colors mark the separate codicological blocks. See also Van Der Biest Forthcoming.

| Folio nos | Book | Professor | Amount of bifolia per gathering | Date in colophon | Date lecture (reconstructed) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2r – 5r | **Romans 1.9 – 3.26** | Gozaeus | [added after binding] | | ? |
| 6r – 60v | **Romans** | Baius | 9 – 10 – 9 | 1571 (on half-folio) | 1568 |
| 61r – 141r | **Corinthians I, II** | Baius | 8 – 9-8-9 – 6 | 1571 (on half-folio) | 1569 |
| 142r – 161 | **Galatians** | Baius | 11 | 1569 (title) | 1569 |
| 165r – 183r | **Ephesians** | Baius | 10 | | 1569 |
| 183v – 199r | **Philippians** | Baius | 9 | 1571 (colophon) | 1570 |
| 201r – 217r | **Colossians** | Baius | 8 | | 1570 |
| 218r – 232r | **Thessalonians I, II** | Baius | 9 – 8-9-8 | | 1570 |
| 241r – 270r | **Timothy I, II** | Baius | | | 1570 |
| 270v – 279r | **Titus** | Baius | | | 1570 |
| 282r – 284v | **Philemon** | Baius | | | 1570 |
| 285v – 330r | **Hebrews** | Baius | 11 – 8-9-8-9-8 – 9 | 1570 (colophon) | 1570 |
| 330v – 347v | **James [A]** | Baius | | 1573 (colophon) | ? |
| 350r – 377r | **Peter I, II** | Baius | | 1571 (colophon) | 1571 |
| 377v – 394v | **John I, II, III** | Baius | | 1571 (colophon) | 1571 |
| 396r – 401 | **Jude** | Baius | | 1571 (colophon) | 1571 |
| 409r – 418v | **James [B]** | Baius | 8 – 9 – 6 | | ? |
| 420r – 452r | **James [C]** | Petri | | | ? |
| 455r – 534v | **Revelation** | Baius | 9 – 8-9-8 – 7 | 1571 (colophon) | 1571 |
| 535r – 537v | **Romans 3.26 – …** | Gozaeus | [added after binding] | "Scripsi Insulis 1575" | ? |

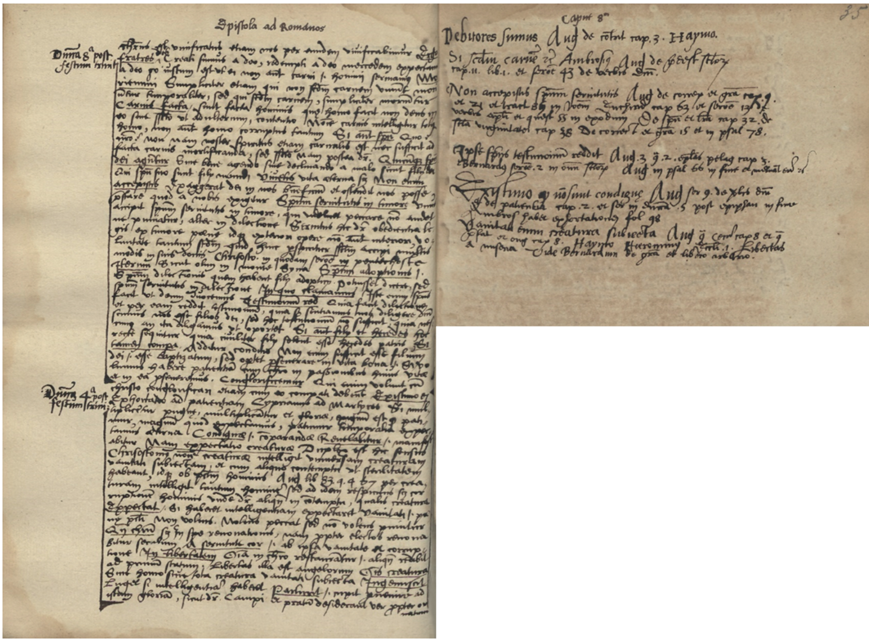

**Figure 1:** Utrecht, University Library MS 434, fols 34v and 35r. Notice the references to Augustine on the half-leave (right side), and the marginal bracketing of commentary sections with the dates of the liturgical calendar (left side).

conversions and were the spark for the Iconoclast Fury in 1566 (Bosma 2001). Judith Pollman (2006) has posited that before 1585, the Catholic clergy was reluctant to speak about heresy in their sermons to lay people. Clerics did little to “supply their flocks with detailed arguments against the heretics,” and it was the ordinary believers who developed a militant Catholic identity after a rather passive Catholic response to the violent Calvinist outbursts of the 1560s (Pollmann 2006, 102). So instead of climbing the pulpit, Catholic university-trained clerics are thought to have locked themselves in their ivory towers, perpetuating rigid, scholastic, and systematic theological arguments. This image is beholden to 16th-century humanist criticism and carries the enduring bias of 19th-century Protestant polemics painting the “Catholic intellectual world as intellectually barren” (Levitin 2019, 7). The humanists’ negative view of Catholic theologians’ “highly dubious allegorical and anagogical” biblical study led them to pretend, “quite erroneously, that the Bible was neglected altogether” (Brockliss 1996, 594).

Up until the previous decade, scholarship has perpetuated this notion of scriptural teaching as having withered in favor of an outmoded systematic theology at early modern Catholic faculties of theology. The preferred example is Paris, where out of 12 chairs only one was assigned to Scripture until the 17th century (Brockliss 1996, 595). However, recent work by Stefania Tutino (2014; 2017), Bruno Boute (Badea et al. 2021), and Dmitri Levitin (2019) has stressed the dynamism of Catholic intellectuals in dealing with post-Tridentine categories of doubt and censorship. Others, such as Wim Decock (2013; Decock and Birr 2016), have shone new light on the decidedly Thomist re-invigoration of scholasticism in the 16th century, ushered in by the School of Salamanca and spread by the Jesuits throughout Europe. Indeed, at the instigation of the Dominicans, Peter Lombard's outdated *Book of Sentences* was replaced by Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* as the handbook for systematic theology in university theology programs. Finally, Wim François and Antonio Gerace have uncovered a veritable "Golden Age" of Catholic scriptural study between 1550 and 1650, revolving around the work of Leuven professors (François 2012; Gerace 2019). John Frymire's research on the production and circulation of postils in Germany shows that Catholic theologians too were concerned with providing Bible-based sermon examples to their clerics (Frymire 2010).

These studies have redrawn the landscape of early modern intellectual history. However, they have one thing in common: a focus on scholarship—the printed, published output of knowledge production by professors and intellectuals. As a result, they might give the impression that university theologians performed their intellectual work on a different plane, detached from the needs of ordinary believers in the multi-confessional field. This article contends that student notebooks like that of Johannes Loemelensis bridge that gap by providing insight into the transmission of knowledge in the lecture hall and beyond. Indeed, manuscript 434 bears the marks of its travels from Leuven, the center of theological learning in the Low Countries, to the religious frontier in Lille and Maastricht. However, the difficulty when researching "average" students' learning experiences is often precisely that they left few traces by which the historian can reconstruct their subsequent life and career.

Therefore, this article proposes an archaeological method that centers on the materiality of the codex and its text, rather than the ideas they contain. It departs from the insight that a student notebook does not provide unmediated access to the oral teaching event (Blair 2004; 2008; see also Baldzuhn 2021, 84). It is rather the material condensation of a learning process happening before, during, and long after the university professor uttered his ephemeral words in the lecture hall. During this process, students molded both lecture text and its physical carrier, the codex, to their own intellectual needs. For example, students from the Arts Faculty in Leuven lavishly decorated their manuscripts with diagrams, drawings, and even engravings that often had nothing to do with course content (K. Smeyers 2012; M. Smeyers 1975; see also Geudens and Masolini 2016). Bound in precious leather (Cockx-Indesteghe 2012), the notebooks were taken home by the graduate to serve as a memory and perhaps unofficial proof of study (D'Haenens 1994, 409). Manuscript 434, with its sober layout and numerous references on half-leaves is a far cry from these collections. By dissecting the stratigraphy of the codex, this article unearths why a Dominican friar was taking lecture notes on the Bible and Augustine during the first years of the Dutch Revolt. An examination of the material imprint left by the learning process and its later life unveils the dissemination of knowledge from Leuven's "ivory tower" to the religious frontier. As such, this method aims to broaden the horizon of intellectual history.

# 2 From the Dominican *Studium* to the Faculty's Lecture Hall in Leuven

## 2.1 A Dominican in the Regius Lectures on Sacred Scripture

Apart from his notebook, the only trace Johannes Loemelensis left is to be found in the general enrolment registers of Leuven's university: he was officially included in the university corporation on September 23, 1568.[4] From his self-identification as a *frater dominicanus*, it is most likely that he lived in the convent of the order, centrally located on an island between two branches of the Dijle river.[5] The back flyleaf of the codex contains a copy of a charter issued to the Leuven Dominican friary (fol. 538v), which suggests Loemelensis started work on his notebook there. The Dominicans had settled in the previous capital of Brabant in 1233, after which the Dukes of Brabant gifted them the buildings of their own court after moving to Brussels (Coomans 2011, 207–209). Like in many other European cities, their existing *studium* was incorporated into the University of Leuven at the latter's foundation in 1425, together with those of the Franciscans and Augustinians. As a result, it became a *studium generale*, which developed strong ties with the Faculty of Theology founded in 1432, even if the university itself was governed by the secular clergy (De Jongh 1911, 49; Gielis 2014, 40–41).

Indeed, the first theology professors were recruited from the mendicant *studia* and the Dominicans had a seat on the Faculty board (Wils 1927, 339–340; De Jongh 1911, 50). Moreover, the university would regularly hold its general meetings at the convent. For example, on November 29, 1567, the decrees of the Council of Trent

**4** Fol. 488r of the *Quartus Liber Intitulatorum*, February 19, 1529 to August 31, 1569, no. 24, Inschrijvingsregisters van de studenten aan de Oude Universiteit Leuven, Rijksarchief, Leuven.
**5** For example: "Loemelensis ord[inis] p[rae]d[icatorum]" on fol. 537v; "Finis ep[isto]le Pauli ad Romanos p[er] me fr[atr]em Jo[ann]em Loemelen[sis]: a[nn]o 1571" on fol. 60r (half-leaf).

were officially adopted during a ceremony held in the *aula* of the convent—less than a year before Johannes enrolled (Andreas 1650, 364). In any case, the incorporation of the *studium* meant that its friars enjoyed all the privileges attached to university membership, in exchange for the presence (and fees) of at least two Dominican students at the theology lectures (Vernulaeus 1667, 129). Dominican students thus followed lectures and obtained degrees at the Faculty of Theology, while simultaneously, the convent school provided a separate educational program to its friars as well. Johannes Loemelensis clearly made good use of this opportunity, attending the lectures of at least three Faculty professors. In his manuscript, our friar included a full commentary on the Letter of James by Cunerus Petri (c. 1530–1580), who became the first fully installed bishop of Leeuwarden in 1569. On the empty leaves at the beginning and end of the codex, he jotted down a partial commentary on Romans taught by Thomas Gozaeus (d. 1571) at the Savoy College (as signaled in the table of contents).[6] The majority of his notes, however, were "*excerptae ex ore Michaelis Baii*" (1513–1589) (e.g., fol. 6r) and cover all of the apostolic letters as well as the Apocalypse.

Clearly, scriptural expounding was very much part of the educational program of the Faculty in Leuven. Indeed, a report made on January 31, 1568, to the Duke of Alva (edited in Van der Linden 1908) reveals that no less than four out of the five so-called ordinary professors were lecturing on the Bible. These professors, including Thomas Gozaeus and Cunerus Petri, each gave a mandatory morning lecture on the book of their choice for six weeks in a rotating system (Andreas 1650, 52). Michael Baius, however, taught every day of the academic year and even extended his lectures to the summer holidays (Van Eijl 1977, 197). He was one of two royal professors tasked with teaching Sacred Scripture to all theology students; the other royal professor, Augustinus Hunnaeus (1522–1578), lectured on Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* at that time. The two chairs had been established and endowed by Emperor Charles V in 1546, and appointments were a princely prerogative usually effected by the government in Brussels. Although the documents surrounding their foundation have been lost, the professorships were likely a joint initiative by the Faculty and the worldly government in response to the worsening religious situation in the Low Countries (Van Eijl 1968, 75). It accorded equal weight

**6** Loemelensis attempted to fit the notes on the flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript but had to continue in the margins of the first commentary of Romans: "[…] in margine vel in parva pagella ex opposite expositionis Michaelis du Bay" on fol. 5r. In order not to clutter the margins of the notebook, however, he decided to continue on the flyleaves at the end. The note in the table of contents reads: "Haec ex ore m[agistri] nostril Thomae quondam professoris lovaniensis in collegio Sabaudiae" on fol. 1v.

to the two medieval "handbooks" for theology, the Bible and the *Sentences*, promptly answering Trent's call for biblical lectureships in its Fifth Session (June 17, 1546).

When Michael Baius took over the Chair for Sacred Scripture in 1552, he made it his own for nearly 40 years, until his death in 1589. He moved his lectures to the more prestigious morning slot, relegating the classes on the *Sentences* to the afternoon (Van Eijl 1977, 96). Another student notebook, produced by his nephew Jacobus Baius (1545–1614), unveils how the royal professor treated the entire New Testament according to the order of the Vulgate, in cycles of around four and a half years (see Table 2).[7] Jacobus attended the lectures from 1563 until obtaining his licentiate in 1572, and wrote down the dates on which his uncle started reading a new biblical book. After wrapping up the Apocalypse in September 1567, Michael Baius started anew with the gospel of Matthew on January 8, 1567. Jacobus did not start with a clean sheet of unused paper for this second cycle, instead he crammed his new notes in the margins of the commentaries of the first cycle. Sporadically, he included the date on which the professor lectured on a book for the second time, which allows for an approximate reconstruction of lecture dates (see Table 2). The duration of these two cycles is no coincidence: four and a half years was roughly the time required to obtain a *baccalaureus* degree, after which a minority of students spent an equal period on their *licentiatus* (Van Eijl 1977, 105). During his second cycle (1567–1571), Jacobus Baius and Johannes Loemelensis were in the auditorium together, although the latter was not present for the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. In this period, the expounding of Sacred Scripture dominated teaching at the Faculty, with Michael Baius at its helm.

Biblical lecturing in Leuven was the educational expression of the *Lovanienses'* interest in scriptural studies (Fischer et al. 2020; François 2007; 2012; François and Gerace 2018; Gerace 2019). In 1546, the same year as the establishment of the regius chair of Sacred Scripture, the Faculty set out to publish a revised edition of the Vulgate. Inspired by the wish of the council fathers at Trent for a critical emendation of the biblical text (Fourth Session, April 8, 1546), John Henten published the Leuven or Hentenian Vulgate with Bartholomeus Gravius in 1547.[8] One year later, Henten entered the Dominican convent in Leuven (Quétif and Échard 1719, 195–196; De Jonghe 1719, 154). His edition almost became the standard Catholic version of the Vulgate text, until its replacement by the Sixto-Clementine version in 1593 (François and Gerace 2018; Gerace 2019, 50–52). That the project started in 1546 was no coincidence: the edition was clearly intended as the founda-

7 Rijksarchief Leuven, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 3718.

8 Hentenius, Johannes (Ed.) (1547): *Biblia, Ad vetustissima exemplaria nunc recens castigata.* Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL: http://www.lovaniensia.be/lovaniensia/items/show/670, last accessed July 30, 2024.

**Table 2:** Reconstruction of Michael Baius' lecture cycles on the New Testament, based on Jacobus Baius' student manuscript (Leuven, State Archives, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven no. 3718). Dates in italic are approximations based on the dates in Jacobus' manuscript

| **Book** | **Cycle 1** | **Cycle 2** |
|---|---|---|
| John | Jan. 11, 1563 | |
| Mark | May 3, 1563 (Gozaeus) | |
| Romans | 1563 (Gozaeus) | |
| I Corinthians | June 1564 | Feb. 18, 1569 |
| II Corinthians | Sept. 21, 1564 | |
| Galatians | Dec. 4, 1564 | |
| Ephesians | Aug. 21, 1564 | |
| Philippians | Oct. 25, 1565 | Jan. 9, 1570 |
| Colossians | 1565 | Jan. 30, 1570 |
| I Thessalonians | Dec. 1565 | |
| II Thessalonians | Jan. 15, 1566 | |
| I Timothy | Jan. 22, 1566 | |
| II Timothy | Feb. 8, 1566 | May 29, 1570 |
| Titus | Feb. 18, 1566 | *June 1570* |
| Philemon | ? | *June 1570* |
| Hebrews | March 6, 1566 | *July 1570* |
| James | May 14, 1566 | *Sept. 1570* |
| I Peter | June 10, 1566 | *Oct. 1570* |
| II Peter | July 8, 1566 | *Nov. 1570* |
| I, II, III John | July 22, 1566 | *Nov. 1570* |
| Jude | Sept. 10, 1566 | *Dec. 1570* |
| Revelation | Sept. 10, 1566 | *Dec. 1570 – 1571* |
| Matthew | Jan. 8, 1567 | |
| Luke | Aug 4, 1567 | |
| Acts | ? | |

tional text for the new royal lectures on the Bible. Indeed, a lesser-known emendation of the *Sentences* was published by Gravius in 1546, serving as the authoritative text for the regius lectures on systematic theology.[9] However, contrary to the latter, the Hentenian Vulgate never seems to have developed into an actual handbook taken to the auditorium by students. It was printed in folio—not a very handy format to lug around. Moreover, Gravius only printed the edition once, whereas handbooks for the Arts Faculty were reprinted regularly to satisfy student demand

**9** Lombard, Peter (1546): *Sententiarum Libri IIII.* Ed. Joannes Aleaume. Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius. URL of a 1568 reprint: http://www.lovaniensia.be/items/show/2112/, last accessed July 30, 2024.

(Cammaerts 2022). Thus, students at the Faculty of Theology kept producing entirely handwritten manuscripts throughout the $16^{th}$ century. This contrasts with the Arts Faculty, for which Jan Roegiers has identified a temporary shift towards note-taking in the margins or between the lines of printed handbooks (Roegiers and De Ridder-Symoens 2015). Producing one's own manuscript was more difficult: students had to fold sheets of paper into gatherings, lay out the handwritten text on them, and bind the quires into a codex (or have them bound). This process, however, was a flexible one, and allowed students to shape the codex towards their own intended use after the lectures or even graduation. A codicological analysis reveals the strategies Johannes Loemelensis utilized in making the notebook he started working on around his enrolment at the university.

## 2.2 Crafting the Notebook

From 1568 onwards, Johannes Loemelensis lived in Leuven, attending the biblical lectures in the Faculty's auditorium in the Cloth Hall, and crafting his codex in the *schola theologorum* or perhaps the library of the Dominican convent.[10] He had 537 folios bound together into a codex, interlacing full bifolia with half-folios: each full folio containing exegesis is alternated with a half-leaf containing references to the Church Fathers. Starting each biblical book on a new page, he wrote them down more or less in the order prescribed by the Vulgate, which is not surprising considering that that is the order in which Michael Baius taught them. In the colophons he scattered across the manuscript, our student added a number of dates, ranging between 1569 to 1575. However, firstly, these do not seem to follow the chronological order suggested by the manuscript. Secondly, they do not always correspond to the reconstruction of Baius' lecture dates for biblical books. To understand how and when exactly Loemelensis produced this complex manuscript, an investigation of how the watermarks, gatherings, textual divisions, and dates relate to each other is necessary (see Table 1; for the codicological terms used in this section, see Gnirrep, Gumbert and Szirmai 1992; Gumbert 2010).

There is great diversity between the watermarks found in the 33 gatherings or bundles of bifolia that make up the manuscript, even within one gathering between the full and half- folios (see also Smeyers 1975, 252). This is an indication that our Dominican friar supplied himself with new bundles of paper on several occa-

**10** For a plan of the cloister, see De Jonghe, Bernardus (1719): *Belgium Dominicanum sive Historia provinciae Germaniae Inferoris O.P.* Brussels: Franciscus Foppens. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Vzw_AAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

sions, and that his (unbound) notes were produced over a prolonged period of time.[11] It also suggests that he had not yet decided to interleave the gatherings with the half-folios when he started folding his quires from the large sheets of paper.

Setting out the quire structure of the codex against the division of the text according to the biblical books reveals an interesting strategy employed by Johannes Loemelensis. He attempted to finish the commentary on each book at the end of a gathering, starting the next book on the first folio of a new gathering. Peter Gumbert (2004) has coined the term "codicological block" for such intentional intersections between quire and textual structure: their presence is the material imprint of a conscious choice made by the student in molding his codex. Indeed, at multiple points in the manuscript, Johannes Loemelensis reduced the amount of bifolia in the final gathering containing the commentary on a specific letter. It is important to note that this was done before writing down the actual text on these gatherings: it required a good estimate of how long the text would be on the student's part (Smeyers 1975, 251–252). Producing these codicologically linked blocks of gatherings and biblical books would have made it easier for our friar to shuffle the order of his notes when having them bound. However, not all biblical books have their separate quire structure: two blocks in the middle of the codex contain multiple biblical books crossing quire boundaries.[12] The most plausible explanation is that in these instances, the books in question are very short apostolic letters, for which the advantages of producing blocks simply did not outweigh their cost (in terms of saving paper, time, and labor).

Johannes Loemelensis irregularly jotted down dates, both next to the title of a commentary and in the scattered colophons at the end of the biblical books—sometimes even on the half-leaves. The question is whether these dates point to the lecture itself, or to the moment on which Johannes Loemelensis wrote down the commentaries. Comparing them to the reconstruction of Michael Baius' lecture cycles affirms it is a combination of the two: when there is a date next to the title of the book, it usually points to the lecture date. Dates elsewhere point to the production of the notes. The latter demonstrate that there could be quite some time between the actual lecture and the redaction of the text. For example, for the

**11** I have been able to identify only one of these watermarks as belonging to the workshop of Siméon Nivelle, who was a sworn paper maker (*papetier juré*) of the University of Paris and was based in Troyes, at the Moulin de Pétal. The watermark bears his name ("S NIVELLE") underneath the coat of arms of the University of Paris, composed of three lilies and a hand coming out of a cloud, holding a book; Briquet 1907, vol. 1, 15.

**12** See Table 1: fols. 218–284 contain Thessalonians I and II, Timothy I and II, Titus, Philemon; fols. 285–408 contain Hebrews, James [A], Peter I and II, John I, II and III, Jude.

first letter in the codex (Paul to the Romans), taught by Baius in 1568, Loemelensis writes “finished by me in the year 1571” in a note on one of the half-folios (fol. 60r). The year 1571 is also the year in which Baius finished expounding the final book contained in the manuscript, Revelation.[13] As this date is a recurring one in the colophons, it is highly likely that most of the final redaction work on the notes was done then. Loemelensis probably had the manuscript bound in 1571, after adding the half-folios. After this, he started writing the references to the Church Fathers on the half-leaves. This is corroborated by the abrupt end of these references in the middle of the manuscript: the rest of the half-leaves are empty.[14]

Two dates do not seem to conform with the hypothesis that Loemelensis bound his notes around 1571. The first date, 1573, is found in the letter of James, in the second codicological block that is a composite of different biblical books (James [A]).[15] It is especially perplexing as Baius did not teach this letter in 1573, and dates jotted down in the rest of the book from the block point towards lectures and redaction in 1570 – 1571. To complicate matters further, the codicological block after the one containing this commentary holds two more commentaries on the letter of James: one by Baius (James [B]) and one by another professor, Cunerus Petri (James [C]). The inclusion of the latter block disturbs the arrangement of the notes according to the Vulgate, as they follow the second Letter of John. The most plausible explanation for this is the following: Loemelensis decided to redact his notes on the Letter of James [B] on separate gatherings. He did this to also include his notes on Cunerus Petri’s lecture (James [C]). As the Epistle of James was at that time crucial in interconfessional polemics, obtaining an additional commentary on it was vital. For some reason, he left some space in the larger codicological block in which he had originally planned to write down the notes on James. When he had the codex bound in 1571, the space was left blank, but the quire structure did not allow for these separate gatherings (with the completed notes on the two lectures on James ([B] and [C]) to be “squeezed” into the larger codicological block). Thus, he had it bound after that block, which ends with the Second Epistle of John. In 1573 (after the codex had been bound), he decided to fill in the original space left blank with additional notes on James, perhaps from a different lecture.[16]

**13** “Finis Dei Gratia anno 1571 […] Loemelensis” on fol. 534v, all translations mine except otherwise stated.

**14** Fol. 331 and onwards.

**15** “Finis in ipsa 8a anno 1573 Michaelis” on fol. 347v.

**16** Baius not only taught in the auditorium in the Cloth Hall, but also at the college founded by Pope Adrian VI, of which the professor was *praeses.* Johannes Loemelensis seems to have had access to these lectures held in the colleges as well, seeing as he wrote down that he had followed

Although we could see this as a "mistake" on the student's part, it also shows how Loemelensis took great care in organizing these notes.

The second colophon to postdate the probable binding of the manuscript is written at the end of the manuscript. It reads: "I wrote this in Lille in 1575."[17] The colophon concludes the notes on a lecture given by Thomas Gozaeus on Paul's Letter to the Romans. These were clearly written down after the codex had been completed: they start on the flyleaf at the beginning of the codex and continue on the final pages at its end (fols. 2r–4r and 535r–537v). Loemelensis thus again added notes taken during a different professor's lecture on a crucial letter in interconfessional polemics. Interestingly, this note also offers a clue about the student's whereabouts in 1575: he was residing in Lille, not in Leuven…

## 2.3 Studying at the *Studium Generale*

From the codicological analysis it becomes clear that this notebook was not crafted in the lecture hall, but at a desk in the convent of the Dominicans. These are second-order notes, also called *Reinschriften*, a neat reworking of draft notes taken during lectures (Blair 2008, 41). This is corroborated by the differences between the lecture events and redaction dates. Indeed, Johannes Loemelensis worked on his notes in different phases, cobbling together a codex from the different codicological blocks he had produced. This operation of capturing the orally transmitted commentaries onto a physical carrier engendered sound knowledge of the lecture text, for example because Loemelensis had to adjust quire lengths to fit a commentary on a block. His difficulties incorporating the extra commentaries on James into the quire structure illustrate that this was not always easy. Before having his notes bound, in 1571, our friar decided to interleave his gatherings with half-leaves, alternately to the head and tail of the text block, so that the manuscript would have a consistent thickness throughout. Sometime after this date he started jotting down references to the Church Fathers on these leaves during what was at least the second reading of the text, abandoning this project about two-thirds into the manuscript. These two "flaws" of the codex offer a glimpse into how producing one's notebook was part of the learning process itself. They also make apparent the strategies employed by Loemelensis in shaping the lecture text and its carrier towards his own intellectual intentions. The use of codicological blocks and interleav-

Thomas Gozaeus' class in the Savoy College; "Haec ex ore magistri nostri Thomae quondam professor lovaniensis in collegio Sabaudiae" on fol. 1v.

**17** "Haec scripsi Insulis anno 1575" on fol. 537v.

ing suggest that Loemelensis already knew how he would apply the biblical knowledge transmitted to him in the lecture hall in his later career.

Other than his notebook and a name in the general immatriculation registers of the university, our friar has left no traces from which we can reconstruct his study career and further exploits. There are only three pivotal dates that offer a glimpse of these: 1568, when Loemelensis started his studies; 1571, when he presumably bound his manuscript; 1575, when he jotted down a colophon in Lille. His absence in one source is telling, however: Johannes Loemelensis does not appear in the exam registers of the Faculty of Theology (edited by Vandermeersch 1985). This means that he likely did not attend the royal lectures with the aim of obtaining a degree at the Faculty, but as a non-mandatory addition to the separate program of the convent's *studium generale.*

In fact, the Dominican *studium generale* of Leuven was the intellectual center of a network of conventual schools hosted by the friaries of the *Provincia Germania Inferior* (see Figure 2 for a map). In 1515, the province had been carved out of the *Congregatio Hollandiae* and the communities of the *Provincia Saxonia*, *Teutonia*, and *Francia* that were located in the Habsburg Netherlands. As such, Charles V, who had initiated the reform together with superior general Thomas de Vio Cajetan, managed to align the provincial jurisdiction of the order with state borders (Wolfs 1964, 31–41; De Meyer 1946, 429–432). Throughout the 16th century, the new province would increasingly find itself on the northernmost border of Catholic Christianity, its convents beleaguered and even destroyed by Calvinists. For example, on August 22, 1566, in the midst of the Iconoclast Fury, all of the books of the library of the Dominicans in Ghent were thrown out of the window into the Leie river (Verdée 2008, 266–267). When Loemelensis moved to Leuven for his studies in 1569, the network of schools in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* was still intact. Education had always been a strong pillar of the apostolic mission of the Order of Preachers, and every convent was required to appoint at least one *lector.* Friars were taught according to a typical scholastic progression: Aristotelian logic and natural philosophy first at the *studium artium et naturalium*, before starting theology at the *studium theologicum.* Most of the friaries in the province possessed a *studium* for propadeutic or theological training, or both (Chantraine 1967, 3–61). However, only the Leuven conventual school held the rank of *studium generale*, one of 27 in the entire order recognized by the general chapter in 1551 (Reichert 1901a, 324–325). It was headed by a *regens* holding a university degree, who was assisted by a *lector sententiarium*, a *lector* for the Bible and a master of students tasked with administration.

Three career trajectories stretched out before Dominican pupils: priesthood, preaching, and teaching. Of those three, only the latter two required passage through the *studium generale* in Leuven: priesthood could be attained by studying at the

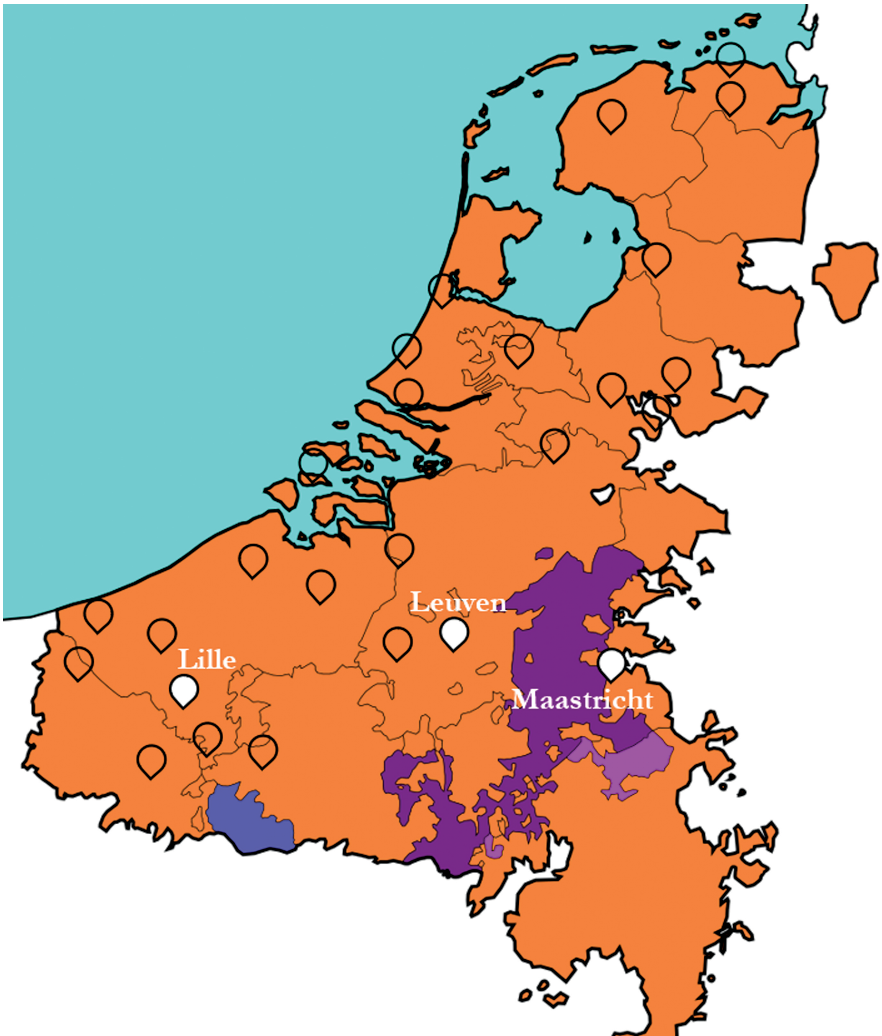


**Figure 2:** Map of all Dominican *studia* in the Habsburg Netherlands before the Dutch Revolt (16th century). Adjusted from David Descamps, CC BY 3.0: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode.

"lesser" *studia.* Indeed, only the brightest and most promising students of the *Provincia Germania Inferior* were sent to Leuven, among whom was our Johannes Loemelensis (Chantraine 1967, 85; Wolfs 1964, 81: *Acta* 1528 and 173: *Acta* 1545). It is now clear to what purpose he was present in Michael Baius' lectures: he knew that he would become either a preacher or a lector at one of the study houses of the convent. His study career was determined by an educational reform initiated at the general chapter of the order in Salamanca held in 1551, and enforced by provincial chapter in Antwerp held in 1553. One of the main concerns in Salamanca had been to improve the intellectual stature of the *lectorate*, rebuking lectors who did not hold a university degree as working above their proper station in its *acta* (Reichert 1901a, 316). This was an issue at the provincial chapter held in Antwerp: "they could not have everyone promoted at university" (Wolfs 1964, 209), moreover, many of the convents did not have the financial means to send lectors-to-be to Leuven's convent. The friars decided to circumvent the general chapter's exhortation by determining that future *lectores* were required to "have heard theology at university for at least three years" (Wolfs 1964, 209). After that, they were to "lecture, publicly dispute and discuss" for two years before obtaining the *lectorate* (Wolfs 1964, 209). The *acta* deliberately make no mention of whether this had to be done at the *studium generale* or one of the lesser schools. This explains why Johannes Loemelensis would follow the Faculty's lectures without actually taking exams or obtaining a degree. It was the provincial administration's way of catering to the Salamantine *ordinationes* without actually having to provide for long and costly studies at the university.

Another problem the 1553 provincial chapter faced was the high number of students at the Leuven convent school: all *cubicula* of the *studium* were occupied. To solve this, the friars mandated that all non-conventual students were to vacate their room in Leuven after three years of studying and return to their own friary. They could also be sent away earlier when they seemed to "indulge more in drinking and chattering" than in study (Wolfs 1964, 208–209). The 1528 chapter had decided that following these three years, the student was to teach *artes* or theology for at least five years (Wolfs 1964, 82). Only after this could he be permitted to start the Faculty's theology program and obtain a degree at the university—leaving his trace in the Faculty's exam register. This prescription of a Dominican's study career aligns perfectly with the codicological analysis of Loemelensis' manuscript. He started in Leuven in 1568, attending Michael Baius' lectures for three years: as Baius' cycle of the entire New Testament took four and a half years to complete, Loemelensis missed the lectures on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. After three years, perhaps right before leaving Leuven in 1571, he had his notes bound into a manuscript (a bound codex is of course easier to carry during travels) and started adding references to the half-leaves. When teaching in Lille, he copied the additional commentary on Romans taught by Thomas Gozaeus from his draft notes, to be finished in 1575. If our friar never returned to Leuven to obtain a university degree, then what might his subsequent career have looked like? The paratextual elements he added to the professorial commentaries might provide clues, as they are a prime example of how students appropriated the lecture texts transmitted to them. With these interventions on the text, Loemelensis emancipated his notes from the linear constraints of the orally delivered lecture, reconfiguring the knowledge contained in it to his own needs.

# 3 Teaching and Preaching at the Frontier in Lille and Tournai

## 3.1 Augustinian Referencing in a Thomist Milieu?

The name "Loemelensis" likely refers to Lomme, a village next to the city of Lille. Johannes thus indeed was sent back to his home convent around 1571, after having finished his mandatory three years of lecture attendance in Leuven's *studium generale.* He was to study and teach at the convent school there for at least two years before becoming a *lector*, and at least five years before being able to return to Leuven for a university degree. During these years he added paratextual material to the half-leaves of his codex in the form of references to the works of both Latin and Greek Church Fathers (mainly Augustine). These references signal that after his studies in Leuven, our student actually engaged with the contents of his lecture notes rather than merely keeping them as a memory of his study career. Although he did not finish, leaving the small leaves largely blank from the Letter to the Hebrews onwards, it was an elaborate project.

For almost every verse parsed in the commentary, Loemelensis sought one or more explanations offered in the works of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory of Nanianzus, Origen, Chrysostom, and others. Thomas Aquinas, however, the Dominican *doctor communis*, is largely neglected. A keyword search performed on a transcription of the manuscript generated using a Transkribus HTR+ model yields only 16 instances in which Loemelensis mentions Aquinas.[18] This is a surprisingly low number, seeing as some of the half-leaves contain up to 40 references. Michael Baius was indeed known for his Augustinian profile and his rejection of the scholastics (Van Der Biest 2021), however these paratextual notes are not part of the lecture text but added afterwards. Professorial intellectual influence cannot entirely elucidate our friar's preference for Augustine and relative neglect of the Domi-

**18** The HTR+ model "Latin_collegenotes_theology_exegesis_v2" (created February 18, 2021) was trained on a set of 17,859 words manually transcribed from MS 434 (additionally, the public model "NeoLatin_Ravenstein_1634–1772" by Annemieke Romein was used as a base model) and has a character error rate of 3.19 %.

nican *doctor angelicus*. How does Loemelensis' agency relate to the intellectual evolutions at his *studium* and in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* at large?

Thomas Aquinas is generally considered as the Dominican order's intellectual center of gravity, pulling the entire Catholic world into its orbit during the 16th century, aided by the Jesuits. This evolution found its educational expression in the gradual replacement of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* by the *Summa* as the foremost handbook for systematic theology at Catholic faculties of theology (Lanza and Toste 2021, 30 – 68). According to Jacob Schmutz, the timing of the latter was a "barometer of Dominican or Jesuit influence" at universities (Schmutz 2018, 226). Indeed, several *studia generale* of the Order of Preachers were in the vanguard of the curricular innovation, making the switch already at the end of the 15th century. For example, the *studium* in Cologne had definitively started using the *Summa* as the basis for theological instruction in 1483 (Schmutz 2018, 223). In Paris, it was a friar from Brussels, Pieter Crockaert (1450 – 1514) who established the new handbook at Saint-Jacques in 1509. One of Crockaert's students, Francisco de Vitoria (1483 – 1546) would become a founding father of the School of Salamanca and be credited with introducing the *Summa* at the university (Goris 2002, 23; Zahnd 2021, 149 – 150; Meuthen 1988, 181). Indeed, the particular institutional context at Salamanca in which the Dominicans held a monopoly on teaching led to the breakthrough of the *Summa* as the handbook at European Catholic faculties of theology (Lanza and Toste 2015, 422). The dominance of Aquinas in theological education was sanctioned in 1567, when he was proclaimed Doctor of the Church at the close of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius V, himself a Dominican. It galvanized the Thomist eclipse of the diversity of intellectual schools that had characterized medieval scholasticism (Schmutz 2018).

This historiographical narrative might exacerbate the notion that Catholic theological teaching was excessively systematic and entirely revolved around Aquinas' "medieval" handbook. Moreover, it was the educational practices at the convent schools of the Dominican order that supposedly influenced the curriculum change at university faculties. The 1523 general chapter in Valladolid indeed endorsed the *Summa*-centered program introduced by Crockaert at the *studium generale* in Paris, simultaneously affirming its status as the "living source that irrigates our entire order with the water of wisdom" (Reichert 1901a, 185). The *acta* prescribe that students in Paris were to follow at least "three daily lectures on Saint Thomas," making no mention of any scriptural teaching there (Reichert 1901a, 186). In 1551, when the Salamantine general chapter rolled out its educational reforms, it stressed that the writings of Aquinas were to be the alpha and omega of teaching for all convents of the order. In the preparatory philosophy courses, "the doctrine of Saint Thomas should be read, declared and defended always by all readers." For sacred theology, "the whole article of Saint Thomas is to be declared, and from Saint Thomas himself [theology] is to be elucidated and difficulties are to be answered according to Capreolus or Cajetan, casting aside our own fancies and booklets [*scartafaciis*]" (Reichert 1901a, 316 – 317). The latter statement in particular casts an almost incriminating light on our friar's notebook. However, the chapter of Salamanca does not explicitly impose the *Summa* specifically as the sole handbook: the Bible remained an important pillar of theological education at all convent schools (also those *praeter studia generalia*). Moreover, the acts of the 1564 general chapter in Bologna confirm that there were still lectures on the *Sentences* rather than the *Summa* in some *studia generalia* of the order (Reichert 1901b, 63). In other words, there seems to have been leeway for regional accents in the intellectual formation of Dominican friars.

At the Faculty of Theology in Leuven, Aquinas' text replaced that of the Lombard relatively late, when a new royal chair was established for the *Summa* in 1596, "in imitation of the Spanish universities and other places."[19] At that occasion, the older chair for scholastic theology also converted to the new handbook, dividing the text between them (Guelluy 1941, 36 – 37; Brants 1908; Martin 1910). Dominican influence at the university was indeed much more limited than in Salamanca or Cologne: the university was governed by the secular clergy. Furthermore, the so-called ordinary professorships at the Faculty were funded by benefices attached to canonships at the chapter of Saint Peter's, leaving the bulk of teaching in the hands of secular clerics (see Boute 1998). In his history of Leuven and its university, theology professor Johannes Molanus (1533 – 1585) does mention that Dominican friar Matthaeus Priem (d. 1540), theology professor and *regens* of the Leuven convent school, gave "public lectures" on Aquinas (De Ram 1861, 516). Also, the provincial chapter of 1538 stipulated that all the *studia theologiae* were to have one lecture from the books of Saint Thomas (Wolfs 1964, 159). In neither case, however, is the *Summa* explicitly mentioned as the specific text on which these lectures were (to be) based. The first indication of its use at the *studium generale* is Jean Watier's tenure as *regens* in Leuven starting in 1550, according to Molanus (De Ram 1861, 518). These lectures did not make an impact on the curriculum of the Faculty. Moreover, when in 1558 Philip II fruitlessly asked the professors whether it would be expedient to replace the outdated *Sentences* with another handbook, they did not even consider the *Summa* as a possibility (De Ram 1844, 213 – 222). If anything, curricular clout seems to have worked in the opposite direction, from the Faculty to the Dominican *studium generale* and even to Lille.

**19** From a letter of the Privy Council to the University of Leuven, June 12, 1595, edited in Martin 1910, 238.

At its 1515 incorporation in the new *Provincia Germania Inferiora*, the convent of Lille and its well-established *studium theologicum* was carved out of the ambit of Paris and brought into that of Leuven. Throughout the 16th century, an increasing number of bright friars were sent to the Brabant university to obtain their university degrees (Chantraine 1967, 351). One of them was Jean Watier (dates unknown), who, although having asked for permission to study in Paris, somehow ended up in Leuven and obtained his doctorate there in 1541. Seven years later, he was promoted to *regens* in Lille by the provincial chapter, the same year in which a new educational program emerged at the convent school there in the *Acta* (see Richard 1782, 57v; Andreas 1635, 110; Seguier 1659, 50). From 1548 onwards, the *studium* would have two lectors: one for Sacred Scripture and one for Saint Thomas (the *Summa* is not mentioned explicitly) (Wolfs 1964, 194). Interestingly, the biblical lectures were reserved for the (university-trained) *regens*, whereas systematic theology was the domain of the regular *lector.* It is clear that Watier's new curriculum was based on the one taught by the two royal professors at the Leuven Faculty of Theology, perhaps even giving more weight to biblical expounding than speculative theology (Chantraine 1967, 44–45). In other words, although Aquinas did constitute an important point of reference for teaching in Loemelensis' home convent, the *doctor communis* and his *Summa* were not its sole gravitational center.

Indeed, Georges Chantraine has posited that biblical teaching already flourished in the *Provincia Germania Inferior* before its official renewal by the Council of Trent (Chantraine 1967, 127–181). In 1564, the general chapter applied the Tridentine decrees by requiring the establishment of scriptural lectures in all convent schools of the Dominican order (Reichert 1901b, 63). The provincial chapter of *Germania Inferior*, however, had already called for a revival of biblical studies in 1522, exhorting all lecturers not to "neglect the text of Sacred Scriptures [...] but to instruct our brothers and exercise themselves in the Bible, and especially in the New Testament" (Wolfs 1964; 49–50). This admonition was repeated during subsequent meetings and cannot be found in the *Acta* of the general chapter or, say, those of the *Provincia Saxoniae*—which would perish at the hands of the Protestants (Chantraine 1967, 135). Teaching of Sacred Scripture in the province culminated with the appointment of Johannes Hentenius as *regens* of the Leuven convent school in 1553, entwining the biblical interests of the Faculty of Theology with those of the Dominicans (Reichert 1901a, 358: *acta* of general chapter in Rome, 1553).

The emphasis on scriptural studies was concomitant to two other shifts in the intellectual fabric of the Dominican region of *Germania Inferior.* Firstly, the threat of the Reformation had reoriented the goals of intellectual activity from a mere means against the sin of idleness, *otium*, towards a defense against the spread of Protestantism (Chantraine 1967, 61–75). Whereas the *acta* of the provincial chapters before 1550 promoted study "*ad otium tollendum*," the formula was replaced by an appeal "*ad studia scripturarum*," to bring about a "*reformatio huius pessimi saeculi*" (Wolfs 1964, 187, 197). The second was a change in orientation from training novices for the priesthood towards preparing them for preaching. Of course, the latter had always been the core of the order's apostolic mission. However, during the 16th century the province increasingly geared itself towards preaching against the new heresies finding their way towards the Low Countries (Chantraine 1967, 28). The policy of sending promising friars to the *studium generale* aimed at improving the intellectual formation of future *praedicatores.*

In summary, zooming in from the general chapter of the order to that of the *Provincia Germania Inferior*, and further down to the local level in Leuven and Lille, gradually decenters the notion of Aquinas and his *Summa* as omnipotent in the curriculum. The geographical position of Loemelensis' province at the frontier of the Reformation engendered a distinct intellectual culture in which biblical knowledge was increasingly weaponized against the spread of Protestantism. Our friar's labor and the resulting manuscript are products of these shifts, and yet push this biblical interest even further out of the *doctor communis'* sphere of influence (even though Jean Watier enshrined teaching on Sacred Scripture at the *studium* in Lille, he still had a Thomist profile that informed his commentaries (Chantraine 1967, 308–333)). Thus, the Augustinian references on the half-leaves in Loemelensis' notebook are an indication that on an individual level too, Dominican friars enjoyed a certain degree of intellectual freedom.

Johannes Loemelensis' addition of these notes after compiling the lecture texts not only show that he studied the commentaries for at least a second time, but also that he intended to further engage with them. These paratextual references add a layer of scriptural interpretation to that given by the professor in the linear text: they allow the reader to immediately find further explanations offered by Church Fathers when going through the verses in the commentary. For example, Loemelensis ensured that when he or one of the other friars read through Baius' commentary on chapter 8 of Paul's Letter to the Romans (Figure 1), they could find additional exegesis on almost all verses with notes on that page (12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20 and 21) in the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Haymo (of Halberstadt, d. 853), Jerome and Bernard of Clairvaux. These references bear a resemblance to commonplace notebooks that collected quotations on certain subjects for easy retrieval. However, in this case, rather than removing verses from their biblical context, the Dominican friar added further interpretation by the Church Fathers. Loemelensis engaged extensively with the writings of Augustine, sporadically referring to specific page numbers, folio numbers or volumes. It is unclear, however, how he orchestrated this remarkable operation of linking biblical passages to the *doctor gratiae's* works. A comparison between the references to Augustine in the manuscript and the three main 16th-century editions of his *Opera omnia* by Amerbach (1505 – 1506), Erasmus (Froben, 1528 – 1529) and the Leuven theologians (Plantin, 1576 – 1577) does not yield any matches. Loemelensis thus probably used a range of different editions and manuscripts, available at the library of his convent.[20] The question as to what use Loemelensis was preparing these notes for cannot be answered conclusively. It is clear that he was a bright student, sent from his home convent in Lille to Leuven in the pursuit of a biblical education. When producing his notebook, he already knew he would apply the knowledge transmitted to him to his order's fight against the heretics, either as a *lector* in the convent school network or as a preacher.

He never returned to Leuven to obtain a university degree, and his absence in the sources signal that he probably never became *regens* of a school. This might not have been because of personal shortcomings, however. Around the time he would have been able to apply to officially enroll at the Faculty of Theology, the university went through its darkest hour. Leuven had first been besieged by William of Orange in 1572, after which an imposing Spanish garrison was stationed in the city in 1578. As a result, student and even teaching staff numbers dwindled, and the university almost dissolved completely, its finances and buildings ruined by the occupation. It would only bounce back in the later 1580s with help of the central authorities, never quite reaching its former glory again (Lanoye and Vandermeersch 2005). Johannes thus might very well have been studying for a future at university, his ambitions cut short by the Dutch Revolt. Instead, he might have become a lower-ranking second *lector*, introducing novices to the scriptural text, or a preacher trying to keep the flock of faithful out of Protestant hands. Another set of paratextual notes points to the latter…

## 3.2 Preaching at the Frontier?

In the margins of his notes on Michael Baius' commentary on Paul's Letter to the Romans, Johannes Loemelensis bracketed certain passages using vertical lines. Next to these sections, he noted down a number of specific (Sun)days of the liturgical calendar: "*dominica 2ª adventus*" (fol. 55v) or "*festo Symonis et Judae*" (fol. 36r), for

**20** Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1505 – 1506): *[Opera omnia] Prima [-undecima] pars librorum.* 9 vols. [Basel: Johann Petri, Johann Amerbach, Johann Froben]; Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1528 – 1529): *Omnium operum primus [-decimus] tomus, summa vigilantia repurgatorum a mendis innumeris.* 10 vols. Desiderius Erasmus (Ed.). Basel: Froben; Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis (1576 – 1577): *Opera tomis decem comprehensa: per theologos Lovanienses ex manuscriptis codicibus multo labore emendata.* 8 vols. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin.

example. They are references to the days on which these passages would have been read during mass, reconfiguring the biblical commentaries to follow the liturgy, but to what rite do they refer? As our student was a Dominican friar, prime suspect would be that of the Order of Preachers, a liturgical tradition that had developed in the 13th century and would remain in use until the 20th (see Bonniwell 1945). Although most of the references in the notebook agree with the reading for that day in the Dominican missal, a difficulty arises for the Sundays after Pentecost.

Contrary to the rest of the Catholic world, the Dominican Order counted the Sundays after the Feast of the Trinity, which was held on the Sunday after Pentecost (Bonniwell 1945, 175). For example, Johannes Loemelensis marked Romans 8.12–17 (fol. 34v) for "*Dominica 8a post festum trinitatis*" (or: the ninth Sunday after Pentecost). In 1551, the general chapter in Salamanca had complicated the Dominican calendar further in its reform of the liturgy: subsequent missals would count the Sundays from the *octave* of the Trinity (Bonniwell 1945, 284). However, a missal from after this reform, printed in 1604, prescribes Romans 8.12–17 for the *seventh* Sunday after Trinity ("*Dominica VI post octava Trinitatis*") rather than the eighth.[21] The same goes for the note below, Romans 8.18–23 (fol. 34v), which Loemelensis dates "*Dominica 4a post festum Trinitatis*," but is read on the fifth Sunday after Trinity (which is the sixth after Pentecost).[22] Interestingly, Dominican missals from before 1551 do agree with Loemelensis' dating.[23] The Salamantine liturgical reform might have gone further than a mere change in date computation, but it is unlikely that the convent in Lille would have used the old calendar as late as the 1570s. Perhaps our Loemelensis was as confused by these different counting systems as the current reader of this article (and its author) and made an error in marking his notes. However, it is also possible that Loemelensis simply used a different missal to collate his notes with the liturgical readings. This would imply that he applied his biblical knowledge to a task that lay outside of his convent in Lille.

A second suspect is the *Missale Romanum*, the instrument promulgated in 1570 by Pope Pius V to standardize the liturgy of the entire Catholic world after the close of the Council of Trent.[24] Although for the vast majority of dioceses the recep-

**21** Page 238 of: *Missale iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1604): Rome: Alfonsus Ciacconius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=lefoIUlq2sgC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

**22** Pages 235–236 of the *Missale iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1604).

**23** One example: *Missale Dominicanum seu Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1484): Venice: Nicolaus de Frankfordia. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=rtlNAAAAcAAJ, last accessed July 30, 2024.

**24** *Missale Romanum, Ex Decreto Sarosancti Concilii Tridentiti restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum* (1574): Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=PbaAYZT1F_AC, last accessed July 30, 2024.

tion of the Roman Missal has not yet been studied, it is likely that it would have been introduced in Loemelensis' lifetime, after he had his manuscript bound in 1571 (Geldhof 2012, 189–190). However, the marginal notes do not align with the calendar of the missal in all cases. For example, Loemelensis marked Romans 8.22–30 (fol. 36r) to be read on the feast day of Simon and Jude (end of October), whereas the Roman Missal prescribes Ephesians 4.7–13.[25] At the promulgation of the *Missale Romanum* (*Quo Primum*, 1570), Pius V did allow dioceses able to prove a distinct liturgical tradition of more than two centuries to retain their own rite (Geldhof 2012, 185). Now, Loemelensis' home convent of Lille was located in the bishopric of Tournai. The diocesan reform of the Habsburg Low Countries in 1559 (promulgated by Paul IV with the bull *Super Universas*) had greatly reduced the medieval bishopric in size, carving the new dioceses of Ghent and Bruges out of its territory. However, the area around the cities of Lille and Tournai remained under the bishop of Tournai, now made suffragan of the Cambrai diocese (Dierickx 1950, 62–63). In other words, this core territory could probably appeal to the vaguely expressed rule about a 200-year liturgical tradition and keep its *Missale Tornacense.* The 1574 Synod of Tournai did call for the use of the *Roman Missal*, however, it was only officially adopted at the provincial council of Cambrai in 1586 (Lottin 2013, 317–318). Thus, Loemelensis could still have been using the Tournai missal for at least three years after his return to Lille.

Indeed, Loemelensis' markings entirely agree with the readings established in the Tournaisian calendar. Like the Dominican missal, a 1527 edition printed in Antwerp counts the Sundays after the Feast of the Trinity. Moreover, on the eighth Sunday Romans 8.12–17 is read and on the fourth Sunday Romans 8.18–23.[26] In other words, Loemelensis could well have been matching the biblical commentaries in his notebooks with the readings during mass performed outside of the walls of his convent, around Lille and Tournai. This indicates that he might have been applying his biblical knowledge to a preaching assignment, the core of his order's apostolic mission. Indeed, our friar had been sent to Leuven to prepare for one of two careers: that of a *lector* or a *praedicator.* Preaching was the most important weapon Dominicans wielded in the dynamic religious landscape of the Low Countries during the first decades of the Reformation. There are several well-known cases of friars risking life and limb to deliver sermons to ordinary believers: sometimes to great popular acclaim, other times provoking attacks by angry crowds (Verdée 2008, 261–270). Moreover, Dominicans often preached in parish

**25** Page 158 of the *Missale Romanum* 1574.

**26** Fol. cx and fol. cvii of the *Missale insignis ecclesie Tornacensis* (1527): Antwerp: Christophorus Ruremundensis. Maurits Sabbe Library, Leuven: P264.12/Fo MISS.

churches. However, scholarship has as of yet been unable to shed a light on preaching during church services, leading to the assumption that its "role must have been limited" (Bosma 2001, 332).

The liturgical references in Johannes Loemelensis' notebook challenge this notion, suggesting that Loemelensis prepared for church sermons based on the scriptural lectures he edited in his notebook. By adding the days on which the specific passages were read, he rearranged the knowledge contained in the commentaries for liturgical use. A similar operation was performed in so-called postils, printed collections of short sermons on biblical passages, sorted according to the liturgical calendar. These were to provide inspiration and examples to less eloquent priests for their preaching. An interesting example is the postil based on the exegetical works of Cornelius Jansenius the Elder (1515–1576), first bishop of Ghent. The former Leuven professor became famous for his biblical commentaries, especially his *Commentaria in suam Concordiam Evangelicam* (1571). Although the latter was published during his episcopacy, it was possibly based on the lectures he gave during his tenure as ordinary professor at the Faculty of Theology. After his death in 1576, the commentary was reworked by a canon from Cologne, Georg Braun (1541–1622), into a collection of sermons (Jansenius 1577) arranged according to the biblical passages to be read during mass (Frymire 2010, 261; Gerace 2019, 215–221). Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598), another Leuven professor who became Michael Baius' successor to the royal chair of Sacred Scripture (1590), would publish a number of *Promptuaria Catholica* in the 1590s (Gerace 2019, 221–247). These would become the most successful postils in the entire Holy Roman Empire around the turn of the century (Frymire 2010, 417).[27] The reorganization of biblical commentaries according to the liturgical calendar in order to compose sermons was thus an existing need for Catholic providers of pastoral care. Loemelensis performed this intervention the best way he could on his already bound codex, by bracketing off sections in the lecture text.

If not within the confines of his friary in Lille, where could our friar have been carrying out his preaching assignment? To avoid competition between different convents, the Dominican order divided its geographical territory in *termini*, districts in which each convent exercised a monopoly on preaching (Simons 1987, 187–193). So-called *fratres terminarii* would visit the different parishes in these districts, whereas higher-ranking *praedicatores generales* could cross the boundaries of a terminus and often simultaneously held the office of *lector* (Verdée 2008, 265).

27 One example: Stapleton, Thomas (1589): *Promptuarium Catholicum ad instructionem concionatorum contra haereticos nostri temporis.* Paris: Michel Sonnius. URL: https://books.google.be/books?id=Wjq936LkLO0C, last accessed July 30, 2024.

Loemelensis could have become either of these two types of Dominican preacher, traveling around and giving sermons. Overlaying the medieval *terminus* of the Lille convent with the boundaries of the diocese of Tournai (and its *Missale Tornacense*) reveals a radius of action around the cities of Lille and Tournai (Simons 1987, 191). Due to their location near the border with France, both cities found themselves at the frontier of the Reformation from the 1560s onwards. Indeed, the possibility of fleeing across the border "emboldened Lutheran and Calvinist clergymen to preach Reformed beliefs more publicly than anywhere else in the Low Countries" (Deschryver 2020, 38; Junot and Soen 2018, 207). As a result, Calvinist communities flourished, headed by Reformed ministers such as Pierre Brully (d. 1545), himself a former Dominican, and Guy de Brès (1522 – 1567) (Deschryver, 38; Moreau 1962, 92 – 118, 144 – 167). However, the path of the two cities diverged with the first wave of iconoclasm in 1566. Maximilian Vilain (1530 – 1583), the governor of Lille who also hailed from Lomme, was able to raise a civic militia and defend the city's churches from being defaced by Reformed inhabitants (Suykerbuyk 2016). Tournai, however, would bear the full brunt of the Iconoclast Fury. In the aftermath, Lille would become a "citadel of the Counter-Reformation" (Lottin 2013), whereas in Tournai a short-lived Calvinist regime would only be repressed by the Duke of Parma in 1581 (Deschryver 2020, 49).

The paratext referring to the liturgical calendar possibly is an indication that Johannes Loemelensis was assigned to give sermons to ordinary believers, as a Dominican counter-offensive to Calvinist preaching. He had been sent to Leuven's *studium generale* by his superiors only three years after the Iconoclast Fury to follow an educational program increasingly geared towards the weaponization of scriptural study. Taking into account the specific context in Lille and Tournai, our friar's home convent might have served as a bulwark of Catholic preaching in the area, preparing their brightest students for that express purpose. This coalescence of intellectual shifts within the Faculty, the Dominican province, and the Lille convent facilitated the transmission of biblical knowledge from the university to the religious frontier. Marking the dates on which certain passages were read during mass was an operation that converted this university knowledge into "applied" knowledge. As such, it suggests that our Catholic cleric indeed prepared for sermons that expounded epistle reading during mass to the faithful. Moreover, he did so based on careful study of the commentaries taught to him at university and additional research on the writings of the Church Fathers. In other words, he performed his intellectual labor to battle Protestants on their own terrain: sound biblical preaching.

# 4 *Nachleben* in the Confessional Borderlands: Maastricht

As the previous sections have shown, Johannes Loemelensis approached the production of his codex with great care and intent. An example of this is his attempts to create separate codicological blocks for the different epistles, allowing him to reshuffle the order of his notes if he wished to do so. These material clues indicate that the manuscript was not merely a tool of study but was made in order to serve a purpose after Loemelensis finished the educational program of the *studium generale.* The additional notes discussed in the second section offer hypotheses as to what this purpose might have been, namely teaching, preaching, or perhaps both. Accordingly, our friar's main concern was legibility: he attempted not to overcrowd the pages with marginal notes, instead interleaving his codex to write down additional references. This manuscript stands in sharp contrast with that of Jacobus Baius, for example, in which marginal and interlinear notes litter the pages, rendering the original commentary almost illegible at times. Moreover, Loemelensis jotted down header titles in the upper margin of each page: the name of the book for the verso side, and the chapter for the recto side. He also added a table of contents, which contains some additional information on Paul and even signals the three commentaries on James and their location within the manuscript (fol. 1v, see Figure 3). It seems that these paratextual elements were included by our Dominican student to allow other readers to browse through the commentaries as well.

Dominican friars were allowed personal use of books and manuscripts for study purposes; however, book ownership was communal and the return of books to the convent libraries was strictly monitored (Thomas 1974). Thus, when crafting his codex, Johannes Loemelensis knew that he was not just toiling for himself, but for his larger religious community. Therefore, he had to work with premeditation, as the manuscript would have to be as clear and legible as possible to other friars. Avoiding messy margins, producing sections that could be taken out for singular use or re-shuffled, and the addition of paratext facilitated this. Indeed, Dominicans were admonished to write legibly so that others from the community could use their work. Moreover, when a friar died, his books were to be given (back) to the library of the religious community or put at the disposal of the provincial, who could hand them out to students. Teachers were allowed to take their writings, Bible, and other books of educational interest when traveling, and if they died during the trip, these would go to the convent at their destination (Thomas 1974, 421–422, 424 and 429–430). One of the above must have happened with Loemelensis' death: we lose all trace of the manuscript's whereabouts after

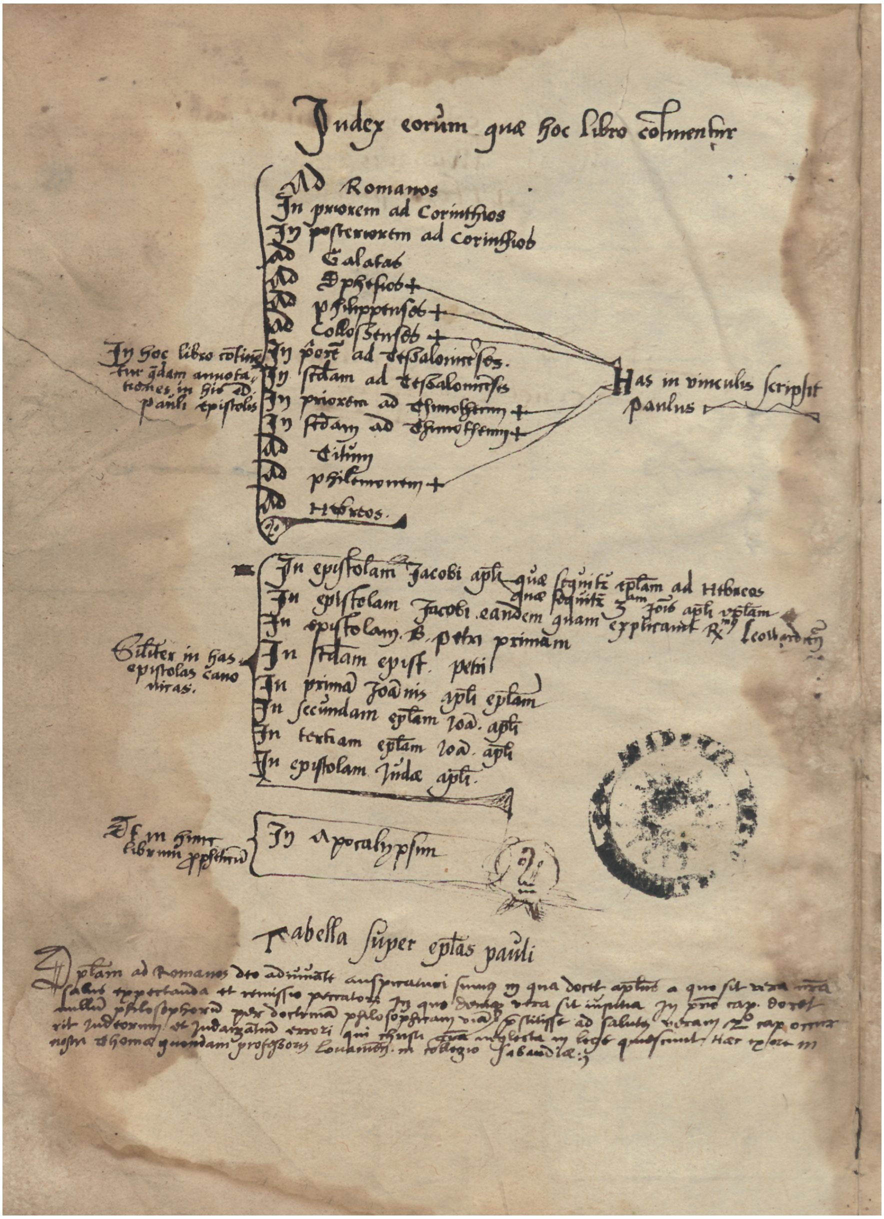

**Figure 3:** Utrecht, University Library MS 434, fol. 1v. Table of contents.

our friar's last colophon in 1575, in Lille. Around the beginning of the 17th century, the notebook resurfaces again in the hands of Dominicus Nullens.

According to the exam registers, Dominicus Nullens (d. 1633), a Dominican friar born in Maaseik (Limburg), did follow the program of Leuven's Faculty of Theology and obtained his baccalaureate degree in 1604 (Vandermeersch 1986, 42 no. 348).[28] After that, his order awarded him a magisteriate and appointed him *regens* at the conventual school in Douai (Meijer 1910, 58). Either during his study career in Leuven or his Douai lectureship, Nullens must have stumbled upon Johannes Loemelensis' notebook (or was it given to him?), writing his name on the front flyleaf. In 1613, he was sent to Maastricht, a convent located on a different, newer border in the Low Countries: that between the Catholic Southern Low Countries and the new Dutch Republic (Meijer 1910, 116). The city and its Dominican convent had suffered greatly during the first phases of the Dutch Revolt. Indeed, Calvinist and Catholic communities lived in constant tension with each other, and several sieges by Spanish and Dutch troops had ravaged the city (Ubachs 1975, 51–56; Bax 1932, 33–34). Eventually, Maastricht would fall into the hands of the Republic, after its capture by Frederick Henry of Orange in 1632, but in 1613 it was still ruled by the Catholic Archdukes.

Dominicus Nullens found the Dominican convent in a state of disrepair: assaults by the Geuzen in 1566 and Dutch troops in 1579 had forced a large part of the community to flee. Moreover, after the withdrawal of Spanish troops in 1577, the convent and its church were plundered and even partially burned down (Meijer 1910, 12). The chronicle of the community written by Vincentius Huntjens (d. 1807) relates how Dominicus Nullens used his family's wealth to rebuild the convent. Additionally, he was the first *lector* to start teaching theology again, after which he became prior in 1615 (Meijer 1910, 12, 58, 116, 125). In other words, Nullens had been sent to Maastricht to restore not just the convent's physical buildings but also its educational program, as a Catholic intellectual outpost at the confessional frontier. Moreover, he took Johannes Loemelensis' codex with him from Douai, as lecturers were allowed to do with their teaching materials. The manuscript thus not only functioned as a tool to transmit biblical knowledge from Leuven's "ivory tower" geographically, but also temporally. Were the ideas on Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Epistle of James, uttered by Michael Baius in a 1570 university lecture hall, taught to Dominican novices in Maastricht more than 40 years later?

**28** The original: *Registrum Contionum, Responsionum, Disputationum et Actuum Facultatis Sacrae Theologia, per Andream Sassenum, descriptum anno 1579*, no. 504, Fonds Oude Universiteit Leuven, Rijksarchief, Leuven.

## 5 Conclusion: From the Lecture Hall to the Confessional Frontier

Manuscript 434 is the material deposit of a process of both a geographical and temporal dissemination of biblical knowledge from the University of Leuven to the confessional frontier in Lille and Maastricht. Codicological, textual, and historical insights demonstrate that this codex is more than just the physical remains of an oral-auditive process of knowledge transfer happening in the lecture hall. Johannes Loemelensis was sent to the Leuven *studium* with the goal of applying his intellectual formation to his order's battle against the spread of Protestantism in the *Provincia Germania Inferior.* Bearing in mind that he was preparing himself to become a *lector* or preacher, he decided to take notes on the lectures on Sacred Scripture he attended from 1568 onwards. Loemelensis attempted to transcode the oral lecture onto a physical carrier with a deliberate and intentional approach—to enable its use in his own lectures or sermons. In this process, both the text and the material codex were manipulated by the student towards his own intellectual intentions, namely the weaponization of biblical knowledge by the Dominican order. For example, our friar took care to create separate codicological blocks by matching quire structure with course content. This way, at the end of his studies in 1571, Loemelensis could have his carefully created notes bound in the order he preferred. The codex was produced with a utilitarian goal, namely the further dissemination of biblical knowledge through the school network of the Dominican order and through preaching to the flock of ordinary faithful. Adding paratext in the form of references to the Church Fathers and the liturgical paratext reconfigured the biblical knowledge it contained to these ends. Moreover, navigational paratext and a neat layout ensured the interoperability of the manuscript, making the knowledge accessible to later generations of Dominican friars. Indeed, Dominicus Nullens' use of the manuscript in the confessional borderlands of Maastricht demonstrates that the ideas it contained had a *Nachleben* long after the oral lecture-event.

Although Loemelensis employed conscious strategies to create his codex, he also clearly struggled against the constraints of the handwritten medium. By trying to add extra lectures on the crucial Letter of James and Letter to the Romans, he had to make changes to his carefully arranged gathering structure and squeeze notes onto the flyleaves of his manuscript. However, it is precisely the material imprint left by these struggles that unveils the student's attempts to shape the transmitted knowledge towards his own goals. This decenters the lecture-event as the sole moment of knowledge transmission. Taking an archaeological approach to the student manuscript reveals a stratigraphy of learning processes, informed by a layering of personal choices and intellectual shifts within the university and the Dominican order. These converged in the production of the student notebook: molding the codex was an operation converting academic knowledge into applied knowledge, from the "ivory tower" to the religious frontier. To summarize, the material analysis of student manuscripts has the potential to broaden the horizon of intellectual history. In this case, a sole notebook unravels the historiographical narrative that a complete lack of biblical study and its dissemination was the Catholic university's great weakness against the spread of Protestantism.

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Dieter Cammaerts

# A Typographical Evolution in the Louvain Lectures on Logic? How Students Used Printed Textbooks between 1474 and 1532

**Abstract:** This chapter examines how the new medium of the printed textbook impacted the teaching of logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts between 1474 and 1532. It builds upon recent research that emphasizes that the printing press augmented the availability of texts for students, but never changed the core activities of universities. This essay studies the typography of textbooks that that were printed in the Low Countries between 1474 and 1532 and contained standard versions of the texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius. It also juxtaposes copies of textbooks with a notebook from a Louvain student to discover textual similarities. I argue that the new medium of the printing press impacted lectures on logic in Louvain between 1474 and 1532. Printers offered fixity when they produced a textbook that was geared towards use during lectures, which resulted in this new medium becoming a part of daily practice when teaching logic.

## 1 Introduction: The New Medium of the Printed Textbook

How did the printing press impact education at early modern universities? This chapter examines this broad question with a case study of the University of Louvain in the Low Countries. In particular, it studies how the new medium of the printed textbook impacted the teaching of logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts between 1474 and 1532, with the help of a dataset I constructed entitled *Manuale Lovaniense*. This dataset offers a list of textbooks that were printed in Louvain and other cities in the southern part of the Low Countries, which could have been used by students and professors in the Louvain Faculty of Arts, as well as in the higher faculties of law, theology and medicine. It uses the existing relational database ODIS, allowing one to connect records of printers, publishers, and authors with records of publications. *Manuale Lovaniense* is at its core a historical dataset of books which works as a counterpart to *Magister dixit*, a database which contains digital reproductions of handwritten lecture notes from the University of Louvain between 1425 and 1797, the year the university was dissolved. Because of its focus

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on book history, the data within *Manuale Lovaniense* is well-suited to study the impact of the printed textbook on the Louvain lectures on logic.

Michael Baldzuhn argues that in order to investigate the true impact of a new medium on teaching, a study of the relationship between that new medium and daily practice during lectures is necessary (Baldzuhn 2010, 2063). Therefore, two methods are used throughout this chapter. First, a typographical study of Louvain textbooks, because typography is the action of arranging print material in service of a specific goal (Morison 1996, 3; Proot 2022, 174). When students possessed a copy of a text and annotated it during lectures, they became listeners, writers, and readers (Baldzuhn 2006, 266). Therefore, to understand how Louvain students used and read a textbook, in this case books that contained standard versions of the texts of Aristotle (384 BCE – 322 BCE) and Porphyrius (c. 233 – 305), it is necessary to study the layout of the page, as this delivers evidence on the intended use. Medieval and early modern books were designed objects that stored and transferred knowledge. Printers utilized certain typographic techniques to enhance their comprehensibility and, as this chapter will show, in the case of textbooks, their usability during lectures (Rautenberg 2015, 320 – 321; Proot 2022, 173). Second, I juxtapose copies of textbooks with a notebook from a Louvain student. The goal is to assess if textual similarities exist between the manuscript and the textbooks at the level of the source text. As such, it will become clear that the new medium of the printing press indeed impacted lectures on logic between 1474 and 1532. Printers offered fixity when they produced a textbook that was geared towards use during lectures, resulting in the Louvain Faculty of Arts becoming a varied media environment.

The rise of universities in medieval Western Europe was a result of the increasing population, as well as the intellectual resurgence during the 12th-century Renaissance. The goal of these novel institutions of higher learning consisted in educating professionals so that they could obtain positions in state and church administrations. Therefore, every university had a Faculty of Arts, as well as higher faculties wherein professors taught the subjects of civil and canon law, theology, and medicine. The method of teaching was scholasticism, meaning professors transferred ideas or knowledge from an accepted *auctor*, such as Aristotle for the courses on logic, physics, and metaphysics, to students by way of his works or *auctoritates*. This occurred through, on the one hand, a *lectio* commentary followed by *quaestiones*, and, on the other hand, examinations in the form of the *disputatio* (Axwell 2016, 4, 18 – 19, 21 – 27, 38; Blockmans 2020, 31, 38; Ebbesen et al. 2014, 43). Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, university lecture halls were hybrid environments. The voice and the ear were the key components of lectures, but students also depended on the written word, as well as printed books after the invention of moveable type (Axwell 2016, 29; Baldzuhn 2006, 264).

Printed textbooks are important sources for studying the transfer of knowledge, and consequently historians, philosophers and neo-Latinists have studied them exhaustively and in various ways. For example, they have reconstructed the printing history of a textbook, or have focused on a textbook during a study of early modern student notes (Groote and Kölbl 2011; Oosterhoff 2018). Nevertheless, researchers have mainly studied these sources from the discipline of the history of ideas, hence focusing on the content. As early as 1993, Evelyn Tribble criticized such studies of the early modern printed book, as she argues that researchers have paid too much attention to the content and viewed the book as merely an unimportant carrier of the text (Tribble 1993, 1). Recently, Ursula Rautenberg renewed this criticism when she indicated not enough attention has been paid to the printed book as a reading medium (Rautenberg 2015, 320). Too strong a focus on content is also present in the historiography on printed textbooks written by Louvain professors in the 16th and 17th century (Lines 2008; Vanpaemel 2014; Geudens 2017; Geudens 2020). Studies on the content of textbooks are important because they provide information about what knowledge and philosophical doctrines the Louvain Arts professors taught to students. However, such studies fail to provide proof on how printed textbooks could be used during lectures. The new medium of the printing press offered novel opportunities, certainly compared to the production of medieval manuscripts, to arrange knowledge into visual units (Enenkel and Neuber 2005, 1–5).

It is undeniable that the invention of moveable type was one on the major media evolutions in western history. A subject that is well-suited for studying the influence of new media is education, especially when it comes to the introduction of the printing press. Recurring themes among scholars who study the impact of the printing press on Renaissance education are printed textbooks and how professors and students coped with this new medium. For instance, in the context of Renaissance music education, John Griffiths argues that the printing press created a new type of music textbook which enhanced private study (Griffiths 2010, 126–127). Hans Rudolf Velten postulates the same idea when he stresses, through a study of reading and writing manuals, that a printed textbook stimulated private study. He also points to its polyfunctionality, as he argues that it was a teaching tool that could be transported between public lecture halls and the private home (Velten 2012, 34, 42–43, 45). Printed textbooks were indeed also used during lectures at universities. In some cases, professors authored a textbook that students could use during lectures, as is proven by the many student annotations in the remaining copies (Groote and Kölbl 2011, 63, 65, 76, 78, 86; Oosterhoff 2018). Ann Blair also stresses the importance of printed versions of the *auctoritates* in university lecture halls because they provided students with a fixed printed text, often with large marginal spaces, giving them the opportunity to add notes (Blair 2008, 49).

To counter the too strong a focus on content in the historiography on printed textbooks used in the Louvain Faculty of Arts, I will focus on the printed versions of Aristotle's and Porphyrius' *auctoritates.* Particularly on those printed in the Low Countries between 1474 and 1532, which students could use in lectures on logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts. The teaching of logic in Louvain during the 15th and beginning of the 16th century has received ample attention. It has become clear that professors were obliged to comment on a prescribed corpus of texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius (Roegiers 1993, 13–14; Roegiers 2012, 27; Papy 2012, 107–113, 119). Every text was treated initially through a *lectio* commentary or *expositio* and, subsequently, a set of questions and objections or *quaestiones.* Based on the study of student notebooks, it has been argued that the *quaestiones* resulted from dictation, whereby students copied the *expositio* beforehand, and subsequently used their copy as a textbook during lectures (Smeyers 1975; Geudens and Masolini 2016, 813–844; Masolini 2016, 204–216; Geudens 2018, 95; Geudens 2020, 289–330).

This is a compelling argument, particularly when studying the teaching of logic from a book-historical perspective. One of the powers of the printing press was fixity, meaning a large number of identical copies containing the same source text and typography could be produced. This occurred in the Low Countries between 1474 and 1532, as printers printed nine editions of books that contained standard versions of texts on logic by Aristotle and Porphyrius. These editions, therefore, are well-suited to elaborate on the existing literature by way of studying how printers, professors, and students coped with the possibilities of the printing press, as well as considering how these textbooks impacted lectures on logic in Louvain between 1474 and 1532.

## 2 Supplying Printed Texts

With the rise of universities, the demand for study material, in this case the scholastic texts that were commented on within university faculties, increased significantly (Beullens and De Leemans 2008, 89). Handwritten texts were indeed important because these enhanced memorization and, to some extent, canonized the content (De Ridder-Symoens 2012, 8–10). In the pre-handpress era, however, it was impossible to offer a copy of the essential works to every student (Baldzuhn 2006, 261; Baldzuhn 2021, 71–73). Nevertheless, students possessed their own notebooks, and how they acquired them differed regionally. For instance, in the university cities of Paris and Bologna, the *pecia*-system existed, giving students the opportunity to acquire handwritten copies of *auctoritates* in the shops of local *librarii* (Shooner 1988, 17–28; Rouse and Rouse 1988, 41–47; Baldzuhn 2006, 263; Soetermeer 2005). In the Holy Roman Empire, several universities established a special lecture so that students were able to produce their own copy of a text. These manuscripts resulted from dictation, and students subsequently used them as a textbook (Jensen 2004, 458, 466; Baldzuhn 2021, 73–74, 79–80). Due to a lack of evidence, it is not clear if both mechanisms were in place in Louvain, but it has been proven that students of the Faculty of Arts also produced notebooks, though seemingly in a less formal manner than did the students in the universities of Paris and the Holy Roman Empire (Smeyers 1978, 245–246; Geudens and Masolini 2016, 820–844). This means that in Louvain, in accord with other European universities, lecture halls were hybrid environments wherein the spoken and written word, as well as the ear, played a significant role.

The invention of moveable type augmented this hybridity. The number of available books, the speed of production, and the quantity of identical copies increased, which resulted in students acquiring a copy of a text more easily than previously (Baldzuhn 2006, 263; Corsten 1987, 84). The printing press also intensified the interaction between artisans and academics, as they relied upon each other to provide printed textbooks to students. An inherent economic reality has to be considered when it comes to printing books: investment was necessary and, as it often took years to sell-out a print run, printers only slowly recouped the costs incurred (Conway 1999, 28). These circumstances impacted their business strategies, leading printers to print books that were certain to be bought. Therefore, works prescribed relating to the curricula of university faculties, as well as textbooks that professors and students used during lectures, constituted an obvious choice for printers. This was especially true when they owned a print shop in a university city (Hirsch 1978, 116; Corsten 1987, 86–88; Döring 2006, 91–95, 97; Eisermann 2008, 162–163).

Already during the incunable (1450–1500) and post-incunable period (1501–1540), professors in Paris and Cologne authored textbooks and sent them off to be printed. Examples include the introductory textbooks on logic by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1537) and the commentaries of the Cologne professors Lambertus de Monte (1430/5–1499) and Gerhardus de Harderwijk (1455–1503). Both Richard Oosterhoff and Severin Corsten have shown that these books were intended for use during lectures, which resulted in printers producing numerous reprints (Corsten 1987, 88; Oosterhoff 2018). Only one edition of a logic textbook authored by a Louvain professor was printed before 1530, in this case by Maarten van Dorp (1485–1525), though his book was not printed in Louvain. In 1512, the Parisian printer Henri Estienne (fl. 1502–1520) printed van Dorp's *Introductio facilis, ad Aristotelis libros logice intellegendos utilissima.* Gilles de Gourmont (fl. 1506–1533), a Parisian who owned a book shop in Louvain, commissioned the print run, and the textbook was intended to be used during van Dorp's lectures in the pedagogy of the Lily (Verbeke 2013, 232–238; Geudens 2020, 295).

This chapter however, focuses on the printed editions of the standard texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius, which constituted the *Organon* of logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts. The statutes from 1429, which were reaffirmed throughout the early modern period, obliged *Artes* professors to read Porphyrius' *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *De interpretatione*, *Analytica priora*, *Analytica posteriora*, *Topica*, and *De sophisticis elenchis* (Roegiers 2012, 27, 29; Geudens and Masolini 2016, 816–820). The first three works constituted the *Logica vetus*, whereas the last four made up the *Logica nova* (Gibson 1982, 54, 57–59). Because printers in university cities could sell these texts locally as well as internationally, these publications were potentially profitable (Corsten 1987, 90, 95). This led Johannes van Westfalen (fl. 1473–1503) and his *socius* Dirk Martens (c. 1446–1534) to print a *Logica vetus* in Alost in 1474. The Louvain printer Conrad Braem (fl. 1474–1483) also printed two editions of the *Logica vetus* in 1474 and 1475, as well as editions of *Analytica priora* and *Analytica posteriora* in 1475 and 1476. After a gap of 33 years, Dirk Martens produced a *Logica vetus* in 1509, a *Logica nova* in 1510, and his first full course textbook on logic in 1525. His son-in-law, Servaas I van Sassen (c. 1495–c. 1556), reprinted the 1525 edition in 1532 (Needham 1982, 6–8, 15–16; Dauwe 1974; State Archives Louvain, nr. 712: fol. 292r, 298rv, 299rv; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1525; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1532).

All of the abovementioned textbooks presume the Latin translations of Boethius (c. 480–525) and James of Venice (?–after 1147). Boethius' translations were compiled at the beginning of the 6th century, as part of his intention to translate all of Aristotle's Greek texts on logic. His translation project eventually only got as far as Porphyrius' *Isagoge*, and Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *De interpretatione*, *Analytica priora*, *Topica*, and *De sophisticis elenchis.* His translation of Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora* has not been preserved, resulting in the translation made by James of Venice becoming the received text from the 12th century onwards. This translation circulated more widely than the texts of other medieval translators, such as William of Moerbeke (ca. 1215–1286), and Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1114–1187). The Latin translations of Boethius and James of Venice together formed Aristotle's *Organon.* Late ancient philosophers read those texts in a certain order, starting with the basics in the works of *Categoriae* and *De interpretatione*, and then proceeding towards the complex theories of reasoning in the *Analytica priora*, *Analytica posteriora*, *Topica*, and *De sophisticis elenchis.* This order also became embedded in the logic curriculum in medieval and early modern universities, particularly in Northern Europe, where the translations of both Boethius and James of Venice served as the basis for the study of logic (Casey 2012; Geudens 2020, 293). This was also true of the Louvain Faculty of Arts, where Boethius was ubiquitous in the lectures on logic. It is, therefore, not unsurprising that the texts in the Louvain textbooks that were printed between 1474 and 1532 contained the translations of Boethius and James of Venice.

## 3 The Typography of the Louvain Printed Lecture Texts

Louvain was not a standalone case when it came to printing standard versions of the works of Aristotle and Porphyrius. Between 1474 and 1532, printers in Cologne, Leipzig and Paris also produced numerous editions and, compared to Louvain, on a much more continuous basis. When studying the typography of these textbooks, it becomes clear that the page layout of the Leipzig editions was different, though it must be noted that the Leipzig printers perfected a technique that was already used by their Venetian counterparts (Eisermann 2008, 163–164). In the Leipzig editions the text was printed in big letters and, in addition to wide margins, they also possessed very large interlinear spaces, which printers obtained by inserting a strip of metal or wood between lines. As a result, students had the opportunity to include marginal and interlinear notes in their copies (Leonhardt 2003, 21–22; Jensen 2004, 465, 481, 488; Eisermann 2008, 163–165). Jürgen Leonhardt argues that this type of layout dominated Leipzig publications between 1490 and 1522, though only in textbooks intended to be used during lectures at the local university (Leonhardt 2003, 24).

Leonhardt focused in particular on the texts of classical authors that professors used for Latin education, but the same layout is also present in textbooks that contain Aristotle's works (Leonhardt 2003, 24; Spandowski 2006, 236). Because of the direct link with academic lectures, Leonhardt defines these books as printed lecture texts, or with the German terms *gedruckte Kolleghefte* and *Vorlesungsdrucke* (Leonhardt 2003, 21; Leonhardt 2008, 90; Leonhardt 2015, 232). These books were also fascicles or small volumes, meaning that printers offered every text separately to students, resulting in students being able to acquire cheap and thin textbooks. If desired, they could bind these fascicles together in a *Sammelband*, which allowed them to possess a full printed coursebook (Leonhardt 2008, 91–92, 95–96).

This chapter will prove that the term printed lecture text can be used to refer to the Louvain editions printed between 1474 and 1532, as they served a common purpose. Although printers opted for a different layout compared to the Leipzig editions, they still ensured that students could use these textbooks during lectures on logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts. In accord with the Leipzig textbooks, they offered fixity to students through a standardized text, with a page layout that allowed students to add annotations. The layout of the Louvain printed lecture texts also evolved, as printers started to include different paratexts in the post-incunables. This shows that printers experimented with typographic techniques and followed evolutions in book design that would become widely accepted during the post-incunable period. Both the Louvain and Leipzig textbooks are to be considered as prime examples of how printers and professors coped with the new medium of the printing press. Printers used certain typographic techniques to ensure that these books were geared towards the needs of students during lectures.

Between 1474 and 1476, both van Westfalen and Braem constructed a well-thought-out business plan to increase the salability and usability of their books. First, they decided to print the Latin translations of Boethius, as the Louvain professors commented on these texts during classes on logic (Papy 2012, 120; Masolini 2016, 209). Secondly, they included wide margins around the text, offering ample space for students to include notes, though they only offered small interlinear spaces. Because 15$^{th}$-century books resembled the physical appearance of manuscripts, incunables often had a rectangular text block with large margins (Proot 2021, 238, 269). However, the layout of the editions of van Westfalen and Braem that contained the texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius differed from other books they produced. Whereas three earlier incunables that van Westfalen printed in Alost contained 33 lines per page and a type area of 147 × 87 mm., his *Logica vetus* had 24 lines and a type area of 132 × 78 mm. The same occurred with Braem, in that, for instance, his *Logica vetus* was set to 23 lines per page and the text block measured 133 × 82 mm., which is significantly smaller than his other books (Needham 1982, 15–16). Both printers deliberately used a smaller type area in books that corresponded with the curriculum of the Faculty of Arts. As a result, they ensured that these printed lecture texts offered ample space for students to annotate.

The large blank spaces were also the result of van Westfalen and Braem printing a continuous text, as was typical for incunables (Janssen 2004, 39; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1474; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1474–1475; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1475; Aristotle 1475). The design of the early printed book evolved slowly because it often took generations for novel typographical techniques to become a common aspect of books (Proot 2015, 45, 48). However, in general, printers of incunables continued traditions that were already present in the production of manuscripts, such as inserting paragraph marks in order to structure the continuous texts into sections (Janssen 2004, 39, 43). It is noteworthy that Braem utilized these marks in his second edition of the *Logica vetus* in 1475, especially when considering that Joran Proot argues that paragraph marks appeared for the first time in a book in the Low Countries in 1483 and subsequently became a typical feature until 1520

(Proot 2021, 256; Proot 2022, 179; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1475). Braem's inclusion of paragraph marks was novel compared with his first edition, and also with the *Logica vetus* of van Westfalen, both produced in 1474 (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1474; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1474 – 1475). With the use of these marks, he divided the continuous text into sections. This assisted the student's reading experience during the professor's dictation. As a result, with the use of paragraph marks, Braem enhanced the usability of his reprint.

The design of printed books changed significantly in the post-incunable period. Book historians agree that between 1501 and 1540 the printed book took its final mature form, as printers included paratexts such as a title pages, running titles, and printed marginal glosses (Mullins 2013, 13; Proot 2021, 238 – 239). These innovations were important, especially when considering their effect on how readers read or used their books. With such paratexts, printers and authors navigated the reader through the text. However, they also utilized certain typographical techniques to enhance its comprehension. Printers marked words or sentences with the use of bold, italic, or capital letters. Moreover, they ruptured the continuous text through the use of indented paragraphs, white spaces, and also titles to inform the reader that a new chapter or treatise had begun. This added division helped the reader to memorize material (Janssen 2004, 41; Rautenberg 2015, 298, 312 – 314). An important auxiliary tool was the printed marginal gloss, which often constituted a single word, a sentence, or a separate paragraph. It offered additional information about a particular word or sentence, or elaborated on the author's hypothesis, meaning that it was always linked to the source text (Tribble 1993, 29, 135, 142; Stenner 2022).

These novelties in book design are present in the four Louvain post-incunables that came off the presses of Dirk Martens and Servaas I van Sassen between 1509 and 1532. In his *Logica vetus*, published in 1509, and his *Logica nova* from 1510, Martens made use of a new page layout. He added running titles and interrupted the source text by way of indented paragraphs and titles as well as sentences, such as "*finis secondi libri topicorum Aristotelis*," to signal the end of a book (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509 – 1510). Another novelty involved printed marginal glosses, which Martens always placed next to the section of the text these elaborated on. The glosses informed the student which information he was able to retrieve from a particular section through words in the form of "*auctoritas*," "*solutio*," and "*obiectio*" or short sentences such as "*tres definitiones specialissimi*" and "*due definitiones generalissimi*" (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509 – 1510). As a result, when the professor dictated a definition or mentioned a proposition of Aristotle's, the student immediately knew to which part of the source text he needed to turn.

The splitting up of the text, the running titles, and the printed marginal glosses led to a larger type area, but this was a common feature of books in the Low Countries. Whereas for incunables, the ratio between the type area and blank space on a page was 44 % to 56 %, these numbers were reversed during the post-incunable period (Proot 2022, 179). Both the textbooks of 1509 and 1510 were set to 35 lines per page, and the type area measured 190 × 115 mm. without glosses, and 190 × 140 mm with glosses (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509 – 1510). Martens and van Sassen produced almost identical reprints in 1525 and 1532. The textbook of 1525 was set to 34 lines with a type area of 205 × 116 mm. without glosses, and 205 × 140 mm. with glosses, whereas the 1532 edition had 36 lines with a type area of 216 × 123 mm. without glosses, and 216 × 150 mm. with glosses (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1525; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1532). This enlargement had a significant impact on how students could use these textbooks during lectures on logic, because it reduced the blank space on the page. Hence, in comparison with the incunables of van Westfalen and Braem, the post-incunables were less suited for students to annotate around the type area.

The Faculty of Arts also had an important role in the production of the printed lecture texts from 1509 and 1510. Its professors compiled the manuscript, meaning they devised the titles and wrote the marginal glosses. This was the result of the dean of the Faculty and the regents of the four pedagogies contacting Martens in 1509 to print a *Logica vetus* on commission. They had a dual incentive. They wanted to standardize the course material throughout the four pedagogies and offer students a tool to be used during lectures. As the contract stipulated, Martens allowed ample space for writing (State Archives Louvain, nr 712: fol. 277r; Dauwe 1974). In 1510, Martens was again commissioned to print the texts of the *Logica nova*, which he produced in two separate print runs (State Archives Louvain, nr 712: fol. 292r, 298rv, 299rv; Adam 2018, 107). When it comes to the source text there are only small differences between the two post-incunables and the incunables. The professors ensured that Aristotle's doctrine stayed pure and was easily comprehensible to students, meaning they did not need to offer a commentary. Instead, and also because of lack of time, they compiled a text almost identical to Boethius' original, though free from anything they considered too lengthy or redundant (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509 – 1510).

## 4 Using the Printed Lecture Texts

The majority of students matriculating in the Louvain university started their studies at the Faculty of Arts. The four pedagogies of the Pig, Lily, Falcon, and Castle were the cornerstones of the Faculty and served a dual purpose. Each pedagogy was presided over by a regent and employed its own professors who were often graduates of the Faculty, as well as baccalaureates from the higher faculties of law, theology, and medicine. The latter resulted in students following lectures on logic, physics, and metaphysics in one of the pedagogies. In addition to being schools, the pedagogies were also places of residence in which students not only enjoyed their meals, but also followed a daily schedule that centered around lectures, study, and recreation (De Maesschalck 2021, 19, 29, 259–260). From 1450 onwards the pedagogies were well established within the Louvain Faculty of Arts, but there being multiple professors led to the course on logic not being uniform. For instance, the pedagogy of the Lily embraced the ideas of humanism, while in the last quarter of the 15th century several professors of the pedagogy of the Falcon were punished for not teaching the doctrine of Aristotle correctly (Ijsewijn 2015, 393, 411; Geudens 2020, 7–8).

Scholars have devoted a good deal of attention to the organization of the Louvain Faculty of Arts, its method of teaching, and how Louvain students took notes. Arts professors, as mentioned in the previous section, were obliged by the statutes of the Faculty to comment on a fixed corpus of texts from Aristotle and Porphyrius during lectures on logic (Roegiers 1993, 13–14; Roegiers 2012, 25, 27; Papy 2012, 107–113, 119). Through study of 15th- and early 16th-century student notebooks, it became clear that the daily practice largely corresponded with the theoretical framework, with the exception of the reading of Aristotle's *Topica.* Whereas professors treated Porphyrius' *Isagoge* and Aristotle's books *Categoriae*, *De interpretatione*, *Analytica priora*, *Analytica posteriora*, and *De sophisticis elenchis* in their entirety, they only commented on the first two books of the *Topica*, while the statutes prescribed that they read the first four of the eight books that constituted this work. This gap was sometimes filled through the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* of the other books of the *Topica*, giving students at least a short introduction to the omitted books. This occurred, for instance, in 1482, when three students inserted the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* of book three and four in their notebooks, while in 1502 a student added the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* of books three to eight (Geudens and Masolini 2016, 823; Masolini 2016, 210–211; Geudens 2018, 84–85).

These handwritten notebooks also provide evidence about the method of teaching logic in Louvain and how students took notes. The professors commented on every work detailed in the curriculum through, on the one hand, textual exposition, which Louvain students often defined as *continuationes* in the colophons of their notebooks and, on the other hand, *quaestiones* (Smeyers 1975, 247; Masolini 2016, 208–209). The *expositio* was a *lectio* commentary, a teaching tool that flourished within medieval universities. It delivered a literal explanation of an authoritative text to students so that they obtained a detailed and complete knowledge of it. *Lectio* commentaries always followed a typical structure in order to enable memorization. The authoritative text was divided into passages and sections followed by paraphrases or the *expositio* (Weijers 1995, 11–16; Ebbesen et al. 2014, 60–63).

This approach also was used in Louvain where professors divided each work into books, treatises, and chapters. A brief survey then followed through the introduction of a lemma, which was consequently explained by way of paraphrases (Masolini 2016, 208–209; Geudens 2020, 289). As a result, students received a content analysis of the works of Aristotle, in particular, an introduction to his doctrine. The *quaestiones* delved deeper into Aristotle's doctrine through a set of questions and/or objections by which professors explained aspects that were either unclear or were considered to be problematic. In correspondence with the *expositio*, they followed a typical structure. The chapters discussed in the *continuationes* were briefly summarized, followed by clarifications through *notanda*, and ending with questions and objections (*quaeritur*, *obicitur*, or *arguitur*), as well as answers that started with *respondetur*, *dicitur*, *dicendum quod.* Scholars often consider the *quaestiones* to be more relevant sources because these contained new ideas and had an explanatory nature, whereas the *continuationes* stuck closely to Aristotle's original text (Masolini 2016, 209; Geudens 2020, 289–290; Coesemans 2019, 26–27).

When questioning, however, how a printed textbook that contained a standard version of the texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius was used during lectures, the *continuationes* are important sources. A study of the notebooks revealed that the physical appearance of the *expositio* differed from that of the *quaestiones.* The *continuationes* constituted one column and contained neat handwriting, suggesting these were not written during lectures. The *quaestiones*, in contrast, consisted of two columns and were penned in a fast handwriting with many more abbreviations, which suggests these were the result of dictation. It has been argued that students copied the *continuationes* beforehand, and then used them as a textbook during lectures on logic. The argument behind this is that, first, these sources contain marginal notes that elaborate on the text, and they were written in the same handwriting as the *quaestiones.* Second, the *continuationes* are paraphrases or abridgments that are very similar to Aristotle's original text and, moreover, identical passages occur in different notebooks (Smeyers 1975, 252–254, 260–262; Masolini 2016, 212–214; Geudens 2018, 95; Geudens 2020, 290–292).

The argument about the copying of the *expositio* beforehand and then using this copy as a textbook is compelling and important for assessing the impact of the printing press on lectures of logic in Louvain. It shows that the Louvain lecture hall was already a varied media environment, becoming, as I propose, even more varied after the invention of moveable type. Between 1474 and 1514, scribal culture continued to exist alongside the use of printed textbooks in the Louvain Faculty of Arts. This is proven by the existence of six notebooks which Louvain students produced between 1477 and 1514 (Geudens 2020, 302–325). It is also possible that students did not actively use a printed textbook before 1509, or had difficulties acquiring a copy, as printers in the Low Countries did not produce any printed lecture texts between 1476 and 1509. However, students who did acquire such printed lecture texts received a new teaching tool that alleviated the need to copy because it replaced the handwritten *expositio.* Moreover, they annotated their copies during lectures, which is proven by the many notes that are present in surviving copies. I argue that this was the true impact of the printing press on lectures in the Louvain Faculty of Arts. It did not change the daily practice of teaching as the *lectio* commentary and the *quaestiones* remained the key components of lectures on logic, nor did it oust scribal culture. In fact, the printed textbooks led to the lecture halls becoming an even more hybrid environment, as from 1474 onwards, the printed word accompanied the voice, the ear, and the written word.

When textually comparing the Louvain printed lecture texts with a student notebook from 1502, it becomes clear that the source texts contained therein are similar and, in some cases, even identical. In his notebook from 1502, the student Alardus Tassard employed a typical page layout. It is noticeable that he wrote a few phrases in bold letters, such as "*mox de generibus dicetur,*" "*videtur autem quod nec*" and "*tripliciter ergo dicendum*," to introduce a lemma (Ms. 0609, fol. 15v – 16r). These short sentences match the beginning of the corresponding lemma in the printed textbooks. For instance, in Braem's *Logica vetus* from 1475, these sections start with "*mox de generibus & speciebus*," "*videtur autem neque genus neque species simpliciter dici*" and "*tripliciter igitur cum genus dicatur*" (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1475, fol. 1r – 2r). There is only a small difference in the *Logica vetus* from 1509, and in its 1525 and 1532 reprints, as the professors omitted the word *mox* and constructed the following opening to that sentence: "*de generibus ergo & speciebus dicere*" (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509 – 1510, Aiirv; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1525, Aiirv; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1532, Aiirv).

The similarity of these passages delivers the first evidence that students who acquired a printed lecture text were no longer required to copy the *expositio* by hand. The copying by hand must have been a laborious endeavor because, in addition to Aristotle's and Porphyrius' texts, the student Alardus Tassard copied many introductory sentences. In his notebook, the bold letters are followed by paraphrases which always start with an introduction to the subject the *auctor* discusses before stating his definitions and propositions. It is noticeable that the definitions and propositions are often underlined and similar or even identical to Boethius' original, as well as with the source text in the printed textbooks because these contained his translation (see Table 1). Table 1 is composed of sentences originating from the student notebook from 1502, Braem's *Logica vetus* from 1475, and the *Logica vetus* printed by Martens in 1509. Many more examples could be given, but it is clear that Table 1 delivers conclusive proof that printed lecture texts could replace the earlier copying of the *expositio.* However, small differences exist between the source text of the incunable and the post-incunable, as well as between the handwritten notebook and the two printed textbooks. The textual difference between the two textbooks results from the production process of the edition from 1509. As mentioned earlier, the Faculty of Arts financed the print run of the *Logica vetus* from 1509, and its professors compiled the manuscript. Table 1 shows not only that they ensured the purity of Aristotle's doctrine by staying close to Boethius' original translation, but that the compilers of the manuscript also omitted anything they considered to be too lengthy or redundant.

**Table 1:** Comparison of a notebook with two printed textbooks.

| Notebook from 1502 | Logica vetus from 1475 | Logica vetus from 1509 |
|---|---|---|
| "*in prima particula Porphyrius enumerat tres questiones dificiles a quibus vult abstinere … quod subsistantia utrum sint corporata an incorporalia, et utrum sint separata a sensibilibus ut in sensibilibus posita …*" | "*sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporalia ! et utrum separata a sensibilibus an in sensibilibus posita*" | "*et si corporalia sint an incorporalia. Et utrum separata sint a sensibilibus an in sensibilibus sint posita*" |
| "*quod dicitur ab aliis rurso dicere genus uniuscuiusque generationis principium ut ab eo qui genuit ut a loco et quo quis genitus est*" | "*Dicitur autem et aliter rursus genus quod est uniuscuisque generationis principium vel ab eo qui genuit vel a loco in quo quis genitus est*" | "*altero modo dicitur genus; quod est uniuscuiusque generationis principium: vel ab eo qui genuit vel a loco in quo quis genitus est*" |
| "*Cum genus tripliciter dicatur de genere tertio modo apud philosophos sermo est quod diffinientes dicitur genus est quod praedicatur de pluribus differentibus specie in eo quod quid est ut animal*" | "*Tripliciter igitur cum genus dicatur ! de tertio apud philosophos sermo est, quod etiam describentes affignaverunt genus esse dicentes quod de pluribus et differentibus specie in eo quod quid sit predicatur ut animal*" | "*Tripliciter ergo cum genus dicatur, de genere tertio modo apud philosophos est sermo, quod diffiniverunt. Genus est quod praedicatur de pluribus differentibus specie: in eo quod quid est: ut animal*" |
| (Ms. 0609: fol. 15v–16r) | (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1475, fol. 1r–2r) | (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509–1510, Aiirv) |

There are also textual differences between the notebook and the printed lecture texts, which is explained by the fact that the two books only contain Boethius' Latin translation. The notebook, however, does contain introductory sentences such as "*in prima particula Porphyrius enumerat tres quaestiones difficiles in quibus vult abstinere*," which stem from the way professors taught logic in Louvain (see Table 1). They dictated a text and started every text of Porphyrius and Aristotle with a brief introductory survey. In this case, the professor indicated that Porphyrius sums up three difficult questions in the first part of his *Isagoge*. The sentence quoted above was not part of the printed source text in the textbook from 1475, but professors were still dictating those words when students used a copy of this printed textbook during lectures. This is proven by the annotations of an anonymous student. He wrote a similar introductory phrase as the one quoted above in the margin and also added "*primo quaestio difficiles*" and "*secundo quaestio*," next to the sentences in the source text dealing with these questions (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1475, fol. 1r). An additional difference between the two printed lecture texts is that in the *Logica vetus* from 1509 these sentences are accompanied by the following printed marginal gloss: "*tres questiones difficiles*" (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509–1510, Aiir). This eliminated the need for the student to write down the introductory phrases. In the case of the Louvain Faculty of Arts, the theory is that students produced notebooks until 1514, only for these to disappear until the end of the 16$^{th}$ century. From 1594 onwards, this system of writing a notebook returned. The majority of the 16$^{th}$-century Leuven students thus no longer slavishly copied their professor's dictation, but took notes in the margins of their printed textbooks (Geudens and Papy 2015, 367–371). The *Logica vetus* of 1509, which was printed on commission for the Louvain Faculty of Arts, therefore counts as the beginning of that evolution towards primarily using printed textbooks during lectures on logic.

Because of the printing on commission and the involvement of professors, the *Logica vetus* from 1509 and the *Logica nova* from 1510 are examples of local knowledge creation, as these textbooks reflect local teaching practices from the beginning of the 16$^{th}$ century (for the importance of local knowledge production, see Johns 1991, 5, 16–17). As mentioned earlier, professors only commented on the first two books of Aristotle's *Topica*. It was probably not feasible for them to comment on the prescribed first four books because of the tight lecture schedule, as the course on logic had to be completed within nine months (Papy 2012, 107; Masolini 2016, 210). But professors did offer students an introduction to the other six books by way of the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*. This is proven by their presence in the student notebook from 1502. When studying which texts of the *Topica* are included in the *Logica nova* from 1510, it appears that Martens printed the first two books followed by the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* of book three to eight (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1509–1510, aiir–d5v). These disappeared in the reprints of the two textbooks from 1525 and 1532, which contained the text of the eight books of the *Topica* (Aristotle and Porphyrius 1525; Aristotle and Porphyrius 1532). One copy of the reprint from 1532 contains numerous student annotations in book three, but none in book four, which suggests that this student attended a lecture in which book three was treated. This could mean that, because of the printed textbook, professors were able to comment on more texts within the nine-month period. However, this theory requires more evidence to be conclusive, as only three copies of the reprints from 1525 and 1532 remain, and only one of those contained student annotations.

## 5 Conclusion: The Value of Book History

It is noticeable that almost all of the studies on the teaching of logic in the medieval and early modern Louvain Faculty of Arts focused on student notebooks as primary sources. This is not surprising as these are first-hand testimonies from within the lecture halls. These manuscripts offer ample evidence on the daily practice of teaching and the transfer of knowledge in that context. However, in order to reconstruct a full picture of the teaching of logic, it is necessary to include printed books. The Louvain Faculty of Arts was after all an environment wherein scribal culture existed alongside a thriving book culture. Therefore, I argue that studying this subject from a book-historical perspective involving typical book-historical methods such as a consideration of typography, is important. This is particularly the case when questioning how the new medium of the printing press impacted everyday teaching practices.

In this article, I have focused on printed lecture texts, or textbooks that contained standard version of the texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius, that were printed in the Low Countries between 1474 and 1532. I follow Michael Baldzuhn's theory that, in order to investigate the true impact of a new medium on teaching, a study of the relationship between that new medium and daily practice during lectures is necessary. This means that in order to obtain conclusive results on the impact of the printing press, is it necessary to study the printed textbooks of the time, as well as the type of sources students already made use of before the arrival of the new medium. Therefore, I chose to study the page layout of nine printed lecture texts. The study of typography is important as this is the action of arranging print material in service of a specific goal. This means that the design of a book was always the result of a well thought out plan. Moreover, as we have seen in the case of both the Louvain and Leipzig textbooks, these typographical choices were often aimed at meeting the needs of the members of a local university. As a result, the page layout of a textbook reveals its intended use, but in order to assess how students actually used these sources during lectures on logic, a textual comparison between handwritten notebooks and printed textbooks is necessary.

Through this combination, it has become clear that the new medium of the printing press indeed impacted lectures on logic in Louvain between 1474 and 1532. A typographical study of the nine editions reveals that printers offered fixity, as they produced a textbook that was geared towards use during lectures. This was made possible by a specific page layout and the inclusion of a standard version of the texts of Aristotle and Porphyrius. Moreover, printers ensured that textbooks evolved by way of using typographic techniques and paratexts, thereby improving usability during lectures. I argue, however, that the printing press did not change daily practice in lectures on logic between 1474 and 1532, as these still centered around the *expositio* and the *quaestiones.* The actual goal of purchasing these textbooks was to replace the copying of the *expositio*, which alleviated the students' writing task. Students who acquired a printed copy were also able to add marginal notes during lectures. Therefore, this case study of the Louvain Faculty of Arts affirms the theories of Baldzuhn and Gavin Moodie. Both argue that the printing press augmented the availability of texts for students, but never changed the core activities of universities (Baldzuhn 2006, 263, 266; Moodie 2014, 465–466; Baldzuhn 2021, 74). Hence, the printed textbook needs to be considered as an artifact that supported the oral communication between professors and students (Baldzuhn 2021, 85). This was exactly what occurred in Louvain where the printed textbook became a part of daily practice when teaching logic. As a result, because of the printing press, the Louvain Faculty of Arts became a varied media environment between 1474 and 1532.

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Clément Poupard

# The "*Histoire Totale*" of Francesco Panigarola's (1548–1594) *Trattato della Memoria Locale* through *Stemma Codicum* and the Materiality of Books

**Abstract:** Following the lead from Ann Blair's "*histoire totale*" of Jean Bodin's *Universae Naturae Theatrum* (1596), this chapter intends to present the total history of Francesco Panigarola's (1548–1594) *Trattato della Memoria Locale*. This book contains the considerations of the famous predicator about the rhetorical art of memory (the "classical art of memory" of Frances Yates) and was used as a manual by his students and fellow Franciscan brothers in Rome. As this book circulated over decades as a manuscript, particular attention will be given to its *stemma codicum* and to the materiality of its various exemplars to understand its reception. Exemplars hastily copied, realized to fulfill practical uses, differ from lavish manuscripts designed to be offered as gifts. I will end the "*histoire total*" of this manual with its editorial history in the 17th century and with a study of the reception of the printed copies.

## 1 Introduction: Francesco Panigarola's *Trattato* as a Test Case for a "Histoire Totale" of a Book

Early modern studies on education, including university education, tend to neglect the role of memory in learning. This disregard is intriguing, as the existence of specific memory techniques has been strongly highlighted by historians of ideas. It is possible that, precisely, the emphasis put on the inclusion of the art of memory into the history of eremitism and into the history of philosophy at large, may have repelled investigations of the most prosaic pedagogical uses of early modern mnemonics. Indeed, by utilizing the polysemic syntagm "art of memory," Frances A. Yates and Paolo Rossi (Rossi 1960; Yates 1966) have conflated rhetorical technique, occult practices, and other pedagogical or scientific methods which are very different from one another. However, as its name indicates, the art of memory was, primarily, an art devised to memorize information. As such, this chapter aims to highlight the very mundane nature of early modern mnemonics and to explore some current questions about this know-how: how widespread was the art of memory? Who used it? For what purposes?

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Such an approach is not novel. Historians of the late middle age have already investigated the creation and circulation of mnemonic knowledge (Heimann-Seelbach 2000; Doležalová, Kiss and Wójcik 2016). A specific case has already been attentively scrutinized, i. e., the mnemonic teaching of the *Wanderhumanist* Jacobus Publicius (? – d. after 1493) at the university of Erfurt and the history of his *Ars memorativa* both before and after it was published.[1] Such investigations are recent, and as the non-specialists often stick with Yates's pioneering but dated *Art of Memory*, their effects on the field of history remain limited. Following their lead, this chapter will debunk one historiographical myth, namely Yates's assumption that the Franciscans focused on lullism while the art of memory was a Dominican specialty (Yates 1984, 175, 261). More precisely, this paper seeks to offer insights regarding the utilization of the art of memory inside the Franciscan order, as well as proposing methodological reflections for the study of manuals which went from manuscripts to printed books.

Indeed, Franciscan authors have published various mnemonic manuals during the Middle Ages (see, e. g., Rivers 1999) and continued to do so during the early modern period.[2] As predicators, they were interested in different ways of enhancing their oratorical abilities. If *memoria* did not become a focus within the rhetoric tradition, in contrast to *inventio* or *elocutio*, it remained nonetheless one of the five conventional parts of rhetoric. In this context, some Franciscans investigated the artificial memory described in the classical treatises of rhetoric (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III, 16 – 22; Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 354; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, XI, 2). Bright orators, such as Francesco Panigarola (1548 – 1594), did not hide their utilization of mnemonics and spread these techniques when they taught rhetoric to their fellow brothers. It is, however, difficult to generalize, as few scholars have investigated Franciscan intellectual and educational history beyond 1517 (Roest 2015, 196; on Franciscan education before 1517, see Roest 2000). The memory techniques of Francesco Panigarola, considered one of the most famous predicators of his time, present the advantage of being well-documented.

To understand the utilization of mnemonics in the education of Franciscan friars, I did not perform an intellectual microhistory focused on Francesco Panigarola, but I have rather undertaken an erudite study of the Franciscan's mnemonic manual. Following the path opened by Ann Blair in her study of Jean Bodin's *Universae Naturae Theatrum* (1596), I intended to present a "*histoire totale*" of a single book (Blair 1997, 9). Starting with Panigarola's autobiographical account of

**1** On Publicius in general, see Heimann-Seelbach and Kemper (2018, 333 – 395). On Publicius' reception and fortune, see Heimann-Seelbach (2000, 116 – 132). On Publicius' teaching at Erfurt, see Kemper (2018 and 2021). And on the history of Publicius' printed text, see Merino Jerez (2020).

**2** Gesualdo 1592; Marafioto 1602; Castrovillare 1721.

the creation of the treatise, such an undertaking requires paying close attention to the various copies realized by Franciscan brothers, as well as the motivations behind its publication as a printed book, and finally to its reception by its international readership. Indeed, the audience of the treatise was not static. From a manuscript realized for personal uses in the 1570s, the *Trattato della memoria locale* became a text circulating inside (and outside) the Franciscan order, before being put into print and appropriated by a large audience.

These different stages of the *Trattato*'s circulation require the uses of different tools by the historian investigating them, but all of them imply the same methodological stance: the use of the utmost erudite methods available to scholars. This position was formalized four decades ago by bibliographers (McKenzie 1986) and then by Armando Petrucci who merged the methodologies of various ancillary sciences with bigger historical questions (e. g., Petrucci 2002). This position was also used as a research program by the French medieval "*nouvelle erudition*" (Potin and Théry 1999). While early modern intellectual history had not been characterized by such methodological claims, knowledge production in the Renaissance has already been studied through the analysis of the very material dimension of the sources. For instance, the study of watermarks has been utilized as a reliable method to understand the circumstances of the creation of miscellanies produced in the context of university teaching (Lepri 2022).

In this historiographic framework, even a topic traditionally inquired into by specialists of philosophy (Rossi 1960; Yates 1966) or literature (Bolzoni 1995; Carruthers 1990, 1998; Carruthers and Ziolkolwski 2002) may be very fruitfully investigated according to paleographical, codicological, philological, and bibliographical methodologies. In the case of Panigarola's *Trattato*, the attention paid to the material aspects of the different manuscripts, and the realization of the *stemma codicum* (see the annex), have been key explanatory factors. Likewise, a bibliographic approach to the printed treatises focused on the difference between every edition and on the *ex-libris* and *marginalia* of extant copies has also brought significant data about the reception of the last stage of the *Trattato*'s life.

## 2 Panigarola's Manuscript and Its Circulation within the Franciscan Order

The stories of the first encounters between Francesco Panigarola and the art of memory should be considered with critical distance. Indeed, the only available source of information consists in the five manuscript testimonies of the *Vita scritta da lui medesimo*, an autobiography he wrote in 1590, edited by Fabio Giunta in

2008. The *Vita* is not an exceptional book, as various autobiographies of ecclesiastics were published in the 16th century as examples of ideal Christian lives (Panigarola 2008, 9). Thus, the narrative told by Panigarola should be studied with a skeptical mindset. An instance illustrating the doubtful character of his story can be found in the episode of Panigarola's discovery of the principles of the art of memory when he was very young: he mentally situated different passages of a Ciceronian discourse on a painted frieze in his classroom (Panigarola 2008, 57–58, 218). The anecdote in itself is not implausible, as such autodidactic discoveries happened from time to time, the best-known example being patient S studied by the Russian psychologist Alexander Luria (Luria 1968). However, as the *topos* of the young prodigy was common in autobiographies at this time, it is probable that Panigarola exaggerated his precocity.[3] The second mention of the art of memory is far less spectacular and thus more credible. Panigarola explained he had heard about mnemonics in the classical rhetoric manual *Rhetorica ad Herennium* while he was a Franciscan novice in Florence, around 1570–1571. He insisted on having learned the art of memory as an autodidact (Panigarola 2008, 69, 218), a claim which is impossible to confirm or disconfirm. It only indicates that such a statement was believable, and thus that mnemonics was not usually taught in Franciscan *studia.* Following his novitiate, Panigarola became a *lector* at the *studia* of Florence (1573–1575), Bologna (1575–1578), and Rome (1578–1582), while earning the reputation of being an outstanding orator (Benzi 2016, 87–88; Panigarola 2008, 90–111). As Filippo Mignini has already established, the *Trattato* was written during Panigarola's years as a teacher. Indeed, the manual makes references to Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) and was mentioned in the dedication of Panigarola's *Modo di comporre una predica* (1584) to his Roman students (Mignini 2013, 61). Consequently, the *Trattato* was written between 1572 and 1582.

The technical content of the *Trattato* is easy to apprehend, as it is almost identical from one manuscript to another. It consists in the classical, rhetorical, art of memory and is similar to quantities of other mnemonic manuals written in the 16th century. It starts with a list of rules concerning the creation of "*luoghi*," mental locations such as a house or a church. The building is itself divided into smaller locations, such as doors or windows. These places are the containers of images symbolizing information. The images should interact with the place in which they are located, for example, to remember a certain Francesco placed in front of a door, the orator could imagine Francesco opening the door with a key (Panigarola

**3** This *topos* seems to be highly regarded by other practitioners of the art of memory. Della Porta had probably lied about his age to be able to present his childhood as the one of a gifted child (Piccari 2007, 16–18), and Bruno presented himself as precociously intelligent from the cradle (Ciliberto 2020, 25–26; he also claimed to know the art of memory "adhuc puer," 35).

1599, 80r). Thus, the predicator who had established a fixed mental route around and inside a church could locate images symbolizing parts of a sermon in his various mental locations and, while performing his discourse, would check his mental images to remember the different themes he has to talk about. The fixed order of the mental trip allowed the orator to structure the information he stored in his *luoghi*, and thus to remember the different parts of the discourse in the order he had placed them.

Mastery of different mental places is thus necessary to the practitioner of the art of memory, as well as the ability to create efficient memory images. For this purpose, Panigarola gave various rules concerning the creation of images, taking into account the nature of the information to memorize: the rules are different if the thing to memorize is a concept, a word easily visualized, a word difficult to visualize (such as a conjunction), a number, etc. These sets of rules were typical of a mnemonic manual. Then, after explaining how to erase the mental images (another inescapable chapter in mnemonic treatises), Panigarola provided his readers with a second method.

Instead of dividing a building into small places and locating images in them, the practitioner may imagine inhabitants of ten Italian cities ordered alphabetically (Ancona, Bologna, Como, Drapani, etc.). The mental images should interact directly with the inhabitants in order to be memorized. This technique is less common than the first one, but similar methods existed before Panigarola discovered the art of memory, like the one devised by Della Porta in his *Arte del ricordare* (1561). Another hint indicating that the Franciscan brother found inspiration in *L'Arte del ricordare* is his example to memorize the word "*che*" ("that," "than"), which is very similar to Della Porta's example.[4]

To summarize, Francesco Panigarola's mnemonics were similar to the methods explained in various memory manuals at this time. Even if these techniques themselves were not outstanding, Panigarola's education was. His family was noble and had traditionally sent one child to the Franciscan order with every generation. Thus, once he entered the order, Francesco Panigarola received special teaching (Benzi 2006, 67–69), teaching which may have led him to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and indirectly to the art of memory. Consequently, it is difficult to establish if learning the art of memory was something common for 16th-century Franciscan novices. While it is not possible to make general assumptions about

**4** Della Porta 1561, C3r. Another similarity between both manuals consists in the advice to use Pietro Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* to find inspiration for creating mental images (Della Porta 1561, D2r – v; Panigarola 1599, 81r).

the spread of mnemonics inside the order, it is nonetheless feasible to analyze the circulation of one single manual, the *Trattato della memoria locale.*

The first hint of the circulation of the *Trattato* is given by Panigarola in his manual of rhetoric, the *Modo di comporre una predica* (1584). Panigarola dedicated the treatise to the "brothers who study in the house of Araceli at Rome"[5] that is, to his Roman students. Talking directly to them, he reminded them that "almost all of you have a small manual about local memory [mnemonics], made by me."[6] It is not clear whether Panigarola dictated his memory manual to his students or whether he let them copy his manuscript. A dictation may explain some differences between the extant manuscripts, but hastily copying can explain them as well. In any case, this dedication indicates widespread reproduction of the *Trattato* amongst his students. They were all first-class Franciscan students, as the "*casa di Araceli*" was a *studium generale*, one of the five best teaching centers of the Franciscan order inside the Italian peninsula. Though the number of students who received Panigarola's teaching is unknown, it is probable that they were few: five years after Panigarola left Rome, in 1587, the Observant general chapter limited the places at the "*casa di Araceli*" to 16 (Roest 2015, 154, 172–175). It is not impossible that people outside the Franciscan order received some teachings in this *studium* too, but this was at best very marginal (Roest 2015, 194; Solomon 2021, 25). In general, most of Panigarola's students were good students, rising stars of the Franciscan order, and future predicators.

If it is difficult to ascertain how close the extant manuscripts of the *Trattato* are to the original text written by Panigarola; it is plausible that these extant copies are the result of different chains of transmission originating from Panigarola's teaching in Rome. The original function of the *Trattato*—helping the friars to learn their sermons—is perceptible in the manuscript held in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Espagnol 448, f. 183r–190r (henceforth, P). Indeed, the content of the manuscript was copied with almost no technical or textual error, and its materiality indicates that it was written for prosaic use. The handwriting, if comprehensible, is not neat, and the manuscript seems to have been copied in a hurry. The text contains numerous abbreviations, and the lines are slanted. The rules indicating how to create mental places are numbered in the margin, a feature missing in other manuscripts (f. 183r–184r). Another material characteristic easing reading is the capitalization of words used as examples to be memorized, i.e., "*che*" and "*perche*" are written with capital letters only, to differentiate

5 "Frati che studiano nella casa di Araceli [Aracoeli] di Roma" (Panigarola 1584, A2r). My translation.

6 "Quasi tutti voi havete in un trattatello di memoria locale fatto da me" (Panigarola 1584, A3r). My translation.

them from other words (f. 187v – 188v). To sum up, P was written hastily and contains textual devices facilitating reading. It is not a very attractive handwritten manual, but it is easy to use. Thus, the scribe probably copied it for their personal use, having in mind the practical value of the *Trattato.* The probable uses of P were totally congruent with the intention of Francesco Panigarola when he taught mnemonics.

Most of the other extant version of the *Trattato* are not as easy to analyze as P. Some were probably copied for the know-how they contained, but their materiality does not indicate that clearly. This is the case with the manuscript held at the British Library, London, Add. ms. 12038, f. 213 – 229 (henceforth, L). The contents of L and P are strikingly similar: whether they come from the same ancestor, or one was copied from the other. Even the paragraph structure of the text is the same in both manuscripts. If their text is extremely similar, their material features are not. L's writing is neater and easier to read than P's, and its lines are parallel. It contains only a few abbreviations. The list of rules for creating mnemonic places is not numbered in the margin. The first "*che*" is written in capital letters, but not the following ones, probably because the result was unaesthetic (f. 224 – 226). In other words, the content of the text consists in a totally usable memory manual, while the materiality of the manuscript does not indicate clearly if it was copied to be used, offered as a gift, or for some other possible use.

Unlike P and L, some exemplars of the *Trattato* were not copied to be utilized. That is the case for the manuscripts, now lost, from which originate the 1599 and 1603 editions of Panigarola's *Modo di comporre una predica.* Indeed, the two different editors conserved the contents of this manual of rhetoric (though typographical changes are numerous from one edition to another) and each added the *Trattato* to the end of the book. These two versions came from the same ancestor (which I will refer to as β) as both contain the same textual lacuna in the passage about the usefulness of utilizing unhabitual mental images (Panigarola 1599, 79r; Panigarola 1603, 50r – v). Beside this lacuna, both versions contain a significant number of errors. It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand the technical content of the *Trattato* relying only on them.

As the 1599 and the 1603 versions remain quite different,[7] I postulate that they are not two direct copies of β, but rather that they form the end of two chains of transmission which counted at least one manuscript each, ζ and η.[8] Sometimes,

7 The 1599 edition bears more errors than the 1603 edition, but a passage included in the 1599 edition is missing in the 1603 edition on p. 52v.

8 I have not discovered any manuscripts which could correspond to ζ and η, which was expected as "the manuscripts used in printing were routinely marked up in the process and discarded" (Blair 2010, 66).

these versions are corrupted in the same textual location, but their errors are different. For example, Panigarola explained that the number seven may be symbolized by the image of a pair of compasses, the shape of which is similar to the digit. A few lines later, still in the same paragraph, he gave an example using this image, but this time the 1599 edition equates the pair of compasses to the number one, and the 1603 edition equates them to the digit five (Panigarola 1599, 85r – v; Panigarola 1603, 54r). Thus, both editions are wrong, but in different ways. Similarly, when Panigarola mentioned the fact that niches ("*nicchi*") on a wall may be used as places, one version gives "*ricchi*" and the other "*micchi*," which makes the sentence incomprehensible (Panigarola 1599, 77r; Panigarola 1603, 48v).

How can we explain such different errors in the same textual location? One satisfying answer would be that both ζ and η originate from the same manuscript, β, whose scribe had written very quickly and without paying attention to the readability of his handwriting. β may have been coherent from a technical point of view. Indeed, if we compare side by side the texts of the 1599 and 1603 editions and if we always choose the best version each time we find an error, we could restore most of the technical content of the *Trattato.* Where both manuals are incoherent, as in the above example, the problem was probably due to the poor writing of β. Admittedly, β may have been copied without care for quality of the writing, but its overall content may have been almost as good as P or L's. The scribe was probably reproducing the manuscript (or noting it down) without aiming to show his work to someone else. Thus, β was probably created as a practical tool, a manual, and nothing else. In turn, the scribes who copied β rendered so many incoherent points that their results were disastrous. They did not make any effort to decipher the difficult writing of β, and thus were not seeking to understand Panigarola's mnemonics. As we know nothing about the creators of ζ and η, any hypothesis about their aims would be highly speculative. However, I would like to suggest that they wrote ζ and η because they were compelled to do so. Indeed, if the scribes had read the result of their copy and tried to make sense of it, they would have been confronted with several blatant errors (a negation is missing in the 1599 edition, 82v–83r; see the other examples above). They did not try to properly decipher β, and they did not try to correct ζ and η after writing them. In this context, it seems probable that they copied β because they had to do so. Perhaps they were students, or young friars, who received an order to do so from an older Franciscan brother who thought that a mnemonic manual devised by the famous Francesco Panigarola would be helpful to them.

Though these different versions of the *Trattato* (L, P, β, ζ, and η) were produced for different aims, they all testify about the circulation of this manual inside the Franciscan order. Figure 1 illustrates the spatial spread of the *Trattato.* Originating from a Roman archetype Ω, the branch of the *stemma codicum* corresponding to manuscript β shows a spreading in the Venetian state. Indeed, the 1599 edition was published in Padua by Francesco Bolzetta, while the 1603 edition was published in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti. As both ζ and η were located in the Republic of Venice, it is probable that their common ancestor, β, had been brought to the Venetian state by a Franciscan monk, where the manuscript was copied. Similarly, the paper used to create manuscripts L and P have roughly the same origin. Indeed, both watermarks represent a standing angel inside a circle. Both watermarks are distinct, as the angel from P is topped by a star, and the representation of their wings is slightly different. Though the angel was often used as a pattern for watermarks (Briquet 1907, 44 – 45), according to Briquet’s catalogue and the Bernstein Portal’s database, this representation of a standing angel inscribed in a circle and topped (or not) by a star seems to be mainly used near the end of the 17th century in North-East Italy. Thus, the *stemma codicum* of the *Trattato* includes two branches (β and θ) the manuscripts of which were produced in the same area, far away from Panigarola’s Roman classroom.

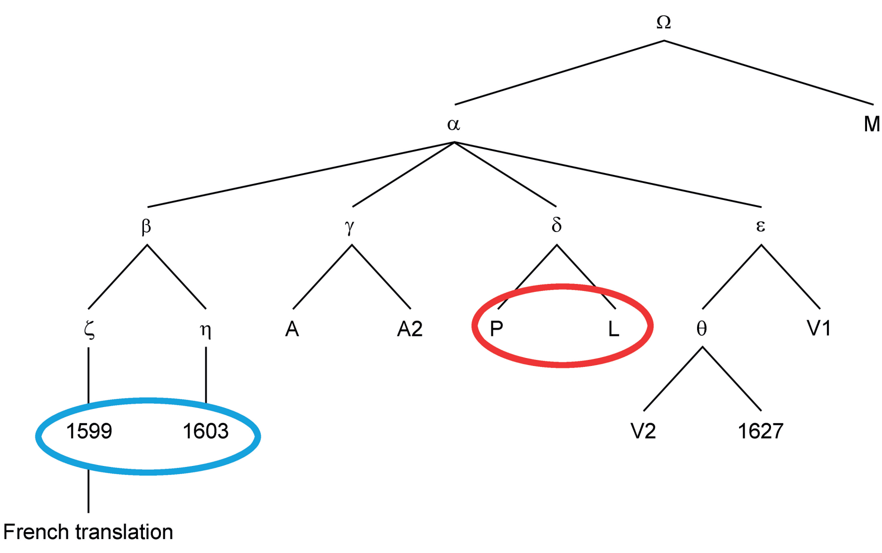


**Figure 1:** *Stemma codicum* of Panigarola’s *Trattato.* The colours highlight the geographical correlation between extant copies.

So far, the manuscripts we have referred to were probably produced in a teaching context, both by zealous and careless friars. Their dissemination in the Franciscan network is not surprising as the original utilization of the *Trattato* was to improve the friars’ rhetorical skills. It is thus a book they would carry with them and communicate to other brothers who might need it. This rhetorical context was not, however, the only motive which led Franciscan friars to copy Panigarola's mnemonic manual.

As has been abundantly investigated (e.g., Bouza 2002, 49; Love 1998, 58–59), many manuscripts produced in early modern Europe were gifted to friends or patrons. The manuscript Urb.lat.1352 currently held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth, V1) was certainly one of these manuscripts made to be given to a prestigious patron. Indeed, unlike L, P, M, and V2, V1 is not part of a *miscellanea.* This manuscript contains only Panigarola's *Trattato.* The lines of text are parallel to each other, and the writing is beautiful. The margins are more than generous (the text only occupies 19 × 13 centimeters and the whole pages are 29,5 × 22 centimeters). The technical content is overall consistent, though the scribe copied an inaccuracy: the pair of compasses, which should symbolize the digit seven, is also presented as a way to remember the digit five. Another hand, with less meticulous writing, struck out this number and added the digit seven above the line as a correction (V1, 10r). A similar correction can be seen on the title page, as the manuscript was originally titled "*Trattato della memoria locale*" before a second hand added "*di Franc*[esco] *Panigarola.*" Hence, it is probable that this manuscript was created to be a gift, given to a powerful patron who read the text, added Panigarola's name and corrected the error. Another hypothesis would be that this manuscript was not mean to be a gift but directly ordered by a wealthy client. Whichever hypothesis proves to be true, the technical content interested the patron, as he corrected the error. However, the manuscript did not seem to have often been consulted; it does not contain any aids (such as numbers written in the margin, as in P) and its dimensions are definitely too large to make it a pocket book. Thus, it is unlikely that this manuscript was regularly used by friars to sharpen their rhetorical skills. Its normal location was on a shelf, not in the hands of people using it.

It is possible that the patron of V1 was truly interested in mnemonics, but it is also probable that he was curious about Panigarola's art of memory because of the orator's fame. It is difficult to choose between these hypotheses, and this uncertainty also extends to three other manuscripts: Urb.lat.1743.pt.3 from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth, V2), 137-IX from the Biblioteca Mozzi-Borgetti di Macerata (henceforth, M) and S.Q.+II. 57 held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (henceforth, A1). The scribes who copied them had neat writing and the lines are parallel to each other. Nevertheless, their handwriting is nowhere near the beautiful script of V1, their margins are far smaller, and none is a self-standing volume. Maybe these three manuscripts were carefully copied by friars who wanted to learn mnemonics from books written with a neat hand, or maybe they were carefully copied because they could be gifted to patrons whose interest is piqued by Panigarola's name. As we lack the context of the production and utilization of these manuscripts, it is difficult to speculate about the aims behind their creation. It is easier to analyze the motivations of the publishers of the *Trattato*, who used it as a selling point.

## 3 Printed Versions of the *Trattato* and the Decay of Its Mnemonic Function

The publication of the *Trattato* is inseparable from the editorial history of the *Modo di comporre una predica* (1583). Panigarola explained in the preface that he wrote this manual of rhetoric for his students at the *studium* of Aracoeli. This treatise was republished five times (Benzi 2006, 265) before Francesco Bolzetta decided to include the *Trattato* in his 1599 edition. As the manual focuses on *inventio* and *dispositio*, the addition of a treatise on *memoria* is not redundant with the content of the manual. Nothing indicates that Panigarola tried to publish his *Trattato* and, when it happened in 1599, he had already passed away. He could not verify the quality of the manual published under his name and, as we saw a few pages earlier, the result was catastrophic. The inclusion of the *Trattato* in the *Modo di comporre una predica* did not aim to supply the reader with a prime memory manual, but only to increase the perceived value of the book for potential clients. Indeed, both in the 1599 and 1603 editions, the presence of the *Trattato* was advertised on the title page.

This was also the case for the 1627 edition of the *Modo di comporre una predica*, published in Rome by Giacomo Mascardi. The technical content of the *Trattato* is without contest far better than the other two editions. For example, in this edition the pair of compasses only symbolize the digit seven (Panigarola 1627, 91 – 92) and a missing negation from the 1599 edition is correctly written here (Panigarola 1599, 82v – 83r; Panigarola 1627, 89). A pedagogical effort is also visible in the typographical code. The rules for creating memory places or images are numbered, written out in full in italics, and the enumeration of rules is structured into separate paragraphs. Though the technical content of the 1627 *Trattato* is far better than the previous editions, this version was not produced by an effort of scholarship. Giacomo Mascardi did not correct the errors from the 1599 and 1627 editions. Indeed, the text contains a lacuna which is not included in the previous publications. The beginning of one sentence explaining that the memory practitioner should create unusual mental images is missing (Panigarola 1627, 85). In the 1599 and 1603 editions, the very same sentence is incomplete, but this time, it is the end of the sentence which is missing (Panigarola 1599, 79v; Panigarola 1603, 50r – v). Thus, Giacomo Mascardi had used another manuscript (that I will call θ) of the *Trattato* and had not compared his content with the versions already on the market.

θ is related to V2, as the lacuna I have mentioned above is found in both versions. However, θ cannot be V2, nor could it be copied from V2, as several inconsistent passages from V2 are accurate in θ, without possibly being corrected by a scribe using his own rational faculties and the text of V2. It is difficult to assess whether the differences between the 1627 version and other exemplars (such as V1) were already present in θ, or if they were the result of intervention on the part of Giacomo Mascardi. I would like to suggest that the typographical improvements (the numbering of the rules, the division of the rules into paragraphs) were probably made by the publisher. Likewise, the hypothesis of intervention on the part of the publisher would help explain other differences between this edition and all the other versions, printed or handwritten. In one passage dealing with the visualization of persons of both sexes, the text normally refers to "*figure nude.*" In the 1627 edition, they are called "*figure libere*" (Panigarola 1627, 95). Similarly, in an example implying the visualization of a crucifix in an unusual position, the 1627 edition presents an interpolation stating that this position should not be indecent (Panigarola 1627, 85). Thus, it seems logical to assume that Giacomo Mascardi did not thoughtlessly publish a manuscript but censored the passages which may have prevented him from obtaining an *imprimatur* and presented the text in an efficient typographical form. On the other hand, he did not check the already available printed versions of the text to rectify the errors of his own manuscript, and his version is not without some (minor) errors. Thus, once again, the technical content of the *Trattato* was not the main interest of the editor, who mainly wanted to improve the perceived value of the *Modo di comporre una predica* he published.

This pecuniary interest is even more discernible in the translated versions of the *Trattato.* The second edition of the French translation of the *Modo di fare una predica*, the *Art de prescher et bien faire un sermon*, realized in 1601 for Regnault Chaudiere, includes a translation of the *Trattato.* As this translation was done using the 1599 Italian version, the errors are numerous. One example of total nonsense consists in the example of the memorization of the word "*che*" ("that," "than"). Panigarola explains that the reader can represent it via the mental image of a woman grasping geese (*occhе* in Italian) the heads of which are missing, which indicates that the beginning of the word should not be taken into account, and thus that *ocche* symbolizes *che.* The errors originating in ζ resulted in a hardly understandable 1599 printed version, and the puzzling result was literally translated into French (see Table 1).

**Table 1:** Nonsensical passage in Panigarola’s *Trattato.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pongasi dunque duoi occhi con la testa tagliata in mano, od una donna sopra l’uscia, & subito l’esser senza testa mostrarà la parola doversi proferire senza la prima syllaba, & in veci di occhi, si potrà proferire (che)*[9] | *Deux yeux, avec la teste tranchée en main, ou une femme sur l’huis, & incontinent l’estre sans teste monstrera que la parole se doit proferer sans la premiere syllabe, & au lieu d’yeux se pourra proferer (que)*[10] |

The result is totally incomprehensible. The fact that the memory manual was very poorly translated did not prevent the *Art de prescher* from being republished in 1604, 1608, 1615, and 1624. The translation was never improved. Though Regnault Chaudiere did not care about the incoherency of the technical content, he was convinced of the importance of the art of memory from a commercial point of view. Indeed, in addition to the *Trattato*, he also added a recipe for an oil that improves memory to the 1604 edition, as well as another memory manual, namely a translation of Girolamo Marafioto’s *Nova inventione et arte della memoria* (first published in 1602). The translation follows the original text closely and was reprinted *verbatim* in subsequent editions, but the reproduction of one of the diagrams was inaccurate (Panigarola 1604, 94r).

This diagram consists of a hand divided in several places (*luoghi*) individuated by different symbols, which are to be used as supports for mental images. Here, the digit 0 of the twentieth place (the extremity of the index) has disappeared, the number 15 is indicated twice, and the number 10 is changed to 80. These flaws are another hint suggesting that Regnault Chaudiere did not check the technical content of the mnemonic manuals he published. He only relied on Panigarola’s fame and on Marafioto’s intriguing diagrams to sell the book.

The creation of the various manuscripts and the publication of the different editions, far from presenting a simple story of the *Trattato*, show how various the reasons behind its spreading were. Was its reception as plural as its production and circulation? The question is, obviously, highly rhetorical. Since Roger Chartier underlined the diversity of thoughts which can be produced by the same text (Chartier 1987), investigations about the reception of books have ceaselessly confirmed the relevance of his analysis. If the *Trattato* is no exception to the rule, most hints about its reception ultimately lead to a similar conclusion: his impact was quite limited.

Indeed, it seems that the only author who borrowed technical know-how from Panigarola was the bishop of Tortona, Paolo Arese, in his *Arte di predicar bene*

**9** Panigarola 1599, 85r.
**10** Panigarola 1601, 72v.

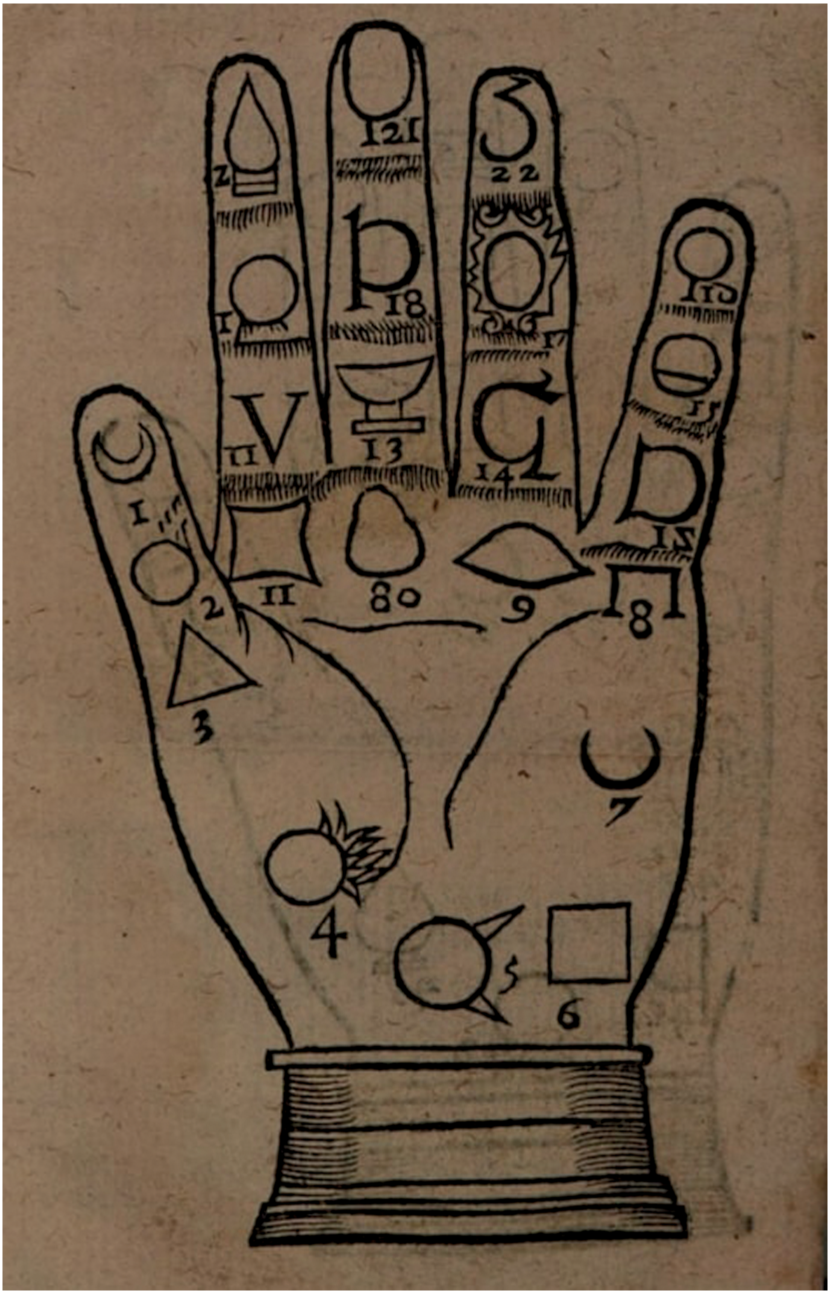

**Figure 2:** Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 813182.

(Arese 1611, 683 – 684).[11] Though he expressed more interest in Panigarola's *Trattato* than any other writer, his excerpt of Panigarola's method is but one amongst other summaries of different memory manuals, e.g., Arese copied Marafioto's mnemonic hands as well. Arese did not give his own opinion about Panigarola's system and his references are very limited in length (two pages out of the 88 he dedicated to the art of memory). Still, he is the only one to summarize Panigarola's method. At best, other authors of memory manuals made reference to the Franciscan as part of a list of past authors. For example, Juan Velázquez de Azevedo indicated his name in a list of 23 other memory experts (Azevedo 1626, 54v).

The materiality of the extant copies of Panigarola's manual points toward the same conclusion. Indeed, out of 26 copies investigated, only two bear reading marks in the *Trattato.*[12] Even the readers of these two copies did not pay much attention to Panigarola's method but were more concerned with correcting Marafioto's faulty diagrams. These results are consistent with the utilizations of the manuscripts deduced above: with the exception of P (and maybe β), no manuscript seems to have been created to be a tool used regularly.

But who were these unenthusiastic readers? Once again, the historical evidence suffers from a bias; that is, the owners I have been able to identify are, in an overwhelming majority, congregations, religious orders, or their members. This result is logical, as the *Modo di comporre una predica* was a manual for predicators. But the invisibility of other readers probably comes from the fact that their copies, not being held in a library, were likely destroyed while the well-preserved exemplars belonging to religious institutions still exist today.

If the reception of Panigarola's rhetoric by laymen is difficult, and maybe impossible, to estimate, this is not the case with the religious owners. As stated above, it appears that the possession of the *Modo di comporre una predica* or the *Art de prescher* allowed their owners to potentially read the *Trattato*, though it does not seem to have attracted much attention, judging from the reading marks. This potential impact concerned various religious institutions. Indeed, the Franciscans were by no means the only owners of Panigarola's manuals. Different branches

**11** It is not totally clear if P. Arese consulted a handwritten or a printed version, as he referred to Panigarola's "*discorso scritto à mano*," though the *Arte di predicar bene* was published 15 years after the first printed version of the *Trattato.*

**12** Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, ZAH.II.A.91; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D 46832. During this survey, reading marks made with pencil have not been considered, as they are difficult to date. Thus, the British Library, 1493. f. 21, which presents a pencil reading mark in the mnemonic section of the *Modo di fare una predica* from 1599, has not been taken into account.

of the Franciscan order are represented in the *ex-libris* of the manuals.[13] Jesuit colleges also owned this book,[14] as well as the Dominicans,[15] and the order of Saint Augustinian.[16] One copy is currently held at the Vallicelliana library; it is thus probable that this book was read by an Oratorian at some point.[17] The manuals were also held in monasteries, as the copy once owned by Ascanio Varese shows, the abbot of S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padua.[18] Other extant copies were used in (or, at least, stored in the libraries of) seminaries.[19] The congregation of the *doctrine chrétienne* owned at least one copy in the library of the Parisian seat of the congregation, where the novices were instructed, and one in the seminary of Lyon, were the fathers of the *doctrine chrétienne* taught future clerics.[20] Books which do not bear *ex-libris* may have been used by the clergy anyway. For example, a 1604 edition was bound with a discourse written by Monseigneur Claude de Gravier, a discourse to be declaimed by the priests from the diocese of Geneva.[21] It is thus probable that the former owner of this book was a cleric.

**13** The Recollects of Bordeaux owned the copy of the 1601 edition that is in the Bibliothèque Municipale, T 5748/1 of the city today, while the Capuchin from Paris owned a 1624 edition (today in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D 46832). An *ex-libris* of the 1603 edition at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, 15.8.132, indicates ownership by the Badia di San Pietro Alli Marmi.
**14** Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, T 5749/1; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D-15249 (mf).
**15** A copy of the 1604 edition was held by the convent at the street Saint Honoré, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D-46831 (mf). Another copy of the same edition was held by the congregation of Saint Maur from the abbey of Aniane, today at Oxford, Taylor Institution, ZAH.II.A.91. A third copy of the 1624 edition was held by the Parisian convent of the Celestins, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 8-T-6066.1
**16** One copy was held at the Augustinian Abbaye Saint-Martin-ès-Aires (copy currently located at Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques Chirac, E-16–3929 (TH. 4102)), while another bears an *ex-libris* indicating an Augustinian college (copy currently at Los Angeles, the Getty Library, BF383. P36).
**17** This 1603 edition is bound with a compilation of sermons. Rome, Bibliothèque Vallicelliana, S.BOR B.V.123(2).
**18** Biblioteca universitaria di Padova, B.1.b.269.
**19** Valognes, Médiathèque Julien de Laillier, C 2712; Rennes, Bibliothèque des Champs Libres, 81603.
**20** Respectively, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, D 46831 BIS, and Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 813182. On this congregation, less famous than the Jesuits or the Franciscans, see Viguerie (1976).
**21** Today at Besançon, Bibliothèque d'étude et de conservation, 237490.

## 4 Conclusion: The Art of Memory within the Franciscan Order

Panigarola’s *Trattato* is a good case study for two reasons. First, thanks to the information gathered from the Franciscan’s autobiography, the textual and material aspects of the different manuscripts, and the reception of the printed editions, it is possible to have a glimpse of the mnemonic context of the Franciscan order. Mnemonics was not systematically taught and, from the inferences made from Panigarola’s *Vita*, it is probable that its teaching was marginal. However, thanks to Panigarola’s fame, it is probable that the Franciscan friars of the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century knew of it, and probably understood how it works. The lack of sources indicating that they used mnemonics on a daily basis leads to the hypothesis that, even if they knew that such techniques exist, the friars were not eager to use them. After all, even Panigarola stopped using the classical techniques of mental locations and images when he became an experienced predicator (Panigarola 2008, 218 – 219) and the catalogue of his library does not include any manual of mnemonics.[22] Furthermore, even if these techniques were useful, their utility was limited to the memorization of discourses and the elements of *disputationes* (Panigarola 2008, 2000). Most of the needs of a student or orator could not be filled by memory alone but by the production and utilization of written materials. As Panigarola himself stressed, the pen was the mother of studies.[23] This fact should not be forgotten and may explain the tepid reception of Panigarola’s mnemonics, the printings of which seemed to be a matter of marketing and not of satisfying a pedagogical need.

Second, the study of Panigarola’s *Trattato* has put into evidence how useful the “*histoire totale*” of one book may be. The abovementioned discoveries could not have been made without the use of the most erudite history of the *Trattato* as a book, and not only as a text. The analysis of the materiality of the different manuscripts did not replace the *stemma codicum* but merged with the careful study of the textual transmission of the text. Wielding both tools allows one to reach conclusions otherwise inaccessible. Similarly, the study of the *Trattato*’s editorial history and reception leans on bibliographic approaches allowing one to grasp the actual utilization of the texts. Thus, at each stage of the book’s life,

**22** Turin, Archivio di Stato, Regolari di qua dei monti, Mazzo 4, n°15, “Dichiarazione del Duca Carlo Emanuel di Savoja […] Inventario de libri rimessi in deposito a P.P. Capucini del Monte di Torino dal Duca Carlo Emanuel P.mo di Savoja quali erano del fu Vescovo Panigarola in n.° di 665.” On his up-to-date library, see Stroppa (1998).

**23** Panigarola 2008, 191: “madre dello studio era la penna.”

one or several erudite methods can be used to obtain data to answer questions from the fields of the history of ideas, intellectual history, and history of Renaissance thought at large.

## Annex: The *stemma codicum* of Panigarola's *Trattato*

The *stemma codicum* of the *Trattato* is a rough representation of the recent discoveries about the different versions of this text. It is by no mean a definitive *stemma* and should be further completed if new manuscripts are found. As the nature of our knowledge about the *Trattato*'s handwritten history is fragmentary, I have been compelled to make several choices to create the stemma as you see it. This section aims to explain these choices and to point out the possible alternatives.

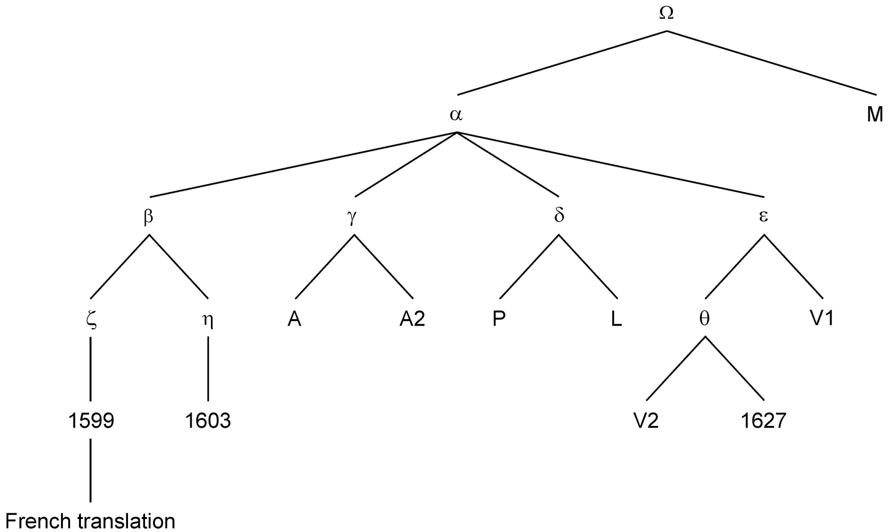


**Figure 3:** *Stemma codicum* of Panigarola's *Trattato.*

### *Conspectus siglorum* of Extant Versions

A1: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.Q.+II. 57., f. 172–184.
A2: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, X 307 inf., f. 138–139.
L: London, British Library, Add. ms. 12038, f. 209–233.

P: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Espagnol 448, f. 183r – 190r. It is available online (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100330086.r=Espagnol%20448?rk=21459;2, last accessed August 21, 2024).

M: Macerata, Biblioteca Mozzi-Borgetti, Manoscritto 137-IX, f. 95r – 99v/Photos from this manuscript have been published in Michael Lackner, *Das vergessene Gedächtnis. Die jesuitische mnemotechnische Abhandlung* Xigua Jifa. *Übersetzung und Kommentar.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1986

V1: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.1352. This beautiful manuscript is available online (https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/293924, last accessed August 6, 2024).

V2: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.1743.pt.3, f. 428r – 436r. It is available online (https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/251006, last accessed August 6, 2024).

1599: Panigarola, Francesco (1599): *Modo di comporre una predica.* Padua: Francesco Bolzetta. It is available online (https://books.google.fr/books?id=BYZiAAAAcAAJ&dq=modo+di+comporre+una+predica&hl=it&source=gbs_navlinks_s, last accessed August 6, 2024).

1603: Panigarola, Francesco (1603): *Modo di comporre una predica.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti. It is available online (https://books.google.fr/books?id=NjoJ4oCtr-IC&dq=modo+di+comporre+una+predica&hl=it&source=gbs_navlinks_s, last accessed August 6, 2024)

1627: Panigarola, Francesco (1627): *Prattica di comporre le prediche usata dal famosiss. Predicatore Fr. Francesco Panigarola.* Rome: Giacomo Mascardi. The only known exemplary is located at the National Library at Rome, 34.3.A.14.7. It is available online (https://books.google.fr/books?vid=IBNR:CR000371865&redir_esc=y, last accessed August 6, 2024).

This *stemma* does not seem to include any contamination from one version to another. However, when Panigarola taught mnemonics to his students in Rome, they may have verified the content of their copies against the manuscripts of other students. Henceforth, I will follow Richard Tarrant’s general observation and suppose that contamination “was a common phenomenon; one might even suspect that it was the norm” (Tarrant 2016, 15). We do not see any contamination in this *stemma* because most of these first-generation manuscripts (which probably numbered a few dozen) have disappeared or are currently lost.

Actually, the main problem does not consist in the existence or nonexistence of contamination, but about the identity of the archetype. It is not possible to rule out that Panigarola may have used several manuscripts. Indeed, the only reference stating that the manuscript circulated in Panigarola’s classroom concerns the *casa dei Aracoeli* and comes from the preface of the *Modo di comporre una predica.* However, it is not impossible that Panigarola taught mnemonics at the *studia* of

Florence and Bologna as well. According to this hypothesis, he would have used his manuscript as a teaching resource for almost ten years. In such a case, it is possible that the manuscript wore out and Panigarola had to make a second one. This hypothesis is just conjecture, but it underlines the difficulty in talking about "one" archetype.

Even if Panigarola always used the same manuscript, it is not clear if he dictated to the students or gave it to them to be copied. If the students took notes from an oral lesson, it may explain why M had so many small differences relative to α. But, in that case, perhaps would it be better to consider all of these notes taken from the lesson as different archetypes? As a matter of fact, I finally decided to present the *stemma* in the most classical fashion, but the abovementioned difficulties in approaching the archetype should highlight how little we know about the early textual transmission of the *Trattato.*

α and M bear many small textual differences. While M is overall an easily usable version of the *Trattato*, as good as P and L, it also contains a few lacunas which are not found in α. They do not prevent the reader from learning the technical content.

As β is only known through the 1599 and 1603 editions, it is difficult to characterized it, except that it was poorly written. The collation of the best passages of both printed versions would present an understandable technical know-how. A lacuna remains in the passage advising the reader to use unusual images but, overall, the technical content is similar to the original.

A2 consists only in the copy of a few passages describing writing materials (the "*libretto tedesco*"). This page was probably written by a scholar from the 18$^{th}$ century interested in the history of the material, probably Pietro Mazzucchelli, as A2 is part of a miscellanea of various papers he once owned. The few passages written down are similar to those from A1. It may be a copy of A1, but this hypothesis is only backed by the fact that both manuscripts are held at the Ambrosiana. The scribe of A2 indicates that he copied these passages on a "Ms Trivulziano dall sec XVI – XVII" named *Discorsi varii* with the call number M. 153. Such a call number does not currently exist, neither at the Ambrosiana nor at the Trivulziana library; it is thus difficult to elaborate the genealogy of A2. It seems that A1 never bore such a call number. We can only hypothesize that both A1 and A2 originated from a common ancestor. In any case, A1 and A2 are closer to the other manuscripts coming from α than to M.

It is difficult to decide if δ was directly copied from Ω or from α, but it should be underlined that P and L are closer to α than to M.

V2 bears the same lacunas as the 1627 edition, but its scribe did not self-censor. They are both from a common ancestor, which itself has an ancestor in V1. V1 does not have the same lacunas as V2 and 1627, but bears a common textual error, that is, doubling the word "*che*" in a sentence from the paragraph explaining the eighth rule for creating mental images. If this error can be corrected by mere analytical reflection, it is highly improbable that three scribes would make it independently. Thus, this error comes from ε and, given our current knowledge, characterizes all the extant versions held at Rome or published there.

For purposes of readability, I have not represented the French republishing.

Admittedly, the abovementioned difficulties reveal how the construction of the *stemma* was possible thanks to inferences more than thanks to irrefutable demonstration. It is, alas, the common burden of the researcher seeking to reconstruct a *stemma codicum.* As stated by Richard Tarrant, "textual critics cannot prove that their choices are correct; the most they can hope to do is lead their readers to believe that those choices are the best available ones" (Tarrant 2016, 41).

I would suggest to readers who would like to see the *Trattato* for themselves without entering the labyrinth of different versions to consult the edition from Filippo Mignini, who relied on three different versions, namely M and the 1599 and 1603 printed versions (Mignini 2013). Otherwise, the 1627 version, easy to access as it has been digitized, would also be adequate for understanding the technical content of Panigarola's teaching. The 1627 version is a good substitute to more coherent versions like L, which is not digitized, or P, which is poorly written (and poorly digitized).

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Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb.lat.1352.
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Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, NBJ. 05. 0027/01.
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David McOmish

# A Different View of Innovation and International Knowledge Exchange from Classroom Notes: The University of Edinburgh, 1604 – 1650

**Abstract:** Many classroom notes survive from one of early-modern Europe's emerging educational centers, the University of Edinburgh. Of particular interest are the early to mid-17th century classroom notes, whose form suggests a traditional scholastic educational experience. These same notes also happen to contain a remarkably detailed account of the contemporary collapse of Aristotelian cosmology. A contemporary manuscript of teaching notes for Edinburgh's lecturers has also been preserved, which contains lists of books and manuscripts to be consulted by the students. The teaching notes were produced by a group of itinerant scholars returning to Edinburgh from centers across Europe. This chapter will examine the contents of all of these classroom notes and link them to cosmopolitan scholarly communities within those centers. These fascinating handwritten notes reveal how students were constantly updated on the latest developments in scientific and natural philosophical culture within a recognizably scholastic pedagogical framework.

## 1 Introduction: Evidence of the New Sciences in Both Form and Content of Student Notes

The classroom notes that survive from the university of early modern Edinburgh offer a fascinating insight into the nature of some of the early modern era's most significant intellectual trends as they were then developing across Europe's educa-

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tional centers.[1] During this period, the city's academic community was an integral part of a broader international network of educationalists operating across the continent of Europe and beyond. The Edinburgh notes comprise various forms of academic note-taking, from student notebooks containing detailed accounts of lectures, to practice disputations, and the manuscript notes used by lecturers to deliver lectures.[2] The notes that survive from the early to mid-17th century represent a rich mixture of all three types. At a formal level, the notes suggest a recognizably scholastic educational experience, with lecturers examining passages from an authority text canonized within the tradition, while evaluating the validity of its arguments through the evaluation of point and counterpoint, aiming at logical resolution to any question. By the late 16th century, various developments—especially in the field of observational astronomy—began to offer less scope for exploring previously contested philosophical and metaphysical questions in this manner. The proliferation of books and commentaries on these developments within the academy was not accompanied by a change in the formal nature of the notebooks and their categorical boundaries. As this chapter will highlight, the new trends in natural philosophy increasingly rendered the traditional form and function of notebooks less suited to their purpose, and made their categorical assumptions a hindrance to pursuing the questions that required addressing.

An introduction to the very particular nature of the Edinburgh notebooks highlights the role played by a group of cosmopolitan scholars in this process within the academy. Through the notes, it is possible to see the emergence of disciplinary boundaries that acknowledged new approaches to natural philosophy that this group were exposed to in their various regional wanderings across Europe's national and confessional boundaries.

To explore all of these issues in their proper context, this chapter will begin with an overview of the curriculum as described in official sources. There will then be an account of the various types of notes from Edinburgh and how, in form, they reflect the outlines of the university's official curriculum. Following on from this will be an introduction to the content of the notes to show how students were introduced to significant developments in natural philosophy in this period within the confines of the traditional educational structures. The chapter will conclude by examining some evidence from the primary sources that reveals

**1** A broad introductory overview of student notebooks from the late 16th to the early 18th centuries at Edinburgh: Shepherd (1975, especially pp. 1–18 and 344–357). For discussion on the notebooks from across Europe for the same period: Blair (2008), for Scotland in the 18th century: Eddy (2023).
**2** For various forms of manuscripts created in the classroom in early modernity: Blair (2008, 39–50). A useful overview of scholarship on the classroom notebook in early modern Europe: Eddy (2016, 121–122).

emergent tensions as the traditional educational forms engage with new disciplinary challenges. Indeed, the crisis of confidence in the Aristotelian cosmological model sets the backdrop to this discussion as a whole.

## 2 Degree Structure at Edinburgh

An introduction to an official curriculum at Edinburgh will provide a necessary overview of the overall structure of the educational experience. It must first be noted, however, that the University of Edinburgh in this period operated under a *regenting* system. In practice, this meant that the students were taught in a circumscribed group across their four-year undergraduate degree by the same lecturer known as a regent. All of their subjects were taught one after another in sequence by the same regent. A combination of official contemporary sources provides a relatively detailed account of what these subjects were and how and in what order the regents would deliver each subject to their student groups. Between 1600 and 1628, Edinburgh town council produced Latin and English formal decrees to delineate the official degree structure and the order of academic disciplines at the university.[3] In both decrees, the council outlined how each year of the four-year degree would be overseen by each regent. In the first year, the students would take classes in logic, followed in the second year by rudimentary ethics. In the third year, logic and ethics would continue, but there would also be a broad introduction to natural philosophy (including both anatomy and Aristotle's Physics), which came at the end of the year. The fourth year would be devoted to astronomy, but with an end-of-year recapitulation of the first three years' lessons in logic, ethics, and physics.[4] The surviving published accounts of the publicly performed laureation disputations at Edinburgh from the first half of the 17$^{th}$ century reflect this prescribed division. The masters and students structured and delivered their set-piece theses as disputations in the following way: they began with a section headed "Theses Logicae," followed by either "Theses Ethicae," or "Theses Physicae" ("Physicae" delivered before "Ethicae" in some years), and finally always ended with "Theses Astronomicae/Sphaericae." In the same section of the official curriculum referenced above, the central authority texts for each discrete subject area were stipulated. In the students' first year, the works of both Aristotle and Ramus on logic were prescribed. The course for the next year would have Aristo-

**3** Early 17$^{th}$-century Latin original: Morgan (1937, 60 – 65), for English translation of 1628: Morgan (1937, 110 – 117).

**4** In Latin: Morgan (1937, 60 – 62), in English: Morgan (1937, 111 – 114).

tle's *Nicomachean Ethics* as the central text. Aristotle's *Physics*, and his *De Caelo*, and Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* would then provide the textual focus for the final two years.

## 3 Types and Nature of Student Notes

For the period this study covers, circa 1604–1650, three recognizably different types of classroom notes will be the focus. Firstly, there are student dictates; that is, notes taken down by students while regents were delivering lectures. The dictates can be further sub-divided into those that deal with a specific text and those that deal with a broader subject. Then there are student disputation exercises; that is, notes taken down to help with the preparation of oral disputations that were both formal requirements for summative assessment and were latterly reused for public performance at laureation ceremonies (see above). Finally, there are lecturers' notes, which are a surviving corpus of notes used by various different regents as lecturing material across the entire period under examination. In relation to the first type of notes, Ann Blair's work on student notebooks from early modern Europe have emphasized several different ways in which students recorded the lectures they attended. A sharp division has been made between manuscript books of messy, in-person notes taken at the time of lectures ("Mitschriften") and notes edited and polished afterwards ("Rein- or Nachschriften"), often for reuse by other students.[5] At Edinburgh University, the lectures were delivered in a way that allowed them to be written down neatly and with a degree of detail. This dictation practice in Scotland was termed "dyteing."[6] As a consequence, the Edinburgh notes are extremely detailed and, for the most part, neatly taken down. In all of the early 17th-century dictates from Edinburgh discussed below, each individual undergraduate writes down their own name, the regent, and the date and time of day of each lecture. They seem to be the sort of notation from the early modern period that has been characterized as "clean copies of notes taken under dictation."[7]

The balance of emphasis between the educational value of detailed, dictated lectures and the disputations was a bone of contention in the 17th century. Various educational commissions strove to place less value on detailed lectures and dictation, and more on critical evaluation by students during study groups and dis-

**5** Blair (2008, 39–40).
**6** Shepherd (1975, 24–25).
**7** Blair (2008, 49).

putations.[8] Christine Shepherd in her excellent study of philosophy and science in 17th-century Edinburgh characterized the various administrative moves to place less importance upon detailed lectures and their note-taking as attempts to stop the practice of "extremely slow and tedious" lectures delivered at dictation speed.[9] However, the detailed dictation notes of the student notebooks are not necessarily evidence of a particularly static, ponderous, and lifeless lecture. It should be noted that, from the late 16th century, those dealing with educational reform at Edinburgh University saw the balanced mix of this specific method of instruction (listening 'in presence' to their teachers' words followed by summary disputations), especially in content-rich subjects, as something that was needed to bear "fruit" in an educational context.[10] The pedagogical advantages of a student following the lectures of a qualified master, who was responsible for the construction of the lecture, was clear: it allowed the student to gain a mastery of a complex subject through punctilious repetition of a master's words on the written page. At the universities of Edinburgh and Paris in the medieval and early modern periods, the importance of maintaining the connection between the masters themselves and the students during this process was affirmed by statute, when it was forbidden for anyone but the regent to deliver the lecture.[11] There is abundant evidence of those involved in educational reform in this period possessing and championing the ability to recall from memory long, detailed argumentation in Latin and engage with the same in an intellectually responsive and discursive manner. An example of such a case was a speech written and delivered by Alexander King, a signatory to the document mentioned above that outlined what benefits such an education could bring. He delivered this controversial oration in Latin in 1581 for his public entrance exam to the bar, which was taken down verbatim by a member of the audience at Edinburgh.[12] Not long after this, the prominent Scottish educational reformer Andrew Melville delivered an extended political discourse in Latin before King James VI and Queen Anne in Edinburgh in 1589.[13] These types of content-heavy public speeches and debates in Latin played a prominent role in educated public discourse in the late 16th century and early 17th century. Another

**8** Shepherd (1975, 24–25 and passim).

**9** Shepherd (1975, 5).

**10** Dickinson (1926, 209). On this group of educational reformers at Edinburgh: McOmish (forthcoming).

**11** For Paris: Blair (2008, 45–46), for the University of Edinburgh's similar decree forbidding anyone but the master from giving the lecture from his notes: Morgan (1937, 121).

**12** For the general circumstances of the speech: Ford (2008, xlv–liii); educational and rhetorical significance: pp. xlvii–xlvii and lii. The full speech in Latin and English: pp. 323–350.

**13** Reid (2020) and Harrison (2022).

particularly noteworthy example was conducted by the masters and lecturers at Edinburgh who are the focus of this chapter. Replicating the public disputations of the university, the lecturers debated in Latin before King James and his English court at Stirling in 1617.[14] King James and the Lord Advocate in the fashion of disputants then questioned the masters *ex tempore* on their discourses. As can be seen, a certain element of dynamism and studied spontaneity accompanied even the most detailed and extended lectures in this period, especially amongst the ranks of this educated class. The detail and size of the notebooks, therefore, reflect an important aspect of the traditional scholastic educational experience: mastery through repetition and memorization.[15]

## 4 Formative and Summative Disputations

From the different types of classroom notes for Edinburgh—dictation, disputation, and lecturers' notes—it is an examination of the first two that reveals the extent to which the notebooks formally reflect the educational structures prescribed by the official decrees. This is much more immediately apparent from the practice notes for the student disputations than from the dictated lectures due to their relatively more compact form. It is with them that we shall now begin. The official documents state that recapitulation sessions in the form of study groups and disputations would follow formal lectures, prescribing how this would be delivered: there should be lectures followed by disputations (formative and summative), to be conducted in the case of lectures in the morning and recapitulation sessions in the afternoon and at the weekends.[16] Some students wrote their practice exercise disputations into the notebooks that also contained their lecture dictation. The notebook accounts of the disputations are long-form versions of the actual disputations the students delivered upon graduation. This can be discerned by cross-referencing the student notebooks and the published accounts of the laureation disputation delivered by the students at graduation. In 1620, George Livingstone graduated from the 1616–1620 class under the regent William King.[17] Livingston's notebook survives and provides notes for the years 1619–1620.[18] The published graduate dispu-

**14** Adamson (1618).
**15** Eddy (2023, 269–323 especially) provides an insightful study on the later evolution of the curriculum's role at Edinburgh in organizing and systematizing knowledge in the specific context of note keeping in the early enlightenment.
**16** Morgan (1937, 111–114 and 118–119). Shepherd (1975, 24).
**17** Graduation list: King (1620).
**18** Contained in Edinburgh University Library: "Notes of George Livingstone," shelf mark: Dc.10.37.

tations for that year (indeed for any year) do not stipulate the specific sections of the disputations which students read out publicly on stage. Thanks to Livingstone's notebook, for example, it is possible to see that he practiced for the "Theses Logicae."[19] His practice notations in his notebook contain all of the "Theses Logicae" verbatim that were published in 1620, albeit in a slightly different order.[20] Indeed, his practice disputations actually contain 25 separate theses, instead of the 23 that were published. Livingstone's practice disputations are neat, clean notes that reflect exactly what the regent would present from the students in terms of their oral delivery at the public laureation ceremonies. Thanks to the survival of the notes from William Adair in the class of the regent Alexander Hepburn (who was himself a student of William King from the 1620 – 1624 class), we have less polished evidence of a more organic process of the composition of the disputations.[21] In these notes, most of Adair's fellow undergraduates from Hepburn's class take turns learning sections of each thesis across all subjects (logic, ethics, and physics) from the first three years of their degree. As prescribed in the college order, they also practice with students from the year above and the year below. Adair writes down the names of each undergraduate under the section of the thesis allotted to them. From the year above Adair, John Hope, son of Lord Advocate Thomas Hope, takes part, and from the year below Adair, the future royalist army commander and court favorite Ellis Leighton, who was also younger brother of the future principal of the university, Robert Leighton. It is not possible to cross-reference Adair's notes with published versions to see if they reflect the public performance. No graduate theses survive from any undergraduate group for nearly a decade after Alexander Hepburn's and William King's joint 1628 – 1632 class.[22] However, Adair's disputation exercises are spread across the two volumes of his notes and are comparable to the detailed theses of Livingstone. The volume of the practice notes and the punctilious repetition of their detail highlight the importance placed upon the students' ability to record large tracts of detailed and challenging text. The combination of the disputations in long form and the detailed dictates may account for the fact that the notebooks from this period are considerably longer than the notes that survive from the later part of the 17th century.[23]

**19** Livingstone (1619, Dc.10.37, f. 165r–f. 166v).

**20** E. g., published Thesis 2 is Thesis 9 in Livingstone, Thesis 3 is Thesis 8 in Livingstone and so on. Only Thesis 1 is the same in both.

**21** Unpaginated, but the theses are contained in the first six foliated pages of volume 1 and in the first four foliated pages of volume 2: Adair (1632 – 1635, Acc. 483).

**22** Hepburn (1632). Hepburn took the class to graduation after William King left his position as regent in 1631: Craufurd (1808, 119 – 120).

**23** Length first noted by: Shepherd (1975, 9).

Turning to the structure of the disputations, the practice disputations reflect the division of three disciplinary emphases stipulated in the official decrees. This can be witnessed in practice disputations covering a span of over 30 years. William Drummond's 1604–1605 practice disputations contain "theses physicae," Adair's from 1632–1635 contain "theses logicae," "theses ethicae" and "theses physicae," and Livingstone's from 1619–1620 contain "theses logicae."[24] As discussed above, the practice disputations are later used in the formal laureation ceremonies and published accounts thereof. The main difference between the structure of the notebook disputations and the published version is that there usually is a fourfold division of disciplines in the published versions, which in order are: logic, ethics, physics, and astronomy. There is a slight variation in the published theses on these subjects, with metaphysics appearing occasionally as an additional disciplinary category and astronomy being disputed under the heading of spherical studies.[25] However, on the whole, over the entire period from the start to the middle of the 17th century, this is the formula. Giovanni Gellera draws attention to this basic formula and its variations in his work on the published graduate disputations from across Scotland's four universities, providing a particularly comprehensive overview of the structure and the content of the theses.[26] Gellera also noted that Edinburgh was the first to publish graduate theses and that "the practice of publishing graduation theses gradually led to more complex and longer theses (in Edinburgh especially in the 1610s and 1620s) but did not bear consequences in the curriculum being taught."[27] The relationship between the size and content of the published theses and their relationship to the content of the disputations and dictates in the notebooks will be discussed below. For the moment, suffice it to note that the increasing size of the published theses is reflected in the disputation exercises in the student notes. With regard to the structure of published notes from Edinburgh, each disputation exercise is introduced by a central thesis, which is then followed by a series of appendices that in turn affirm and reject its truth via authority or observation. Due to the relative brevity in relation to the exhaustive lectures from which they derive, each thesis and its appendices offer pointed statements that summarize longer form arguments. For example, in the "Theses Astronomicae" for the graduating class of regent William King in 1612–1616, the

**24** Drummond (1604–1605, MSS 2053–62, f. 24r–f. 27r), Livingstone (1619, Dc.10.37, f. 165r–f. 166v), Adair (1633–1645, Acc. 483, vol. 1, f. 2r–f. 8v; vol. 2, f. 1r–f. 4v).

**25** E.g., William king's disputations span nearly 20 years and Metaphysical theses appear only in 1620.

**26** Formal structure: Gellera (2012, 16–17). Gellera provides an edition of the "Theses Physicae" from regent James Reid's 1626 class: pp. 230–236.

**27** Gellera (2012, 217).

students introduce the proposition that the path and mean motion of the Sun, Mercury, and Venus is shared (ecliptic).[28] Appendix 1 offers some observational data to affirm this statement; whereas Appendix 2 highlights that there are some who disagree with this but they are wrong. The thesis then ends with the statement that a key difference between Mercury and Venus is the intensity of the light emitted by the latter. The published form of the disputation is then: thesis, appendix, counter-appendix, and so on. This is the standard form also found in the practice disputations across all of the notebooks from 1604 up until 1635.[29]

## 5 Student Dictates

The formal arrangement of the dictates (i.e., the rendering of the lectures found in the notebooks) is where the detail of their engagement with traditional scholastic educational culture can be most fully appreciated. The dictates show that the lectures were structured and delivered in the manner of stereotypical commentaries on Aristotle: the summary introduction of a text, a consequent stress-test evaluation of key points, arguments for and against each proposition, and a summative attempt at synthesis.[30] This can be seen in all of the surviving student notebooks where the lecturer's *prolegomena* and *proemia* set out the propositions at the start of each series of lectures on specific texts; and the lecture then follows the pattern as outlined above. With regard to disciplines and subject matter, the notebooks of William Adair for the 1632–36 class suggest that the lectures across the four-year undergraduate degree followed the curriculum outlined by the university statutes in the early 17th-century documents.[31] His notes present a relatively comprehensive account of his first three years. In first year, Adair's regent Alexander Hepburn delivered lectures on Greek prose composition, dialectic (formal rhetoric therein) and also basic logic in the Aristotelian tradition.[32] In the second year, Hepburn gave lectures on logic and rhetoric. He also developed the students' aptitude in Greek by having them comment upon Porphyry in Greek, but he also read Porphyry as a supplement for students' study of the *Topica* and *Prior Analytics* of Aristotle. In third year, Hepburn lectured on *Posterior Analytics*, and then *Ethics* before

**28** For an edition of these astronomical disputations with English translation and original Latin and Greek text: McOmish (2022). The above thesis may be found at pp. 186–187 and pp. 197–198.
**29** Drummond (1604, MSS 2053–62) to Adair (1635, Acc. 483).
**30** For this as a basic pattern for theses in this period generally: Shepherd (1975, 9).
**31** On William Adair, see Brock (2018, 2024). Adair did not complete his full 4-year degree. He seems to have left the university at the start of year 4 (see below).
**32** Adair (1632–1633, Acc. 483, f. 1–30).

moving onto lectures on the physical sciences, specifically on Aristotle's *Physica.* Adair's lecture notes for the first three years conforms to the level of detail in the other notebook accounts of lectures from George Livingstone onwards. Unfortunately, the sections on what would have constituted the beginning of Adair's fourth year have been ripped out (some 80 pages in total). So a full set of lectures across all four years is wanting in his case.

Fortunately, the other notebooks supplement our understanding of the structure of the lectures on natural philosophy and astronomy, which constituted the subject matter of the final undergraduate year. The notes of student Alexander Henryson in the 1610–1614 class of regent James Reid, the notes of student George Livingstone mentioned above from the 1616–1620 class of regent William King, and the notes of student Alexander Pringle from the 1640–1644 class of regent Alexander Hepburn provide a coherent, representative picture; not to mention a useful sample with an expansive temporal range across the period. For autumn to winter of the 1613 academic session, James Reid gave lectures on Aristotle's *De Caelo.*[33] Reid's lectures covered all of the books of *De Caelo* and not simply the two books prescribed by the university statutes. The rest of the academic year's lectures on astronomy were presented as lectures on all of the books of Johannes De Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera.*[34] Reid finished with lectures on Aristotle's *De Anima.* Here, the prescribed texts and structure of the lectures conform completely to the stipulations of the official university decrees. Henryson's notes present a detailed insight into most of the sections of the undergraduate course which are missing from the Adair lectures. Whatever is missing from Reid is to be found in the lectures of William King written down by George Livingstone for the 1618–1619 academic year. Livingstone's notebook begins with studies on the physical sciences from the end of third year and continue through to the end of fourth. King presented lectures on books one to five of Aristotle's *Physica*, which his pupil George Livingstone noted down neatly and in detail, and which was then followed by a series of lectures on anatomy that were explicitly stipulated in the university statutes for the third year.[35] In fourth year, he began, like Reid, in November with lectures on *De Caelo* (f. 72r–f. 90v) and ended with a commentary on that text in late December. Like Reid, he then taught Sacrobosco (f. 90v–f. 123r) across all books. He finished with lectures on *De Ortu et Interitu, De Meteoris*, and finally *De Anima.* These are the main outlines of the lectures of natural philosophy undertaken by students from the end of their third year and through all of their fourth

**33** Henryson (1613–1614, Adv.MS.5.2.3, f. 97r–f. 110v).

**34** Henryson (1613–1614, Adv.MS.5.2.3, f. 111r–f. 171v).

**35** *Physica:* Livingstone (1619–1620, Dc.10.37, f. 27v–f. 67r). Anatomy: Livingstone (1619–1620, Dc.10.37, f. 68r–f. 71r). Statutes on anatomy: Morgan (1937, 113).

year. In form and structure, they faithfully follow the rubric set out in the university statues. As can be seen from the above discussion, the formal nature of the practice disputations follows the structure of the lectures. The disputation exercises represent, in sum, a distillation of the main lecture form and of the official statutes. The survival of the published disputations and the survival of the manuscript lecture notes allow us to ascertain with certainty that the published disputations reflect almost exactly the form and nature of the lectures and their formative and summative disputational assessments.

## 6 Lecturer Notes

We shall now turn to the last of the Edinburgh classroom notes that remain extant, which are the lecturer notes. Unlike the student dictates or the disputations, these notes are quite unusual and cannot be easily categorized. From at least 1612 onwards, a group of educationalists who had worked across Europe and had returned to Edinburgh began a process of significant reform at the city's university.[36] A collection of books, manuscripts, and instruments related to these reforms survive within the various archives of the University of Edinburgh, the National Library of Scotland, and Scotland's national museums. To varying degrees, these objects played a significant role in the educational experience of the students and regents during the period under examination here. One manuscript above all others provides concrete evidence of the infiltration of this group's intellectual milieu into the learning experience. The manuscript contains notes that were used, in effect, as a pedagogical corpus (160.000 words long) of discrete discussions on specific subjects relating broadly to cosmology. The primary author of these notes was the regent William King's uncle, Adam King.[37] Adam King's patron, Alexander Seton, the Lord Chancellor, authorized its use in education, and King's friend Patrick Sands, the principal of the University of Edinburgh, wrote a preface to the corpus. Its generic form and production context stretch back a generation before the corpus' completion to the time when Adam King was professor of mathematics and philosophy at the University of Paris from 1581 until 1595.[38] Adam's brother Alexander King is also a key figure here. As mentioned above, he was also involved

36 For these reforms, especially in relation to the establishment of the Chair of Mathematics at the university: McOmish (forthcoming).
37 The notes are contained in the special collections department of the University of Edinburgh, shelf mark Dk.7.29. Henceforth they will be referenced by this shelf mark. For an introduction to Adam King: McOmish (forthcoming), Durkan (2000).
38 Time in Paris: McOmish (forthcoming).

in educational reform in Edinburgh in this period. Before this, he was a political follower of the Duke of Lennox, Esmé Stuart; and it was in that capacity that he delivered his aforementioned controversial oration. Alexander King had been advised against giving that speech, but through Lennox's protection he felt safe to proceed.[39] Soon after the speech in 1582, the Duke of Lennox fell from power in Edinburgh and fled to Paris with Alexander Livingston, the future Earl of Linlithgow.[40] It was while in Paris with Lennox that Livingston "loaned" Jean Eduoard Du Monin, Adam King's colleague and collaborator at the University of Paris, the personal copy of the then unpublished cosmological poem *De Sphaera* by writer and educationalist George Buchanan.[41] Du Monin produced a French language version of the poem, which was in essence a versified commentary on its assumptions, and published it soon afterwards.[42] At the same time, King began to produce his own reworking of the poem in the same manner as Du Monin, with poetic paraphrasing and versified commentary on the key assumptions of Buchanan's text.[43] King would later write in 1616 to Charles, the then Prince of Wales and the future King Charles I, that Buchanan's own copy had too "come into his hand … many years before."[44] His description of the physical state of the manuscript is identical to Du Monin's description of the same.[45] This was the context of activities of Du Monin and King in relation to Buchanan's text in the 1580s. The nature of their engagement with the text shows that they both conceived of it as a pedagogical tool. They both quote a line or two largely verbatim and then make original contributions in response to the sentiment contained in the lines.[46] King and Du Monin were both actively interested in cometary theory, the possibility of many worlds and universes, and held to the belief of using their knowledge to present a representative picture of the nature of the universe.[47] Dk.7.29, the corpus of notes King wrote on his return to Edinburgh, is a large, massively expanded version of his and Du Monin's early attempts to honey the pedagogical cup for those wishing to understand the structure of the universe. The corpus presents itself as a generic com-

**39** Cotton MS Caligula C.6 (British Library). Whole letter reprinted in Robertson (1824, 353–354).
**40** In London en route to Paris, they had an audience with Queen Elizabeth: Boyd (1910, 251).
**41** For Du Monin's access to the text through Livingston: Du Monin (1583, f. 206); for Du Monin and Adam King composing poetry together in 1586: Hamilton (1586).
**42** Du Monin's poem was a paraphrase of Buchanan's poem interlaced with scientific commentary: Schmidt (1936, 274).
**43** "Genethliacon Jesu Christi": McOmish (2020).
**44** Dk.7.29, f.iii verso.
**45** Du Monin (1583, f. 206).
**46** For Du Monin: Schmidt (1936, 274). A detailed account of the process in relation to King: McOmish (2020).
**47** Barbier-Mueller (2004, 322–323), so too Ridgely (1963, 150 and 161).

mentary in the scholastic tradition, with Buchanan's poem as the lemma, but one which is in effect working as structural support for a discussion that goes far beyond its scope; and the ken of its author.

The regents' use of Dk.7.29 for lectures and disputations shows that a disproportionate interpretative focus upon the forms and structures of the evidence from universities can significantly distort our understanding of what was actually happening in the classroom. The university statues, their prescribed subjects and set-text lists, and the continued employment of the traditional "Aristotelian" framework of content delivery suggest that the practice of natural philosophy in the early to middle 17th century "was still a matter of comparing the statements of different authorities and arriving at the truth by means of argument."[48] It is through a consideration of the interrelation between all of the different types of notes for Edinburgh and Adam King's work in Dk.7.29 that we see how problematic such a conclusion is. Within King's corpus, a remarkably detailed account of the contemporary collapse of Aristotelian cosmology survives. It contains lists of books and manuscripts to be consulted by the students. Most importantly for this study, it allows us to unpack all of the compressed material we have seen in both the disputations and, indeed, the dictates that are hidden from view. The "Theses Astronomicae" from 1616 on Venus and Mercury, discussed above, provides an introductory flavor of the extent to which the lecture notes have been transformed when they are subjected to pedagogical prescriptions laid out in the university decrees. Firstly, it must be stated that the text as it appears in the thesis, appendix 1, appendix 2 and appendix 3 is all derived verbatim from Dk.7.29.[49] What seems like a relatively anodyne discussion about the relative positions of the Sun, Venus, and Mercury is part of a much more pointed discussion in Dk.7.29, which is an extended exploration of the hypotheses of Johannes Kepler, Nicolas Copernicus, Francesco Maurolico, Ptolemy and others on the relative positions of the planets. The conclusion that King encourages the students to follow is that Venus is indeed farther from the Sun than Mercury, and closer to Earth. The main argument, however, is not simply about their relative positions as evidenced by solid observational data. It is that the planets revolve around the Sun.[50] King was aware that in Edinburgh, as in the rest of Europe, there were significant implications for theology and pre-Newtonian, avowedly Aristotelian notions of gravity and motion with such a conclusion. King advised the students that one way out of such a problem would be to accept the geoheliocentric system, or the so-called Tychonic system (a term King

**48** Shepherd (1980, 73).
**49** Dk.7.29, f. 42v.
**50** Dk.7.29, f. 42v.

does not use). Regardless, King's central point was that the evidence showed that with "great probability" the planets revolved around the sun. Before leaving this final point about the Tychonic system, it should be briefly noted that calling the system 'Tychonic' in this context is unsatisfactory. There were three key figures in the broader network of educationists of which King and the Edinburgh reformers were part: Paul Wittich, John Craig, and Duncan Liddel. As Robert Westman and Owen Gingerich have demonstrated, Wittich played a significant part in the evolution of this system, which was itself part of the broader debate on comets among a network of scholars that included the Edinburgh circle.[51] John Craig was Wittich's pupil and Liddel in turn was John Craig's. Brahe would later accuse Liddel of appropriating his system without acknowledgement and then teaching it to others.[52] It is an interesting footnote to scholarly discussion on the 'Tychonic' nature of the system that it should be favorably presented in formal education at Edinburgh at this time. As has been shown in recent studies on the Chair of Mathematics at Edinburgh, Duncan Liddel was intimately involved in educational reform with the King brothers and the broader Edinburgh network at exactly the time that Dk.7.29 was being written.[53]

## 7 The Notes and the Curriculum

It is now necessary to emphasize the extent to which Dk.7.29 is found throughout all of the classroom notes, that is, within the dictates, the student disputation exercises, and their public renderings in the *Theses Philosophicae.* All three areas provide insight into differing aspects of its educational influence hidden from view. Firstly, with regards to the dictates, the nature of its presence as recorded in the lecture hall highlights the extent to which the central authority text of "Aristotelian" or scholastic commentary, and its implied framework as used by the regents, operated as an ancillary mechanism or heuristic map that facilitated the process of exploration of new ideas beyond the edges of the central text and its traditional scope. Richard Oosterhoff produced a timely study in 2015, defining as he did the evolution of the authority text in this context, specifically—in his case —to the *De Sphaera* of Sacrobosco.[54] Edinburgh's classroom notes corroborate Oosterhoff's general point regarding the increasingly "skeletal" role which a commen-

**51** For the general scholarship on Wittich's role: Gingerich and Westman (1988, 5–19); p. 16 for the Edinburgh group.
**52** Omodeo (2016, 68–72).
**53** McOmish (forthcoming).
**54** Oosterhoff (2015).

tary's authority text played. This can be seen most starkly in a set of student notes that not only introduce lectures as a commentary on Sacrobosco, but are also actually appended to a published edition of the said text. In 1643–44, the student Alexander Pringle recorded his notebook dictates on *Sphaera* in the manner prescribed by the university statutes.[55] The lectures on Aristotle's *De Caelo* ended in the other notes of Alexander Henryson (1613) and George Livingstone (1619) in December and their lectures on Sacrobosco began in late December. Thus it was for Alexander Pringle, who records that "a most fulsome commentary was given by the master Alexander Hepburn and copied down by me his pupil Alexander Pringle on the morning of 20th December in the year of our Lord 1643."[56] Like the other notes stretching back over a generation, the Sacrobosco lectures proceeded over two months until mid-February. In his introduction to Sacrobosco's views on habitable and uninhabitable zones, Hepburn updates the students' understanding of certain zones of the globe that were previously thought to be uninhabitable by the ancient and medieval writers. He begins by saying that navigators/explorers of the current age (*posterioris aetatis navigatores*) have traveled all the way up to 81 degrees latitude (calculating latitude from declination/celestial altitude) and found many and great islands (*multas magnasque insulas*), namely *Pharras, Frislandia, Islandia*, and the vast peninsula of *Scania*, and its many regions of Norway, Sweden, and Finland. In the next two pages, Pringle recounts Hepburn's overview of all the other new discoveries that have been made by cosmographers and cartographers in the last 100 years.[57] This section of the lectures is in its entirety taken from Dk.7.29. Here is the passage that opens the section that Hepburn reuses:

> At posterioris aetatis navigationes, ultra eos terminos ad 81 altitudinis gradum evagatae, multas magnasque insulas, Farras, Frislandiam, Islandiam, Greinlandiam, atque adeo vastam illam Schondiae peninsulam plurimis et vastissimis Norvegiae, Suediae, Finlandiae, Finmarchiae et Lappiae regionibus incoli; et ultra 72 latitudinis gradum porrigi deprehenderunt.
>
> [Yet the explorers of our age, having wandered to the limits of 81 degrees latitude, saw that many great islands, Faroes, Frisland, Iceland, Greenland stretched out beyond 72 degrees, and that the vast peninsula of Scandanavia was populated with the multiple and most expansive regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Finnmark, and Lapland.][58]

The only thing that has changed from the original to Hepburn's rendering is the presentation of *regionibus* in King to *regiones* in Hepburn. This is because Hepburn

**55** Pringle (1643–1644, DK.5.5(2)).
**56** Pringle (1643–1644, DK.5.5(2), f. 1r).
**57** In overview, without the mention of specific authors' names: Pringle (1643–1644, DK.5.5(2), f. 35v–36r.)
**58** Dk.7.29, f. 84v–85r.

changed the main verb of the clause necessitating a direct object. The original passage in King's notes is furnished with citations of where the regent could supply his class with further reading. King suggest Gerald Mercator and, unsurprisingly, given his own connections to the University of Paris, Guillame Postel, the former Royal Professor at the University until his death in 1581 when King was in Paris at the university.[59]

In the same manner, according to Pringle's notes, Hepburn's lectures on cosmic risings and settings are presented as a commentary to Sacrobosco chapter three "De Ortu et Occasu." Pringle records the opening to Hepburn's lecture thus:

> all of astronomy may reasonably be dissolved into two parts. One deals with hypotheses on planets and orbits, the other on consideration of the causes of what is observed. The former was undertaken by the author in the first two books, the latter he thus pursues in the remaining two to explain what can be discerned of first motion, such as in this chapter the rising and setting of stars and constellations, their ascension and descending, the inequalities of days and nights, the differing measurements of shadows, in the fourth [are] eclipses.[60]

*Mutatis mutandis*, Hepburn's lecture is taken from the King corpus:

> Universa Astronomia duabus potissimum partibus absoluitur; una orbium et circulorum hypotheses constituit: altera ex his φαινομένων causas deducit. Illam qua ad sphaerae cognitionem sufficere vibebatur; tribus prioribus libris **poeta noster** complexus est: hanc duobus reliquis ita persequi instituit; ut quae primi motus φαινομένα constitutis hypothesibus dependent, explicet: qualia sunt siderum et signorum ortus et occasus, dierum et noctium inaequalis varietas, umbrarum dispares mensurae: quae huic **quarto libro** materia proposita est: et eclipsium rationem, quae in **quintum librum** reservantur.[61]

I do not offer a separate translation for the passage for King's text because Hepburn's text above is identical except for two minor changes. Here the *poeta* (Buchanan) has been replaced with "author" (Sacrobosco) in Hepburn; whereas book five on the eclipses in King is chapter four in Hepburn, as it is in Sacrobosco. In a set of lectures lasting nearly a full semester, which are explicitly stated to be a commentary on Sacrobosco; and indeed is appended to that very book, the words are taken from the King corpus, whose point of reference is a different text. In this instance, there is a degree of overlap between Buchanan and Sacrobosco, one that allows this sort of interchange of commentaries.[62]

**59** Dk.7.29, f. 85r.

**60** Pringle (1643–1644, DK.5.5(2), f. 36r).

**61** Dk.7.29, f. 93r.

**62** On the influence of Sacrobosco upon Buchanan: McOmish (2018, 164–165).

Evidence of the lectures engaging directly with the King corpus, but in a less obviously convergent way, can be seen a full generation before the above example in the student notes of George Livingstone. From January 24 to 26, William King delivered a series of lectures on Sacrobosco and the “division of climes” across the world. Livingstone noted the regent’s words thus: “just as geographers have identified zones from the variety of primary qualities, climes from the variety of longest days and other visible signs, so they have noted three discrete locations from a similarity of visible signs and a change of shared phenomena.”[63] Again, this a verbatim section taken from the King corpus:

> Ut zonas ex primarum qualitatum, climata ex maximorum dierum, aliorumque φαινομένων varietate: sic ex similium φαινομένων communione, et parium mutatione Geographi tres situs differentias in terrae globo annotarunt.[64]

Like Hepburn’s lecture from nearly a quarter of a century later, William King is using a part of Dk.7.29 where Adam King is directly engaging with one of his French contemporaries. In this instance, Adam King is using Robert Balfour’s commentary and translation of Cleomedes’ *Meteora* to explain the division of the world into specific climes by Cleomedes.[65] Like the other discussion on Postel, the authority text is a prop for broader discussion on new understanding. Here, however, the deficiencies of Sacrobosco as a point of reference necessitate a more significant formal departure from Sacrobosco. These lectures are taken from a section of Dk.7.29 that is in essence an extended engagement with another text, with a more satisfactory explanatory framework, being that of Cleomedes.

## 8 The Pedagogical Evolution of the Commentary Tradition

This type of engagement with older texts, and indeed the commentary tradition as a whole, can easily be understood as part of the humanist tradition. Here updated editions of older texts are subjected to broader and more detailed critical analysis in light of the proliferation of new studies and of newer editions and translations of classical texts.[66] Yet due to Adam King’s own background and the background of

63 Livingstone (1619 – 1620, Dc.10.37, f. 102r).
64 Dk.7.29, f. 109v.
65 Balfour (1605).
66 For an overview of the evolution of the tradition in a humanist and early modern context: Enenkel and Nellen (2013).

those who contributed to the construction of the text both directly and indirectly, this characterization is insufficient. As discussed above, King and his fellow Parisian professor of mathematics and philosophy Du Monin made recourse to literary genres in order to explore pressing questions in natural philosophy a generation before King finally produced his large manuscript commentary.[67] Du Monin's philosophical and stylistic approach had distinctively idiosyncratic features. His poetry was "technical," "quibbling," "scholarly," characteristics which moved Ronsard to claim he had destroyed poetry.[68] The nature of his engagement with the French tradition of the cosmic journey also betrayed a tendency toward the scientific and technical at the expense of the poetical traditions of those who had preceded him in the genre.[69] The King corpus is an extension of this generic field. It aims at truth by exploring the validity of multiple perspectives in an increasingly non-esoteric way. Moreover, the King corpus reflects a methodological disposition that King acquired in Paris. In 1597, King signed the *album amicorum* of Johann Van Reigersberg, the Dutch scholar. In this album, he used the title that he last held at Paris before leaving just over a year before: Petrus Ramus Professor of Mathematics.[70] In his will outlining the qualities the chair that bore his name, Ramus stated that the holder must be well-versed in Latin and Greek, know geometry, arithmetic, optics and mechanics.[71] Although King praises the central text as a beautiful artistic artifact and useful mnemonic device for recognizing celestial phenomena, its most basic function is as a mechanism (the skeletal frame referred to above) to encourage observational astronomy, avoid unprovable philosophical assumptions, and augment students' knowledge.

In the same year King began his work on educational reform at Edinburgh, his immediate successor as the Petrus Ramus Professor of Mathematics in Paris, David Sinclair, began to develop his work on Copernicus, which he had embarked upon in 1596.[72] That year, David Sinclair, his colleague Thomas Seget, and Adam King were in Edinburgh together under the protection of the Seton family during a ser-

**67** Du Monin (1583). King's poetry produced at the same time, from the same source (Buchanan's MS), and covering the same topics: McOmish (2020).

**68** Lecointe (2010, 271, note 4 and 281).

**69** Ridgely (1963, 149–150 especially, but passim).

**70** Van Reigersberg (1597, BPL 2702, f. 45r) for King's entry.

**71** Waddington (1855, 326–328).

**72** He was employed by Adam King's former colleague John Fraser at the University of Paris, where he became Petrus Ramus Professor: Pantin (2006, passim). For Sinclair's work on Copernicus starting in 1596: Lerner (2000, 61–62). Sinclair's arrival in Paris: Dempster (1627, 595). Overview of his surviving work: Durkan (2002, 113–114).

ies of Calvinist purges of Scottish political and academic life.[73] Whereas King used Buchanan to introduce students to Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, by 1607 Sinclair had begun to comment directly upon the contemporary texts. Sinclair's lectures on Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus* represent the first evidence from this time that this text was formally taught at Paris. Sinclair's words on Copernicus from the years 1607 to 1608 survive thanks to the dictates taken down by a student by the name of R. Grocques. Sinclair called his lectures a commentary on the "sphere" of Copernicus and the form and content of the text bear striking similarities to the form and content of King's work.[74] Both works emerged in the context of the general cosmological crises of the late 16th century and early 17th century; and Copernicus, Buchanan and even Sacrobosco serve to introduce the pressing problems of comets and the slow demise of the old Aristotelian cosmological model.[75] The nature and use of both texts highlight the increasing pressures that the scholastic educational tradition of commentary lectures were subject to in this period. When understood within this timeframe, King's work in Dk.7.29 is part of an evolving tradition that stretches back to his early Parisian days and continued into the time of his successor David Sinclair.

## 9 Published Disputations

King's manuscript functioned in this way as a pedagogical tool in order to develop discussion beyond the confines of the old scholastic framework for lecturers at Edinburgh from the beginning to the middle of the 17th century. It was especially important in an astronomical and cosmological context. Yet, as the attentive reader will have noticed, unlike the disciplinary areas of logic, ethics, and general physics, there has been no mention made as yet of practice disputations with regard to astronomy and cosmology. This is due to the absence of specifically astronomical the-

**73** Sinclair was the master to the children of Robert Seton, Earl of Winton from at least 1596 until 1599: NRS CH2/185 and Seton (1896, 214). Seget was also employed by Robert Seton in the same capacity: NRS CH2/185 and Seton (1896, 213). Both men were arraigned before the presbytery for nonconformity to the reformed faith. Adam King returned to Edinburgh in 1595 and was arraigned in 1596 by the Edinburgh presbytery for nearly a year for not subscribing to the articles of the reformed faith: NRS CH2/121/2, from December 1595 to September 1596. King would later thank the brother of Robert Seton, Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, for his "constant support": Dk.7.29, a letter prefacing poetic corpus dedicated by King to Seton and appended as separate manuscript at back.

**74** It is likely that Sinclair produced a 1612 teaching edition with selected passages from Copernicus acting as *lemmata* for students: Lerner (2000).

**75** McOmish (forthcoming).

ses in the practice disputations for the notebooks discussed above—even in those which are solely notes for astronomical lectures like Pringle's. Given how detailed the student notebooks are, with the dictation of all subjects, names and dates; and with practice disputations in the same way, this may seem strange. However, again it seems to reflect the general stipulation of the university decrees on the degree structure. It is repeated throughout the official documents that, across all years, logic, ethics, and physics were to be debated. There is no specific mention of astronomy. There is evidence, though, that the conclusions that were suggested to the students in the natural philosophical sections of the King corpus bled into all other sections of the notes and subjects as the cosmological implications of those views began to undermine the philosophical and metaphysical assumptions of the other subjects. A noteworthy example of this is the discussion of the rejection of the doctrine of the solid celestial spheres found in the King corpus and the cascading influence that the discussion had across the other scholastic categories of the disputations across two generations.[76] Regardless, there are no practice astronomical disputations in notebooks. However, given the close relationship between the notebook disputations and the published versions discussed above, and the close relationship between formal assessment and the disputations in general, highlighting the quantitative indebtedness of the published astronomical disputations to the King corpus helps to fill the gap in this sphere of student experience. The published disputations of the astronomical theses from William King's first class at the beginning of the 17th century until the last produced by Alexander Hepburn's class in 1632 represent by far the most detailed and extensive of all the surviving theses from across the whole of the 17th century. The astronomical theses for these classes are in their totality edited sections of the lecturer notes. Each thesis, each appendix, and each conclusion is a faithful and verbatim replication of the lecture notes Adam King wrote explicitly for use in the classroom.[77] The quantitative reliance of the published disputations upon the King corpus of lecturer notes has been established in two foundational studies on the astronomical theses from the early 17th century onwards, which also includes the theses of the regent Andrew Young (1601–1623), who was William King's teacher at the start of the century.[78]

Young's use of the lecturer notes highlight a significant methodological shift within the classroom context. For Young and his students, Dk.7.29 provided a template for how to measure and observe astronomical phenomena. The published

**76** A full account of this process is found at: McOmish (2023).

**77** Alexander Seton, the Lord Chancellor endorsed its use for education and likewise Patrick Sands, senior academic and future principal of the university: Dk.7.29, f. iv–v.

**78** McOmish (2022) and (2023).

theses of Young highlight both the use of Dk.7.29 and how it inspired students to use their private classes for observational astronomy. Young edits Dk.7.29 so as to include new material from his class's private astronomical observations. This type of editing process of the King lecture notes for publication also draws attention to some of the negative pressures to which the students and regents were responding. There is a significant divergence between the educational experience in the "private schools" and the educational experience presented to the general public in many of the published theses. As seen above, particularly charged cosmological debates on the orbits of the planets (Venus and Mercury) found in Dk.7.29 are presented in a relatively anodyne manner in the published theses. Two further examples of this process demonstrate how the public context of the graduation disputations altered its contents. They make evident how invaluable these notes are for our understanding of what was happening in education beyond the façade. The astronomical theses for the graduating class of 1612–1616 class show that the students debated the significance of the comet that had appeared in the sky in 1577.[79] The students' allocated task of "debating" this thesis began thus:

> Through clear and compelling proof, many astronomers of great reputation have concluded that the comet, which was visible for almost three months in the year 1577, remained consistently above the Moon in the region of ether, as evidenced by its motion being slower than lunar motion, by the line from the celestial equator which it traced with its own motion, and its lesser angular divergence from the Moon's, which was often scarcely perceptible.[80]

As mentioned above, all of the astronomical theses in this period are taken from the lecturer notes.[81] It is interesting to note here that the students defend this proposition with two religious appendices. Appendix 1 states that sacred literature supports the notion of celestial mutability. Appendix 2 quotes from the Bible (Psalm 101) to support the general concept of divine change. This represents a significant manipulation of the source text. The section in the lecturer notes from which the title thesis is taken verbatim provides a detailed overview of the proofs for the celestial change the comets appearance and disappearance represented. Supporting evidence (reference and citation) is afforded by Johannes Kepler, Michael Maestlin, Tycho Brahe, Cornelius Gemma and many others. This is omitted in the public disputation. In its place, there is a passage from a completely different

**79** King (1616, thesis 7). For a translation of the 1616 astronomical theses: Mcomish (2022, 192–193).
**80** King (1616, thesis 7): "*Cometam a.d. 1577 tribus fere mensibus conspicuam, ex uniformi eius motu tardiore Lunari, ex ductu maximi circuli quem motu proprio designavit, ex Parallaxi minore Lunari, et interdum vix sensili: plerique magni nominis astronomi in aetheris regione Luna superiori constitisse evidenti et firma demonstratione collegerunt.*"
**81** This section: Dk.7.29, f. 39v–40r.

section of the lecturer notes in which Adam King rejects Buchanan's contention about ancient sources having rejected the notion of celestial mutability. In addition to various pagan and esoteric ideas from antiquity, King then furnishes the two examples from scripture to show that this is not even true within the strict confines of Christian literature.[82] Here the audience have clearly influenced the academic presentation of the students' learning.

Another example of such willful manipulation of the notes can be found in the astronomical theses dealing with astrology. In thesis 9 of the 1616 astronomical theses, the students introduce the topic of judicial astrology and its philosophical implications. The students debate the idea that such astrological conjecture robs humans of free will and agency. It is then presented in the first appendix as a potentially pervasive and negative influence upon human affairs. In the next and final appendix the students condemn it completely:

> We condemn astrologers of this type, disreputable through their pseudo-occupation, whom, having been condemned by the statutes of the laws, it is justified to punish; unless they partake moderately, and confine themselves within the limits prescribed for a technique which is supported by conjecture only.[83]

The thesis and its two appendices are extracts from a section of Dk.7.29 where there is an extended discussion on the nature of celestial influence.[84] The point of reference for King's work is a statement from Buchanan's poem that the astrologer plays upon the stupidity of the common people. Despite the seemingly hostile attitude towards astrology from the section of the commentary that the students reuse, in reality this section represents a nuanced introduction for the students to the subject of astrology. King draws back from an outright condemnation of astrology and states that it actually does no harm (*nec iniuria*) should practitioners acknowledge it as conjecture. In his commentary, he encourages students to follow this up and read Ptolemy, *Apotelesmatum* lib. 1, cap. 2. In Dk.7.29, in the passage immediately following the text found at appendix 2 of the published theses, where the students condemn astrology, King quotes Ficino, *In Plotinum* 2.3.7, and suggests that stars simply contribute to the production of effects, and are not the determiners of fate: "Ficino rightly reckons that 'stars neither affect everything nor, when they do affect, do they condition everything; they also indicate many things

**82** Dk.7.29, f. 61r.

**83** King (1616, thesis 9): "*Damnamus huiusmodi astrologos tanquam professione infames, legum constitutionibus damnatos, supplicio affici aequum est: nisi sobrie sapiant, et artis, quae solis coniecturis innixa est, iustis finibus sese contineant.*"

**84** Dk.7.29, f. 113v–114r.

in which they played no role themselves.'"[85] King goes on to explain that certain astrologers have money and achieved notoriety from preying on the fears and credulity of people by providing detailed prognostications concerning the minutia of their individual lives. These type of people, King asserts, have been condemned by skeptics and theologians alike.[86] The thesis and appendices shown above have been edited in such a way as to provide an unequivocal condemnation of astrology and align the students with that condemnation ("we" instead of "they" in Dk.7.29). In reality, the lecture notes, whose passages and opinions are found throughout the detailed records, practice disputations, and in every astronomical thesis, presents the students with a nuanced overview of the advantages of the "craft"; and also a set of norms and rules to understand, so that they do not fall foul of either state or religious sanction on the matter. Without any cross-reference between disputations and the manuscript commentary, this nuanced understanding of astrology in the classroom would be lost.

## 10 Conclusion: Intellectual Changes beyond the Form

The mass of student and classroom notes from Edinburgh in this period allow us to look beyond local considerations: like religious mores with their strident and dominant voice, or traditional educational practices, with their recognizable outlines. Once inside the private classroom, many of the trends, ideas, philosophical positions, scientific experimentation that would be expected of educationalists working at a tertiary level in this period would come to the fore. Yes, the classroom notes reflect local and Europe-wide educational practices, which had been the backbone of the educational experience from the medieval period onwards. However, in Edinburgh's case, when due consideration is given to the details of the teaching notes and the student notebooks we can discern the aggregate product of the educational and intellectual experiences of a group of itinerant scholars who returned to Edinburgh in the early 17th century from centers across Europe. Cross-references between all of these fascinating handwritten notes reveal how students were constantly being kept abreast of the latest developments in 17th-cen-

**85** Dk.7.29, f. 114r: "*Ficinus vere colligit, stellas neque omnia facere, neque ubi agunt, omnia peragere: multa etiam significare, quae ipsae non agant: non omnia inquam facere, ne mala faciant; vel Deus non provideat, vel sit iniustus, stellaeque sint iniustae.*"
**86** Dk.7.29, f. 114r: "*tam ex academia et lycaeo philosophi, quam in religione Christiana theologi damnant… astrologos tanquam professione infames, legum constitutionibus damnatos…*"

tury scientific culture, albeit within a recognizably scholastic pedagogical framework. Moreover, they provide an invaluable insight into how changes in disciplinary boundaries were being created and how those changes were explored within the private schools.

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Luisa Brotto and Danilo Facca

# The Pen and the School: The Function and Circulation of Manuscripts in the Teaching Practices of the Zamość Academy in the First Decades of the 17th Century

**Abstract:** Founded in 1594 by Jan Zamoyski, an eminent Polish politician and patron of culture, the Zamość Academy was a civil school with the main purpose of training cadres of the state administration. To achieve this, an educational program was drawn up based on the study of ancient literary, philosophical, and legal culture, sensitive to the evolution of humanism in the late 16th century and placed under the ideal patronage of Cicero. The legacy of this activity is a number of manuscripts, most of which contain commentaries by Zamość professors on classical texts. Examination of these sources can open a window on their formation process, their circulation and function, as well as the teaching practices that presumably gave rise to them. In the second part of the essay, the hypotheses formulated are tested on the basis of a particular case, a commentary on the *Organon* produced in the first decade of the academy's activity.

## 1 Introduction: The Zamość Academy between Innovation and Classical Education

This essay aims to highlight the importance of some surviving documents regarding the Zamość Academy for the study of early modern teaching and learning practices. The Zamość Academy played an important role in the vibrant cultural landscape of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Existing studies have noted that the aim of the academy, founded by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605) in 1594, was to educate the future ruling class of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by imparting skills considered useful in public life. The purpose of shaping the minds of those who would one day become public servants of the Common-

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wealth is manifested in the documents relating to the organization of the academy. Ranging from rhetoric to geography, from natural philosophy to contemporary law, the educational program was designed to provide truly interdisciplinary expertise that would be of practical value while retaining a strong theoretical drive.

The curriculum of this original institution, unique in Europe at the time, was closely linked to the political life of the Commonwealth. Its founder was clearly determined to shape the Commonwealth through education. To that end, the institution provided lessons appropriate to life within the Commonwealth, while introducing aspects of innovation and importing external influences. Having been educated abroad, in Italy and France, Zamoyski firmly believed that wider European traditions should be integrated into Polish-Lithuanian culture. In this respect, the Zamość Academy was designed to be a fruitful synthesis of traditional and experimental motifs, resulting in both pioneering cultural productions and exemplary teaching based on classical texts.

To this day, a corpus of manuscripts containing notes from the first decades of the $17^{th}$ century remains the most comprehensive and reliable source of information on the academy's educational activities. These documents report on the teaching activities of the academy during an early but crucial period of its existence. It was during these decades that the academy achieved its greatest success, attracting a relatively large number of students and becoming a leading institution in the country. At the same time, the institution had to search for new ways to consolidate its role and find its identity after the death of its founder and as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth went through difficult years regarding its political stability, facing internal unrest and increasing protests by members of the nobility as well as increasing external hostility.

The notes provide contemporary readers with crucial insights into the topics covered by the professors and the structure of the courses. Their contribution is therefore crucial to understanding how the Zamość Academy actually functioned, i.e., what teaching methods and educational strategies were used. The majority of the notes are part of the Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamojskiej library fund (hereafter BOZ), held at the Polish National Library in Warsaw. This fund contains a series of manuscript volumes, bound together at different times. Each volume contains manuscript texts relating to classes held at the Zamość Academy. Other manuscript volumes can also be found outside the fund. For instance, a volume of texts on law and rhetoric that belonged to the student Andreas Sredzinski is currently kept in the Manuscript Fund of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Another volume of manuscripts containing commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon* is part of the Baworowski fund of the "Vasyl Stefanyk" National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv.

This is an exploratory study of lesser-known sources and does not achieve definitive results: its main aim is to highlight the relevance of the surviving manuscripts and possibly to foster a debate on their characteristics and role. The first part of the essay is devoted to presenting some prominent features of the manuscripts from BOZ. The majority of these are lecture notes and thus belong to a well-known and extensive genre. That being said, the fund contains notes with different authors and owners, possibly including both teachers and students. Because of these differences, the lecture notes shed a unique light on the life of the academy and can expand our knowledge of early modern teaching and learning processes by providing a Central-Eastern European perspective. Far from being impersonal records of standard courses, the manuscripts reveal details about the people who wrote them and the educational environment in which they lived. To better illustrate the potential of these sources for deepening existing knowledge of the academy, the second part of the essay examines the commentary on Aristotle's *Organon* preserved in Lviv. This handwritten volume has not yet been the subject of detailed study. After a brief analysis of some of its contents and features, some hypotheses regarding its authorship are outlined.

## 2 The Extant Notes as a Mirror of the Education at the Academy

Originally located in the prestigious Pałac Błękitny in Warsaw, the BOZ fund included books from the library of the Zamość Academy and from private libraries owned by members of the Zamoyski family. The library suffered immense losses during the Second World War. Most of the surviving materials are manuscripts, many of which relate to the activities of the academy (see Kocówna and Muszynska 1967).

The early 17$^{th}$-century manuscripts from BOZ are rather heterogeneous and portray academic life from different perspectives.[1] They include some cases of private notes meant for personal use, as well as others that appear to have been conceived in order to circulate more broadly. Most of the manuscripts clearly belong to the genre of lecture notes, as they report teachings delivered by the professors of the academy. The majority of them convey commentaries on classical texts. The commented texts are usually divided into sections, the initial words of which are reported on the left side of the page. Greek works, such as those of Aristotle, are generally reported in their original language.

1 Some of the features illustrated in sections 2 to 4 were briefly addressed in Brotto 2023, 96–97. Here we want to provide a more detailed analysis by highlighting references to teaching practices and individuals operating within the academy.

In some cases, treatises are also presented. For instance, BOZ MS 1518 – 1521 contains a series of small treatises on ancient political forms by law professor Tomasz Drezner (1560 – 1616)—respectively, *De monarchia persarum*, *De republica lacedemoniorum*, *De republica atheniensium* and *De republica romanorum.* The same volume also contains a compendium of Plato's *Laws*, also resulting from the teaching of Drezner. In the codex from the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, a *Laus iurisprudentiae*, *Dikaiomatheia*, a work on law by David Hilchen (1561 – 1610), and a *Compendium artis dicendi* can be found (on this documents, see Brotto 2023 and Viiding 2023).

The existing studies on lecture notes have shown that polished lecture notes were usually compiled after class and represented a reworking of first-order notes taken hastily on less valuable writing supports. As long as second-order notes were produced by reorganizing content, checking references, and giving the text a more definitive outline, first-order notes were often discarded (Blair 2008). Only a careful examination of the manuscripts can determine whether they were neat first-order notes or rather second-order notes created after first-order drafts, but it seems more likely that they were second-order notes.

A possible element suggesting that the notes were not taken directly during the lessons is their overall accuracy as regards the handwriting, the structure of the pages, and the occasional presence of decorated titles. It is also worth noting that accurate diagrams are often included at the end of the commentaries or at the end of certain sections of the text. For example, a commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* by Adam Burski (c. 1560 – 1611) contains diagrams summarizing the content of Aristotle's chapters. The drawings are also rather well crafted: in Drezner's commentary on the *Institutiones Iustiniani*, a rather elaborate *arbor consanguinitatis* illustrating different degrees of kinship can be found (BOZ MS 1526, 10v). Walenty Ptarmius' (d. 1638) commentary on Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia* contains a geometrical representation of the Ptolemaic universe (BOZ MS 141, 141v).

Dates are frequently reported at the beginning and end of the texts—sometimes at the end of each part, i. e., of different books or chapters of the same work. In BOZ MS 1518 – 1521, several texts attributed to Tomasz Drezner—namely the aforementioned treatises on ancient political forms of government, the compendium of Plato's *Laws*, and a commentary on Cicero's *De legibus*—are listed between July 1609 and July 2010. Drezner's texts are followed by a long series of *Quaestiones* on Jacques Charpentier's *Descriptio universae naturae* and a commentary on Galen's *Ars parva* by Professor Szymon Birkowski (1574 – 1626). In total, the volume seems to contain the equivalent of a year's worth of material on law and natural philosophy. This suggests that the manuscripts were perhaps produced on the occasion of courses held at the academy and reported on their content. In other manuscripts, more specific indications can be found. For instance, at the end of BOZ MS 1515–1516, notably at the end of a commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, a brief note states that approximately half of the commentary was produced by Adam Burski, whereas the rest was completed by Szymon Birkowski, Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine.[2] The note suggests that although Burski began commenting on Aristotle's text, he did not manage to complete it: when he died on February 15, 1611, he had barely reached the halfway point of the second book. The task was passed on to Birkowski, who commented on the remaining parts of the text (Facca 2000, 80–81). Although there is a clear connection between the manuscripts and the courses at the academy, the dates given do not indicate exactly when each lecture took place or what content was presented during the session. Rather, the dates seem to follow the structure of the text. The dates may reflect the general organization of the course, without following its division closely. It may be argued that the dates indicate the beginning and end of the groups of lessons during which the reported material was presented.

It should also be noted that the surviving works cover different time spans. For example, it is possible that Adam Burski's commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in the classroom lasted more than two years, from October 1609 to February 1612. The commentary on *Rhetoric* probably took from January 1609 to May 1611. Tomasz Drezner's commentary on Cicero's *De legibus*, on the other hand, may have required only a short time: although only the start date is given, it is possible that the commentary was completed before the classes on Plato's *Laws* began.[3] It is possible that the courses at the Zamość Academy were not of equal length. Commenting on such a long and renowned work as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, or *Metaphysics* could easily take longer than expected. One rule is mentioned in the founding statutes of the academy: "All the material allocated to the professors could not be communicated by them within a year and, still less, be apprehended by the students in such a short time. Thus, whatever cannot be accomplished within one year shall be imparted to the young scholars at greater length" (Lepri 2019, 149). Based on this indication, it can be argued that the courses had varying durations depending on the materials and the approach of the teachers.

Other surviving records raise the issue of the extent and role of private teaching at the academy. Tomasz Drezner dedicated his last printed work, *Institutiones iuris regni Poloniae*, to Tomasz Zamoyski, the son of the Academy's founder. In the

**2** BOZ MS 1515–1516, 581v: "Finis commentarii in tres libris Rhetoricorum Aristotelis ad Theodectem Ab Excellentissimo ac Doctissimo olim piae memoriae viro Adamo Bursio, ad medium fere secundi libri producti. Post ab Excellentissimo Domino Simone Bircovio Philosophiae ac Medicinae Doctore profecti, Anno Salutis 1611 XVI kal. Maii."

**3** BOZ MS 1518–1521, 1r: "A. D. 1609, XVI kal. Juli."; BOZ MS 1518–1521, 54r: "A. MDCVIIII, X kal. Novemb."

dedication letter, Drezner expressed his intention to make his synthesis of Polish and Roman law, which had previously been taught in the form of private lessons, available to the widest possible audience.[4] In fact, the initial chapters of Drezner's *Institutiones* can also be found in BOZ MS 1526, which belonged to, and is attributed to, Tomasz Zamoyski (see section 4; BOZ MS 1526, 150r ff. See Bukowska 1960, 212). Drezner may have been referring to the classes held at the academy. It is possible, however, that some of his teachings were delivered exclusively to the son of the founder or to a restricted group of students.

A work included in Biblioteka Jagiellońska's MS 2279 AA VII 6, David Hilchen's *Dikaiomatheia*, raises a related question, namely whether texts by tutors could circulate and influence the education of students despite not being part of the official curriculum of the academy. Although the Livonian humanist David Hilchen was not a professor at Zamość, he was nevertheless involved in educational activities and was able to leave his own mark on the institution, possibly like other scholars who worked as tutors. His text ended up in the handwritten volume of Andreas Sredzinski.

In addition to organizational aspects and educational content, the manuscripts highlight activities of different categories of individuals involved in teaching and learning. Studies have shown that lecture notes could have different geneses and result from the work of different individuals. In some cases, they were produced by one or more students (See Blair 2016). Students, however, would often rely on the help of qualified scribes who could play a significant role in their education. These individuals, whose identities are rarely known and often impossible to trace, were in a position to be deeply involved in the production of the manuscripts and to make some of the choices regarding their structure. Lastly, the professors were often involved: they could create, or commission the creation of, manuscripts as official documentation of their scholarly work, which could then circulate among peers or be disclosed to students.

The handwritten notes from the Zamość Academy seem to bear trace of all three categories: the students, the teachers, and the scribes. The two following sections address manuscripts with different creators and scopes.

**4** Drezner (1613, n.p.): "Tibi, libens ac merito, do, dico, addico: ut quibus te studiis privatim pro munere meo imbuerim, ea etiam in publicum prodiant, et lucem aspicere sub tuo nomine incipiant."

## 3 On the Possible Involvement of Academy Professors and on Some Surviving Private Notes

Although many of the extant manuscripts from BOZ display clear connections to professors at the Zamość Academy, some of them belonged to them and were perhaps written by them. Indications on this topic can be found in a group of manuscripts from the late 1620s and early 1630s.

Manuscripts BOZ 114, 116, and 120 present commentaries by eloquence professor Andrzej Abrek (d. 1656): *Scholia* and *Animadversiones* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* ranging from 1630 to 1634 are reported; a commentary is devoted to Cicero's *De partitione oratoria*. The manuscripts are written by different hands, one of which could be that of Abrek himself. On the title page, BOZ MS 116 and 120 bear an annotation reporting Abrek's name. The final notes at the end of all of the manuscripts all report that the contents were collected thanks to the work and study of Andrzej Abrek, professor of eloquence at the Zamość Academy.[5] Thus, it appears that Abrek was keen to affix his own name to the notes, to claim authorship and declare them a product of his scholarly work.

Another annotation points to the fact that Abrek's manuscripts circulated among his colleagues. On the first page of his *Scholia in libros tres Rhetoricorum Aristotelis*, right under the decorated title, it is reported that it came "from the catalogue of books of Stanisław Turzycki, professor at the Zamość Academy."[6] These words indicate that Stanisław Turzycki, professor of poetics at the Zamość Academy (d. 1547), owned the manuscript for a while and included it in his personal library. This document shows that the manuscripts were intended by the teachers as valuable materials. They were shared among colleagues and perhaps played a role in mutual influence and cooperation. The manuscripts that can be traced back to professor Andrzej Abrek show that at least some of the extant notes were fostered or perhaps written by the teachers of the Zamość Academy, who had clear interest in their creation and circulation.

It is then worth addressing BOZ MS 554, which conveys what definitely seem to be private notes. It contains a variety of annotations on physics, natural history, and morals from 1629 to 1636. At the very beginning of the manuscript, an annotation—

5 See, for instance, BOZ MS 120, 301r, "Sum M. Andreae St. Abrek Leop.," and 395r, "Collectum opera et studio Magistri Andreae Stanislai Abrek ordinar. protunc in Academia Zamoscen. Eloquent. Professoris."

6 BOZ MS 114, 1r: "Ex catalogo librorum S. Turzycki professoris Acad. Zam."

possibly by 19th-century librarian and philologist Józef Przyborowski (1823 – 1896)—suggests that the owner could have been Gaspar Solcius (d. 1653), professor of medicine at the academy since 1615 (Smoleńska 1991, 113 – 114). On the first page, a few verses invite to follow the pace of good fortune (BOZ MS 554, 2r). Most of the manuscript consists of a portion of a larger work that was intended to integrate *Pars posterior descriptionis universae naturae* by Jacques Charpentier (1524 – 1574), a work on natural history devoted to plants and animals. On the one hand, this reveals a specific interest on the part of the author in the medicinal properties of plants. On the other hand, it also shows that Charpentier's work was frequently addressed by professors at Zamość when dealing with natural history and philosophy: the aforementioned BOZ MS 1518 – 1521 contains *Quaestiones in libros quatuor posterioris descriprionis universae naturae* from 1609, attributed to Birkowski (164r – 319v). The manuscript BOZ MS 554 also conveys notes regarding disputations. It reports theses debated during private disputations *de plantis*. It also reports argumentations concerning a *disputatio publica* that touched upon the influence of celestial bodies on the human soul and the human inclination to virtue, thus addressing possible links between astrology and morals. All the texts are written in a hurried handwriting, with frequent corrections. Entire paragraphs are crossed out or rewritten. Most of the texts are incomplete. These features indicate that the notes were not meant to be shared with colleagues or students. The private nature of the document is confirmed by the fact that the paper was previously used for administrative notes: some pages still contain tabs with indications in German. The lessons and disputations reported in the manuscript provide insights into the activities and interests of a scholar who was arguably a rather influential figure within the academy.

## 4 Were the Students Involved? The Manuscripts Attributed to Tomasz Zamoyski

Some volumes in the fund have traditionally been associated with the activity of at least one student: they are attributed to the hand of Tomasz Zamoyski (1594 – 1638), son of Jan Zamoyski, who studied at the academy, following the will of his father, until 1612 (Szczygieł 2014, XVI – XVII; Żurkowski 2014, 10). They constitute a group of 12 works divided into eight volumes, all reporting courses by academy professors. The manuscripts attributed to Tomasz Zamoyski are not the only ones relating to a student. For instance, Biblioteka Jagiellońska's handwritten volume MS 2279 AA VII 61 reports the name of the *studiosus* Andreas Sredzinski and contains a printed version of some theses he officially disputed at the academy. However, the manuscripts attributed to Zamoyski are especially important because they convey a great number of commentaries by eminent professors.

Based on the information provided by the Polish National Library, among the first to establish the attribution to Tomasz Zamoyski was the aforementioned librarian and philologist Józef Przyborowski, who organized and directed the BOZ fund when it was first created. Aside from this indication, two elements link the manuscripts to Tomasz Zamoyski.

Moreover, some annotations may indicate that the manuscripts reached the academy collection after the death of Jan Sobiepan Zamoyski (1627–1665). It shows the Jelita, that is, the stem of the Zamoyski family, and the initials of Tomasz Zamoyski—T-Z-C-K, in reference to the fact that he was Capitaneus of Knyszyn. The *supralibros* indicates that the volume belonged to Tomasz Zamoyski.

The first is provided by the supralibros on the cover of BOZ MS 1518–521. It shows the Jelita, that is, the stem of the Zamoyski family, and the initials of Tomasz Zamoyski—T-Z-C-K, in reference to the fact that he was Capitaneus of Knyszyn. The supralibros indicates that the volume belonged to Tomasz Zamoyski. It is likely that Tomasz passed them down to his son. After that, they became part of the library of the academy (for a description of these manuscripts, see Makowski 2005, 84–85).

The *supralibros* and the annotations indicate that the volumes resulted from the education of Tomasz Zamoyski and were owned by him. The indications of Przyborowski, who had access to many documents of the BOZ fund that were destroyed during World War II and are no longer available to scholars, suggest that the handwriting was that of Tomasz Zamoyski himself. If that were the case, the volumes would thus be the result of a specific educational choice. They would suggest that the teachers at Zamość viewed copying as a formative activity, as a means to appropriate contents. In doing so, the teachers might have followed the precepts of prominent European authors such as Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives (Blair 2016, 270–271). What is more, the educational choice made in the case of Tomasz Zamoyski could have been extended to other students. In this hypothetical scenario, some students—possibly chosen for their abilities and commitment—would be especially integrated into the life of the academy. They would create official notes for at least some of the academy classes. And in doing so they would receive special training; they would learn accuracy by creating an artifact, and they would face classical texts directly. The manuscript could then become of public use within the academy, available to other students and scholars.

This hypothesis is particularly appealing because it would grant a more active role to Tomasz Zamoyski and because it would show that student agency was involved in the realization of teaching and learning tools. A paleographical study of the handwriting of Tomasz Zamoyski could take into consideration other extant documents and compare them to the notes to prove that the hand of the notebook is that of the son of the founder. For the time being, however, an alternative hypothesis should also be considered.

The education of Tomasz Zamoyski was notably a team effort. As Chancellor Jan Zamoyski wrote his will in 1601, he left the humanist and poet Szymon Szymonowic (1558–1629) in charge of educating his son Tomasz. Szymonowic was supposed to supervise the activity of other teachers or to act as a teacher himself. To best succeed, he relied on the help of an old servant, Nagoszki. A variety of measures were put in place to make sure Tomasz would have good morals and would not be led astray by other boys his age (Bielowski 1875, 100). In 1607, specific instructions provided by Tomasz's tutors confirmed that Szymonowicz was supposed to make sure that "the teachers and professors" followed the *praescriptum* and were not negligent, so that they wouldn't show up for lessons unprepared (Bielowski 1875, 100). A document released in September 1607 reported a long list of Tomasz Zamoyski's servants. It was also mentioned that law professor Tomasz Drezner was supposed to sit with Tomasz during his meals, thus putatively providing him with inspiring topics of conversation (Bielowski 1875, 101–103).

These indications suggest that Tomasz Zamoyski was surrounded by many learned individuals attending to different aspects of his life and education. Thus, it could be argued that the notes were perhaps produced by some of these individuals, who would carry out the longest and most extenuating tasks, leaving to Tomasz the duty of memorizing the contents. After all, the educational literature of the 16$^{th}$ and 17$^{th}$ century pointed out that excessive copying could impact education negatively (see again Blair 2016, 271).

The hypothesis that the documents were not written by Tomasz Zamoyski would not make the notes any less relevant. On the contrary, it would make them the result of a shared effort to provide the son of the founder with a high-level education. In any case, whether the notes were written by Tomasz Zamoyski or for him, they reflect aspects of the inner life of the institution, and one can wonder whether they were also made available to others—teachers or selected students allowed to access and copy their content.

## 5 MS 384 of the Biblioteka "Vasyl Stefanyk" in Lviv: Teaching Logic at the Academy

The manuscripts of the Zamość Academy are very varied in origin and purpose. Whether written by professors, commissioned by them, or produced only for use by students, the manuscripts played an important role in the life of the

Zamość Academy and are valuable sources for tracing the teaching and learning practices within this institution.

Not only do they result from and convey the teachings given at the academy, but their structure and choice of words reveal how the content was planned and presented, or grasped and appropriated. The notes can thus be seen as written traces of how educational communication unfolded, namely, as it was delivered by the teachers or received by the students.

To demonstrate the relevance of this type of documentation, we can now turn our attention to a particular text that may provide useful insights into the teaching practices at the Zamość Academy. We will try to compose in a coherent framework the clues that this text offers, although some of our conclusions can only have the character of hypotheses. We are dealing here with manuscript n. 384 from Baworowski Fund 4, now at the National Library "Vasyl Stefanyk" in Lviv.[7] It consists of 320 folios and contains an *interpretatio* of Aristotle's entire *Organon*, preceded as usual by Porphyry's *Isagoge.* More specifically, in the titles of the individual sections, corresponding to Aristotle's different books, terms such as *notae breves*, *notae*, *annotatae* are used, whereas *scholia* is reserved for the *Topics.* This terminology, which suggests a series of circumscribed textual units, each in relation to defined parts of the reference text, does not seem to correspond very well to what we actually find, namely, an explanatory, continuous, and homogeneous paraphrase. The manuscript does not give the name of the author of the course taught at the Zamość Academy from which the manuscript itself was derived. A candidate could be the aforementioned Adam Burski, who was a professor at the Zamość Academy from 1596 until his death, and one of the tutors of the dauphin Tomasz Zamoyski. Burski was the author of a weighty ten-book anthology of classical Greek and Latin texts, the *Dialectica Ciceronis* (Burski 1604; Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020),[8] which in the form of a dialogue between the proponents of three ancient

7 The manuscript belonged to the collection initiated in the second half of the 19th century by Polish nobleman Wiktor Baworowski (1825–1894), and further enriched after his death. Baworowski, who was also a writer and poet, was particularly committed to collecting texts and memorabilia of all kinds that documented Polish intellectual and cultural history. The collection was later incorporated into the Stefanyk National Library in Lwów and is now the subject of several studies and research projects to reconstruct its history and structure, which so far have mainly concerned printed works (Gwiaździk 2020). Further provenance research would be desirable in order to understand the circumstances of the acquisition of this manuscript, probably due to the fact that it is evidently a polonicum. The Baworowski manuscript collection has been digitized thanks to a project carried out by the Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich—Wrocław (https://dbs.ossolineum.pl/kzc/opisy.php?info, accessed on May 15, 2023).

**8** Note that the work was known to the leading figure of European neo-Stoicism, Justus Lipsius, who gives a positive, if hasty, assessment of it in a letter to the poet and humanist Szymon Szymoschools, the Aristotelian, the Platonic, and the Stoic, presents the Stoic logic-dialectics, specifying its similarities and differences with that of Aristotle. Traces of this comparative method can also be found in MS 384, which at the end of each book of Aristotle gives a concise presentation of the *sententia stoicorum* relating to the part of logic just expounded (Figure 1).

Some other matches with the *Dialectica Ciceronis* may be easily found, such as the list of the six *loci* into which dialectics, defined in the modern way as *ratio disserendi*,[9] is divided by the Stoics. There is potential for other textual similarities to be found between the manuscript and Burski's major text.

The difficulty in attributing the text to Burski, or determining from which of his courses the text was derived, however, stems from at least two circumstances. The first is that Burski held the chair of moral philosophy (Wadowski 1899 – 1900, 36)[10] at the Zamość Academy, and we have no verifiable record of him teaching courses in logic, despite his qualifications in the subject.[11] The second is the absence of Ciceronian materials in the manuscript we are considering (with one unremarkable exception, see below p. 134). Burski indulging and even deepening the

nowicz, Jan Zamoyski's right-hand man in the organization of the Academy (Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020 XL). On Burski's alleged Stoicism, see below.

**9** F. 4v: "Stoici vero aliam dividendae logicae rationem secuti, totam in disserendi rationem distinxerunt in locos 6, quorum primus est de regulis et iudiciis veritatis, secundus de loquendo, tertio de rebus, quarto de eloquendo, quintus de rationibus, sextus de fallacibus conclusionibus," which summarizes what is set forth in the *Dialectica Ciceronis* (Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020 92 – 93) with reference to the Ciceronian *Lucullus*.

**10** Wadowski (1899 – 1900, 76 – 81) also reports a document from 1600 that contains the first indications of Jan Zamoyski and collaborators on the teaching organization of the Academy, the *Fundatio Academiae Zamoscianae*, where the name of the chair in question is "*Philosophiae de vita et moribus, ac re civili.*" An edition and translation of the text can be found in Lepri 2019 (143 – 150), from which we quote with minor modifications. Here is the description: the professor of moral philosophy had the task of explaining "in Greek and Latin the books of *Nichomachean Ethics* by Aristotle. Having exhausted this subject, let him teach *Oeconomics* by Xenophon and *the Politics* by Aristotle and, finally, he shall give a general overview of Plato's *Laws*. At 3 p.m. he shall analyse the book *On moral duties* by Cicero and then explain his views on the Republic compiled from various authors, and those of his books of *On the republic* that have survived. In addition, he shall lecture on the book *On electioneering* [= *De petitione Consulatus ad M. Fratrem*] by Cicero and on the selection of his letters, mostly related to the state such as the councils, the excellence of nobility, and the administration of the province etc." The same professor was then advised to read texts on poetics (Aristotle) and poetry (Pindar, Horace, Homer, Virgil, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca) (Wadowski 1899 – 1900, 78 – 79; Lepri 2019, 149).

**11** It is worth noting that Maciejowski, who had access to materials that are now lost, reports the existence of a *Definitio logicae seu dialecticae sub Adamo Bursio* of the year 1606. While this information could suggest that Burski did in fact teach logic, on the basis of the title, it seems that this text cannot be associated with our course (Maciejowski 1852, 300 – 301.)

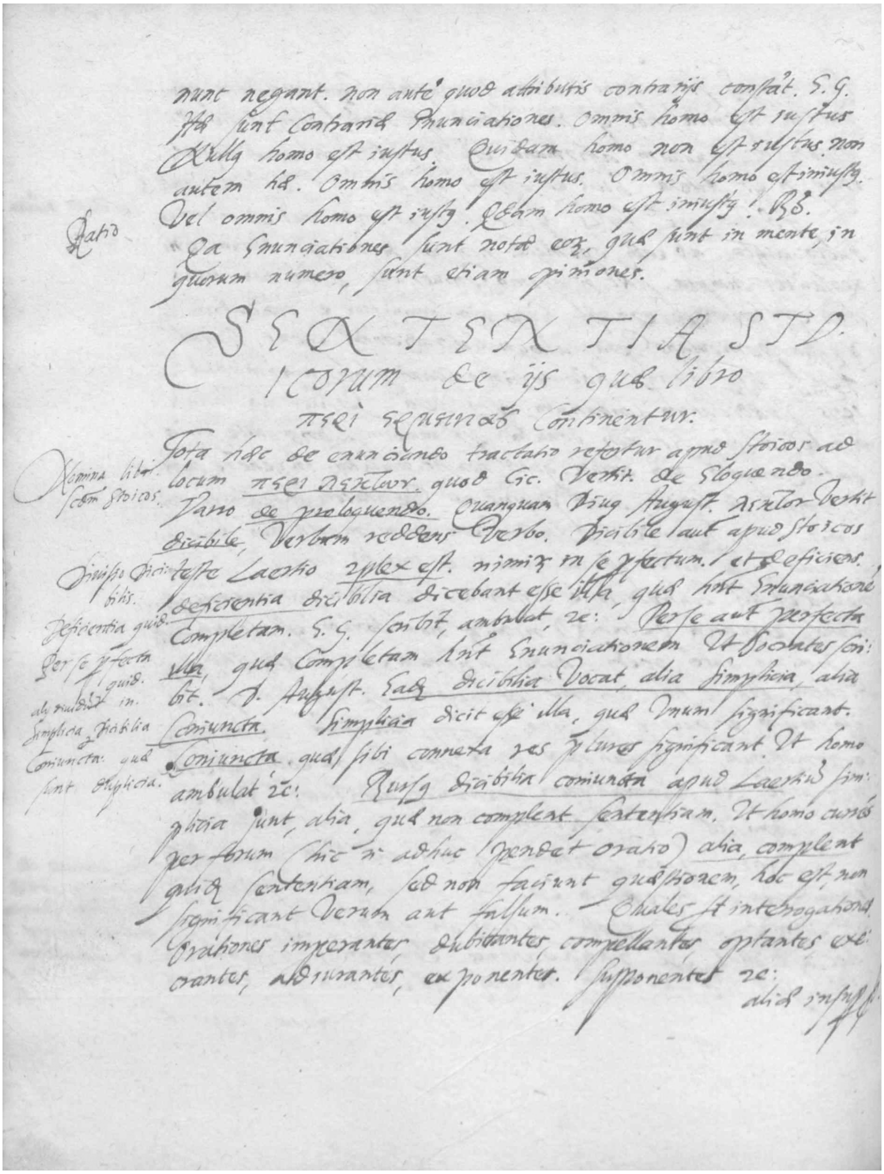

**Figure 1:** The *sententia stoicorum* about what is taught in the *De interpretatione*, MS 384, 60v.

devotion to Cicero, which Jan Zamoyski had already cultivated, had made the Roman rhetorician the eponymous hero of his reconstruction of ancient logic (Dremierre-Półćwiartek 2020, XXXI–XXXIII). Moreover, if one considers his style of commenting on Aristotle's texts, one quickly realizes the strategic role played in it by Cicero. As mentioned before, a manuscript has been preserved in the National Library of Warsaw (BOZ MS 1515–1516) which contains a long course by Burski on the *Nicomachean Ethics* given from 1609 to his death. Each gloss presents a characteristic construction: the Aristotelian text in Greek is first illustrated with pertinent passages excerpted from Cicero's books (*De officiis*, *De finibus* …) followed by numerous texts from Greek and Latin literature (Figure 2).

In short, Cicero is used, on the one hand, as the key to understanding Aristotle and, on the other hand, as the thinker who reveals the moral sense hidden in the pages of classical literati and poets. In the commentary on the *Organon*, this typically Burskian compositional mode is somewhat discernible only in the very first pages of the text—while comparing the Stoic and Aristotelian definitions of logic and dialectic, the author quotes Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Prior Analytics*, and *Metaphysics* ("*Sapientia*") (2r), Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the *Topics*, Cicero's *De fato*, and Plutarch's *De placitis*—while the remaining more than 600 pages are exclusively filled with an explanation of the Aristotelian text, in the almost total absence of verbatim quotations from Cicero or other authors.[12] Note also that throughout MS 384 the Greek text of the *Organon* is not used, but Latin translations, as we shall soon see.

As an alternative to Burski, one could look for other candidates for the authorship of the course on the *Organon.* The first ones who come to mind are the holders of the Zamościan chair of logic and metaphysics.[13] The first name is that of Szymon Birkowski (*leopolicensis* like Burski), continuator of the course on the *Nicomachean Ethics* after Burski's death, author among other things of a course on Plato's *Timaeus* (BOZ MS 1523) and a competent scholar of ancient discourse techniques, considering that he published a translation and edition of the tract *De collocatione verborum* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Birkowski 1602). However, Birkowski was studying in Italy in the period before 1607, the year he received his doctorate in medicine in Padua, while the start date of the course on the *Organon* is June 4, 1606 (f. 1v).[14] The other holders of the chair of logic in those years are Maciej Jaworowski (Wadowski 1899–1900, 36), Jan Sechini (or Secchini. See Wadowski 1899–1900, 37), though known more for his medical and naturalistic inter-

**12** Among the very few authors cited are Thomas Aquinas in the section on *De interpretatione* (f. 38v) and Albertus Magnus and Averroes at the beginning of the *Posterior Analytics* (146r).
**13** The original structure of the teachings at the Academy is reported in the *Fundatio* (Wadowski 1899–1900, 77–79; Lepri 2019, 147–150).
**14** F. 1v. The date of the conclusion of the course is May 7, 1609 (320v). Only one other date is given throughout the manuscript, February 9, 1609, at the beginning of the *Sophistical Refutations*, f. 285v.

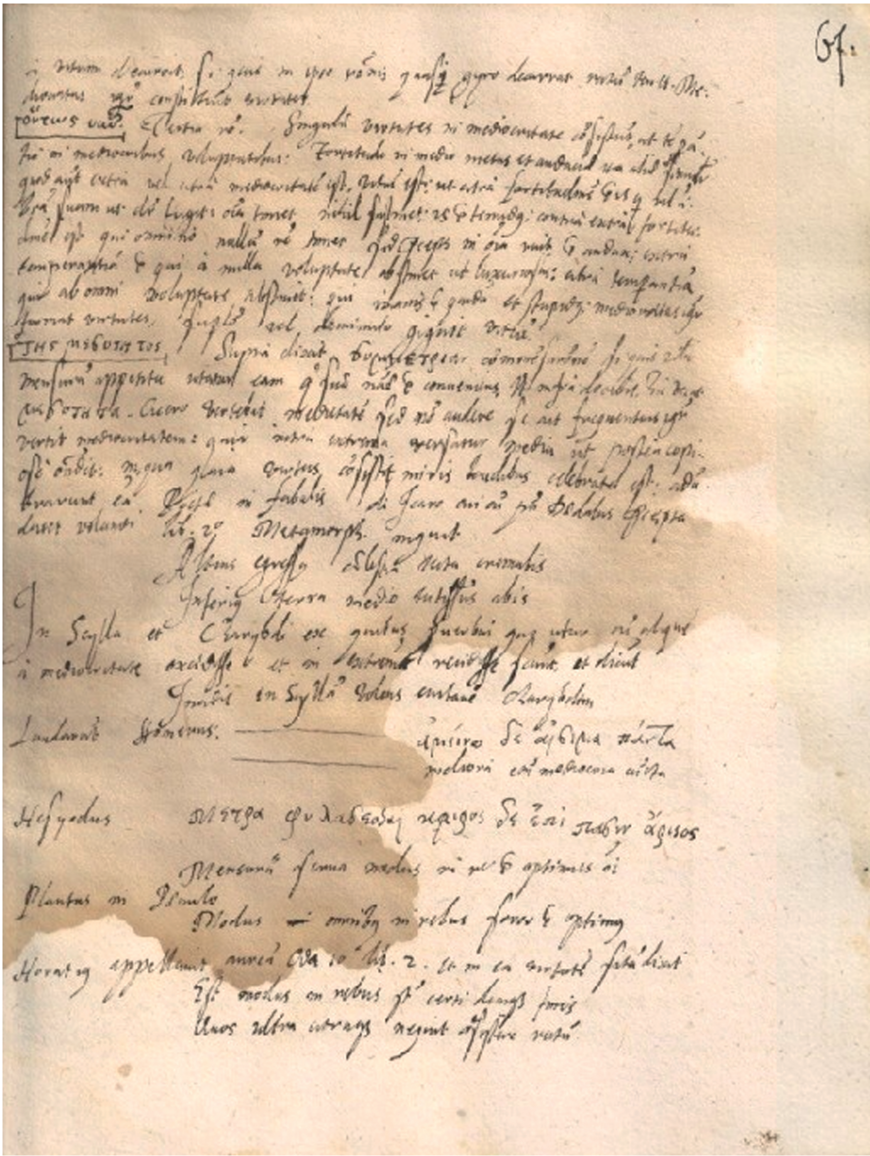

**Figure 2:** Commentary on *Nichomachean Ethics* (BOZ MS 1515 – 1516, 67r): the Burskian gloss on *mesotes.*

ests, and Wojciech Siemkowski (Wadowski 1899–1900, 37),[15] who was also rector and among Tomasz Zamoyski's tutors. These, however, are figures with a lower profile and of whose work as Zamość professors we have no precise knowledge.

In this situation, it is difficult to give the last word about the author of the text reported in MS 384. What can be taken for certain, however, is that it is a course that matured in the milieu of the Zamość Academy, with its specific interest in Stoic logic, and that moreover its author had Burski's *opus magnum* in mind. After all, in doing so, the author was merely following the instructions that Jan Zamoyski himself had given at the establishment of the academy. Indeed, in the text of the *Fundatio*, one of the very few surviving documents that gives us any information about the curricula in the early years of the life of this school, the holder of the chair of logic and metaphysics (a diction sometimes replaced by that of *philosophia rationalis*) was assigned the task of explaining "various books of the logic of Aristotle, some in the morning and others in the afternoon.... In the morning, to the boys already familiar with dialectics he [= the professor] will teach metaphysics according to Aristotle and the reading of *Parmenides* by Plato. In the afternoon, he shall analyze (*aperiat*) the dialectic of the Stoics and *Lucullus* by Cicero" (Wadowski 1899–1900, 78; Lepri 2019, 148). If we understand the meaning of these directions correctly as far as the part dealing with logic is concerned, the core of the teaching of dialectic remained the books of Aristotle. The Stoic doctrines and what little or much could be found in Cicero represented a useful supplement, certainly not an alternative. If this was the intention, the course contained in MS 384 is essentially its concrete realization.

Second, these lectures on the *Organon* seem to confirm the assessment of the ideological neutrality of studies on Stoicism carried out in Zamość, especially by Burski (Facca 2000, 132–135). In other words, it is difficult to see here a relationship with late Renaissance neo-Stoicism, usually associated with names such as that of Justus Lipsius. In effect, this intellectual and political orientation had had some diffusion in Poland, if only because two translations of works by Lipsius

**15** On Secchini, see Polski Słownik Biograficzny (v. 36, 18–119 = Marek Wagner). Wojciech Siemkowski, a professor at Zamość between 1605 and 1610, appears in the epistolary of the Livonian humanist David Hilchen (Viiding 2022). It is worth noting that Maciejowski reports a 1609 *In Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis logicam commentarius* by Siemkowski (Maciejowski 1852, 300). We have not been able to locate the text mentioned, or to trace it with certainty back to MS 384. The date is slightly different from MS 384, but this information could indicate that Siemkowski taught logic in those years, thus being a good candidate for the authorship of the course that we are now analyzing. To our knowledge, no sources have been preserved for Zamość that indicates what courses actually were taught year by year by the professors. Regarding students at the academy, see Gmiterek (1994).

were published, *Politica* (issued by Paweł Szczerbic in 1595) and *De Constantia* (by Janusz Filipowicz in 1600). However, if we take as a criterion of adherence to some form of neo-Stoic philosophy the explicit endorsement or favoring of the Stoic doctrines presented in *Dialectica Ciceronis*, we should note that in that work, Burski rather maintains a cautious balance with regard to the various positions represented, preferring one or the other eclectically. But even if we leave the rarefied realm of dialectics and look at the aforementioned commentary on Aristotelian ethics, it is hard to discern any distancing from Aristotle on the part of Burski in favor of Stoic doctrines. Consistent with this general orientation, the author of the course on *Organon* in MS 384 explicitly adheres to the Aristotelian conception of logic as an "instrument" of knowledge, while rejecting the Stoic position, which considers it a *scientia.*[16] In short, it seems that the very fact of considering logic, dialectics, and rhetoric as tools devoid of philosophical load shows the un-ideological approach of the Zamość professors to this matter: the techniques of discourse, being merely preparatory tools, are to be subtracted from the philosophical debate and not labeled with the name of one school or another. The technique[17] is the same for everyone; one just has to be willing to learn it. Any developments and additions are desirable on the practical level, because they enrich the learner's armamentarium, but they do not impact the philosophical level. The academy, as its founder conceived it, espoused no ideological orientation; instead, it focused on its role as educator of future civil servants. It is clear, moreover, of the intent to keep school teaching safe from political and denominational conflicts and also to safeguard the school's independence from the influence of Catholic religious authorities. One may wonder if democratic nuance is not far from this way of thinking. It may be associated with the need to recruit the most promising young people, regardless of their class provenance.[18] Behind all of this is the revival of the humanistic ethi-

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**16** F. 2v: All errors in fixing the subject of logic derive "ab ignoratione naturae logicae, quae ita brevibus accipe iuxta seaniorem sententiam eorum qui logicam non scientiam, ut Stoici, faciunt, sed instrumentum potius scientiarum esse asseverant. Certum est eam esse disciplinam operatricem, tota enim in eo consisti, ut fabricet instrumenta quaedam, quibus noster intellectus iuvetur in cognoscendis rebus."

**17** The use of the terms "logic" and "dialectic" is unstable, both among the Stoics and in Aristotle. But to avoid ambiguity, the term "logic" should be reserved for all the arts of discourse, for the *facultas disserendi* in general, reserving that of dialectic for the disputatorial technique alone. See f. 2v: "Tu vero quid in hac re sentiendum sit, ita accipe: licere quidem utroque nomine citra omnem religionem indiscriminatim uti, nimirum modo pro universa disserendi facultate modo pro sola illa quae 8 lib. Topicis continetur. Homonimiae tamen vitandi causa rectius hanc cum plerisque interpretibus Aristotelis appellabimus dialecticen, illam vero logicam."

**18** In this light can be read the quotation from Livy placed in the exergue of MS 384, 1r: "Qui sis non unde natus sis repute" (1r). The other three quotations we read here (but seem to have been co-rhetorical tradition and the Ciceronian patronage that are the hallmarks of the first phase of the life of this institution.[19]

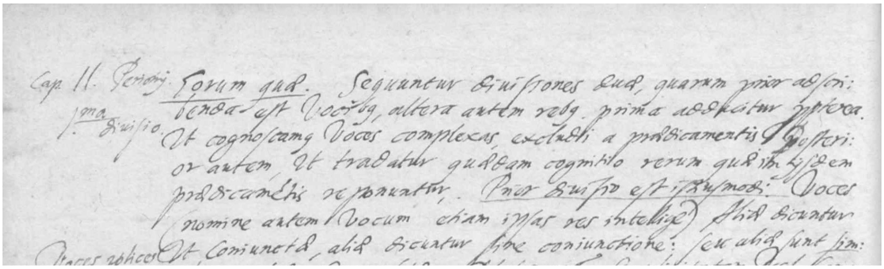

**Figure 3:** From the commentary to the Categories: "Perionii divisio", MS 384, 18v.

To return to MS 384, as mentioned above, the text that is used as the basis of the commentary is not the Greek text of Porphyry and Aristotle, but a Latin version. More precisely, it is the translation by Giulio Pace (1550 – 1635), the most authoritative and influential interpreter of Aristotelian logic of the Paduan school, together with Jacopo Zabarella (1533 – 1589).[20] Another interesting detail are some annotations in the margin that point out, though not systematically, the division of the Aristotelian text in the Latin version of Joachim Périon (1499 – 1559) and again in that of Pace.[21] While reporting them though, the author (or the compiler) of the

written at another time) are derived from *Various History* by Aelianus, conveying the idea that it is preferable not to receive material gifts from anyone so as not to be indebted and preserve one's freedom.

**19** Already Wadowski lamented the rapid loss of this original vocation to increasingly pervasive ecclesiastical interference. Our considerations aim to be more balanced, although they may seem far too cautious. Over time, divergent, even polarized views have been expressed on Jan Zamoyski's activity as a politician and a school reformer, from those of the 1800s and first half of the 1900s (e. g., that of Stanisław Łempicki—1886 – 1947), who unanimously emphasized the merits, one would say demiurgic, of the Hetmann in giving Poland stable and high-profile educational institutions, to the more recent positions, like that of historian Andrzej Nowak, who tackles a black legend in Zamoyski. Imbued with the Machiavellianism learned in Italy, the Chancellor would have pursued throughout his life his own (absolutist?) state design, dangerously contrary to the ideals of Polish republicanism, centered on the institution of elective monarchy (Nowak 2021, chapters 4 – 9).

**20** Pace's translation followed his edition of the Greek text (Pace 1584), published several times.

**21** For traces of Périon (1551) in the text of MS 384, see, e. g., f. 18v (Figure 3). The division of Pace is reported from chapter II of *Categories*, and between 79r and 159r the divisions of both versions are given. Périon's version was issued also in 1548 and 1567, and in 1584 with a commentary by Nicolas Grouchy.

manuscript adopts another division into chapters, different from the previous two. It is worth mentioning that while Pace represents the Paduan school of logic, well rooted in the medieval Averroist tradition, and in his translation seeks adherence to the *cursus* of the Greek text, Périon's translation of the *Organon* adopts a much freer, humanistic, or more precisely, Ciceronian style. Another edition of the *Organon* that makes an appearance in the margin of our commentary on the part devoted to *De interpretatione* is that of Jacques Charpentier (Charpentier 1567), who was also one of the reference authors for Zamość professors, for his *Descriptio universae naturae* (Charpentier 1576) (Wadowski 1899–1900, 78). Charpentier's Latin version is used as the basis for the commentary on *Prior Analytics.*[22] In short, in MS 384, one finds an interplay of French and Paduan, humanist Ciceronian, and late scholastic influences, which is typical for Zamość, and which ultimately derives from the intellectual background of Jan Zamoyski himself, who studied first in Paris and then in Padua. Note also the care not only to represent different commentary traditions, but also to be up-to-date with the most recent scholarly and editorial production in this field.

Finally, the text of the manuscript can be analyzed in search of clues that, together with the indications that have been noted so far, can shed light on the formation process of the manuscript itself. The following circumstances seem relevant in this regard: the indication of only the initial and final dates (with one exception, as noted); the presence of two hands, one principal and one secondary, that wrote the text from 65r to 144vr (Figure 4); the constant and unvarying presence throughout the text of the characteristic annotations in the margin that mark the structure and key points of Aristotelian argumentation (*argumentum*, *divisio capitis*, *primum … secundum …*, *praeceptum*, *quaestio*, *solutio*, *responsio*), highlight important points (*observa!*) or provide definitions of the main concepts (*terminus quid?*). In some cases, these marginalia report the headings of alternative Latin editions or translations of the text. The hand of these notes could be the first of the two we have identified, and it seems to be the same throughout the entire book,

**22** 53r and 65r and v, where in the margin appears the indication *textus Carpentarii.* In his edition of the *Organon*, Charpentier contrary to the traditional order anticipates the properly "dialectical" part, i. e., *Sophistical Refutations* and *Topics*, placing the *Analytics* with their theory of demonstration at the end of the *Organon.* As for the *Sophistical Refutations*, the title of which is rather unstable in the 16th-century editions (in addition to the standard *De sophisticis elenchis* we find, e. g., *De sophisticis redargutionibus* [Pace], *De reprehensionibus fallacibus and captiosis* [Périon]), the manuscript opts for *De reprehensionibus sophisticis*, taken up precisely by Charpentier. Finally, it may be recalled that for Charpentier in the Périon translation quoted above there was more "ornamentation in words than truth and thought," in short a *pulchra sed infidelis*, that was certainly not an adequate tool in the battle that Charpentier, and Périon himself, were waging in favor of Aristotle and against Ramus and the Ramists.

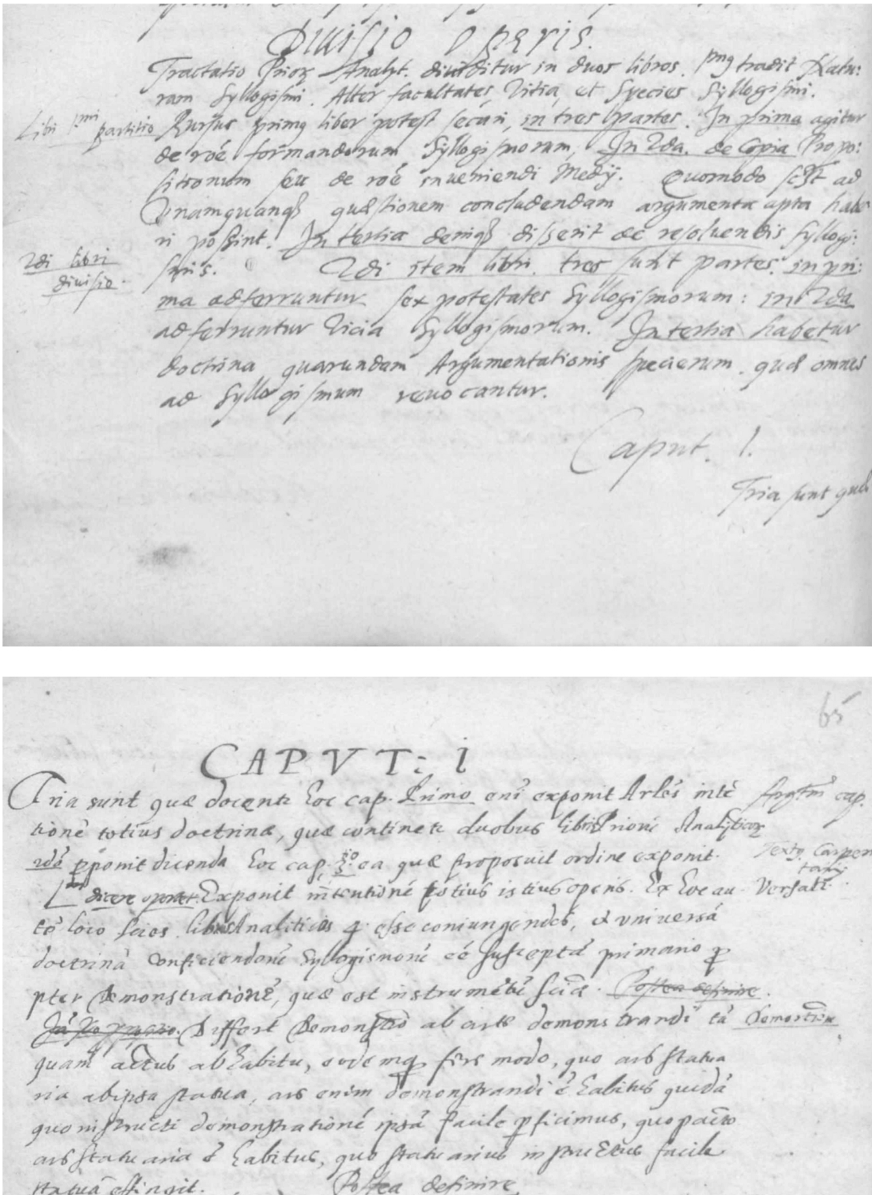

**Figure 4:** From the *Notae* to the *Prior Analitics:* Two hands, MS 384, 64v – 65r.

also in the part of the main text written by the secondary hand. However, since the ink of these notes does not always present the same intensity as the main text (e.g.

f. 19v; see Figure 2) [Figure 5], the marginalia seem to have been introduced at a different time. Finally, it is worth noting that corrections, additions, and cuts are sporadic,[23] and also that some well-traced schemes were drawn by the compiler (82v, 88r diagram copied from Périon).

Having said that, we can infer first what the text of MS 384 *was not*, and then make conjectures about what it actually was. First of all, it does not contain shorthand or stenographic *reportationes* i. e., a text written down by listeners or students while listening to an oral exposition. The lack of dates corresponding to the sequencing of the lectures, the regularity of the lines and writing, and the rare corrections seem to rule out this hypothesis. It is also unlikely to be a transcription made by the author of the course, as there are two hands.

A hypothesis could be the following: a systematic (= continuous and full) commentary or paraphrase of *Organon* according to the traditional sequence of Aristotle's work had been presented during class over three years. The subsequent parts of this paraphrase were written down—possibly by the lecturer himself—in the form of a rough copy, a draft. At a later time, these drafts were duplicated in a clear copy by two students and/or secretaries, who were also responsible for annotating the final text in the margin with simple, standardized formulas. Deletions and corrections occurred along these stages, but they were not numerous because the compiler worked side by side with the lecturer. These corrections and additions may also be in part the result of interventions by the professor himself. By this procedure a kind of authorized copy was produced and made available to other students or to anyone for whom it could be beneficial. It was not necessarily a perfect copy, of the kind of those handwritten texts sent to the printer for publication, but one that was already suitable for wider circulation within the academy.

This could go along with the general assumption that at Zamość it was customary to prepare and make available "official" or reference copies of the courses, first of all for the benefit of students. These copies could serve as archetypes for those who wanted to transcribe (*describere*) them in whole or in part. Other manuscripts, especially Burski's mentioned commentary on *Nichomachean Ethics*, lead to similar conclusions.

If so, one may conclude on the one hand that ultimately orality played in the entire process a lesser role than acts of writing (copying, correcting, noting in margins, transcribing) and, on the other, that students were perhaps given a subordi-

**23** One of the few that is of some relevance is provided toward the end of 38v, where only the addition of a few terms allows us to reconstruct the distinction between concepts that mean by nature and spoken and written words that mean by convention (Figure 6).

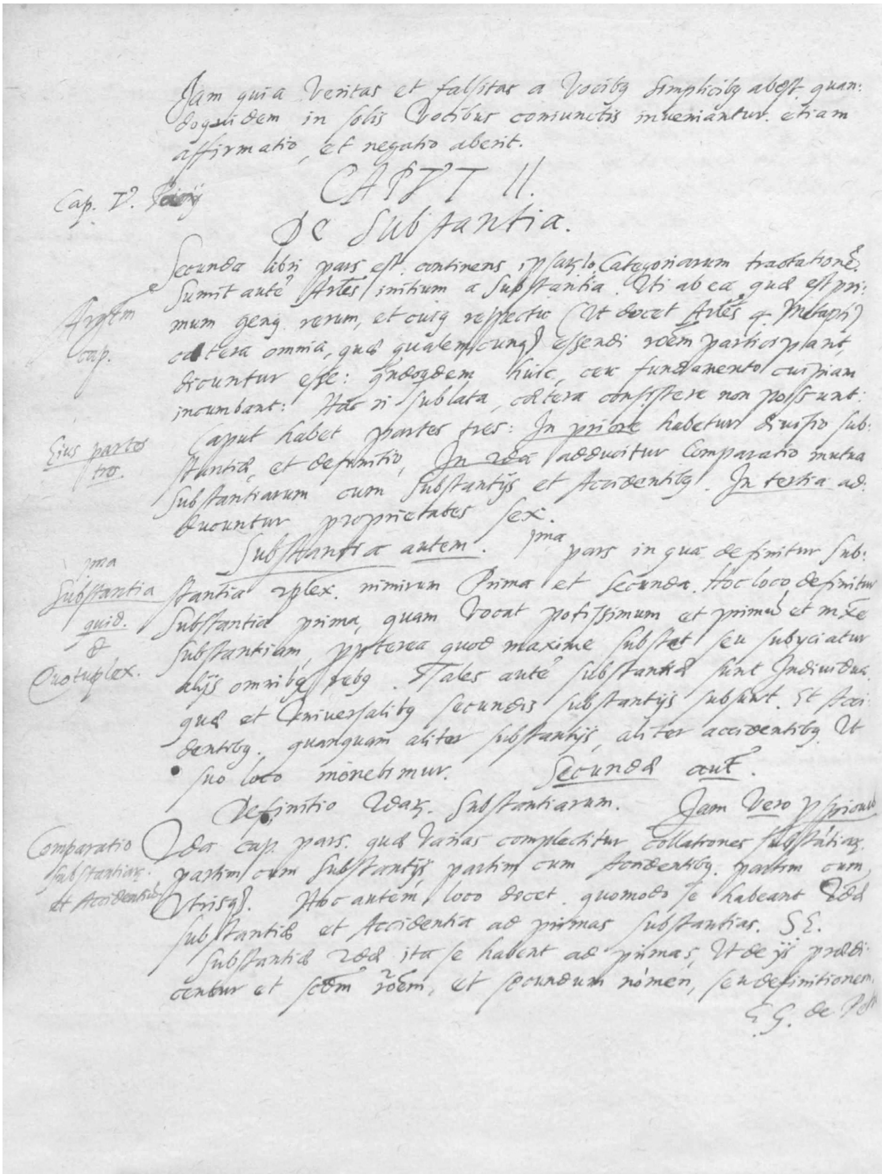

**Figure 5:** From the commentary to the *Categories*, MS 384, 19v.

nate, auxiliary, but active and nontrivial role, if one considers the work on the notes in the margin and the task of comparing the different editions and translations of Aristotle's tracts. As suggested above, what is striking in general is the loy-

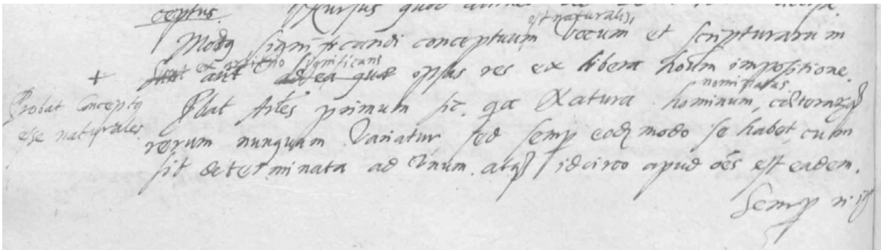

**Figure 6:** From the Notae to the De interpretatione: “Modus significandi …”, MS 384, 38v.

alty to the commentary form, in countertendency with the Central European Ramists and Post-Ramist mainstream of compiling systematic textbooks. In the wider context of European school education, however, one may observe that the practice of commenting Aristotle in class was not everywhere in retreat, indeed it seems to know no crisis in the schools of the Jesuits and other religious orders throughout the 17th and even 18th centuries. Further study could show the similarities and differences between these circles and the practices in Zamość.

## 6 Conclusion: The Inner Life of the Academy

By presenting some of the key features of the surviving manuscripts from Zamość, the first part of this essay has shown that the notes provide a complex portrait of the academic community and show it as being composed of many individuals, voices, and points of view. The notes somehow photograph the educational process from different angles, shedding light on the actors involved in it and their different perspectives. As a result, cultural life at the Zamość Academy is revealed as complex and multifaceted, since the teaching and learning processes went far beyond the little official information that has survived. Although they do not always allow to understand how the students grasped the content taught in class, these documents are nonetheless worthy of careful study.

A more detailed and comparative study of the manuscripts can lead to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of educational and scholarly life. Moreover, the documents from the Zamość Academy can lead to the discovery of new details that can influence the way the history of this institution is represented today.

The Lviv manuscript analyzed in the second part of the essay is an excellent example: although it does not present a particularly original approach to Aristotle’s logic, it shows which early modern translations and commentaries were used by the teachers and how. It also allows theoretical aspects to be better examined in the light of new elements. The interest in Stoic philosophy expressed in the commentary suggests that the course from which the notes were derived was in line with the indications of the founder, Jan Zamoyski.

While Adam Burski is undoubtedly the most famous intellectual to have taken up Stoic philosophy in Zamość, the fact that the commentary seems to have been authored by someone else can lead one to argue that a wider group of scholars were working on Stoic epistemology during the same years, possibly collaborating with one another. Far from being an isolated author, Burski may have been the most prominent author of a small group of scholars who focused on epistemology as a means to educate public servants of the Commonwealth. These seemingly circumstantial aspects can perhaps be the starting point for broader inquiries regarding the Central-Eastern European reception of Stoic epistemology and its possible connection with political ideas.

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# Part II: **Academies and Surroundings**

Ove Averin

# The Ideals and Practices of the Study of Ramist Dialectics and Rhetoric in *Academia Gustaviana* (1632 – 1665)

**Abstract:** The present chapter aims to provide a better understanding of Ramist practices in the study of rhetoric and dialectics in early modern *Academia Gustaviana* in Dorpat (Tartu). Such a study is important due to both the key role Ramism played in *Academia Gustaviana* and the importance Ramist doctrine placed in dialectics and rhetoric. Or, to put it differently, this study focuses on the key aspects —dialectics and rhetoric—of the key aspect—Ramism—of *Academia Gustaviana.* Fundamentally, this means that understanding the actual study practices in *Academia Gustaviana* is possible only after understanding the dialectics and rhetoric being taught there. For that reason, this chapter will first focus on the texts—both classical and contemporary—that were used to study the rules of rhetoric and dialectics. Then it will cover the practices, such as writing analyses of classical authors' poems or writing orations to be delivered in public. Describing and comparing all of this this chapter explicates the key idea in the study of rhetoric and dialectics and how such study took place while simultaneously discussing the student's role in writing disputations and the actual role of Ramus in *Academia Gustaviana.*

In his *Oratio De Dialectica* from October 10, 1638, Carolus Valeriani (fl. 1640)—a student in the newly founded *Academia Gustaviana* in Dorpat (Tartu)—constructed a wonderful analogy comparing dialectics to Ariadne's thread that helps us find a way out of the Minotaur's (sophist's) labyrinth: "Oh, dialectics, you are the greatest guiding thread. You lead us to cut off the fabrication, fictions, and lies of the Sophists."[1] Such praise in a speech about dialectics is of course not surprising, but it nevertheless highlights the central role of dialectics—also referred to as logic—in early modern education. Not only was it used to structure disciplines for more efficient educational programs (Hotson 2011, 44; Friedenthal and Piirimäe 2015, 65), but it also formed the basis on which students were meant to think, write,

1 "O Dialectica, tu filum es optimum: Tu nos, ad detruncanda illa commenta, fictiones et mendacia Sophistarum, ducis" (Valeriani 1638). Unless otherwise specified, all translations presented in this work are my own.

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compose arguments, and find solutions in general. As such, it was considered among the subjects of the *trivium*—the first three subjects of seven liberal arts—that students had to learn before moving on to more advanced studies—the *quadrivium.* And so—as the statutes of *Academia Gustaviana* prescribed—"its use does not only appear in disputations but maximally exhibits its power in composition and resolution."[2] From this perspective it becomes evident that a deeper understanding of early modern university education in Ramist *Academia Gustaviana* is dependent on understanding dialectics and—since Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) joined the two fields together (Mack 2011, 136)—rhetoric. But until now, these topics from the period of *Academia Gustaviana* have received relatively little attention.[3]

To fill this gap in research, I have studied available disputations (14)[4] and orations (3)[5] on rhetoric, dialectics, and poetics written in *Academia Gustaviana.* However, as explicitly covering every single disputation would far exceed the physical limitations of this chapter and severely test the patience of any potential reader, I explicitly focus on—and provide examples from—a select few that best illustrate the key aspects of Ramism in *Academia Gustaviana.* First, after a brief context (section 1), it is important to give insight into the basic texts from classical and more contemporary authors which were used to study the rules of dialectics and rhetoric (sections 2–3). But as we will see, only studying rules was deemed inefficient and so, secondly, we will examine disputations that dealt with analyzing the meaning, structure, and poetic figures of ancient poets' texts (sections 4–5). Finally, as one major aim of studying rhetoric and dialectics was to become a better public speaker, it is important to cover orations written and delivered by students (section 6).

**2** "Ejus vero usus cum non duntaxat in disputationibus appareat, verum in compositione et resolutione vim suam maxime ostendat" (*Constitutiones* 1997, 62).

**3** There have been some quite excellent articles written about disputations from *Academia Gustaviana* by Meelis Friedenthal (Friedenthal 2010, 2015, 2020, 2021). In addition, there is also one thorough article by Katre Kaju (Kaju 2009) written on Laurentius Ludenius—the professor of poetics and rhetoric. Finally, Janika Päll (Päll 2003) and Kristi Viiding (Viiding 2017) have also written on Ludenius, but they focused on his contribution to the development of occasional poetry in Livonia. I however aim to focus on the Ramist influences in dialectical and rhetorical disputations to better our understanding of the fundamentals of Ramism in actual study practices in *Academia Gustaviana.*

**4** This research is mostly based on Jaanson's index of rhetorical disputations (Jaanson 2000, p. 494), but a more accurate list of works studied in relation to this chapter can be found in the bibliography. Also, when citing Jaanson's bibliography, I have usually used the number of the entry instead of the page number. This is the only exception.

**5** The only three orations that in their subject matter deal with rhetoric, poetics, or dialectics.

# 1 Introduction: Ramism, *Academia Gustaviana*, and Laurentius Ludenius

Unlike traditional humanist teaching that focused on a comprehensive understanding of every detail of a subject, Ramism set speed and applicability at the forefront of all teaching. For Ramus a good education did not drag on for years, costing students increasing amounts of time and money, but rather focused only on the most fundamental and useful aspects, trying to present them as efficiently and clearly as possible (Hotson 2011, 42 – 43).[6] To accomplish such a task and to cut down the time of study to a maximum of seven years—while it was common to dedicate seven years for only Latin and Greek studies (Hotson 2011, 39 – 40)—Ramus sought a new method of structuring knowledge that boils down to three laws. *Lex veritatis* establishes the truth of what is being taught. *Lex justitiae* determines the purpose of the discipline and shows what can and cannot be included in it. And *lex sapientiae* structures the discipline from general to particular (Hotson 2011, 45). Following these three laws, every discipline first had to be defined by its use and then divided into two or three parts that could in turn be defined and divided further (Hotson 2011, 46). From this, it was already relatively easy to produce textbooks that were on point, avoided unnecessary excursions into only tangentially related topics, replaced the long and winding texts of ancient authors, and allowed for constructing a system of visualized learning.

This method is intimately connected with Ramus' teaching of dialectics and rhetoric. When traditionally those two disciplines had been studied apart then following in the footsteps of Rudolph Agricola (1444 – 1485) Ramus and his colleague Omer Talon (1510 – 1562) both connected the study of those two disciplines and compressed them into a small set of core principles (Mack 2011, 136, 142). While rhetoric courses had traditionally taught five skills—invention, disposition, style, delivery, and memory—Ramus' dialectics focused only on the first two, and rhetoric dealt with the second two leaving the last one—memory—to the field of psychology (Mack 2011, 145).[7] But Ramus did not only cut down, in the case of dialec-

**6** As is well known, the reasons for such an approach were at least partly personal. Having multiple times had to halt his studies due to lack of funding, Ramus understood too well the need for a faster and more focused curriculum that would make education available for poorer classes of society (Hotson 2011, 41).

**7** To briefly define those principles, for Ramus, invention is about finding arguments. Disposition (also known as judgment) looks at the way a valid argument is construed and deals with propositions, syllogisms, and method. Style focuses on four tropes—metonymy, irony, metaphor, and syntics, he also broadened its applicability. While dialectics before had strictly been used to combine propositions into a syllogistic form, Ramus also saw its use in structuring disciplines—invention could be used to determine the material suitable for each discipline, and disposition could be useful for its organization (Hotson 2011, 44). Thus, for Ramus, the three laws of structuring disciplines discussed in the previous paragraph were just one special case of dialectics (Mack 2011, 147).

However, such simplification and reorganization did not come without its critics. For many humanists, by abandoning authors of antiquity for simplified textbooks, Ramus had abandoned true knowledge. His teaching was seen as a waste of time, disgraceful, dishonorable, and fundamentally—according to one widely circulated maxim—"No one will be great, who thinks Ramus is great."[8] But this ideology failed to account for the practical needs of students. As Hotson puts it, "wherever lecturers required twice as much time to get through a single philosophical text as students were prepared to devote to their entire undergraduate education, the philological perfectionism of teachers was trampling over the most basic pedagogical needs of students" (Hotson 2011, 67). Additionally, neither should the needs of the state be neglected, as there were many countries and smaller principalities that needed to produce a considerable number of public servants but where the time-consuming humanist education was not feasible. So, with a lot of help from Johann Skytte[9] (1577–1645)—former treasurer of Sweden, a leading figure in educational reform, Governor General of Livonia, and founder of *Academia Gustaviana*—and keeping in mind the needs of the state and students, Ramism found its way to the Swedish Empire and to *Academia Gustaviana.*

Founded in 1632, *Academia Gustaviana* was the Swedish Empire's second university. As a result, when it came to establishing the university in Dorpat, Skytte did not have to reinvent the wheel but could base it on the University of Uppsala. Thus—for example—the Ramist statutes of Uppsala were quite literally copied for *Academia Gustaviana* and only later edited to better fit local peculiarities

ecdoche—and 20 figures of speech. Finally, delivery focuses on voice and gestures (Mack 2011, 146–150).

**8** "Numquam ille magnus erit, cui Ramus est magnus" (Lipsius 1611, 103). Translation from (Hotson 2011, 56).

**9** For a detailed account of Skytte's life and role in shaping educational politics in the Swedish Empire and Ramism, see *Ramism, Rhetoric and Reform: An Intellectual Biography of Johan Skytte (1577–1645)* (Ingemarsdotter 2011).

(Vasar 1932, xxxi, 76–80).[10] In the statutes, Ramus was not only used as the authority, Ramist ideals such as “use,” “clarity,” and “applicability” were also constantly emphasized. Professors had to teach their subjects clearly (*clare*) and self-evidently (*perspicue*) (*Constitutiones* 1997, 54). In most cases, they had to make sure that their courses could be completed in a year and “without any perplexities and metaphysical speculations of the Scholastics.”[11] Additionally, teachers also had to keep in mind the different skill levels and financial opportunities of their students. Those who had the necessary means had to be led to a more developed education while not neglecting the less talented or poorer students. Fundamentally, the Swedish state needed both those who could calculate and had beautiful handwriting and those who knew laws and history (*Constitutiones* 1997, 64). Finally, it was emphasized that teachers ought to make sure that the students who had completed their studies knew how to use the skills acquired. So, for example, if a student had learned rhetoric, then it would be a shame if they could not deliver a proper speech (*Constitutiones* 1997, 62). For 20 years in *Academia Gustaviana* (from 1634 to 1654), this job of making sure students could deliver a proper speech fell on the shoulders of Laurentius Ludenius (1592–1654) (Lorenz Luden).[12]

Born in 1592 to a family of educated officials in Northern Germany, Ludenius received his education from the universities of Rostock and Greifswald.[13] Though there are some uncertainties when it comes to the details of his study, we know that in 1613 he received his master’s degree and in 1621 he was promoted to a doctor of both law and philosophy (Kaju 2009, 42–43). Ludenius’ own long and productive teaching career began already after receiving his master’s and can be divided into two periods—the first in Greifswald and the second in Dorpat.[14] In Greifswald, he spent about 17 years, at first as a professor of mathematics and later as a professor of practical philosophy and history (Kaju 2009, 44–45). He also coveted the professorship of jurisprudence, but when the position opened in 1624 his applica-

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**10** However, this did not mean that *Academia Gustaviana* was to simply become a second and smaller version of Uppsala. There were quite a few social, educational, and political aspects that differentiated the two (see Krēslins 2010).

**11** “… sine omnibus prorsus Scholasticorum perplexitatibus metaphysicisque speculationibus” (*Constitutiones* 1997, 54).

**12** It is also interesting to note that statutes also prohibited students from feeling defeatist or extraneous. They were not to admire foreign lands or think of themselves as unfit for great things, as such an attitude was not only dangerous to themselves but also to the prosperity of the Swedish Empire (*Constitutiones* 1997, 64).

**13** His father was a pastor in Wedingstedt; one of his brothers became superintendent of Northern Dithmarschen, the other was a school rector in Regensburg and later deacon in Heide (see Kaju 2009, 40–41).

**14** For a more detailed study on Ludenius’ life and works, see Kaju (2009).

tion was rejected (Kaju 2009, 46). We can only speculate how much this rejection affected his decision to accept the invitation to *Academia Gustaviana*,[15] but nevertheless, in 1634 he was invited to take the position of professor of poetics and rhetoric in Dorpat and when he arrived a year later, he was given a professorship of jurisprudence as well (Kaju 2009, 46–47).

Just like other professors of philosophy—and unlike professors of medicine, jurisprudence, or theology—Ludenius as a teacher of rhetoric and poetics was rather constrained by the statutes. In rhetoric, he was to follow the textbooks of Ramus and Talon but also Cicero's *De Oratore* to teach how to become a truly masterful orator, how to compose letters or epigrams, and how to write and deliver speeches (*Constitutiones* 1997, 60). In poetics, he was to use examples of ancient poets—Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Horace et al.—to teach the proper way of writing a verse (*Constitutiones* 1997, 62). Regardless of these constraints, Ludenius was one of *Academia Gustaviana*'s most productive professors being a *praeses* for about 80 disputations (Jaanson 2000) and instructing the writing of—and writing forewords to—at least 175 orations (Kaju 2009, 62). To put these numbers in perspective, the statutes required professors to deliver one disputation per year (*Constitutiones* 1997, 30) and some failed to even do that.[16]

Such high productivity can be both a blessing and a curse for modern scholars. On the one hand, disputations and orations have become an irreplaceable source in the study of early modern universities. While statutes merely prescribed what was to be taught and how, disputations and orations allow us to examine what was actually taught. In addition, the inclusion of paratexts—such as dedications, forewords, gratulations, and poems—provides a great opportunity to study social interactions between students themselves and also other classes in society. But, on the other hand, the vast amount of works produced—for Ludenius in particular but also for disputations in general—makes the corpus of study quite vast and any work in this field time-consuming. Couple this with the fact that most of the student disputations rarely present original philosophical ideas and the neglect they have suffered becomes rather understandable.

The disputations of Ludenius were quite typical for their place and time. They were written in Latin like most of the disputations from this period, printed in quarto format, usually fitted on one or rarely on two sheets of paper—making the average length of a disputation on rhetoric 8 or 16 book pages, which is slightly

**15** Kaju brings out additional considerations such as the Thirty Years' War and the troubling financial situation in Greifswald that had left Ludenius in considerable debt (Kaju 2009, 48).

**16** For Ludenius, the average comes closer to four disputations per year. Compared to Heinrich Hein (1590—1666), for example, who only held four disputations during the entirety of his professorship (1632–1656) (Kaju 2009, 56).

below the average 16 – 24 page length of *Academia Gustaviana*'s disputations (Friedenthal 2021, 872).[17] All disputations were printed—as was the custom—and handed out on the Sunday[18] before the dispute (*Constitutiones* 1997, 50, 52).[19] In their content, they are furnished with gratulations and dedications; the orations each have a foreword from Ludenius. However, the disputations do not contain any *corollaria*—a collection of questions—that sometimes accompanied the main text and gave an opportunity to discuss a wider array of topics (Friedenthal 2021, 876).

Finally, the problem of authorship must be discussed. As Axel Hörstedt in his study of disputations from the Swedish Empire has argued, the question of the authorship of the disputations is quite a complicated one, and though he seems to agree that in 17th-century Swedish universities most disputations were written by students (Hörstedt 2018, 163), he concedes that "an all-embracing answer cannot be given" and "one often has to look for clues in the dissertation itself"(Hörstedt 2018, 165). Similarly, for disputations by Ludenius, the answer is not immediately evident. First, there is the lecture program of 1653, where it is stated that "Laurentius Ludenius … in order not to overcharge masters students with expenses, submits the text for disputations."[20] Katre Kaju has seen this as proof that Ludenius was also the author of most of his disputations (see Kaju 2009, 57). But there are a couple of caveats with this interpretation. Firstly, there is a bit of a leap from "submits the text for disputations" to "being the author"—though admittedly such a leap in interpretation is still feasible. But secondly, this lecture program was produced after Ludenius had stepped back from his professorships of rhetoric and poetics, and so it is not directly applicable to the disputations discussed in this chapter anyway. This brings us to the second hypothesis—that students themselves were responsible for writing disputations, either on their own or from materials given to them by professors. This claim can be backed up by both the large number

**17** This might be due to the introductional role of those subjects, which in turn lead to the disputations of rhetoric and dialectics being produced by younger and less experienced students. However, more extensive research is needed to draw a conclusion on this matter.

**18** The dispute took place on the following Friday for theologians and on Saturday for everyone else. Though it has to be noted that some of those on rhetoric seem to have been held—based on the title page—on Wednesdays instead (Trottonius: March 17, 1641; Kühnius: December 20, 1643; Holstenius: April 16, 1645; Ilianus: October 8, 1645; Thawonius: February 25, 1646; Wallerius: May 12, 1647).

**19** This practice was necessary as it firstly gave university staff a chance to review the quality of the text and inspect whether the disputation contained anything improper, and secondly gave the opponent time to prepare (Friedenthal 2021, 872). Disputations that were not reviewed beforehand were not allowed to be defended (*Constitutiones* 1997, 50).

**20** "Laurentius Ludenius … et ne sumptibus Dnn. Studiosi onerentur, textum ipsum Disputationibus subijciet" (Vasar 1932, 183).

of disputations produced by Ludenius and the copy-paste nature of many of them. However, whatever the case for disputations, orations were usually—at least to an extent—written by the students (*a se conscripta*), as confirmed by Ludenius in his foreword to each of the three examined orations.

## 2 Classical Authors in the Study of Rhetoric

Throughout the Middle Ages, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero had been the two pillars of rhetoric study—supplemented with Quintilian or, from the 13th century onward, also Aristotle's *Rhetoric*—and though the early modern period brought many new discoveries into ancient author's texts and changes in method, the relevance of those two hardly wavered (Mack 2011, 13). This kind of high demand was backed by the respect those texts still commanded. Even Ramus himself thought that his textbooks offered only an expedited way of learning but not a substitute for reading classical authors. So—for instance—the statutes of *Academia Gustaviana* had no difficulty asserting that the three books of *De Oratore* "should never be silenced in the academies, as they—and not just parts of them—should be put forth."[21] And indeed, this prescription seems to have been followed, as among the disputations on rhetoric there are two that focus on Cicero's dialogue.

The first of the two, *M. T. Ciceronis ad Q. Fratrem de Oratore Dialogus, sive Liber I* (Lotichius 1641),[22] focuses on the first book of *De Oratore* and follows closely the structure and vocabulary of Cicero's original. The author of the disputation cut the first book into 141 *Theses* and roughly molded them into seven main topics. The first discusses why have there been so few admirable orators while there are innumerable great men in other fields such as philosophy or math (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 1–18; see Cicero 1967, I.5–22). The second emphasizes the use of eloquent speech that mostly boils down to different forms of social conduct—leading people, influencing people, entertaining people (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 19–31; see Cicero 1967, I.30–34). The third part starts with doubting whether it was indeed the elegance of orators or rather the wisdom of philosophers that has accomplished so many great things (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 32–38; see Cicero 1967, I.35–42), but then

**21** "… Qui in academiis nunquam conticescere debeant, illos quoque [Rhetor] proponet nec non partitiones ejusdem" (*Constitutiones* 1997, 60). Though *rhetor* could also mean an orator in general, in this context it refers to a teacher of rhetoric.

**22** As Ludenius was the default co-author for all the mentioned disputations, for brevity and ease of distinction, I will omit him and cite the disputations only by the name of the responding student. In the bibliography, Ludenius is included with the clarification "[P]" for *praeses*, while responding students are marked with "[R]" for *respondens.*

answers this doubt by claiming that even the sciences need orators to further their knowledge (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 33–53; see Cicero 1967, I.46–73). That is followed in the fourth part by a discussion of whether rhetoric is an art (*ars*) or not (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 64–70; see Cicero 1967, I.104–110). After that, the fifth part deals with the skills needed to be a good speaker and emphasizes that "first, natural talents bring the most power to speaking."[23] But as talent is not always granted—nor is it sufficient—the sixth part goes over the learning and practice of rhetoric (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 89–36). First, of course, the students need to know the five rhetorical canons—*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio*—but emphasis is also put on different exercises, such as substituting words in texts or translating from Greek to Latin and disputing on all things from all possible angles (Lotichius 1641, *Theses* 96–122; see Cicero 1967, I.143–158). After the sixth part, the final part concludes by emphasizing the importance of practice as it can turn even stutterers into elegant speakers (Lotichius 1641, *Thesis* 138; see Cicero 1967, I.260).

Throughout this entire disputation, the author's voice is completely missing.[24] Not a single comment is made on the claims of *De Oratore* or on the aims of this disputation. The seven parts of the disputation did not receive any subtitles or any metatextual attention, only a single Roman numeral. As such, it should be evident that while some disputations have been classified as prototypical articles where scholars could react to current polemical topics or test out new ideas,[25] that does not apply to this disputation in particular—or to disputation on rhetoric from *Academia Gustaviana* in general. The aim of these *pro exercitio* disputations was for students to practice and showcase their competence in—rather than contribute to—the field of study (Friedenthal 2021, 869). These disputations were tools for rehearsal and repetition where a student could explain the ideas learned from lectures.

Everything said about the first disputation also holds true for the second disputation, *M. T. Ciceronis ad Q. Fratrem de Oratore Dialogus, sive Liber II* (Trottonius 1641), which focused on the second book of *De Oratore* and as such is not going to receive any further attention. Interestingly, we do not have a disputation on the third book of *De Oratore.* Still, whether this means that it was entirely neglected

**23** "Naturam primum atque ingenium ad dicendum vim afferre maximam" (Lotichius 1641, *Thesis* 72; see Cicero 1967, I.113).

**24** The author even copies the self-reference "to me" (*mihi*) from Cicero (Lotichius 1641, *Thesis* 1; see Cicero 1967, I.5).

**25** See Friedenthal (2021, 879). Also, for a detailed study into the development of disputation from the Middle Ages to modernity, see Chang (2021).

—contrary to the adamant demand from the statutes—cannot be conclusively answered.

Cicero's *De Oratore* was not, however, the only classical work of rhetoric that was discussed in *Academia Gustaviana.* Already from the title of the *Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium Liber Primus* (Valeriani 1640), it is evident that this disputation is based on *Rhetorica ad Herennium.* The author here again followed closely the structure and wording of the original but at the same time left out multiple short anecdotes that were meant to exemplify and simplify understanding of different approaches, topics, and divisions.[26]

The disputation itself starts by distinguishing three types of speeches—one for praise or censure (*demonstrativum*), one for discussing policy (*deliberativum*), and one for arguments in matters of law (*judiciale*) (Valeriani 1640, *Thesis* 5; see *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.ii; pp. 4–5). Then the focus turns to the five classical canons of speech composition—*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio* (Valeriani 1640, *Thesis* 7; see *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.iii; pp. 6–7). After that, the remainder of the disputation focuses on the six parts of an oration in judicial matters—introduction, statement of facts, division, proof, refutation, and conclusion.[27] So *exordium* or introduction begins the speech with a kind of introduction suited to the cause of your speech and the mood of an audience (Valeriani 1640, *Theses* 11–30; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.iii–viii; pp. 10–23). This is followed by *narratio* that aims to state the facts of the case briefly, clearly, and convincingly (Valeriani 1640, *Theses* 31–36; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.viii–ix; pp. 22–29). After *narratio* comes *divisio*, where the speaker explains what is agreed upon and what is disputed between him and his adversary. This is also a good time to briefly introduce the number and content of arguments to be brought (Valeriani 1640, *Theses* 37–41; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.x; pp. 28–31). Finally, *Theses* 42–70 deal with *confirmatio* and *confutatio* while mostly focusing on the different types of disagreements—conjectural, legal, and juridical—and how to answer them (*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.xi–xvi; pp. 32–54).

**26** For instance, *Thesis* 38 talks about the importance of stating what you and your opponent agree upon and what you do not agree upon (Valerianus 1640, *Thesis* 38; see *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.x; p. 30). While this claim is taken from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the illustrating and brilliant example from Greek mythology has been left out "Interfectam esse ab Oreste matrem convenit mihi cum adversariis. Iure fecerit et licueritne facere, id est in controversia." "Orestes killed his mother; on that I agree with my opponents. But did he have the right to commit the deed, and was he justified in committing it? That is in dispute" (*Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.x; pp. 30–31).
**27** *Exordium, narratio, divisio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio* (Valeriani 1640, *Thesis* 10; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1964, I.iii; pp. 8–9). However, conclusion is not discussed, neither in the disputation nor in *Rhetorica ad Herennium.*

Already from this short description, the jurisprudential focus of this disputation should be noticed. Now, though Ludenius was also a professor of jurisprudence, an interesting connection can additionally be drawn between the topic and the respondent. We know from secondary sources that two years later Valeriani also disputed on topics of jurisprudence (see Jaanson 2000, no. 352).[28] Additionally, he has written gratulations for an oration about Swedish civil law (see Jaanson 2000, no. 302). And though we sadly do not know anything about Valeriani after his studies in *Academia Gustaviana*, those two factors still allow us to hypothesize a possible inclination toward the study of law. So, it is interesting to see that the only dialectical disputation that extensively deals with delivering a jurisprudential speech comes from a student with quite a bit of interest in this field —implying that even if the student was not the author of the disputation, he still had a bit of say in the topics he wanted to dispute on.

Coming back to *Academia Gustaviana*, regardless of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*'s status as one of the most important works in rhetoric, the statutes neglected to mention it. Nor is there an explicit mention of Cicero's *De Inventione*[29] which was still cited in at least one disputation (see Wal(l)erius 1647, *Thesis* 66). That means that though the classical works prescribed by the statutes were of course read, this list was not seen as exhaustive. Other important rhetorical texts were also used—both ancient and contemporary.

## 3 Alsted in the Study of Rhetoric

Though in early modern times ancient texts were still held in high regard, that does not mean that more contemporary authors would have been neglected in the study of dialectics and rhetoric. One such example comes from Christophorus Kühnius (d. 1652), who matriculated to *Academia Gustaviana* in 1640 and left in 1643 (Tering 1984, no. 384). During his three years at the university, he disputed three times on topics of theology and held one theological oration (see Jaanson 2000, no. 339, 376, 417, 418). As he also became a pastor sometime after graduating, his theological inclinations should be beyond doubt. Which also means that, when looking at his disputation on rhetoric *Oratoriae Ecclesiasticae Delineatio* (Kühnius 1643), it is safe to assume that the ecclesiastical orientation should rather be attributed to him than to Ludenius. However, what is not apparent are the works that

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**28** Sadly, this disputation has not been located.

**29** I mention *De Inventione* here as according to Mack it was the second most popular book on rhetoric and was often used and even printed together with *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Mack 2011, 17).

were used. Unlike in the case of previously discussed disputations, there is no statement that declares this disputation to be based on a certain book of a certain author's certain work. This does not mean that the disputation is original. Though there are a couple of lines from ancient poets mixed in at the beginning,[30] the main body of the text is taken chapter by chapter from *Orator: Sex Libris Informatus* (1612) by Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588 – 1638) who was one of the most notable post-Ramist authors.

The disputation itself focuses on the sixth book "Liber Sextus De Rhetorica Ecclesiastica" and begins by praising the power of eloquent speech with a reference to a picture of Hercules leading people via chains attached to his tongue: "The painter pierced the tip of Hercules' tongue; and to that, tied chains with which Hercules drew a great multitude of men."[31] After additionally discussing the aims of the ecclesiastic orator—which is to clearly teach (*perspicue doceat*), piously delight (*pie delectet*), and sharply persuade (*acriter flectat*) (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 3; see Alsted 1612, VI.1)—the disputation is divided into three parts. The first briefly mentions the character (*natura*) of the speaker, then the second and longest deals with the art (*ars*) of composing a speech—again, *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, actio*—and finally there is a discussion of practice (*exercitatio*) (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 7; see Alsted 1612, VI.2 – 3). As the main steps of dialectics remain the same as in the previously discussed disputations, there is no need to go into detail here. The thing to note, though, is the attention to particularities in early modern dialectics. So, for example, unlike in case of *Rhetorica ad Herennium, exordium* here consists of a prayer, a prompt, a passage from the Scripture, and possibly but not always the reason for gathering (Kühnius 1643, *Theses* 36 – 44; Alsted 1612, VI.13). *Narratio* no longer states the facts but rather paraphrases the passage from the Scripture (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 45; Alsted 1612, VI.14). *Divisio*, which in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* explained the common ground and point of divergence, is replaced with *propositio*, which introduces the contents of the speech (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 46; Alsted 1612, VI.15). C*onformatio* and *confutatio* still try to persuade the audience but instead of juridical arguments they aim to explain, demonstrate, and show the ap-

**30** There is a part of Claudianus' *Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro consuli* (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 1; see Claudianus 1922, lines 19 – 20), and lines 98 – 105, with few modifications, from *Laus Pisonis* (Kühnius 1643, *Theses* 2,8; *Laus Pisonis* 1935).

**31** "Pictor summam Herculis linguam perterebravit; atq[ue] ex ea religatis catenulis, ingentem hominum multitudinem trahi fecit" (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 1). That is a reference to Hercules Gallicus, the idea that the great deeds of Hercules were achieved not by strength but by wisdom and eloquence. An account of such a picture was first made by Lucian and via Erasmus' translation it became available to the Latin-speaking world (see Lucian 1534, 405).

plicability of the thing being preached (Kühnius 1643, *Theses* 47–57; Alsted 1612, VI.16).

One more important thing to note is that under speech composition the author also discusses *memoria* (Kühnius 1643, *Thesis* 63; Alsted 1612, VI.19), which Ramus had relocated to the study of psychology (Mack 2011, 145). Evidently Alsted had brought it back to rhetoric and so it continued to find its way into disputations at *Academia Gustaviana.*

Alsted's influence in *Academia Gustaviana*, however, goes far beyond occasional use. *De Elocutione Disputatio Rhetorica* (Ilianus 1645) is the only disputation in this section that deals with rhetoric—tropes and figures. The disputation starts off with some general discussion, listing four main characteristics of eloquent oration —pure (*pura*), evident (*perspicua*), ornate (*ornata*), and suitable (*decora*) (Ilianus 1645, *Theses* 3–12)—but then quickly turns to the main topic at hand and discusses four tropes—metonymy, irony, metaphor, synecdoche—ten figures of words (*figura dictionis*) and ten figures of meaning (*figura sententiae*). So far, this is a classic Ramist scheme of rhetoric (see Mack 2011, 148–150). However, there are two major additions. First, the figures of words get divided into primary and secondary (Ilianus 1645, *Thesis* 65), where the primary are the ten figures already mentioned by Ramus and Talon, and the secondary are 25 additional figures not mentioned by them. Those 25 figures are, however, present in Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* (Alsted 1630, 386–388). As most of the disputation neatly follows the structure of his *Encyclopaedia*, there is reason to believe that it had a fair influence on the writing process. The second addition likely comes from German pedagogue Conrad Dieterich's (1575–1639) *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1616) and—as this time even the author himself notes—also goes beyond Ramus.

In a nutshell, *Institutiones Rhetoricae* is a textbook that covers the basics of Ramist rhetoric, introducing notions both in Greek and Latin, giving definitions, and then bringing examples of use. The simplest argument for the use of this textbook in this disputation is the uncanny similarity between the two. They both use a similar, at times the same, wording, constant bilingual use of notions, and most importantly the addition of a third set of figures—amplifications (*amplificationes*)— that Ramus and Alsted did not identify (Ilianus 1645, *Thesis* 100; see Dieterich 1616, 138). This unusual addition with its almost word-for-word copied introduction should be enough to conclude that Dieterich's textbook was indeed used in composing this disputation. So, to sum up, Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* does not cover the third type of figures but gives a detailed account of 25 secondary figures of words. At the same time, there is no mention of those 25 figures in *Institutiones Rhetoricae*, which goes over amplifications. One final thing to note is that in the parts of the disputation that coincide with *Institutiones Rhetoricae*, there are a lot of Latin and Greek synonyms, but in the case of the 25 secondary figures copied from *Encyclopedia* the Greek is conspicuously absent (Ilianus 1645, *Theses* 81–88; Alsted 1630, 386–388). This mirrors the languages of Dieterich who used synonyms and Alsted, who did not.

The influence of Alsted's *Encyclopedia* can also be found in the disputation *De Dispositione Oratoria Disputatio* (Wal(l)erius 1647), but as it otherwise offers relatively little to this work, I will not be discussing it in any further detail.

## 4 *Resolutio* or *Analysis*

Though there is undeniable merit in learning the rules of rhetoric and dialectics, Ramists saw such a singular focus on theory as an inefficient way of teaching. To aid and simplify the process of study, it was also thought useful or even necessary to prepare an explanation or analysis (*resolutio sive analysis*) of a written text. This opinion is also echoed in two disputations from *Academia Gustaviana* —one by Thawonius (1622–1679) and the other by Holstenius (1622–1669)— which claim that "an explanation or an analysis is carried out for broader understanding and easier remembering."[32] But not only the difficulty but also the time spent on studies could be cut down by analysis as "long is the way of rules, but short and efficient the way of examples."[33]

Analysis—as explained to us by Alsted in his *Orator: Sex Libris Informatus* and reaffirmed in the aforementioned disputations—is a process where a written text is untangled in order to better understand and learn to imitate it (Thawonius 1646, *Theses* 26–32; Holstenius 1645, *Theses* 2–10; Alsted 1612, 23–26). There are two possible approaches—*praecognitio* or *recognitio. Praecognitio* focuses on the writer—their life, reason for writing, and aim with the text—and the thing written—its use (*usus*), pleasantness (*jucunditas*), and necessity (*necessitas*). *Recognitio*, on the other hand, is either conceptional (*directiva, notionalis*) or real (*objectiva*, *realis*). The first deals with the grammar, rhetoric, and logic of the text. The second is the analysis of the things themselves by observation (*sensus*) and use (*usus*).

The disputations of Thawonius and Holstenius are the only two disputations written in *Academia Gustaviana* that more-less explicitly claim to belong to the field of analysis. Already on the title page, they distinguish their aim to methodically explain (*Methodice Resoluta*) the text. Additionally, both dedicate half a page (about 7–9 *Theses*) to explaining the methodology discussed in the previous para-

32 "Facit Resolutio sive Analysis, et ad pleniorem intelligentiam; et ad faciliorem reminiscentiam" (Thawonius 1646, *Thesis* 25; see Holstenius 1645, *Thesis* 1).

33 "Longum sit iter per Praecepta; Breve vero & efficax per Exempla" (Thawonius, *Thesis* 24). See also *Orator: Sex Libris Informatus* (Alsted 1612, 7, 24) for possible origins for the last two quotes.

graph. The most notable difference in this respect is that while Holstenius starts from this methodology and then moves on to analyze Cicero's *Pro Archia Poeta*, Thawonius adds his methodological discussion to the end of his analysis of Virgil's *Eclogues*—almost as if he had some leftover space to fill.[34]

The first of the two disputations, *Oratio Ciceronis pro Archia poeta methodice resoluta.* (Holstenius 1645), focuses on Cicero's speech *Pro Archia Poeta*, where Cicero defended his former teacher—Greek poet Aulus Licinus Archias (c. 120 – 161 BCE)—against accusations of fabricating his Roman citizenship. Put briefly, Cicero argues—as summarized in the disputation—that Archias was indeed a Roman citizen and that even if he was not, he ought to be given that honor (Holstenius 1645, *Thesis* 12; see Cicero 1909). The author of the disputation, in turn, reproduces the entirety of the speech without any omissions resulting in by far the longest dialectical disputation (31 pages) written in *Academia Gustaviana.* But its length is not its only distinguishing feature—it is also the only disputation that presents the main body of the text in three columns. This allows the author to present Cicero's original (middle) with reconstructions of the text's arguments (left) and the explanations of each part or sentence (right) all side by side. In practice, this means that Cicero's original speech is divided into parts. First according to the classical speech structure into *exordium, propositio, narratio, conformatio, confutatio, peroratio*, but then even further into sentences (*periodus*), parts of sentences (*membrum*), and even syllables (*syllaba*). In the rightmost column, the different parts and their functions are then explained. For example, whether the sentence in question is for transitioning between two different divisions of the text, or maybe it expresses the conclusion to a syllogism, or—on another level—it could explain what Archias did before coming to Rome, etc. The leftmost column in turn presents the arguments implicit in the text in syllogistic form. For example, whoever's name is written in the citizen record of Heraclea[35] is a citizen of Rome; Archias' name is written there, and therefore Archias is a citizen of Rome (Holstenius 1645, *Theses* 43 – 44; see Cicero 1909, 8).

In addition to this three-column re-structuring, the author also spends some *Theses* on general remarks about the text. So, for example, in the beginning, he analyses the style of the text—which he calls moderate and agreeable (*mediocre et suave*) (Holstenius 1645, *Thesis* 17)—and elaborates on the metrical structure —that he identifies as not fixed but rather alternating between *spondeus, criticus*, and *anapaestus* (Holstenius 1645, *Thesis* 23). Furthermore, quite expectedly, in

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**34** Which might not be the most absurd of all reasons, considering that while printing in quarto format, an author could fill at least eight pages.

**35** An ancient Roman city situated at the Gulf of Taranto.

every part of the reconstruction the author keeps reminding his reader of the use of such analysis—that is, to be able to imitate it whenever the need arises (Holstenius 1645, *Theses* 10, 25, 33, 39 et passim).

Given the unusual length and structure of the disputation, the question of authorship should briefly be discussed. It does seem feasible to think that Holstenius, who by 1645 had already studied in Uppsala and Abo and who a mere five years later became a professor of Greek and Hebrew languages at *Academia Gustaviana*, would be a good candidate for its authorship. The main difficulty with such an attribution is, however, that there is no evidence of Holstenius delivering any disputations before this one (Tering 1984, no. 575). So the question left unanswered is whether such a detailed reconstruction of a classical text could be the first disputation of an industrious student, and if not, then what prompted Ludenius to present such an uncharacteristically structured disputation?[36]

The second of the two disputations is *P. Virgilii Maronis Ecloga I. Methodice Resoluta* (Thawonius 1646), and it analyses the first book of Virgil's *Eclogues*, where two herdsmen discuss their fortunes (as represented by Tityrus) and misfortunes (Meliboeus) during a time of unrest (Liberator's civil war). The author of the disputation again emphasizes the logical structure of the text, this time uncovering two enthymemes (*enthymema*).[37] The first enthymeme reconstructed from the *Eclogues* states that "Tityrus 1. is the idle one who, 2. thanks to Octavian [Augustus], 3. has received land and consequently, therefore, Tityrus is grateful to Octavian."[38] Because the author also identifies Tityrus in the poem with Virgil ("Behind Tityrus we understand the person of Virgil"),[39] it is not only fictional Tityrus but Virgil himself who in this way is grateful to Augustus. The second enthymeme is much shorter—because Tityrus has plenty of apples, chestnuts, and cheese to spare, he invites Meliboeus to rest with him for the night (Thawonius 1646, *Theses* 20–21).

Here the most intriguing question arises from the fact that—unlike in the case of *Pro Archia Poeta*, for example—on *Eclogues* we do have extensive commen-

**36** Another interesting question that for now will be left for future research is how such an unusually structured disputation was defended, as the title page makes it clear that this disputation was indeed publicly defended on April 16, 1645.

**37** An enthymeme is a type of rhetorical syllogism that differs from main dialectics syllogism by being probable rather than necessarily true. However, it must be stressed, that there are multiple differing understandings of what exactly enthymeme is or should be (for a more detailed account see Bizzell et al. 2020).

**38** "Tityrus 1. est otiosus, 2. per Octavium 3. receptis agris: Consequens: E(rgo] Tityrus Octavio gratias agit" (Thawonius 1646, *Thesis* 6).

**39** "Sub Tityro, persona Virgilii … intelligitur" (Thawonius 1646, *Thesis* 4).

taries written by Ramus himself (Ramus 1582).[40] And that in turn gives grounds for comparisons between the disputation and Ramus' original. So first, we do find the first enthymeme almost word for word present in Ramus with similar emphasis on proving the "*per Octavium*" part—"Tityrus is the idle one who, thanks to Octavian [Augustus], has received land and hence he is grateful."[41] Similarly, both conclude the first main part with line 59 from Virgil's poem and divide the remaining text—the lament of Melibaeus—into parts (Thawonius 1646, *Theses* 17–19; Ramus 1582, 38–42). However, there are multiple subtle differences. Where Ramus identifies three parts of the lament, the author of the disputation thinks there are four. Or where in the analysis of style Ramus speaks about anaphora and apostrophe, in the disputation there is irony and apostrophe (Thawonius 1646, *Thesis* 19; Ramus 1582, 41). The biggest difference by far, however, is that Ramus does not distinguish a second enthymeme in the poem—for Ramus, the invitation to rest for the night is just a way of concluding the text (Ramus 1582, 42). From all of this, it would seem dubious to conclude in favor of the unmediated presence of Ramus' original. Still, that does not rule out some mediated influence via student notebooks or other similar means.

## 5 Structuring and Interpreting Texts

Although there are indeed only two disputations that self-identify as analyses, there is a whole series of disputations—with only one exception that focuses on Horace's *De Arte Poetica* (Ramzius 1641)—written on Virgil's *Georgica*,[42] that to some extent could also be seen as a sort of analysis or—as Viiding has argued for one of them (Viiding 2015, 182)—a further continuation of commentary writing practices arising from scholia. However, as none of them are concerned with revealing syllogisms and arguments but only with structuring the text, a clear divide should be drawn between them and the disputations discussed in the previous section.

Broadly speaking, all these disputations consisted of short, usually one-line commentaries or subtitles followed by two to six lines from the classical author's original text. The commentaries divided the text into parts—usually into two or three—that in turn were divided into further parts—two or three. So, to bring

**40** For a more detailed description of Ramus' commentaries, see Mack (1998).

**41** "Tityrus est otiosus per Octavium receptis agris: quapropter ei gratias agit" (Ramus 1582, 29–30).

**42** This choice of *Georgica* here might serve multiple purposes, as Ramus had also based his teaching of physics on it (Hotson 2011, 53).

just one example, in a disputation *P. Virgilii Maronis Georgicon e Libro IV. De Mellatione Discursus* (Ruberus 1643), the author focuses on roughly the first half (lines 1–285) of the fourth book of *Georgica.*[43] He divides the entire text into two and identifies two main topics of interest—the method of keeping bees (*continendarum ratio*) and death or illness in bees (*corruptio*) (Ruberus 1643, *Thesis* 2). The method of beekeeping is divided into three chapters—s*ubjecta, facta*, and *adjuncta. Subjecta* focuses on places of beekeeping—the general area (*apiarium*) and beehives (*alvearium*), both of which, again, merit multiple subdivisions. Then *facta* focuses on four different behaviors of bees, and *adjuncta* deals with similarities and differences between humans and bees. After the author finishes with *adjuncta*, he turns to the second main part of the disputation and goes over reasons for death and illness in bees, both *ex parte* and *in totum.* The first of which—quite expectedly—is divided further into different causes of death or illness and their remedies. The latter earns only one simple remark: "but if all bees perish, they can be restored with a rotted corpse of a calf."[44] Basically, if all else fails, it is time to start sacrificing livestock.[45]

Dichotomies are perhaps one of the most famous aspects of the Ramist method and, as is evident from the above, they were not only reserved for structuring disciplines in general but could also be applied to texts in particular. In *De Mellatione Discursus*, everything that could be split into dichotomies was split into dichotomies, and so every single *Thesis* introduces a new division or subdivision. In Ramist textbooks, these kinds of divisions were also the basis for constructing bifurcating tables and, while reading the analysis, it is rather easy to see how such a table could be constructed. But at least in the case of analyses printed in *Academia Gustaviana*, no such tables are present.[46] Readers have to rely on the aid of letters and numbers with occasional *Sic … iam* (so much for … now) constructions to get the full structure of the text.

However—just like in case of Virgil's *Eclogues*—Ramus' also wrote commentaries on *Georgica* (Ramus 1556), and so the originality of the presented dichotomies

**43** The fourth book of *Georgica* is about beekeeping and, if it is not already evident from the text, the advice provided is of little practical use. Rather, it could have been read as a metaphorical tale about human society.

**44** "Si vero in totum periere Apes; instaurantur e putrefacto cruore vituli" (Ruberus 1643, *Thesis* 37).

**45** On a more serious note, this advice comes from belief in bugonia—an understanding that bees were born from animal carcasses—and in this context this advice makes sense.

**46** However, such tables are present in some manuscripts. How those manuscripts were used and whether they were only lecture notes or a basis for informal disputations will have to remain a topic for future research.

could also be questioned. And indeed, some similarities can be noticed in the way both Ramus and the author of the disputation divide the text. Still, this disputation can hardly be seen as a copy of Ramus' work. Where Ramus wrote extensive commentaries bringing additional quotations from Varro, Pliny, Columella, or Ovid, the author of the disputation has focused solely on reproducing the general structure. So, it does seem doubtful to think that Ramus' commentaries must have been used in constructing such a simplistic disputation. This doubt about the use of Ramus' commentaries on *Georgica* is even better illustrated in the sequel to the previously discussed disputation.

*P. Virgilii Maronis Georgicon e Libro IV. Discursus De Poetica Methodi Comprehensione* (Columbus 1643) is the last disputation in the series focusing on *Georgica.* It continues the fourth book from roughly the same place where *De Mellatione Discursus* left off and focuses on the story of Aristaeus, the mythical Greek hero who —after inadvertently causing the death of Eurydice—lost all of his bees. This story also explains the origins of the bugonic wisdom mentioned at the end of the previous disputation. But unlike in case of the other disputations in the *Georgica* series, here the author goes far beyond simply retelling the story to explain the symbolic nature of its parts.

As this disputation is first and foremost about dialectics, as expected, it gets divided into two—*inventio* and *dispositio* (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 10). In the *inventio*, the author discusses the causes of *inventio.* The first cause of *inventio* is of course God himself, as apparently is illustrated by the line from *Georgica:* "Who is this God, oh Muses, who emits this art for us?"[47] The second is the human cause from the following line: "Where did this new advancement in human expertise come from?"[48] This is divided into three—senses (*sensus*), reasoning (*intellectus*), and experience (*experientia*). As the senses are activated by external necessity, then in this story, Aristaeus—who has been sprung to action by the loss of his bees—signifies the senses (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 15). Reasoning in turn gets divided into three. First, to figure out how to get his bees back, Aristaeus turns to his mother, Cyrene, who offers valuable advice and as such signifies reasoning in general (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 16). But besides Cyrene, there are also various nymphs who designate innate notions (*notitiae connatae*) via which we learn about the common principles of nature (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 17). Finally, though we all have those innate notions, they are weak (*imbecilla et tenuis*), and so we need to exercise them (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 18). After reasoning comes the third

**47** "Quis DEUS hanc, Musae, quis nobis excutit artem?" (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 12; Virgil 1900, IV.315).
**48** "Unde nova ingress[us], hominu[m] experie[n]tia coepit?" (Columbus 1643, *Thesis* 12; Virgil 1900, IV.316).

human cause—experience—that gets praised in true Ramist fashion for its undisputable use, as "art without use is nothing, knowledge without experience, is worthless," and "rules without use are monstrous."[49] The importance of practice, experience, and use is illustrated when Aristaeus—armed with his mother's teaching—fights Proteus, the shape-shifting sea god, to learn the cause of the death of his bees (Columbus 1643, *Theses* 33, 34). Now, finally done with *inventio*, the disputation briefly goes over *dispositio* where Aristaeus—having learned his fault in the death of Eurydice and how it caused the demise of his bees—can take action by sacrificing to gods, and getting his bees back (Columbus 1643, *Theses* 36–37).

Comparing this interpretation with Ramus' commentaries, we see that the author of the disputation has chosen to go in a different direction. There indeed is a clear Ramist dichotomic structure in the disputation, but it does not copy the divisions presented by him (Ramus 1556, 336–367). Ramus makes no mention of *inventio* or *dispositio*, nor does he equate Cyrene with reasoning or Aristaeus with senses. Ramus took a textual approach, explaining words and bringing comparisons from other ancient texts. The author of the disputation on the other hand took an almost gnoseological approach that tries to uncover the workings of human intellect from Virgil's poem. Such an approach is especially interesting as though there indeed are interpretations that equate Aristaeus with senses and Cyrene with intellect—for example, *De Arte Cyclognomica* (1569) by Cornelius Gemma (1535–1578)—I have not managed to locate other authors who attempted to use such comparisons while investigating *inventio* or *dispositio.*

## 6 The Ultimate Test of Eloquence

As the study of rhetoric and dialectics was aimed at making students better public speakers, it is only natural to conclude this discourse by examining orations produced in *Academia Gustaviana.* After all, from a Ramist perspective, it would only make sense to learn through practice, and so every student of rhetoric was expected to "write and publicly deliver a speech by heart."[50] This, of course, means that there are many orations—at least 175—that could be discussed. I have, however, chosen to study only the disputations that in their subject matter explicitly also deal with dialectics and rhetoric and, in this chapter, will cover only one—*Oratio*

**49** "Ars sine usu est nulla. Ratio sine experientia, invalida," "sine usu praecepta sunt monstrosa" (Columbus 1643, *Theses* 33, 34).

**50** "… Orationum, qvas scribant et publice recitent, idqve ex memoria" (*Constitutiones* 1997, 60).

*de Dialectica* (Valeriani 1638) by Carolus Valeriani—which for our examination of Ramism is the most interesting.

Like all orations, it starts with an accompanying foreword from Ludenius that praises the subject—in this case dialectics, which of course distinguishes humans from beasts (*hominem a bestis distinguit*) (Valeriani 1638, A2^r^)—mentions the student and time of oration, and concludes with an obligatory dedication to the Governor General of Livonia, Benedictus Ochsenstierna [sic],[51] to the rectors, to the barons, and the professors (Valeriani 1638, A2^v^). But the first curio of this oration can already be seen before Ludenius' foreword. The title page boasts that this speech was delivered in public and from memory (*publice ac memoriter*). Such claims were made in only about 27 orations instructed by Ludenius (see Jaanson 2000). From this it seems feasible to hypothesize that, contrary to the prescription of the statutes, not every student was industrious enough to memorize an entire oration. Otherwise, such a remark here would simply seem superfluous.

The oration itself follows the classical six-part structure already studied in disputations—*exordium, narratio, propositio, conformatio, confutation*, and *peroratio* —with remarks on the side of the text to indicate not only progress from one part to the other (*transitio*), but also different arguments, claims (*propositio*), and the reasons behind them (*ratio*). After in turn thanking all the relevant people, Valeriani starts with the story of Theseus in the Minotaur's labyrinth, cited in the introduction to this chapter. After concluding that it is indeed dialectics that is the greatest tool against a sophist, Valeriani goes on to equate dialectics with logic, claiming that though they are not always the same, "in this exercise we are allowed to accept the words 'logic' and 'dialectics' interchangeably."[52] Then the oration moves to the definition of dialectics, but before getting there Valeriani expresses his astonishment that before Aristotle there had not been a methodical approach to logic: "Here we begin to wonder—I don't know why; when we call to mind the histories of the ancients … and when we call to mind the logic before Aristotle—that sun of the philosophers—as never having been engraved in letters, nor methodically engraved in the mind, nor written down by anybody."[53] For the definition itself, however, as Ramists did not accept Aristotle's definition of logic as *habitus instrumentalis*—instrumental skill (Sellberg 2020)—Valeriani moves straight to Ramus'

**51** Bengt Bengtsson Oxenstierna (1591–1643).

**52** "Verum licebat nobis in hoc exercitio, vocem Logices et Dialectices indifferenter accipere" (Valeriani 1638, A4^v^).

**53** "Hic mirari, nescio quid, incipimus; quando Veterum Historias nobiscum memoria reperimus … et quando Logicam ante Aristotelem, Solem illum Philosophorum, nunquam sive insculptam Literis, sive methodice insculptam animis aut ab aliquo esse conscriptam, reperimus" (Valeriani 1638, B1^r^).

definition claiming that dialectics is the art of discussing well: "*Dialectica est Ars bene disserendi*" (Valeriani 1638, B1$^{v}$).

After giving us a workable definition, Valeriani looks at the parts of logic. First, according to Ramus, there are two parts *inventio* and *iudicium*—the first two parts of the five classical parts of any oration—gathering materials and forming a structure (Valeriani 1638, B2$^{v}$). However, he continues that there are other ways of dividing logic. For example, according to Aristotle logic can be divided into universal (*communis*) and particular (*proprius*), where the universal deals with the formal aspect of syllogism and the particular deals with the matter of syllogism (Valeriani 1638, B2$^{v}$, B3$^{r}$). Following definitions and divisions, the oration goes over all the causes. Efficient cause—as always—starts with God. He is followed by the most ingenious philosophers (*ingeniosissimos Philosophos*), who have found and written down this art. After philosophers, teachers and instructors are praised for communicating the art of logic to us (Valeriani 1638, B3$^{r}$, B3$^{v}$). Finally, observation, use, and practice are named as efficient causes in the study of logic (Valeriani 1638, B3$^{r}$, B3$^{v}$). Material cause talks about the use of logic in philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, and theology (Valeriani 1638, B4$^{r}$). Formal cause mentions forming logic into a habit, and final cause—or the aim of logic—is to find truth. (Valeriani 1638, B4$^{v}$).

Then we get to the second part of the oration that goes over the four reasons for studying logic. The first is due to its worth or merit (*dignitas*), the second is its certainty (*certitudo*), the third is its pleasantness (*jucunditas*), and the fourth is its use (*utilitas*) (Valeriani 1638, B4$^{v}$ – C3$^{r}$). Finally, before the conclusion, Valeriani considers one objection from those who consider themselves the most learned men (*viros doctissimos … enarrant*) but discard the value of logic. The answer to this claim for Valeriani is simple. Regardless of the opinions of those critics, for him logic is the foundation on top of which the rest of the sciences can fruitfully and usefully be built (Valeriani 1638, C3$^{v}$).

Now, although Ramus had tried to replace Aristotle's logic and the statutes echoed this aim by stating that the "professor of logic should teach the logic of Ramus while avoiding perplexing disputations of the scholastics, and tiring the youth with many dictations,"[54] from this oration, we can see a rather neutral approach to Aristotle. Every time Ramus' name and ideas are mentioned, Aristotle's position is also represented. There is no explicit statement that Aristotle was wrong or that Ramus was right. Rather, there seems to be acknowledgment of the importance of both of these authors: "Aristotle in preparing his Logic—bearing much, working, perspiring and, suffering—made it the best and most elegant. … [But] … Ramus left

**54** "Logices Professor Rami Logicam enarrabit, ubi cavebit perplexis Scholasticorum Disputationibus, multisqve dictatis juventutem fatigare" (*Constitutiones* 1997, 62).

for posterity logic of his own composition with neat organization and the most convenient method."[55] So, interestingly, we do not really encounter the explicitly hostile attitude towards Aristotle that could be expected from Ramist-influenced oration.

## 7 Conclusion: Ramus in the Background

The course of Ramist rhetoric and dialectics in *Academia Gustaviana* was quite multifaceted. First, though Ramus had sought to simplify and expedite it by writing textbooks to replace ancient authors' long and winding texts, in the study of rhetoric or dialectics there simply was no way to avoid classical authors like Cicero or Virgil and texts like *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which were still used and held in high regard. But this does not of course mean that there would not have been any room for more contemporary "post-ramist" authors, as Alsted and his *Orator: Sex Libris Informatus* or *Encyclopaedia* were often used, rephrased, or copied to study the rules of dialectics and rhetoric. Still, as focusing solely on rules was regarded as the least efficient way to study, there were also some analyses written that attempted to study the texts of Virgil or Cicero by revealing their structure and analyzing their grammar, metrics, meaning, or at least syllogistic nature, or that in most cases simply subtitled and divided the text. However, the ultimate test in rhetoric and dialectics undoubtedly had to have been writing and delivering a speech that combined theory with the study of ancient literature and authors to compose an eloquent speech that could hope to change people's minds and lead their hearts.

From this study, it becomes apparent that though *Academia Gustaviana* was in its statutes quite Ramist, in the teaching of rhetoric and dialectics things are a bit more ambivalent and Ramus himself seems to be mostly missing from the disputations. Of course, there is a clear presence of Ramist ideals, the most notable of which are the emphasis on use and focus on a clear dichotomic structure. But when it comes to authors cited or copied, then we mostly find classical authors such as Cicero or Virgil, or more the contemporary Alsted. Even further, when looking at the analyses of texts, it is quite questionable if Ramus' own commentaries were used. Or—as we saw from the oration—though Aristotle's logic was sup-

**55** "Aristoteles … in Logica conficienda sua multa ferens, faciens, sudans et algens; eam edidit optimam et elegantissimam. … Petrus Ramus … ita et logicam ordine concinno et methodo brevissima a se conscriptam, posteritati excolendam reliquit" (Valeriani 1638, B2r).

posed to be replaced by Ramus', still, they existed side by side with Ramus, neither being praised nor criticized over Aristotle.

This raises an interesting point about the suitability of the statutes of Uppsala for use in Dorpat. How well could the professors in the peripheral *Academia Gustaviana*, with a limited library,[56] follow the prescriptions made for the main university of the Swedish Empire? This means that to fully understand why some authors were used while others neglected, we should perhaps additionally study this materialistically quite constrained context in which the academy operated. This, however, remains outside the scope of this work.

We can conclude by considering the most intriguing question of authorship. In the case of the orations, it seems feasible to think that students were also the authors, as Ludenius proudly declares in the forewords that the orations were indeed written by students. But this still leaves open the question of to what extent they were written by students or how involved Ludenius was while instructing the writing. In the case of the disputations, however, giving a singular answer is even more complicated and most likely needs to be investigated on a case-by-case basis. Still, as we saw, even if students did not write the disputations themselves, the writing process was to an extent a cooperative effort, where the topic of the disputation was discussed beforehand to better fit students' own interests, if possible.

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Dennj Solera

# Students at Home: Young Scholars among Pinelli's Circle in 16th-Century Padua

**Abstract:** Padua is among the most important poles for intellectual circulation in the late Renaissance. Here, students found the most radical university of the time, but also a cultural circle of the highest order, the one run by Gian Vincenzo Pinelli between 1558 and 1601. This chapter aims to investigate the student presence in Pinelli's house. Many students were educated in that exceptional environment, consulting *avvisi*, ancient works, university and private lectures, genealogies, travel accounts, and much more. The reasons that attracted those young scholars to the circle, what kind of resources they had at their disposal, the people they dealt with, and the relationships they established with the patron and his friends are analyzed. It was a fundamental circle for many students, such as Andreas Dudith, Thomas Seget, or Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, intellectuals who in turn continued to spread knowledge in their cultural and national contexts.

## 1 Introduction: Reaching the *Patavina Libertas*

Along the bumpy roads, the dangerous rivers, and seas of the early modern age, not only pilgrims and missionaries, soldiers and merchants traveled, but also numerous young students, moved by their desire to learn.[1] The constant movement of students was a well-established phenomenon in the Renaissance, so much so that it stimulated the creation of institutions and the promulgation of written documents created to protect these young men. In the years 1155–1158, Emperor Frederick I (1122–1190) had already promulgated a constitution called *Authentica "Habita"* or *Privilegium Scholasticum*, by which those who had turned into travelers for the love of knowledge were protected.[2] The rule, established in relation to the *Studium* of Bologna, inaugurated a new way of dealing with the *scholares*, who also represented a source of prestige and economic income.

The flow of individuals determined to study elsewhere reached numbers never equaled during the early modern age. Various factors contributed to this phenomenon, such as the relative consolidation of the international economic system, the rediscovery of the classics and the growth of their importance in certain

**1** Chittolini 1987.

**2** Zornetta 2022; La Rocca-Zornetta 2022.

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university centers. The Peace of Lodi of 1454 facilitated this influx of students, who migrated mostly from Central and Northern Europe to Italy. The social stability allowed by the military and diplomatic agreement increased the attractiveness of all Italian universities, where foreigners had already been an essential part of the student community in the past. Padua was the city that benefited most from this immigration.[3] In smaller numbers these *scholares vagantes* also traveled to Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Perugia, or other cities, staying there for a more or less extended period, attending their courses or even just to get to know academic celebrities and notables to whom they had been recommended.

The international reputation of the Paduan *Studium* continued to grow throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. The prestige of the lecturers, both in the field of law (civil, canon) and in the arts (medicine, philosophy, and theology) was a big factor in motivating these young minds to take the risk of embarking upon a long journey. In Padua, one could count on the presence of many *nationes*, student associations established on a linguistic-territorial basis, within which one could find help with both studies and daily life. Where to find a room to rent, what interest to pay on loans, where to buy the texts chosen by the professors, or which notary to turn to in case of need, were all needs that were anything but infrequent. It was good to find a solution in the shortest time possible and with the minimum financial outlay. These students came from every corner of the continent, from Scotland to Cyprus, from Livonia and Sweden to Portugal and Sicily, in an international context highly fragmented into kingdoms, national Churches, regional states, and local potentates.[4]

The Venetian Republic had protected the Paduan *Studium* ever since the city's submission to the Serenissima in 1405, making it the only university for the entire state. For Venice, having the *Studium* (second in antiquity only to the *Alma Mater*) under its control was a source of pride. Many of Europe's elites came to study in Padua: future presidents of the Parliament of Paris, rectors of other universities, councilors and personal physicians of many rulers, future kings and princes, a large part of the College of Cardinals and numerous pontiffs, ambassadors, poets, and illustrious men of letters, as well as scientists and jurists who in turn became *auctoritates* in their respective fields of study. The Republic had thus powerfully financed the ancient *Studium*, investing in what today we would call its "soft power." At the Battle of Agnadello in 1509, the Serenissima had been limited in its expansion-

**3** Caracausi-Molino-Solera 2022.
**4** Martini-Solera-Zornetta 2022.

ist aims, but the honor denied on the battlefields could be obtained by graduating the descendants of its adversaries.[5]

Venice was committed to maintaining the ancient privileges (*libertates*) of teachers and students. This took the form of a policy that was very open to radical scientific novelties and conditioned by the preferences of the students. Until the beginning of the 16th century, the *scholares* held the prerogative of choosing their own lecturers, who were then formally appointed by the Serenissima, which was willing to pay some of the highest salaries in the European university market to hire the most sought-after lecturers. This tradition was progressively curtailed by Venice to suppress the aspirations of the student body and reduce expenses. However, not even the creation of a special magistracy such as the *Riformatori allo Studio* in 1516 succeeded in eliminating student power, which continued to exert strong pressure for the appointment of famous and innovative lecturers.[6]

Venice's general openness towards the *Studium* and its students was also dictated by economic needs. Guaranteeing the high level of the lecturers and ample freedom meant attracting students from all over Europe, thus increasing the fees they had to pay. That lucrative community was protected by various regulations. For example, students were granted a guarantee fund specially endowed by the Comune, the right to sit in prestigious positions, to open certain processions, or to be free from taxation. Students were exempted from the authority of any court of law and left exclusively to the power of the rector (a student) of their *Universitas* (*iuristarum* or *artistarum*). This could try their fellow students, but rectors' indulgence was frequent, leading to students acting with relative impunity, including violence.

These exceptions were due to the famous *Patavina Libertas*, which still forms part of the university's motto today. It was a freedom understood in the medieval sense (freedom from) and not in the modern sense (freedom of), a clarification that helps avoid misunderstanding here. The immunity enjoyed by the students lead to their feeling free not to recognize even some important authorities in the Paduan context, such as the bishop, chancellor of the *Studium* since the Middle Ages. This became a cause of conflict in the complex relations between the Serenissima and the Papal Court during the second half of the 16th century, when, during the Counter-Reformation, Rome decided to prevent non-Catholics from obtaining academic degrees, especially in Padua, where there was a known influx of Protestants. They mostly came from present-day Germany, France, and Poland, where Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Socinianism had taken root. The imposition from Rome

**5** Grendler 1990.

**6** Del Negro 2002.

in 1564 of an oath of catholicity before graduation was circumvented by Venice, which first informally and then formally allowed non-Catholics access to degrees. From 1587, the palatine counts residing in Padua were authorized to grant degrees even without an oath, while from the 16th century (1616, 1635) two state *Collegia* were actively graduating with the sole authority of the Venetian state. The *Patavina Libertas* continued to attract thousands of young people from all over Europe even when religious conflicts raised walls between various European areas. Students could be sure that in Padua they would be able to study and obtain a universally recognized degree while the Empire was torn apart by war between Catholics and Protestants, France was divided by civil wars, and England by religious persecution.

One should not think that all of these young men came to the city motivated only by intellectual interests. Among the reasons that attracted them were the beauty of the surrounding areas, such as the Euganei hills and hot springs, the proximity of the powerful Venice with its brothels and patrician houses, the many lending banks, bookshops, the presence of their own compatriots, but also the opportunity to learn dancing or fencing.[7] As a result, some took advantage of the excuse of studies to come to Padua with quite different aspirations. These interests led to the development of a very diverse student population, often undisciplined and violent, not without intellectual excellence, that was multilingual, multi-religious, and scattered across various districts of the city, in continuous renewal based on dynamics very different from those of today.[8]

## 2 Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: A European Patron

Padua was also a city of personalities whose fame extended far beyond the borders of the peninsula, attracting some of the best minds of the time to the city. The names of those celebrities could be known for their rare literary talents, their importance on the political scene, the role they played in famous scientific discussions, or for the book collections they possessed. Among its illustrious citizens, Padua had Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), the father of 16th-century Petrarchism, Reginald Pole (1500–1558), who spent many years in St. John of Verdara monastery, Alvise Corner (1484–1566), the patron of an important intellectual circle,

7 Del Negro 2011. Some precursor cases are reported in Treviso (1518), Vicenza (1556), and Padua (1564).

**8** Davies 2013.

but by mid-century those excellences seemed to be concentrated in one individual: the non-Paduan Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601) [Figure 1].

**Figure 1:** Portrait of Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli (Austrian National Library, PORT_00108151_01 POR MAG).

The scion of a noble Genoese family that had moved to Naples, Gian Vincenzo had come to Padua in 1558, attracted by what was happening at the *Studium.* It was not that in the capital of the Viceroyalty he had been deprived of knowledge. Already in his younger years, Pinelli had distinguished himself for remarkable scholarly qualities and a great dedication to erudite collecting. These qualities had been put to good use with the help of attentive masters, such as Bartolomeo Maranta (1500 – 1571) (the favorite pupil of Luca Ghini, 1490 – 1556) who trained him in the arts, Giovanni Paolo Vernaleone (c. 1526 – c. 1602) in literature and philosophy, and the Flemish Philippe de Monte (1521 – 1603) (who would become the future court master of Emperor Rudolf II) in music. Gian Vincenzo had thus extended his knowledge with constant commitment, deepening his expertise of the classics (especially Aristotle and his commentators), philology, botany, languages (in addition to Italian, he mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Spanish), and other disciplines. During his time in Naples, Pinelli had already begun to weave important correspondence with a growing number of European scholars, writing his first letter to Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522 – 1605) as early as 1556. These relationships often lasted until the death of the correspondents.[9]

The intellectual opportunities offered by Naples soon seemed limited to the young scholar, who after overcoming his father's resistance managed to obtain permission to move to Padua. There he could count on the help of his cousin Domenico (1541 – 1611), at that time a student at the *Universitas iuristarum* and future cardinal dean. Gian Vincenzo initially moved into Domenico's house, but after his cousin's graduation and his departure, the nobleman decided to take up residence, first in the neighborhood of St. Sophia (1565), and then permanently in today's Via del Santo (1573), close to the Franciscan Basilica of St. Anthony.[10]

The Neapolitan immediately became a point of reference for students, professors, and notables alike who had the occasion to reside in or pass through Padua. The love of knowledge of all kinds, and the resulting book collecting, made the Pinelli house a cultural center of European standing, a true intellectual "harbor" for any lover of knowledge.[11] Lecturers from the *Studium*, Venetian aristocrats, students, city chroniclers, new doctors, publishers, prelates and clerics, courtiers, senators, and travelers, without any distinction of nationality, language, or religious creed, assiduously met in Pinelli's house until the death of the patron.

Some of the celebrities of the late Renaissance used to spend time in those rooms, a list of whom it would be impossible to mention here. Suffice it to say

**9** For the biography of the humanist and the importance of his library, see Raugei 2018.

**10** Callegari 2015.

**11** Gualdo 1607, 71 – 72: "peregrini se lubentes tamquam in portum recipiunt, quotquot litterarium otium amant."

that among them were Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), Thomas Seget (1570–1627), Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), and many others. However, Gian Vincenzo did not care about fame, whether his own or that of others, but only about knowledge itself and its dissemination. As a true humanist, he spent his life restoring the classics, their texts and above all their ideas, in order to be able to take further those ancient intellectual elaborations interrupted by time and advance them.

Gian Vincenzo was born the second son (together with his twin sister Cornelia) and was freed from most of the duties imposed on first-born nobles, such as the need to marry, to ensure an offspring, or to administer the family's substantial estates. The young scion was guaranteed substantial financial support, first by his father Cosimo (d. 1566) and later by his brother Galeazzo (d. 1600). Gian Vincenzo allocated that capital to his own upkeep and the purchase of often very expensive books. His standard of living (simple, but appropriate to his noble status) allowed him to spend large sums on the purchasing or copying of manuscripts and printed books, intercepting them in Venetian or Paduan printers, in the collections of others, including those of princes and rulers, or on the international market, in Basel, at the Frankfurt fairs, in Paris, in Vienna, in Lyons, in the Vatican, and anywhere else he could find them.

As early as the 1560s, the humanist had an extensive collection, more like a modern archive than a library. It contained much of what had been produced over the centuries on a very wide range of topics: medicine, philosophy, theology, mathematics, physics, astronomy, astrology, chemistry, Kabbalah, architecture, engineering, diplomatic reports, notices from all over Europe, dynastic tables of reigning houses and known families, successions of doges, news collected on specific plants, animals, minerals or historical events, on specific words, reports of battles, mystical apparitions, medical prescriptions, culinary recipes, homilies, personal notes, and much more. This was a heterogeneous collection, written in many languages (especially in Italian, Latin, French, and Greek) and on different media, from fine to low-quality paper to parchment, in loose or bound sheets, illuminated manuscripts and printed volumes of all formats, printed by sought-after publishers or those in hiding.

As valuable research has shown, the humanist did not care about the aesthetic quality of the collected texts, the quality of the medium, the absolute completeness of the texts, or the presence or elegance of the binding.[12] Pinelli was keen to have those texts, to possess them in his own library, avoiding distractions due to their

**12** Raugei 2018, 72–73.

beauty. This is a fundamental point for understanding this patron and the role his collection played for students in Padua. Shy of self-promotion, Pinelli wanted to set up a true collegiate study group, equipped with all the tools necessary for research in all the disciplines covered at the time. He did not desire to have a beautiful library, within an aristocratic palace, where to host an intellectual academy. Without shifting our attention too much, we could think of the Paduan circle of Alvise Corner or that contemporary with Pinelli's, Andrea Morosini's (1558 – 1618) in Venice.[13] These intellectual circles cannot be equated with Pinelli's, whether in terms of the focus on the scientific usefulness of the collection formed by the humanist, the number of works possessed, or the direct use that Pinelli's guests made of those writings.

The patron put together the largest private library of late Renaissance Europe. We have five inventories of the collection, compiled in different years (1564 – 1565, 1601, 1604, 1608, and another from the beginning of 17$^{th}$ century) and divided based on different needs, which testify to the progressive development of the collection.[14] It has been calculated that Pinelli's collection consisted of around 9,000 printed books and 750 manuscripts.[15] These estimates are approximate because some titles are difficult to decipher, others are preserved in various editions, and still others are present in such large numbers of copies as to raise questions regarding why. As Pinelli's house was a center for the elaboration and dissemination of knowledge, having several copies of the same text may have allowed a group to simultaneously study the same source, enabling readers to annotate it more easily, or for the copyists to reproduce it more quickly. Another hypothesis is that these copies were sent by the authors to Pinelli for promotional purposes, for later forwarding to other acquaintances, as it was known that Pinelli's circle was well connected with all scholars and publishers in Europe.[16] Those who entered Pinelli's home could dispose of the best that culture had to offer, consulting the classics in their best philological versions, being up to date on the main scientific debates and events from across the continent and beyond.

At a time when it was not easy to associate a famous name with a recognizable profile, Pinelli had hung numerous portraits on the walls, which by 1601 reached the remarkable number of 110.[17] In this way, the Paduan humanist conformed to

**13** Barzazi 2022.

**14** Nuovo 2005.

**15** Barzazi 2017, 16; Raugei 2018, 55.

**16** Raugei 2018, 84.

**17** Nuovo 2007, 1183. The catalogue of portraits owned by Pinelli is preserved in three different copies: Biblioteca Ambrosiana S 93 sup., f. 175r ss., ff. 178r – v, ff. 181r – 184v. They are all dated after the custom of the time of constituting a sort of pantheon, in which to place without distinction the greats of the past and those of the present, including emperors, kings, prophets, tyrants, philosophers, sibyls, saints and fathers of the Church, humanists, rebels, editors, and friends.[18] We know with certainty that Pinelli asked to be sent some portraits,[19] but it is currently unknown whether Pinelli himself enriched the collections of others by sending his own image.[20] For the humanist, the portrait was not simply the reproduction of a face, but a starting point for understanding the character's mind, as emerges from one of his notes on the works of Titian Vecellio (1488/1490–1576). The Venetian painter's material color and veiled nuances allowed a glimpse of the innermost aspects of human soul.[21]

In addition to portraits, handwritten sheets, and printed volumes, there were two other types of instruments that Pinelli made available to his friends to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. He had a discrete collection of scientific objects: catalogs documenting terrestrial and celestial globes, maps, measuring instruments, mathematical and musical instruments, and unidentifiable objects. Unfortunately, this part of the collection was lost during the transfer of Pinelli's inheritance from Padua to his Neapolitan heirs in 1601, when one of the three ships in which the crates were crammed was seized by pirates in the Adriatic Sea. The cargo was thrown overboard because it was considered worthless by the marauders.

Last but not least, the benefit of frequenting Pinelli was access to his correspondence network, the extent of which still awaits precise reconstruction. If we limit ourselves to the correspondence received by Gian Vincenzo, an ongoing study has identified 190 names of correspondents, which can be located on the en-

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1585. The first mentions 108 subjects, the second 70, the last 110 (10 pontiffs, 6 cardinals, 6 religious, 3 emperors, 9 kings, 3 queens, 23 men of letters, 43 captains and rectors, 7 Turks and pagans).

**18** Filippo Pigafetta (1533–1604) had sent his friend Pinelli a topographical description of the Vasarian corridor in Florence, where the Medici kept their portrait collection, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 195 inf., cc. 95r–96v.

**19** Biblioteca Riccardiana Rinuccini 27, c. 193r, (June 1593) Pinelli's letter to Baccio Valori the Young (1535–1616), in which he asked for a portrait of Vincenzo Borghini (1515–1580), historian and philologist at the court of Cosimo I de' Medici. In the same days in which Pinelli died in Padua, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) sent his own portrait to the humanist together with that of his father Julius Caesar (1484–1558), cf. Castellani 1893. Mathias de l'Obel (1538–1616) would do the same. Fulvio Orsini sent him the portrait of Bernardo Navagero (1507–1565) from Rome by Titian, de Nolhac 1887, 431.

**20** A portrait of him was kept in the collection of his friend Lorenzo Pignoria, Tomasini 1632, 19. Another is attested in the studio of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Nuovo 2005a, 319.

**21** Biblioteca Ambrosiana N 342 sup., c. 57r: "Il Titiano è stato eccellentissimo nel colorire, il quale è una cosa che non si può insegnare, perché si fa in istrada guidata dal giudicio et dalla prattica, di colui che si desiderasse et metter vi sopra il più et il meno. Et il sopradetto desiderio nasce da una dottissima imaginatione di quella cosa che la persona si mette ad rappresentare."

tire European continent, with offshoots in Malta, Tripoli, Crete, and Cyprus. The scholar carefully preserved the letters he received, marking the sender on the back along with the subject matter, then placing them in chronological order with the others. Very often, minute letters were also interleaved with the letters of others. As can be seen from these documents, Pinelli shared his information channels with those he deemed worthy, requesting copies of useful works for his patrons, plant bulbs, rare materials, or specific documents. While this allowed Pinelli's friends to almost always obtain the desired object, it also further enriched the patron's collection, who often kept a copy or the original with him.

All these favors were granted to the guests, a large and varied group that changed greatly over the decades. Some left Padua for family or career reasons, others graduated or died during their stay in the city. The Pinellian circle thus continued to regenerate, including other celebrities, new professors who took up tenure, wealthy nobles, and travelers, involving successive generations of students. It is to these young frequenters that we will now turn our attention.

## 3 The Attractiveness of the Circle

Having been a student at the Paduan *Studium* could make all the difference in late Renaissance Europe. The same could be said in relation to Pinelli's intellectual circle, because having frequented the scholar's home could make an even greater difference. There are many cases that testify to this phenomenon, but first it seems appropriate to consider the reasons that made that context valuable to young students. Why should a student, very often non-Italian or non-Catholic, find it interesting to frequent the salon of a noble man of letters? The question may seem banal, but it presupposes knowledge of what the daily life of a Paduan student was.[22]

In addition to the many courses taught publicly by teachers (in the mornings or afternoons), there were others taught privately, within more restricted and diligent circles, where contents of a less orthodox nature were taught with greater freedom. Students attended the activities of their *natio*, attending meetings and acting as representatives when requested. More rarely their intervention was witnessed in meetings called by their *universitas.* In addition to their formal duties, at least for those who were an active part of these organizations, students attended numerous ceremonies, such as internal *natio* elections, propaganda and rector's elections, graduations of friends and others, all according to a tight schedule.

**22** Piovan-Sitran Rea 2001.

The serious conferring of degrees (in the presence of the specific doctoral *Collegium*) alternated with noisy banquets in honor of the newly elected or graduated. These were not sporadic celebrations: the new doctors were obliged to organize it in order to feed and soothe their colleagues. There are numerous records of these gatherings in the *acta* of the two universities, as well as in town chronicles and in accounts by individual students.

They also did much more. Some students spent a substantial part of their time in the city fencing. Right in the middle of the 16th century, Padua established itself on a continental scale as one of the capitals of the new fencing style. Its famous schools and the English edition of *Practice*, the illustrated guide written by Vincenzo Saviolo (d. 1598/1599), made Padua a point of reference for many aristocratic families eager to give their children a thorough education. The art of dueling was progressively transformed thanks to the introduction of a new weapon, the *striscia*, the invention of which is still disputed between Italy and Spain. The clumsy movements with which it was necessary to wield the heavy late-medieval broadsword or the *cinquedea*[23] were replaced by a few swift, snappy blows with their own elegance. This innovation was among the reasons for the attraction of certain *nationes*, first and foremost the *Anglica.* In England, perhaps thanks to student emigration, the new fashion took root, so much so that it provoked a violent reaction from part of the local aristocracy, who considered the use of the *striscia* to be improper, cowardly, and feminine, and tried to prohibit it.[24]

The presence of students in the city was often a seasonal phenomenon. Many continued to enrich their cultural and relational capital by traveling during the periods when classes were not in session. During the winter holidays or summer break, students from Northern Italy tended to return home to reduce the cost of their studies. This was impossible for those who had come from farther afield, such as the *ultramontanos*, *ultramarinos*, and southern Italians, who preferred to stay in Padua for the summer, participating more heavily in the renewal of student positions. Others instead, especially Germans, Frenchmen, and Poles, toured Italy, meeting acquaintances or unknown compatriots, celebrities to whom they had been recommended, or places of worship, such as the sanctuary of Loreto or the Roman basilicas.

Why would these students, attracted by such varied opportunities, be interested in the circle of intellectuals that gathered around Pinelli? The answer is for once simple: in that house, one could find everything that the *Studium* did not

**23** A precious *cinquedea* is discussed in Herzig 2019.

**24** The *striscia*-homosexuality juxtaposition recurs in Florio 1578; Florio 1591; Silver 1599; Peacham 1622; Brathwait 1630. The theme is discussed in Elam 2004; Carroll 2018. For more extensive research on the relationship between masculinity and violence, see Spierenburg 1998; Shepard 2003.

(or could not) offer. In that circle, it was permissible to conduct one's intellectual investigations beyond the academic level and to pursue discussions beyond the limits imposed by opportunism, institutional breaks, or cultural, linguistic, and social barriers. At Pinelli's house, there was no distinction between students and lecturers, between students from one *natio* or another, between Catholics or Protestants, between nobles and non-nobles. At those gatherings one could enjoy a purer and more authentic *Libertas*, now understood in the modern sense of the expression.

The private dimension of the circle and the informality of the confrontation, as well as the respectability of the patron, allowed this sort of academy to survive in a Catholic city, where the rigors of the Counter-Reformation were also manifest. The *Index of Forbidden Books* had its full value in Padua and the Roman Inquisition had its local representative, a Franciscan.[25] Historians of book collections have argued that Pinelli's absolute orthodoxy allowed his library to remain intact, though without providing any textual evidence to support this interpretation.[26] Certainly, as this very research shows, Pinelli's collection was formed and continued to exist as if there were no censorship. About 10 per cent of the library consisted of forbidden works, mostly philosophical, which were stored without being blackened in the designated passages. What is sure is that Pinelli attempted to obtain a license from the Congregation of the Index, contacting Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1584) (secretary of the *Index*) through his friend Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600). The license was granted to others but not to the Paduan humanist, perhaps to avoid official recognition of a collection full of forbidden authors, the consultation of which was not exclusive to the owner.[27] The censors' condemnation did not fall on Pinelli and his books perhaps because his network of contacts was a resource for the censors themselves, who did not hesitate to contact the humanist to track down suspicious works on the international market. Such was the case with an edition of Conrad Gessner's (1516–1565) *Bibliotheca Universalis*, which was requested by Sirleto to Pinelli. One could therefore think of a convergence of interests between the censors and the humanist himself, a thesis that deserves further study. In the same years, all Italian libraries were subjected to a systematic inquisitorial investigation, which forced wealthy individuals as well as religious orders, chapters, and abbeys to send updated inventories of their collections. It caused the disappearance of a considerable part of the literary and intellectual heritage of the

**25** Solera 2021.
**26** Wolf 2006; Callegari 2015, 728; Nuovo 2006, 126.
**27** Frajese 1999, 778. Among those who obtained a license during that period were the canonist Francisco Peña, the cardinal Odoardo Farnese, Francesco Mantica, Mercuriale, Battista Bandino, Camillo Pellegrino, among others. See Grendler 1977.

time, impoverishing collections centuries old or thousands of years old.[28] At Pinelli's house, this black wave never arrived. While in Venice or Padua the religious themselves were forced to dispose of their volumes, those who entered the Pinellian circle had almost everything they desired.

One fact must be underlined. The patron's liberality towards his guests should not be understood as a total openness of that intellectual environment to any student. The elitist culture that characterized Pinelli and pervaded his circle determined a very careful selection of those who could enjoy its benefits. Only those who had distinguished themselves with the quality of their intellectual gifts were admitted into that circle of lovers of the *humanae litterae.* Alternatively, the seriousness, erudition, and intelligence of the individual had to be ensured by a letter of recommendation (written by one of Pinelli's many admirers) or the recommendation of other members of the circle. One entered it not because one was a "student," but because one was a respectable intellectual, eager to engage with those minds and works.[29] What mattered was not age or student career, but conformity to the ideals that united the Republic of Letters.[30]

Pinelli's lack of interest in formalities led him to carefully evaluate the recommendations he received and the expressions of interest in his circle in order to understand the real intentions of the candidates. This is an aspect that emerges clearly from his biography, written by Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621), a friend and himself a member of the circle.[31] The Neapolitan would admit newcomers with circumspection in the atrium of the house, studying their behavior and words. Only after this examination were the deserving ones admitted to the other rooms, where the rich collection was kept.

There were many ways for students to get into Pinelli's good graces: with the help of one of their professors, a colleague, friends, or by meeting him personally in the city, such as at graduation ceremonies. During his stay in Padua, Pinelli attended 24 ceremonies, some of which related to students who had been members

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**28** Nuovo 2002, 106; Barzazi 2017, in which some important essays by the same scholar are taken up; Fragnito 2019.

**29** Gualdo 1607, 71: "Nullibi enim (Europam ut libet pervagare) Academiam reperias, in qua Musarum altrix quies litteratos aeque ad se invitet. Hic nemo est, qui advenarum vitam curiosius exploret, hic seu genio indulgere quis velit, seu ipsum defraudare, nemo erit qui impense curet. Animadverterat haec Pinellus, narrabantque Patavii omnes, peregrinos quantumvis, perinde vivere ac si in patria essent, Germanos enim, Gallos, Polonos."

**30** They were all male, as no women are attested in the scholar's house. This was undoubtedly due to the exclusion of women from the universities of the time and not to the alleged misogyny of the patron, Gualdo 1607, 87–88. Pinelli's misogyny seems to find other clues in Biblioteca Ambrosiana N 342 sup., cc. 8v, 23v, 37v.

**31** Gualdo 1607.

of the circle or who would become members.[32] The careful reconstruction of the biographical profiles of those graduates has made it possible to identify two periods in which the relationship between the patron and the students was closest, namely between 1571 – 1575 and between 1578 – 1579. Two fairly cohesive groups of students graduated during those periods.[33]

The intense relations of friendship and intellectual esteem created bonds that not even the return home of those students could break. They contributed to the ongoing formation of the collection, sending diplomatic reports, books, plans, commissioning maps or portraits to be sent to their friend in Padua for the benefit of those who would attend the circle in subsequent years. An example of the full maturation of that virtuous system was the stay at Pinelli's house of Nicholas-Claude Fabri, who arrived in Padua as a student with his brother Palmède at the end of 1599. The young Provencal's intellectual depth immediately struck the patron, who placed his rich collections and correspondences at his complete disposal. It was Fabri himself who drew up one of the inventories of the collection and a very interesting prospectus for the history of book collections.[34]

It should not be forgotten that early modern Padua lacked an instrument, or rather a place, that today we would be inclined to take for granted in a student city, namely a university library. This would only be founded in 1629 and was the first of its kind in Italy. So how did students consult the volumes they needed? The alternatives were few. The first was to buy the volumes indicated by the professors, going to the numerous publishers and resellers of used tomes in Padua or Venice. There was a flourishing book market in the city, especially near the Jewish ghetto, where it was possible to rent or buy almost anything one needed for the stay, such as books, furniture, food, and more. It was, however, a considerable expense and some *nationes* began to create book collections for the benefit of their members.

**32** Solera 2022.

**33** Pinelli, and sometimes other exponents of the circle (Guilandino, Gualdo, Mercuriale, Aicardi, other undergraduates, etc.), attended the graduations of Roderigo Lopez da Lisbona (07/20/1559), Jean Regnault-Molinet da La Rochelle (11/10/1567), Orazio Amaduzzi da Ravenna (01/25/1570), Ascanio and Ottavio Rebiba dalla Sicilia (04/05/1571), Giuseppe Faraoni da Messina (05/21/1571), Francesco Bandini da Firenze (09/22/1571), Ermolao Barbaro da Venezia (08/26/1572), Pierre Del Bene da Lione (09/29/1572), Giulio Gennaro da Vasto (08/28/1573), Annibale Balsamo da Specchia (02/11/1575), Jean Chifflet da Besançon (03/18/1575), Giovanni Vida da Capodistria (06/16/1575), Innocenzo and Germano A Prato da Segonzano (08/30/1575), Ottavio Caracciolo da Napoli (08/31/1575), Francesco Giustinian da Venezia (08/29/1578), Orazio Caio da Mel (06/26/1579), Sertorio Loschi da Vicenza (06/26/1579), Ascanio Martinengo da Brescia (07/01/1579), Alcasto Trissino da Vicenza (09/23/1579), Girolamo Velo da Vicenza (10/08/1579), Tommaso Manecchio da Sarzana (10/23/1579), Scipione Loschi da Vicenza (10/23/1579).

**34** Nuovo 2009. About the eccentric student, see Miller 2000.

Those volumes were, however, exposed to numerous risks, such as deterioration due to use and losses. Moreover, these small collections were kept not in a specific building, but in the homes of the various rectors or secretaries of the *nationes*, together with their archives. The volumes changed location in occasion of each student election, ending up year after year in the homes of the newly elected. As a study of the Paduan library context has shown, Pinelli's collection became a viable alternative at least for selected students, perhaps inspiring the creation of the University Library.[35] What did those students find so interesting on Pinelli's shelves? And with whom did they have the opportunity to discuss those works?

## 4 The Library: An Intellectual Toolbox

Marked according to Pinelli's strict classification, it was possible to find the texts adopted by the *Studium*'s lecturers. The patron closely followed the evolution of local and international academic environments, being able to find out who taught where, at what times, what they explained, and what texts they adopted. Among the surviving documents, it is possible to consult, for example, the list (*rotulo*) of lecturers of the Paduan *Studium* in 1577, the year in which classes resumed after the terrible plague epidemic of 1575 – 1576, the same which had killed many students. Another preserved catalog is that of Bologna from 1591.[36] With such material, Pinelli probably provided students of the circle insight into the broader university context, revealing to them what was taught elsewhere and by whom. This may have stimulated the mobility of some students, who were curious to attend specific lectures on certain topics.

In that library, there were many manuscripts and printed books bought by Pinelli from the heirs of eminent scholars and teachers. Other times, it was the owners themselves who indicated Pinelli as their heir. Such was the case with Giuseppe Moleti (1531 – 1588), who held the chair of mathematics in Padua in 1577 until his death. He left the scholar his book collection, perhaps the most valuable of the time for texts related to Greek mathematics. His manuscripts (various notes and unpublished works) were acquired by the Neapolitan. At an unknown date and in an unknown way, Pinelli also managed to obtain the collection of Ettore Ausonio, lecturer of astronomy and mathematics in Padua in 1547, who later moved to Venice and Turin and died after 1570.[37] His writings, like those of Moleti, proved

**35** Bernardinello 2019.

**36** Biblioteca Ambrosiana Q 116 sup., cc. 37r–38v; ivi, D 181 inf., c. 52r.

**37** Ausonio writings are scattered in many volumes that belonged to Pinelli, including Biblioteca Ambrosiana R 105 sup., which contains a list of works drawn up by Pinelli himself, c. 230r.

fundamental for Galileo Galilei, who lived in the Pinelli house as soon as he arrived in Padua in 1592. The Pisan relied precisely on those texts and others owned by his patron to develop his research and prepare his first Paduan lessons. Among these gifted books, there were also those of Nicaise Ellebaudt (1535–1577). He had graduated in Padua in 1563, studying and living in the home of Pinelli, who had financed a trip undertaken by the student in pursuit of antiquarian interests. The Flemish remained in contact with the Pinellian circle for the rest of his life.

Those who entered the house would quickly come to realize the sheer number of research tools it offered. There were inventories of the collection, of other people's libraries, chronologies, grammar books, and dictionaries in various languages and in different editions (certainly in Greek, Latin, German, Italian, Etruscan, Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopian, Syriac, and Japanese). Through these guides, it was possible to resolve doubts and begin new paths of knowledge, with the sure help of the master.[38] The students could extend their analyses beyond the mere mediation of the lecturers, turning directly to the works they cited. Pinelli's collection included almost every edition of Aristotle (90 available at the time), Plato, or Cicero. If classics were almost completely represented, there were also large sections on religion (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Jewish, Islamic), theology, canon and civil law, mathematics, vernacular literature (especially Italian and Provencal, with numerous texts from other national traditions), poetry, astronomy, Kabbalah, and many other branches of human knowledge.

In addition, on those shelves there was a group of works that we can easily assume were highly valued by students. Pinelli was an assiduous collector of transcriptions of lessons, and not only of those from Padua. These documents have not yet been studied and merit careful attention. Among the collected lectures (some show the year they were delivered) are those of Ercole Sassonia, Marco Antonio Passeri (1542), Gabriele Trifone (1544), Giorgio Pachimario (1548, 1549, 1550), Nicola Curtio (1563), Francesco Piccolomini (1564, 1565, 1570), Benedetto Persio (1566), Federico Pendasio (1567), Giovanni Ambrogio Barbavara (1568, 1570, 1572), Iacopo Zabarella (1573, 1575, 1584, 1585), Girolamo Mercuriale, Ottaviano Ferrari, Lazzaro Bonamico, Tommaso Pellegrino, Antonio Trombetta. The predilection was for *artisti* lecturers, with a special focus on teachers of natural philosophy. Sometimes theology lectures were reported indicating only the chair from which the lesson was given (*via Sancti Divi Thomae Aquinatis* or *via Scoti*). Other times Pinelli collected lectures from different years and lecturers but related to the same topic or work, a specific book of Aristotle's *De anima* or an interpretation of Alexander of Aphrodisia. Not to be overlooked is the group of Bolognese lectures, such as those by Pie-

**38** Solera 2026.

tro Pomponazzi (1521), Andrea Alciati (1540), Ludovico Boccaferro (1542), and Carlo Sigonio (1570). There are dozens of lectures preserved without a date or without a specific lecturer. This is all valuable material for understanding the intellectual transmission between masters, students, and other members of the Pinellian circle, in a mutual influence that undoubtedly contributed to the scientific dynamism of the late Renaissance.[39]

The texts of the lectures were collected close to other works of different professors, Paduan and otherwise, who were teaching at that time or not. Those texts had not always been chosen by the teachers as the basis for their courses; often they had not even been disseminated by the authors. Pinelli had succeeded in collecting or nearly collected the *opera omnia* of the already mentioned Zabarella (1533–1589), Piccolomini (1523–1607), Pendasio (d. 1603), Barbavara (d. 1595), Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente (c. 1533–1619), Guido Panciroli (1523–1599), and others.[40] This allowed students to consult works that were difficult or impossible to find. These sections of the library were undoubtedly formed according to the interests of the master of the house, but it cannot be ruled out that he also arranged them to facilitate the study of his frequent visitors, several of whom were attending lectures at the *Studium* at the same time. It seems necessary to ask who these students were and what traces they left in Pinelli's collection and life.

## 5 Uncommon Students

In a hitherto unpublished collection of notes, Pinelli wrote the following between thoughts on other topics: "the freedom of Padua, which can alarm the preachers, seems to arise from the large number of students (lay people, friars, priests)."[41] He was aware of how the general freedom that could be enjoyed in the city was due to the presence of those students, just as their presence was due to the assured ample margins of intellectual freedom it provided. A virtuous circle, which could have been spoiled by some zealous "preacher." Attention had to be paid to

**39** The research carried out made it possible to identify many volumes (about 60) in which these lessons are preserved, much more numerous than those already intercepted by scholars. Given their importance, an approximate list is offered here: Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 138 inf., D 221 inf., D 236 inf., D 239 inf., D 297 inf., D 351 inf.–D 388 inf., D 424 inf., D 461 inf., D 499 inf., D 502 inf., I 93 inf., I 102 inf., Q 116 sup., Q 122 sup., R 114 sup., S 87 sup.

**40** Nuovo 2007, 1185, notes 39–41, 45, 50.

**41** "La libertà di Padova, che può dar una larga materia a predicatori, pare che nasca dal numero grande di Scolari (laici, frati, preti)," Biblioteca Ambrosiana N 342 sup., c. 13v. All translations are by the author.

whom to open the doors of the collection. So who were the students who came in contact with Pinelli and his visitors?

That is not easy to answer. Many factors make it difficult to determine precisely which students participated in the circle. One could be a student without being registered at the *Studium*, others only attended private lessons and not public readings, others not even that but only private circles. Some considered themselves students for life, others not even during the years spent in those rooms. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify, with varying degrees of approximation, certain groups of individuals who were students when they met the patron and his circle. The first consists of those whose biographies are partly known due to the fame they achieved after. The second is represented by unknown individuals who are witnessed in the Pinelli household as students. This second group partly overlaps with that of the copyists, a constant presence in the Pinelli house, where there were always two or three salaried workers dedicated to copying the texts requested by the humanist or his friends. The employment of students as copyists has been attested in Padua since the Middle Ages, as such work provided those young men with a valuable source of income.[42]

Let us now focus on the first group. Pinelli's home had always been a den of excellent minds, even in the early years when the nobleman had moved to the city. He himself had been a student for an unspecified period, and we do not know which courses he had attended. Not even his friend Mercuriale, who attended Gian Vincenzo for a long time, could say whose student he had been, perhaps only Pendasio's.[43] Among the firsts, Pinelli's house had been home to renowned Greek scholars, such as Michael Sophianos (c. 1530 – 1565), Theodorus Rendios (c. 1515 – 1580), and Constantine Patrikios. All three were originally from Chios, which constituted a central point of reference in Pinelli's intellectual map, as he was extremely interested in the culture and the political and military dynamics of South-Eastern Europe. Together with their host, they formed the first student circle, engaged in an intense study of the classics. They were joined by the Hungarian Andreas Dudith by 1559 – 1560, who with Pinelli and the Spaniard Pedro Núñez Vela would prepare a critical edition of Lucretius, which later remained in manuscript form. Not even the insistence of Paulus Manutius (1512 – 1574), an active member of the circle, convinced the group to finish the text, which may have remained unpublished due to the departure of Dudith, who became an assiduous correspondent of his Paduan friend.[44]

**42** Gargan 2011; Giovè Marchioli 2022.
**43** Nuovo 2007, 1185.
**44** Ceccarelli 2015.

In 1559, Theodor Zwinger (1533 – 1588), a famous physician whose descendants continued to train in Padua, was about to end his career as a student. The relationship between Theodor and Pinelli is not attested for that year but only later and through Mercuriale. Certainly, the two intellectuals were soon in correspondence, writing to each other even when Theodor's son, Jakob (1569 – 1610), was entrusted to Pinelli to study philology and literature in 1585. The young man stayed in the city for a long time, having other members of the circle as teachers, such as Zabarella, Mercuriale, Melchiorre Guilandino (c. 1520 – 1589), and Acquapendente. Jakob would graduate in Basel in 1594, without interrupting his relationship with the generous scholar, who was curious about Swiss culture.[45]

In 1560 – 1562, Torquato Tasso (1544 – 1595) was a student in Padua and active in the circle, spending long periods at Pinelli's home. Perhaps the two had got to know each other at Carlo Sigonio's (c. 1520 – 1584) lectures at the *Studium* in 1561 – 1563. They thus built up a mutual esteem and affection that would last a lifetime.[46]

From the late 1560s and into the 1570s, there is a perceptible change in Pinelli's habits towards students. His fellow students had graduated, left, or died; he no longer belonged to restricted research groups but reserved for himself the role of promoter of other people's studies, though continuing his own analyses in private. It is no coincidence that it was precisely in the 1570s that Pinelli appeared at the largest number of graduations. In that period, the patron's interest in French-speaking students, who appear in the Pinellian circle even earlier than others, was stronger. Such is the case of Claude Dupuy (1545 – 1594), the future president of the Paris Parliament, or Abbot Pierre Del Bene (1550 – 1590), who forged a lasting relationship around their common love of collecting and erudition.[47]

One debated issue is whether Pinelli kept students in his quarters in exchange for remuneration, a common practice even among professors of the *Studium.* Galileo himself had several students in his house during his stay in Padua. It seems unlikely, however, that this was done by the Neapolitan, a nobleman with a rich family income. In his personal notes, he complains about many aspects of daily life, mentioning various guests and servants, describing his finances, his country estates, but never writing about payments from students. There is no doubt that

**45** Puliafito 1989a; Puliafito 1989b. It does not seem accidental that in the same months in which Pinelli was also collecting military information from the Zwingers on the Swiss militias, Galileo was preparing his first Paduan writings on the same subject.

**46** Sophianos would die in Ferrara in 1565, Rendios in Rome in 1580, and Dudith in Breslau in 1589. Tasso remained in contact with Pinelli even from the Ferrara jail where he had been imprisoned, before dying in Rome in 1595.

**47** Colliard 1972; Raugei 2001.

there were students among those who lived in his house, as evidenced by the cases of Sophianos, Ellebaudt, Fabri, and others. On March 22, 1591, arts student Vegerio Massario, son of Orazio da Urbino, attended the graduation of ser Gaspare Bonato, son of Girolamo da Este, declaring himself “resident in the house of the so illustrious Genoese man Gian Vincenzo Pinelli.”[48]

A large group of students came to Pinelli’s house from England and Scotland.[49] Among them were the antiquarian Richard White (1539–1611), the astronomer Edmund Bruce (fl. 1585–1606), the diplomat Richard Shelley (1513–1587), and the poet Thomas Seget, author of a famous *album amicorum* in which there are dedications to some of the members of the circle. In addition to Gian Vincenzo himself, Galilei, Sertorio Loschi, Antonio Riccoboni (1541–1599), Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631), Antonio Quarenghi (1546–1633), and others signed their names on his work. The Flemish area was also well represented, from which Ellebaudt arrived in 1561. He had entered the circle as a student, only to leave it with a degree (in arts and medicine) in 1571. That very year he is said to have given Pinelli a copy of Ludovico Castelvetro’s (1505–1571) *Poetica*, much sought after by the collector. As soon as he arrived in Bratislava, of which he became bishop, Ellebaudt wrote to his friend Pinelli: “I would like to have news of those who are there […]. I greet everyone in the house and all friends, firstly our Mercuriale, Guilandino, […], Manutius.”[50] His attachment to that community showed no signs of diminishing, not even after graduation or his own departure. The reverse was also true: Pinelli in some cases seemed not to want to detach himself from those old students, even after their departure, sometimes not even after their death, gathering information about their health or their inheritance, their books, poems, and epitaphs.[51] The threads of intellectuals in Europe continued to be woven even beyond the limits of life.

It is uncertain whether other students, already famous in Padua at the time, such as Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), were among the frequenters of the circle. Elected rector of the *universitas iuristarum* in 1563, he was in close contact with his master Sigonio, a frequent visitor to Pinelli’s house. There being a direct relationship between the circle and Zamoyski is very probable, though not certain. Upon

**48** “familiari in domo magnifici domini Vincentii Pinelli Ianuensis,” *Acta graduum* 2008, 1588, doc. 2517.

**49** There are numerous attestations of students who borrowed works from Pinelli, Philo 2019.

**50** “Vorrei haver nova del star di molti […]. Saluto tutti di casa e tutti gli amici, in primo [Girolamo] Mercurialem nostrum, [Melchior] Guilandin, [Dontasum], [Paolo] Manutium,” Rusnáková 2012, 136, letter from June 5, 1571.

**51** For those relating to Sophianos and Ellebaudt Biblioteca Ambrosiana P 242 sup. Often the compositions were written by colleagues with whom they had studied in Padua.

the death of the famous anatomist Gabriele Falloppio (1523–1562), three students recited odes in the professor's honor, namely Ellebaudt, Casimiro Accursio (d. 1563), and Zamoyski, which were later printed.[52] We have evidence of a direct relationship between the first two and Pinelli, which also makes that between the Polish nobleman and the Neapolitan humanist likely. Certainly, Zamoyski was in contact with other members of the circle, such as Tasso and Guilandino, while Pinelli collected information about him in the following decades, e. g., speeches, diplomatic reports, religious inquiries, etc. It has even been proposed that Zamoyski was inspired by the Pinellian circle and not by the Paduan *Studium* in the establishment of the Zamoyski Academy in 1594.[53]

Many came to Padua just to study but remained there for the rest of their lives. After his early studies in Turin in medicine and philosophy, Paolo Aicardi from Albenga came to Padua in 1570 and soon joined Pinelli's circle. He became an inseparable friend of Pinelli's, with whom he attended many graduations. Aicardi continued his studies under Mercuriale's direction. The Piedmontese never again left the humanist's house, uniting his library with Gian Vincenzo's and designating him as his heir. He died in 1597 assisted by Pinelli, who expressed the wish to one day be buried together with his friend. Another student of Mercuriale's, who attended the circle in 1578, was the Dutch Bernhard Paludanus (1550–1633), who later became a correspondent of the humanist.

To these more formal students could be added many others who had recently obtained academic degrees or had abandoned lectures to devote themselves to more private study. Among them was the Dutchman Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), who introduced himself to Pinelli with a letter from Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). A law graduate in 1595, he arrived in Italy in 1597 and spent a year at Pinelli's house before becoming a professor in Milan at the behest of Federico Borromeo (1564–1631). In letters to his teacher, Puteanus described the preciousness of that circle, endowed with every resource necessary for lovers of the *humanae litterae.* Worsening health did not prevent the humanist from taking in Frans Tengnagel (1576–1622), a pupil of Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who had been sent by his master to Italy for further education. In a letter dated January 24, 1600, he described the many discussions that took place at the Neapolitan's home in the presence of the mathematician Galilei, whom Pinelli had put in contact with Brahe.[54]

Information is available about other students who are not easily identifiable or young men presented to the patron but whose status as students is not made

**52** Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 388 inf.
**53** Stella 1992, 315; Lepri 2019.
**54** Bucciantini 2007, 86.

explicit. In 1583, Scipione Ammirato (1531–1601) recommended Matteo Botti to Pinelli, “who has come to Padua to attend to the studies of fine letters.” It is therefore unknown whether the young man was a mere traveler or a formal student. Ammirato had recommended Botti “to make him a friend of Your Lordship” and to place him under Pinelli’s direction.[55] Other young men were introduced to get them into that kind of academy, but it is not known whether they were students or not. In 1570, Fulvio Orsini had announced the arrival of Ercole Ciofano (?–1592), a talented young man. He was “to be in the company of messer Aldus [Manutius] and coming to Padua he wishes to see Your Lordship as the noblest thing that is in Padua.”[56] Only a careful study of Pinelli’s correspondence will allow us to be more precise about this group of probable students.

Finally, we must not forget a final group of students who, although in contact with the patron, are not clearly documented within the circle. In other words, we know that many of them met the great humanist during their study stay in Padua, but their presence in Pinelli’s house is not certain. Some names stand out among them, such as Cinzio Passeri (1551–1610), who graduated in Padua with Guido Panciroli in 1592. The same year, his uncle Ippolito Aldobrandini (1536–1605) was elevated to the Papal throne, making that student a cardinal nephew and a strong link between papal Rome and the Pinellian circle.[57] Clement VIII (1592–1605) insisted in vain to have Pinelli in Rome in the following years.

The last but very important enclave of probable students at Pinelli’s house were the students at the Jesuit College in Padua. The nobleman was always on excellent terms with the Jesuits, as evidenced by the confidence with which he wrote to the rectors of neighboring colleges or to the leaders of the Society. The direct relationship between the patron and various members of the *Societas* emerge from the catalog of Pinelli manuscripts edited by Adolfo Rivolta and from Gualdo’s biography.[58] These include Agostino Giustiniani, Giulio Negrone, the Gagliardi brothers, Gerolamo Barisoni, and others about whom it is difficult to find detailed information. They certainly contributed to enriching not only the religious and theological section of the library, but also the “exotic” section, providing the patron with reports on the Far East, mission tales, and letters from Jesuits, in which information on the political, cultural, and social systems of those peoples abound-

**55** “il quale è venuto a Padova per attendere a gli studii delle belle lettere,” “per farlo amico di Vostra Signoria,” Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magliabecchiano VIII.1451, c. 6rv (September 10, 1583).

**56** “per stare in compagnia di messer Aldo [Manutius], et venendo a Padova desidera vedere Vostra Signoria come la più nobile cosa che sia in Padoa,” de Nolhac 1887, 77 (September 27, 1570).

**57** Solera 2024.

**58** Rivolta 1933, XXIV; Gualdo 1607, 45.

ed.[59] This was an important contribution, which facilitated the opening of that circle to new worlds, challenging inherited convictions from the past, and paving the way for new knowledge.

## 6 Conclusion: Padua 1601

Once through the door of that house, many young students were offered opportunities for growth and cultural exchange that were hard to find elsewhere, even in a city that had made *Libertas* its motto. Some of them never stopped participating in that club and making use of those works for the rest of their lives. Should the need arise to contact someone, to have a text or curiosity about a subject, one could be sure that the love for letters would induce Pinelli or his friends to make themselves useful. *Vice versa*, Pinelli never failed to make his contribution to all those who, out of a love of knowledge, were moved to contact him.

A fact that deserves more attention is the interest the patron took in texts in which the figure of the perfect student or the canons of good teaching was theorized. Which disciplines needed to be known? Which works were useful and which were to be avoided? How much effort should one devote to studying and how much to memorizing the notions? These treatises sometimes took on the appearance of study guides, placed among the volumes consulted by the students. These include part of the *Libro dello scolare* by Francesco Ambrosio, the *Modus studendi* by the jurist Giovanni Cefali (1511–1580), and a long essay by Mercuriale on how medicine should be studied.[60] Only careful analysis of these materials will be able to prove whether they were annotated by hands other than that of the possessor.

**59** Letters to general superiors and members of the *Societas* are preserved in Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 140 sup., R 100 sup., R 106 sup., S 80 sup. Pinelli collected materials relating to the dispute between the *Studium* and the Jesuits which arose in 1591 separately from the letters, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Q 117 sup., D 434 inf., D 463 inf.

**60** Biblioteca Ambrosiana Q 115 sup., cc. 190r–191v. We have little information about Francesco Ambrosio. Born in Ferrara, he died at the age of 29 in 1563. He wrote a poem in praise of Pinelli, Zampese 2008. For the book by Cefali, see Biblioteca Ambrosiana B 143 sup., cc. 83r–93r. For that of Mercuriale, see Biblioteca Ambrosiana S 84 sup., cc. 301r–307r, *De modo studendi eorum qui medicinae operam navant libellus* (1570). The prudent master taught not to issue a diagnosis until one was certain of the disease; among the authors to know perfectly were Strabo, Plato, Galen, Pausanias, and others. See Durling 1990.

Pinelli died on August 3, 1601, and with his life also ended the existence of the circle he had created.[61] In the home of the scholar, the student Nicolas-Claude Fabri had remained to look after him in his last months. The Provencal arranged with other friends to notify all those scattered across Europe who had remained in contact with the patron. There was no lack of former students from Padua who received the news in the deepest despair, remembering the youth they had spent with these highly cultured men. Some wrote laudatory works and letters, attempting to preserve the memory of that patron. On September 19, 1601, Puteanus sent a few written lines from Milan to his master Lipsius, lamenting how serious that death was for all humanists, comparing Pinelli to Atticus.[62] The juxtaposition with Cicero's friend also appears in other eulogies, revealing how it constituted a *topos* in that genre of *encomia*, though dense with moral values. Just as Atticus represented the perfect man of the late Roman Republic, divided between public engagement and philosophical *otium*, Pinelli had been the perfect man for their contemporary age. The humanist had cultivated the study of the ancients without forgetting the moderns, helping many intellectuals to progress, even if young students, each on their path to knowledge.

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**61** The death of Pinelli and that of Fabio Nichesola (another member of the circle) are the only events that Niccolò Comneno Papadopoli (1655–1740) decided to report for 1601 in his detailed history of the *Studium*, Comneno Papadopoli 1726, vol. 2, 102–103.

**62** *Iusti Lipsi* 2006, 404–406. The comparison also appears in Pignoria 1629, vol. 2, 74 (letter from Pignoria to Gualdo of 1619) and in de Thou 1733, 96. Pinelli was very familiar with Cicero's letters to Atticus, as demonstrated by his notes on the Latin text, Castiglione 1948, 120. The biographer friend proposed the figure of Scipio Africanus as Pinelli's *alter ego*, Gualdo 1607, 114–115.

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Q 116 sup.
Q 117 sup.
Q 122 sup.
R 100 sup.
R 105 sup.
R 106 sup.
R 114 sup.
S 80 sup.
S 84 sup.
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Pasquale Terracciano

# Ways to Learn, Ways to Reshape Knowledge: Pico della Mirandola and the Students' Handbooks

**Abstract:** This work will explore the influence of textbooks used by students to practice for disputes as possible sources for the *900 Conclusiones* of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (the book the famous introduction to which was the so-called *Oratio de hominis dignitate—Discourse on the Dignity of Man).* This is a decisive topic in Pico's scholarship that has not been directly investigated before. I argue that at least some of its "scholastic" theses can be traced back to these texts, in particular to the *Promptuarium argumentorum*, a textbook used in the teaching of philosophy in universities with the aim of reconciling the disagreement between philosophical schools. The book was intended to provide students with a collection of arguments and counterarguments that could be used in debates and discussions. The arguments were presented in a systematic manner, making it easier for students to memorize them. Beyond the philological data, this finding has several implications for understanding the processes of learning and the transmission and reworking of knowledge in the Renaissance.

## 1 Introduction: Student Textbooks as Sources

Student textbooks and learning materials as possible sources for original philosophical elaboration have not always been valued highly by scholars. The reasons for this are understandable. One of those reasons is the idea that great thinkers can only dialogue with their peers, an idea that corresponds to a model of cultural history made up of great peaks contemplating the view from above. The transitions between teaching, learning, and elaboration is not made up of such detached stages. Above all, the way in which one learns, the way in which knowledge is transmitted, even among peers, the way in which one is accustomed to dialoguing with texts is decisive and cannot be neglected. In this article, we will try to indicate the connection between a fundamental work by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and some "student" sources never analyzed in the literature from this point of view. This allows for twofold consideration: on the one hand, the possibility of better understanding some points of Pico's work and, on the other hand, to look in a different light at the way in which materials intended for scholastic

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exercise—in this case handbooks (*promptuarii*) for philosophical discussion—circulated and, in their own way, influenced philosophical elaboration.

## 2 Pico's Oratio and Conclusiones

The *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (*Discourse on the Dignity of Man*) is a famous oration written by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, the renowned Italian humanist of the 15th century. The *Oratio* has been traditionally regarded as a manifesto of Renaissance humanism and a celebration of the dignity and freedom of man, who is depicted as the center of the universe and the master of his own destiny. However, some recent scholarship, especially by Brian Copenhaver (2019), has challenged this interpretation and argued that the oration is rather concerned with a mystical and intellectual journey that leads man to knowledge of and union with God. Pico's main goal was not to exalt human autonomy and creativity, but to show how man can achieve salvation through a process of purification, illumination, and perfection that involves both natural and supernatural means. The more general point is that Pico had no intention of dedicating that text to the dignity of man. Its title in the manuscript was simply *Oratio quaedam elegantissima.* The emphasis on the dignity of man was first due to 16th-century printers, and then to 20th-century interpreters, but it was in any case a text that did not have wide circulation in its era. It could be argued, however, that contemporaries of Pico's entitled it in that way, suggesting to us what their reading of it was. Neverthless, it is undeniable that this tiny volume has been pivotal for the interpretation of the Renaissance.

But for what purpose was it written? What kind of text was it intended to be, and in what tradition did it fit? The oration was intended as an introduction to a public debate on the *pax philosophica* ("philosophical peace," or better, "harmony"), which Pico planned to hold in Rome in 1487. For this occasion, Pico composed 900 theses (*Conclusiones philosophicae, cabalisticae et theologicae*), drawn from various sources of ancient and medieval philosophy, theology, and mysticism, which he wanted to discuss with the most learned scholars of his time. The use of theses as the basis of philosophical discussion was a core educational device in scholastic philosophy, and so there is little surprise in this. What was astonishing, even to his contemporaries, was the very large number of theses, as many as 900. They were divided first of all into two categories: those "according to the opinions of others," in which Pico reported the thought of previous authors, and those "according to his own opinion," in which the Count of Mirandola expounded some of his personal opinions and philosophical doctrines. The theses were also gathered into thematic groups: according to Latins, Arabs, Greek Peripatetics, Platonists, Zoroaster and his Chaldean commentators, etc.—furthermore, conclusions on magic, cabalistic conclusions confirming the Christian religion, and so on (Farmer 1998). It was a puzzling list. Among other things, Pico suggested that there was a hidden wisdom in the writings of the ancient pagans, especially in Hermes Trismegistus and Zoroaster, who prophesied about Christ and the Christian mysteries. He held that there is no subject more worthy of study than magic and Kabbalah, which reveal the secrets of nature and God.

The constant reference to authors foreign to Christianity and in some cases suspect, the boldness and lack of comprehensibility of many of the propositions, led the Pope, Innocent VIII, to oppose the young aristocrat's project. The public debate never took place and Innocent VIII swiftly appointed a commission of experts to examine the orthodoxy of Pico's propositions. The commission condemned 13 of them as dangerous or heretical, casting a shadow over Pico's entire project and forcing him to flee to France. Meanwhile, Pico wrote an *Apology* to defend himself, in which he set out only a fraction of the arguments he was planning to address in the dispute (Pico 2010a, Copenhaver 2022).

## 3 Harmony and Obscureness

As its introduction, the *Oratio* is strictly linked to the *Conclusiones:* it can only by understood in the light of this text. But the *Conclusiones* are utterly obscure. Those 900 theses are Pico's own synthesis of his vast erudition and his attempt to reconcile different traditions and doctrines. The project reveals his ingenuity in proposing the *concordia* (concordance) of the preceding theological and philosophical traditions. Pico primarily pursued the (traditional) goal of reconciling the philosophical schools of Plato and Aristotle, driven by his conviction that they employed distinct terminology to convey identical ideas. Starting from there, the Italian humanist wanted to show that everything that had always been considered divergences in or contradictions between philosophical traditions were not such but were rather only the result of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. The truth is true, given that we know how to interpret it correctly. Pico would have shown all the wise men of the world how to do so.

However, the 900 theses, in and of themselves, are only dry propositions without further clarification. They are a skeleton (or better, a collection of bones), not a fully-formed body. Furthermore, they were often strictly technical and sometimes dependent upon bizarre meanings. Take for example one of the first proposition

(1.3): “this is in the fourth mode of speaking *per se:* man is man”[1] or the enigmatic “all before Moses prophesized through the one-horned stag”[2] (Terracciano 2020). It is probable that some of the theses were included only to be refuted and that others were little more than platitudes that would have revealed unexpected truths. Of course, assuming we knew how to interpret them.

Unfortunately, the debate did not take place and reconstructing the arguments that Pico intended to present becomes an exceedingly difficult task as a result. One of the reasons concerns the types of texts Pico used. As mentioned above, along with the classics of theological and philosophical thought (like Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Averroes, etc.), his efforts were directed at rediscovering hidden traditions, which led him to fruitful discoveries, but at the same time to great misunderstandings and outright blunders (suffered and practiced). As is well known, Pico was greatly attracted to the Kabbalah, a form of Jewish mystical and esoteric thought (Wirszubski 1989; Lelli 2014). He therefore sought to obtain those texts, which were considered inaccessible to Christians. Pico relied on teachers. Indeed, to do so, he turned to various Jewish scholars, not all of whom were detached or impartial. Particularly, during the year 1486, Pico assigned to Flavius Mithridates (1450 – 1489), also known as Raimundo Moncada, a Jewish convert from Sicily, the task of gathering an extensive collection of Kabbalistic literature and translating it from Hebrew to Latin. The translations, however, were rife with deliberate interpolations, reckless remakes of texts, rewritings in alphabets that were difficult to decipher. They remained unexplored for centuries, preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome, but very complicated to read for linguistic reasons. Deciphering the intricate symbolism, complex metaphors, and mystical language of these texts required not only expertise in Hebrew but also a profound understanding of the Kabbalistic tradition itself (Busi 2006; Campanini 2005; Campanini-Jurgan 2012; Campanini 2019). Only the recent publication of these texts is making it possible to understand many of the expressions, problems, and challenges behind the *Conclusiones*, which in turn illuminate the philosophical stakes of the *Oratio.*

But even when not dealing with the notoriously enigmatic Kabbalistic theses, things are no better in the case of the remainder.

**1** “*Haec est in quarto modo dicendi per se: homo est homo*” (Farmer 1998, 213, 1.3).
**2** “*Omnes ante Moysen prophetarunt per cervam unicornem*” (Farmer 1998, 353, 28.16).

## 4 Scholastic Theses

The novelty of a number of sources that Pico brought, above all the Kabbalah, resulted in the latter being the most studied in recent years. But although the Kabbalah has long been considered the most intriguing facet of his work, this does not mean that the other sections of the *Conclusiones* do not hold surprises. The first series of theses—centered on scholastic philosophy—have remained more in the shadows, as simply the result of an almost obligatory quotation of the canonical authors. They are, however, more interesting than that. First, they suggest which cards Pico intends to play and which threads he intends to unravel. Indeed, in his introduction (the *Oratio*), Pico states that one of the hidden meanings of the *Conclusiones* is in a secret concatenation (*concatenatio*) of relations and reasonings. What matters is discovering the intimate connection that unites the individual theses. In that case, starting from the beginning may certainly be helpful.

Furthermore, the first series of the *Conclusiones* represents the richest evidence of Pico's relationship with medieval sources, because it contains an extensive review of philosophical *auctoritates*, such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, etc. It should be noted how crucial in the same definition of humanistic and Renaissance philosophy was the departure from or, instead, the debt to the medieval tradition. Certainly, this is a factor that has weighed on the correct evaluation of those texts. In the critical tradition of the past decades, Pico's relationship with these sources has strongly affected judgment of the project of the *Conclusiones* and the entire trajectory of Pico's thought. On the one hand, a portion of scholars, inspired by the notion of humanism as a precursor to "modernity," underestimated Pico's indebtedness to the scholastic tradition. On the other hand, those who acknowledged this debt ran the risk of flattening Pico on those sources, thus overlooking his originality.

It remains a fact: Pico was a profound connoisseur not only of Platonism and mysticism, but also of Scholasticism and Latin Averroism. Indeed, this was one of the main elements that differentiated him from Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and much of the Florentine cultural *milieu.* Starting again from the texts is the best thing to do. However, the same task of identifying the texts that Pico draws on, and consequently the debates in which he wants to immerse himself, is complicated. When Pico died, he left one of the largest private library collections of the 15$^{th}$ century, consisting of over 1200 volumes in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic (Calori Cesis 1897; Kibre 1934; Murano 2023). In this ocean, one of the challenges that scholars face when studying the *Conclusiones* is to identify and analyze the sources that he used to formulate his theses. Pico did not always cite his sources explicitly, and sometimes he mixed and modified them according to his own interests and purposes. Moreover, some of the works that he attributed to these philosophers are now considered spurious or doubtful, and some of the manuscripts that he consulted no longer exist or are otherwise not accessible. Therefore, the task at issue requires careful and critical examination of the contexts and traditions that influenced Pico's intellectual project—that is, to reconstruct the origins and meanings of his philosophical claims.

Very recently, there has been new interest in these texts, in more specific research of their sources and their meaning, especially by Amos Edelheit (2021) and Brian Copenhaver (2022; 2023; 2024). Edelheit directly and extremely accurately tackles the scholastic theses and their sources, but—in order to delimitate his truly herculean task—looks exclusively for the authors that Pico cites directly. Where Pico attributes a position to Thomas Aquinas, Edelheit looks through the totality of Thomist writings for a possible place to situate that reference. This seems a common-sense choice, but, as we shall demonstrate, it is misleading with respect to the reality of the facts and does not help us understand the reasons behind Pico's choices. If we look closely at the first two series of theses, which are those "according to Albert" and those "according to Thomas", we realize that very often Pico was not quoting directly from the texts of the two authors. Let us be clear: there is no doubt that he knew them and had pondered them at length. His own library testifies to the number of scholastic volumes he possessed. And, of course, it is certainly possible to track many of those theses back to Albert's and Aquinas' books. But to understand how and why Pico constructed his dossier and discourse, the cases in which this task is not feasible are much more significant and offer us keys to all the others. Already Caroti (2005) and in detail now Copenhaver (2024) have shown how Pico made use rather of intermediate texts, summaries and arguments from authors who were perhaps less well-known but more useful for his purpose. Copenhaver in particular has persuasively demonstrated the provenance of many scholastic theses from Cabrol, a Thomist author that Pico makes extensive use of in his *Apologia.* Many, not all, as we shall see.

We should also bear in mind that Pico was about to hold a lengthy discussion on the entirety of philosophical knowledge, embarking on subtle arguments on often extremely technical points. It was a discussion on an abnormally large number of theses, as he himself acknowledged (Pico 2021, 57). Moreover, in the last months before the dispute, as we know, he was immersed in the study of the complicated Hebrew volumes that Mithridates had prepared for him. It was absolutely necessary, almost inevitable, that where he could, he would resort to summaries and compendia. Outlines and compendia were, after all, typical of the philosophical genre he had decided to use. From this point of view, it is also beneficial for us to bring into play an element that we have neglected until now and that usually remains aloof in Pico's intellectual biography. Pico immediately became one of the brightest stars of Renaissance culture: he proposed his grandiose disputation at 24, and he died young at the age of 31. By virtue of his precocity, one tends to overlook the fact that in his first work he had just completed his philosophical apprenticeship and had recently shed his role as a university student. Certainly, Pico was a peculiar student, very well off, with the possibility of moving between his favorite universities and to reserve for himself the teachers of his liking.

The phases of his studies are largely known, but the traces left by his path as a student in his philosophical synthesis have not been sufficiently investigated. Pico undertook legal studies in 1477–78 in Bologna, probably for the purposes of an ecclesiastical career, but later left them due to his preference for "*studia humanitatis*" and philosophy. For this, he went to Ferrara (1479) and then stayed briefly in Florence (perhaps meeting Ficino and Poliziano for the first time). The following year, Pico moved to the University of Padua to further his philosophical studies. His stay, which lasted until the summer of 1482, meant his encounter with Averroes and Averroism: in Padua, in fact, Pico had the opportunity to listen to Nicoletto Vernia (1428–1499) and meet the Jewish philosopher Elia del Medigo (1458–1493). In the following years, he moved on to the University of Pavia and later to the University of Paris. Returning from France at the end of 1484, he finally returned to Florence. After the immersion of his Paduan and Parisian years in the profound study of the peripatetic tradition and knowledge of the various interpretations, especially of Averroism, he now felt the need to get to know Plato and the neo-Platonic tradition in depth (Bacchelli 2015). His Florentine stay is pivotal, but, indeed, must not make one forget his long tenure as a student around Italian and European universities. And further, it is in his wanderings between universities that Pico acquired not only a wealth of knowledge, but also a part of his conspicuous library (Murano 2023). Let us therefore try to think of Pico as a student, albeit a brilliant one, embarking on this vast project, the *Conclusiones.*

## 5 Albertists and Thomists

Thesis 24 "according to Thomas" states that "a subject and an accident proper to it are really distinguished."[3] Edelheit (2021, 245) has generally reconstructed the framework of Aristotelian and Thomist issues within which this expression makes sense, without being able to identify the specific source. Thus, according to Aristotle, alterations belong to those things that are subject by themselves to sensible qualities. The commentary by Thomas provides clarification regarding

**3** "*Subiectum et propria passio realiter distinguuntur*" (Farmer 1998, 226, 2.24).

the nature of change and in particular the nature of a secondary change (*alteratio*) in the sensual qualities of a substance. He asserts that any object undergoing change does so in accordance with its sensory qualities. Consequently, change can solely occur in entities that possess an inherent capacity to endure and manifest these sensory qualities. Thomas then analyzes the notions of form and shape and of quality (*passio*) and subject (*subiectum*) to explain secondary changes. In entities susceptible to change, a clear distinction is drawn between the subject and the quality, leading to the conclusion that change does not occur within forms and shapes themselves, but solely at the level of sensory qualities.[4]

Considering Aquinas alone, the thesis remains somewhat obscure because it does not clarify for us the issue of the actual distinction between subject and *passio.* Nor does it seem to be exactly found in Cabrol's work (the typical intermediate source he uses there), if I have seen it correctly. Moreover, this type of explanation tells us almost nothing about how Pico would have wanted to use it in the exposition of his general project and specifically how it would have served to demonstrate the concordance of authors and knowledge. Edelheit (2021, 246), in order to make the conclusion more intelligible, tries to link it to other possible sources, in particular to a passage from Ockham referring to the analogy between the relation between being and One, on the one hand, and between *passio* and subject on the other. There is a reason: the relation between being and One is the issue of the preceding thesis (number 2.23 "One adds to being only the privation of division"[5]), and it is a pivotal theme for Pico, who will devote to this issue his *De Ente et Uno* (1490–1491), but no philosophical or textual cues suggesting a specific reference to Ockham. Anyway, Edelheit only intends to show an interesting similarity and eventually concludes: "this might also be a reminder that Pico uses many different sources, some in a direct and a straightforward fashion and some in an indirect fashion" (Edelheit 2021, 246). A good reminder, but we will try to see where this tricky proposition comes from.

Pico indeed had something else in mind. Tied to the issue of Being and One, the thesis is better understood within the dispute between Thomists and Albertists. This was in fact one of the points of disagreement between the two schools in the debates that marked the turn of beginning of the century. The proposition can in fact be found, rather pointedly, in a *Promptuarium argumentorum*, an anonymous text composed of 68 *conclusiones*, written to help students prepare their debates (*disputationes*). The *Promptuarium* was designed to help students learn how to argue effectively and provided them with a comprehensive collection of arguments

4 Aquinas 1965, VII, 5.

5 "*Unum supra ens non addit nisi privationem divisionis*" (Farmer 1998, 226, 2.23).

that they could use in discussions. Through two lists of intertwined theses belonging to two fictional students, Lilius and Spineus—one a follower of Albertus, the other of Thomas—, the *Promptuarium* offers valuable insights into the nature of academic debates during its time.

Before delving into the thesis and the text, we must first make a few clarifications with respect to the nature of philosophical debates at universities in that period.

## 6 Philosophical Debates

Late medieval university culture—and certainly the culture of the 15th century as well—was characterized by the rapid circulation of knowledge between different academic institutions. The intellectual landscape underwent a significant transformation with the emergence of several universities, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. This proliferation of universities brought about a notable change in the educational map and the intellectual climate of the time. Each new university developed its own unique character, decisively altering the local intellectual and cultural scenery. While it is true that the oldest and most renowned universities, such as Paris, Oxford, or Padua, continued to influence debates, it should not be assumed that the circulation of ideas flowed in only one direction (Hoenen 1995, 329–330). Pico had studied between Bologna, Padua, and Paris, but he must also have been receptive to themes from these new poles.

The multiplication of universities was strongly connected with the emergence of rival schools of thought, exemplified by the "*via moderna*" and the "*via antiqua*" (the modern and the ancient ways) and the ensuing conflict between them. This debate was about different methods of reading the *corpus aristotelicum.* In that context, the term "*via*" encompasses a method of interpreting Aristotle that is characteristic of a particular school of thought. Essentially, it denotes the manner in which the text is approached and expounded. Within this framework, "*via*" also refers to the authoritative works cited and employed as points of reference throughout a given commentary. By employing the term "*via*" in this manner, the author of the commentary indicated their alignment with a specific school of thought or, alternatively, how they were classified by others within that intellectual community. During the early 15th century, the term "modern," in this context, acquired a doctrinal significance, as it came to be associated with a specific group of scholars that aligned themselves with a particular interpretation of Aristotle that diverged from the traditional views espoused by Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, or Duns Scotus. Instead, they preferred more recent authors, such as John Buridan and Marsilius of Inghen, who were themselves regarded as followers of William of Ockham. The "modern" way was closely linked to nominalism, the doctrine which rejected the existence of universals outside the human mind.

Scholars and thinkers from each school engaged in intellectual debates and arguments, defending their respective philosophical positions and challenging the validity of their opponents' ideas. As Maarten Hoenen put it,

> the formation of schools was intimately connected with the reading of set texts at the universities and the studia of the religious orders. Debates between schools were chiefly concerned with interpretations of Aristotle. Each school had its preferred reading of the corpus aristotelicum. The stimulus for the establishment of philosophical schools, therefore, was the scholastic educational system. (Hoenen 2002, 3)

The contrast was not only between the "*via moderna*" and the "*via antiqua*," but also within the "*via antiqua*" itself. At the beginning of the 15th century, an Albertist school was formed that contrasted in some points the thought of Thomas Aquinas, defending the Aristotelian interpretation proposed by Albertus Magnus. The status of logic, the role of universals, and the distinction between essence and existence, among other issues, were the principal topics of division and confrontation between the two schools.

The young University of Cologne, formed according to the Parisian model ("*secundum ritum Parisiensem*") played a decisive role in this context. The polemical context of the disputes, the pedagogical innovations concerning the teaching of students in the Faculty of Arts, and the methods used to facilitate their learning shaped the revival of Thomism in the early 15th century and created the conditions for a particularly vibrant philosophical mood.

Several treatises published in Cologne explicitly address these debates between Thomists and Albertists. One of the most notable works is Heymeric de Campo's *Tractatus problematicus vel Problemata inter Albertum Magnum et sanctum Thomam*, written in the mid-1420s. Heymeric (1395–1460) was trained in Paris and in his *Tractatus* reports the controversy between the schools from an Albertistic point of view in 18 "*quaestiones disputatae.*" Other works that are of great importance for understanding the debates between Thomists and Albertists and their philosophical background is certainly Gerardus de Monte's *Tractatus ostendens concordiam S. Thomae Aquinatis et Alberti Magni* (1456). Gerardus de Monte (c. 1400–1480), pupil of Henry of Gorkum (c. 1378–1431), wrote, in the form of his book, the Thomist response to the Heymeric book. Heymeric and Gerardus were after all the regent masters of the two most significant opposing colleges (*bursae*; in particular the *bursa Laurentiana* and the *bursa Montana*) that housed the university students. The University of Cologne did in fact accept teaching through different ways (*viae*) but stipulated that students who chose an approach should be housed in different buildings (Hoenen 1995, 333). The *bursae* had a significant impact on the emergence and growth of different philosophical schools and traditions, notably Thomism and Albertism. These places indeed offered a stable and institutional environment, ensuring continuity and fostering personal connections necessary for the development of specific schools. This is the context from which the *Promptuarium argumentorum* (Cologne 1492) originates, together with other books of similar theme and layout, like the *Reparationes librorum totius naturalis philosophiae* (Cologne 1494) and *De proprietatibus elementorum* (Cologne 1496).

What concerns us in the moment is that we find these kinds of volumes among Pico's surviving books. Among his "scholastic" books, there was indeed mention of a *Concordiae … Thome et Alberti* (Cesis 1887, 45, no. 604; Kibre 1936, 203; this is presumably the text by Gerardus de Monte) and another unattributed text entitled *Questiones de anima secundum Albertum et Tomam* (Kibre 1936, 289; Murano 2018, 234–235). Moreover, it has never been noticed that from the very first thesis of the *Conclusiones*, which states "that intelligible images are not necessary, and it is not fitting for good Aristotelianism to posit them,"[6] Pico refers very often to issues that were debated within these texts. Without going into the specifics of the philosophical discourse pursued there, the first thesis is originated in *De Anima* 3.7. 431a17–18, in which Aristotle states that the soul never thinks without images. Such images would be produced by the agent intellect from images stored in memory or reworked from the senses. Seen through Albertus' texts—which argue that the active intellect is the author of cognitive content, dropping the functionality of the *species intelligibiles* (*De Anima* III, t.2, cap. 15, 199)—Pico's proposition certainly appears to be a legitimate deduction. But it is worth noting that this was also a point debated between Heymeric de Campo and Gerardus de Monte, i. e., one of the points where Albert and Thomas were to be brought into concord.[7]

What I hypothesize, then, is that in his attempt to restore concord between all the philosophical schools of antiquity and modernity, Pico began with the most recent, and which were addressed in his university education—not between Albert and Thomas, but between Albertists and Thomists, not on the texts of the 13th century, but with the polemical books of his century.

Another thesis "according to Albert" provides a further example. In this case, it is not an obscure proposition or difficult to place within Albert's work: it states that a "moveable body is the subject of natural science."[8] For Albert, it is little

**6** "*Species intelligibiles non sunt necessariae, et eas ponere non est bonis peripateticis consentaneum*" (Farmer 212, 1.1).

7 de Campo 1496, q. 13 contrarietatem: "*An intellectus humanus posset aliquid sine phantasmata intelligere*"; de Monte 1480, q. 13.

**8** "*Corpus mobile est subiectum scientiae naturalis*" (Farmer 1998, 216, 1. 14).

more than an obvious observation, and *prima facie* it is not clear what role it should have in Pico's speculation. The issue was debated because Thomas had stated that the subject of physics was rather the *ens mobile*, rejecting Albert's doctrine.[9] Thomas' subtle argument is that every science must presuppose its own subject, but since physics demonstrates that every mobile thing is a body, the mobile body cannot be the presupposed principle, but rather the presupposed principle is the existence of motion, suggested to all by experience. In both Heymeric de Campo's *Problemata* and Gerardus da Monte's *Tractatus ostendens concordiam*, the question is subjected to intense discussion. Heymeric, in asserting the centrality of corporeality, clarifies that motion belongs to the *genus* of continuous quantities and this essential characteristic of motion finds justification in corporeal nature (Donati 1989, 123 – 124; *Problemata* f. d. 3v). Gerardus' thesis questions whether the "*ens mobile*" is the subject of physics ("Utrum *ens mobile* sit subiectum scientiae naturalis"; the Latin is almost identical in Pico's thesis: "*Corpus mobile* est subiectum scientiae naturalis"). Gerardus explains how Thomas' choice stems from the priority he gives in his Aristotelian commentaries to the order of knowledge and the need not to assume what must be demonstrated: however, the discord between the Albertian and Thomist positions is only apparent because Thomas refers to the *corpus mobile* in other places in his work. Moreover, this issue is placed in Gerardus' list in relation to Albert's other theses (in particular the doctrine of the *inchoatio formae*), which would suggest a possible development of the arguments.

Pico' s probably derives this topic from Nicoletto Vernia, who wrote a *Questio an ens mobile sit totius naturalis philosophie subiectum* (1480). However, it seems to me much more likely that Pico is not referring directly to Albert's work but drawing from "intermediate" texts, which served to make the two interpretations agree (which was, after all, the primary purpose of Pico's project). However, what Pico is interested in here is probably not the "hidden connection" with the subsequent theses, but rather to show his ability to make Albert and Thomas agree: an operation probably also facilitated by these volumes and manuals discussed in the University of Cologne we have just seen.

## 7 The Promptuarium argumentorum

Let us come therefore to the *Promptuarium argumentorum.* The book was first published in Cologne in 1490 but presumably written in the mid-1400s (Hoenen 1995, 335) and drew its inspiration from the already cited *Tractatus problematicus*

**9** Aquinas 1965, I, 1.

by Heymeric de Campo. The *Promptuarium* was a kind of university textbook, an examination compendium (Hoenen 1995, 340), which probably came from the *bursa Laurentiana.* The label *Promptuarium* finds usage in various works spanning the 15th, 16th, and even later centuries. However, despite the diversity of subjects, these works share common characteristics. The collected materials are not the original work of the compiler but rather gathered from a variety of sources. The two-page preface of the *Promptuarium* provides crucial information regarding the book's objectives. Its main intention is to present a platform for the two disputants. This practice of engaging in disputes was commonly regarded as an effective method for acquiring comprehensive knowledge and testing one's own intellectual prowess. The anonymous author introduces Lilius and Spineus as students who embraced lively debates during times of academic vacation (it might be noted that the Pico's *Conclusiones* would have been debated on Epiphany). The names of the students are evocative of a lily, the one representing Albert's position, and the other a thorn, the one carrying forward Aquinas' arguments. The book was therefore a versatile resource for constructing persuasive arguments and successfully navigating academic disputes, but it also aimed to show instances of agreement between the two sources: the disputation is, after all, also a scholastic method for reconciling contradictory authorities.

Returning to the thesis that interests us, in the *Promptuarium*'s articulation, the issue of the real distinction of the subject and its proper predicate is posed from a proposition (n. 22) which states that "Being, One, truth, and goodness have themselves as subject and their own predicate (*passio*)"[10] and continues with three further *conclusiones* (n. 23–25): the first, the objection of the Thomist Spineus, "that the properties of the entity are not really distinct from it" (n. 23) and two "Albertist" theses: "the subject is the effective cause of its own properties" (n. 24) and "the subject and its specific property are together" (n. 25). The issue again returns in n. 30: "the separation of the property from the subject does not imply contradiction."[11]

These are the theses that, in turn, had to be developed, but already show the thread of the discourse, with the objections and counter-objections (and evidently, such argumentation is not found in Thomas' text). It is the type of discourse that Pico probably wanted to conduct and makes clear the fact that each of his thesis (or group of theses) conceals others.

The words, as well as the numbers (which may not be a coincidence), suggest that the *Promptuarium* could have been the source from which Pico drew a good

**10** "*Ens, unum, verum et bonum habent se sicut subiectum et propria passio*" (Hoenen 1995, 365).
**11** 23. "*Passiones entis non sunt realiter ab ipso distinctae*"; 24."*Subiectum est causa effectiva suarum passionum*"; 25. "*Subiectum et sua propria passio sunt simul*"; 30. "*Separatio passionis a subiecto non implicat contradditionem*" (Hoenen 1995, 365).

part of his list. Indeed, number 24 of Pico's thesis ("a subject and its specific property are really distinguished;" "*Subiectum et propria passio realiter distinguuntur*") could be placed between thesis 23 and 25 of the *Promptuarium.* The Latin text is revealing: "*Passiones entis non sunt realiter ab ipso distinctae*" and, most evidently, "*Subiectum et sua propria passio sunt simul,*" which is the opposite of Pico's thesis.

It does not seem to be a mere coincidence. Once again, I do not intend to argue that Pico was not familiar with the texts of Thomas and Albert, or that he did not also follow other authors in the development of his arguments, such as the aforementioned Cabrol, who is present in almost all of the theses according to Thomas. But what seems certain to me beyond reasonable doubt is that in selecting the theses he intended to debate "according to Albertus" and "according to Thomas," Pico was referring not to their original texts but to the way in which debates on their concordance were set out in the university of the mid-15th century.

Pico's surviving library do not mention the *Promptuarium argumentorum* which, although very probably already written before the *Conclusiones,* was printed later. This must lead us to some caution, but it is not in itself an insurmountable obstacle. The *Promptuarium* was indeed conceivably written in sometime between c. 1430 and 1490 (the date of the first printed edition), and no manuscript has survived. However, it probably circulated among students before it was printed. The success it had in print (three editions within a span of six years, 1490–1496) makes it highly plausible that it was a popular philosophical teaching tool, and that it was popular before going into print. After all, even the *Tractatus Problematicus* of Heymeric da Campo, written in 1423 and certainly quite widespread, was only printed in 1496. Furthermore, it is highly likely that the *Promptuarium* was not only intended for the local market in Cologne but also targeted markets abroad (Hoenen 1995, 336–337). At the time, the circulation of these texts between different universities in different countries was quite common.

At most, it is more difficult to rule out the possibility that the same theses were not also in other such "handbooks," other such "*promptuarii*," which may certainly be the case. The blatant assonances found in the theses prompts further investigation of the connection between "student" texts such as the *Promptuarium* and the *Conclusiones.* As mentioned above, by the time Pico wrote the 900 theses—immersed, moreover, in the study of Hebrew, Arabic, and Kabbalistic culture—and memorized their arguments, he had to resort to intermediate summaries, to commentators who had summarized the main points of contention between the authors. His purpose, after all, was to show the harmony between all traditions, and thus, first of all, to reconcile the rift that had arisen in the *via antiqua* between Albertists and Thomists. It has been shown that the *Promptuarium argumentorum*, and the context in which it was designed, is a perfect candidate source for this purpose.

## 8 Conclusions: Pico's Desk

The hypothesis, now corroborated by a number of textual and contextual clues, that Pico dealt with some specific student texts provides us with a decisive key to how he would presumably have carried out his arguments. The discovery of his intermediate sources allows us indeed to understand first of all how Pico worked in those frenetic months. But moreover, it helps us to understand where he follows a more or less codified or submerged tradition, and where instead he is original (also in choosing his themes: trinity, predestination, etc.). From this point of view, this kind of work on intermediate sources offers fundamental clues for working on the concatenation of the *Conclusiones*, of which only a few examples could be shown here. At the same time, this makes it possible to show the importance of these textbooks, which are too little studied, in accurately grasping the intellectual trajectories of late medieval and early modern philosophers. These ways of learning were also ways of debating and became ways of reshaping knowledge.

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Marco Sgarbi

# "Oportet in Philosophia haereticum esse": Pietro Pomponazzi's Teaching against the Grain

**Abstract:** This paper aims to discuss the Aristotelian writings of Pietro Pomponazzi, who taught philosophy in the universities of Padua and Bologna at the beginning of the 16th century. Pomponazzi's lectures have been traditionally studied from the standpoint of a history of ideas, whereas what follows shall assess this legacy from the perspective of a history of knowledge, doing so in order to show how the Mantuan philosopher considered the multiple and diverse orders of knowledge of his times. Indeed, as we shall see, from a methodological perspective his lectures represented a new way of teaching and thinking about philosophy.

## 1 Introduction: Pomponazzi and the History of Knowledge

The history of philosophy and the history of ideas are still today too often unrelated to the history of the contexts and institutions from which they emerged. In spite of the great turn of intellectual history when it comes to the framing of ideas in context, the history of institutions continues to play a marginal role in any reconstruction of the development of philosophical reflection. Indeed, it is almost as if the ideas of an author exist independently of the social, political, economic, and cultural backgrounds. These same ideas and thoughts, having been formed within the hyperuranum, are taken to have self-consistency, value, and dignity regardless of the place and time they are conceived; and it is assumed that they would interact with other ideas and thoughts conceived in other epochs and contexts. Consequently, the problem of "being" obtains for, say, Parmenides, Thomas Aquinas, and Heidegger; as if they were furthering the same philosophical questions and responding to the same intellectual demands.

Believing in this mystical relation between ideas in the 21st century means either to trust in the immutability of some human problems—the big questions remain the same—or to disdain decades of progress in the methodology of historiography, neglecting the contextualistic turn that had its more than 50 years

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ago.[1] In the last decade, the methodological landscape has been enriched with the history of knowledge, which promotes the examination of how knowledge was gathered, analyzed, disseminated, and employed. This new approach, however, has been long neglected by historians of philosophy, who have chosen to frame approaches in accordance with intellectual history and the history of ideas.

Yet, for some time the historiography of the Aristotelian tradition has offered interesting cues for re-understanding old material. Against the centuries-old idea that Aristotle's philosophy was static and unable to adapt or evolve, recent historiographic research has shown that this image of Aristotelianism is false; especially if one looks at the history of the institutions in which the Aristotelian tradition flourished, coupled with the attendant dynamics of the history of knowledge.[2] In the period under consideration in this paper, the main institutions in which Aristotelianism was framed were formal and informal.[3] Formal institutions are universities and schools of religious orders, while informal institutions are academies, intellectual circles, courts, and printing presses. Often, formal institutions are considered the strongholds of conservatism, in which original ideas were leveled to determinate standards. This image is true insofar as university statutes prescribed the teaching of specific doctrines, which, most of the time, were intended to respect the dictates of the Church. However, the most recent and sophisticated investigations have shown how these Aristotelian doctrines were not banal or normalized or lacking originality but were responsive to the living needs of the moment, providing constantly new and distinct pictures of Aristotle and of the meaning of engaging in philosophy activity.[4] This period is crucial for the slow but inexorable detachment between doing philosophy and following Aristotle's thought.

This paper aims to highlight one of the most important chapters of the history of Aristotelianism, that of Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), a leading philosopher of Renaissance Italy, who hailed from Mantua. The analysis is carried out beginning with the manuscripts of Pomponazzi's lectures, which have been studied for more than a hundred years. However, what follows considers this material through the approach of the methodology of the history of knowledge. Up to present times, as Bruno Nardi contends, the major value of studying this material has been that of helping "the reconstruction of the development of Pomponazzi's thought as interpreter of Renaissance Aristotelianism, that is that philosophy, which was dominant in the two major centers of the philosophical culture in Italy, such as Padua and

**1** Mercer 2019.

**2** Schmitt 1983; Bianchi and Randi 1990; Martin 2014.

**3** Lines 2013.

**4** Del Soldato 2020.

Bologna, at the end of the 16th century."[5] Therefore, it is an approach strictly related to the history of ideas. What follows, instead, shall assess Pomponazzi's legacy from the perspective of a history of knowledge, doing so in order to show how the philosopher considered the multiple and diverse orders of knowledge of his times. Indeed, as we shall see, from a methodological perspective, Pomponazzi's lectures represented a new way of teaching and thinking about philosophy. The three major orders of knowledge were that of faith, reason, and experience. In Pomponazzi's times, and thanks to Pomponazzi, too, these orders were questioned for their importance and effectiveness. Furthermore, the transcriptions of his university lectures reveal not only his interpretation of Aristotelian texts, but also his firm beliefs through his willingness to expose his own views to his students and inviting criticism. Thus, teaching Aristotle at the beginning of the 16th century was not a sterile and neutral transfer of doctrines, but a vivid conveyance of evolutionary culture.

## 2 Pomponazzi in the Classroom

Pomponazzi's lectures offer various insights into his teaching activity. The surviving manuscripts usually have the signatures of the students who took the notes. Among them there were scions of the Paduan and Venetian patriciate, future university professors, and citizens of Ragusa. Among them, we can enumerate Antonio Surian, Lazzaro Bonamico, Pietro Manna, Gian Pietro Bresciano, Girolamo del Bene, Giovanni Grillenzoni, Girolamo Natale from Ragusa, and Gregorio Frediani. His relationship with his students has remained conversational. He often addresses them directly using the second personal pronoun, inviting them to reflect on their arguments: "*tu applica. Sed considera diligenter tu, Antoni* [You think, but consider carefully Antonio]," we can find in the *Expositio super I de anima Aristotelis et commentatoris.*[6] The student Girolamo Bettoni, perhaps not very much interested in philosophy, tells us that in Pomponazzi's meticulous approach, he was also very boring.[7] Doubts, disagreements, and criticisms were the order of the day. Indeed, students could be said to have enjoyed a *libertas philosophandi.* The student Antonio Surian, for instance, in class, seems to defend Agostino Nifo against

**5** Nardi 1965a, 170.

**6** Pomponazzi 2018, 97r. All translations in this paper are mine, unless specified otherwise.

**7** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, ms. 390, 183v: "praeceptor … multum locutus est in tantum quod fere omnibus fuit tedio."

Pomponazzi.[8] Surian contrasts Pomponazzi's reading of Augustino Nifo (1473–1538) and insinuates that the Mantuan teacher purposely manipulated his interlocutor's ideas. From what Surian understood, according to Pomponazzi, Nifo would have maintained the idea that intellect could be knowledge without imagination, but this contention is not to be found in any of Nifo's works. Rather, Nifo would have defended the thesis according to which the passive intellect in relation to eternal intellection does not require the body as an object. Surian shows that he failed to understand the arguments of either Pomponazzi or Nifo, confusing the passive intellect with the possible intellect. Furthermore, Surian attempts to refute Pomponazzi's interpretation of *De anima* 403a 3 by asserting that Aristotle would have maintained that thinking is independent of the body. Surian himself reveals that he was not able to follow Pomponazzi's line of reasoning: "quae non intellexi scribo."[9] No doubt, his teacher's interpretation was not easy to understand, an exegesis that went against the tide and which was sustained by direct comparisons and confrontations with the texts of Aristotle's commentators.

Manuscript lectures are also precious sources for understanding Pomponazzi's attitude towards his colleagues and mentors. With colleagues, he is mostly contemptuous. When he speaks of Nifo, the tone of his discourse becomes increasingly contemptuous. He had no respect for Nifo, and the feeling was probably mutual. For instance, after calling Nifo ironically "magnus philosophus," Pomponazzi contemptuously states "iste cachophilosophus [bad philosopher] nescit quod dicit": Nifo does not know what he says.[10] Most of the time, Nifo is charged with engaging in meaningless discourse: "fatua dicit [he says vain things]."[11] The controversy, perhaps, was about Nifo's greater ability to understand the Greek commentators; and therefore in his interpretations of Aristotle's works.[12] Nifo flaunts his mastery of Greek, but Pomponazzi does not, thus representing a schism between *res* and *verba*, between philosophy and philology, between the superiority of the power of concept and the expression of the word. Thus, half in Latin, half in vernacular,

**8** Pomponazzi 2018, 110r: "Sexa [=Nifo] vero aliter: videas ipsum; et est ingeniosa expositio: negat enim ipse intellectum possibilem habere cognitionem ullam sine phantasmate; et in hoc contradicit Praeceptor. Nam 36 III huius dicitur quod intellectus passivus quoad intellectionem aeternam non indiget corpore ut obiecto. Item ibidem, 36, dicitur quod, si intellectus in omni sua operatione indigeret corpore ut obiecto, tunc esset corruptibilis. Me remitto usque ad tertium, quia forte glossat illam litteram aliter quam Praeceptor. Quantum ad aliud quod dicebatur, quod expositio istius hominis non quadret, eo quia Philosophus loquatur dubitative, mihi videtur oppositum."

**9** Pomponazzi 2018, 111r.

**10** Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. VIII E.42, 52v, 54r.

**11** Pomponazzi 2018, 114r.

**12** Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. VIII E.42, 54v: "Credo quod iste bonus vir non intelligat qui sunt isti attici; et, domini, culus meus non dignaretur facere istum dubium."

Pomponazzi accuses Nifo of being ignorant of philosophy.[13] And the insults do fly: "oh, castronazzo ignorante! [oh, great ignorant!]" would be Nifo's interpretation of Aristotle's demonstration *quia.*[14]

Pomponazzi may have felt during the course of his teaching career a measure of inadequacy due to his poor knowledge of Greek language, and his complex in this regard is discernible in the tenor his lectures; even if he was convinced of the superiority of his conceptual interpretation in opposition to a word-for-word exegesis. However, Pomponazzi was aware of the importance of correctly interpreting a text; and therefore of knowing Greek, not only for purposes of reading Aristotle, but also for reading the Greek commentators. On January 7, 1525, just prior to his death, Pomponazzi made fun of his difficulty with reading Greek texts, so stating[15] "Ignoro literas grecas [I do not know Greek]." Pomponazzi confesses, but he does not ignore Aristotle's philosophy, for which he believes he has a superior interpretation in comparison not only to his colleagues like Nifo, but also to his mentors.

Pomponazzi's lectures are revealing of his feelings towards his mentors. For instance, of Francesco Securo da Nardò (1410/20 – ca. 1489), professor in *via Thomae* in Padua, Pomponazzi characterizes him as unable to sustain an argument, despite being "*multum verbosus* [very talkative]."[16] In other words, he regarded his teacher as being someone of many words but with ideas of little substance. Indeed, Securo da Nardò often seemed to buckle under the pressure of Pomponazzi's enquiries[17]; or, faced with difficult topics, he would get stuck and not know what to say or how to solve the problem.[18] Unsurprisingly, his mentor did not even enjoy great respect from his colleagues. Narrating a dispute with Nicoletto Vernia and Neritonensis,

**13** Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. VIII E.42, 54v: "Volo quod videatis si iste cachophilosophus, farmacopollo, ignorante sape *quello che dice:* facit se grecum et Themistianum, et tamen non intelligit Themistium neque grecos … *No, diavoli, no questa regula non è de Aristotle … ma è de questi furfanti ignorantuni piducchiusi che non sanno una lettera.*"

**14** Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 174.

**15** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, ms. 390, 296r: "in hoc textum grecum non vidi, quia ignoro literas grecas, et ideo quis textus sit conformior greco ignore."

**16** In many places Pompnazzi states "Mihi, inquit praeceptor, non placet haec responsio, sed aliter non impugnavit," (Pomponazzi 2018, 105r) or "sed contra istam responsionem arguebat recolendus memoriae magister, praeceptor noster magister Franciscus de Nardò, nec habebat aliud argumentum" (Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 155).

**17** Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 78: "Praeceptor non aliter dixit et quia non mihi manifesta fuit reflectio argumenti, non enim bene percipio quid velit, ideo imaginatum sum faciliorem argumentationem."

**18** Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 86: "preaceptoris mei, volens solvere hoc argumentum nesciebam quid dicere, quia argumentum est difficillimum."

Pomponazzi recalled Vernia scorning the Thomist teacher: "voltavali el culo et volebat quod argumentum concludere [he turned around with his back to him and wanted his argument to be conclusive]."[19] The remaining traces of Pomponazzi's lecture in Padua at the beginning of the 16th century outlines a lively, free, and open context, and it is not by chance that it was in classes like these that many ideas of the Scientific Revolution emerged.

Some lecture notes reflect on the condition of philosophy at that time and on the controversies and confrontations that philosophers had when it came to their dealings with religious groups. Pomponazzi characterizes philosophers as bohemian thinkers: heretics, scruffy, and penniless.[20] He certainly does not encourage the profession of the philosopher; on the contrary, Pomponazzi curses the little money he earns; and, always with his usual sarcasm, he points to monks, who, in order to earn more, prefer to take the vows rather than pursue a philosophical career.

Pomponazzi's musings were both diverting and instructive for his students. For example, while explaining how animals, including men, react instinctively to stimuli, or rather "propter quid timentes mingunt et cachant [why they urinate and defecate]" Pomponazzi narrates an exhilarating episode taken from Giovanni Sabbadino degli Arienti's *Le Porretane*, a reading that must have been rather pleasant for the Mantuan philosopher given the closing passage on the immortality of the soul.[21]

From Pomponazzi's lecture manuscripts, we can learn about his personal relationships with his fellow teachers and mentors, his reading tastes; and we also may discern the evolution of his thought. We can also understand what he taught and how he conducted his classes, with the emphasis here being not so much on the content but his attitude towards various authorities, in particular (1) Averroes, who, despite all the teaching bans, was still considered Aristotle's commentator par excellence, (2) Aristotle himself, and (3) the Church.

**19** Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 164–165.

**20** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6448, 199r: "Immo tenetur heretici ipsi philosophi et stulti; habent ungues longos, portant biretta torta. Item philosophi non tengano mai un quatrino; hinc est quod aliquando desperant dicentes: 'maladicta sit ista philosophia, propter quam mendico'. Et propter hoc patres nostri monaci nolunt philosophari."

**21** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6537, 85r.

## 3 Teaching against Averroes and Aristotle

Teaching against Averroes (1126 – 1198) was by no means a matter of course. Although the Averroistic interpretation of the intellect had been condemned on several occasions and attacked by various authors, Aristotle's philosophy was still taught using Averroes, who was considered his most faithful interpreter. Pomponazzi lived in an era in which scholars were starting to become acquainted with Aristotle's Greek commentators; and the comprehensiveness of Averroes's commentaries as a teaching tool was still unmatched, hence the custom of university professors calling themselves Averroists. Indeed, Pomponazzi did not hesitate to call himself an Averroist[22]; not because he was in agreement with Averroes' doctrines, such as that of the unicity of the intellect, but because he taught Aristotle's texts with illuminations proffered by Averroistic commentary. Thus, for instance, in 1513 Pomponazzi declared that his lectures would follow Averroes' interpretation.[23] It was not only common practice to teach Aristotle via Averroes, but it also pleased academics and the magnificent rector. At that time, the rector of the University of Bologna was Giovanni Stefano Struzzi from Parma, of whom nothing is known except precisely this brief note and his activity as rector.

Commenting upon Aristotelian philosophy based on the insights of Averroes did not mean sharing his interpretation. Pomponazzi is quite explicit on this point. More than once in his lectures did he express his dissent towards any doctrine contrary to Aristotle's mind and against faith; so much so that many times he was charged with heterodoxy by his colleagues.[24] Pomponazzi's frankness must have cost him more than one philosophical friendship, but for him, the love of truth must defeat any form of adoration, even if this means teaching against the grain. Defending Averroes means subverting the truth, and for Pomponazzi this perversion is not acceptable, even if that means developing a "heretical philosophy."[25] Pomponazzi was a heretic because he looked for the truth, because he

**22** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 373r: "multi averroistae, de quorum numero ego sum …"

**23** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 373r: "secundum expositionem et mentem commentatoris, tum quia communis consuetudo hoc expostulat, tum quia placuit magnifico rectori ceterisque scolaribus."

**24** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, Ms. 390, 243v: "Ea quae dicit Averroes sunt nuge. Quod si quis dicat: – Tu ergo non defendis Averroem? – mihi continget quod Padue et Ferrarie; neminem habeo pro amico. Averroes in hoc mihi videtur delirare et defendere ipsum non possem nisi proterviendo."

**25** Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. Lat 733, 235r: "Ideo teneo quod opinio Averrois devitat maiores difficultates quam alia; nec me pudet amore veritatis me ipsum retractare. Unde qui sought the truth and did not allow himself to be deceived by the *ipse dixit* of authority.[26] Averroes is not God, but a man, and hence he can be wrong. This is a principle that Pomponazzi applied to every author who came across his path, even to Aristotle.

The main target of Pomponazzi's criticism is Averroes' interpretation of Aristotelian philosophy.[27] Therefore, Averroes' ideas become heretical and make him a devil's friend.[28] No doubt, this distancing could have been useful to show a certain adherence to the dictates of the Church, but as we have seen, it led to his ostracization from the academic community. The most problematic point of Averroes' entire doctrine is his interpretation of the unity and unicity of the intellect, which he would have shared to varying degrees with Theophrastus and Themistius.[29] It is on the occasion of expositing the unity and unicity of the intellect that Pomponazzi explains the intellective process, by making recourse to a simile featuring a stork[30]: like a stork that flies above men and women and sometimes pecks some heads giving birth to them, the intellect hovering over men and women would sometimes join and inform the individuals. This simile pokes fun at the Averroistic interpretation of the intellect by associating a fable with what should provide existence and scientific knowledge. In his manuscript and printed texts, Pomponazzi emphasizes that Averroes' thesis is meaningless and that if the Averroistic interpretation of Aristotle was right, then the Stagirite himself must have made a terrible mistake.[31]

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dicunt me aliis adversari ut contradicam, mentiuntur. Oportet enim in Philosophia haereticum esse, qui veritatem invenire cupit."

**26** Thus "iste Averroes qui commentatoris nomem sibi vendicavit et est maxime auctoritatis apud omnes, non apud me" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6448, 254v), and the reason is simple: "commentator erravit neque ipse est Deus" (Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, Ms. 390, 47v).

**27** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6537, 134v: "In hoc nolite criminari traductorem, sed ipsum commentatorem, qui fuit nunc barbarissimus. Facit autem commentator ut senes qui, habentes uxorem iuvinem, tantum quaerunt, quod inveniunt foramen: sic et ipse tantum volvit, donec aliquid dicat."

**28** Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. VIII. D. 91, 80r: "ego magis abhorreo opinionem Averrois quam diabolum."

**29** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6448, 192r: "… de unitate autem multum dubito, et averrois et themistius et theophrastus fuerunt istius opinionis."

**30** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 330r: "Et sic ymaginatur Commentator quod anima intellectiva sit una ciconia, la quale sia sopra alla testa di tutti li homini, et mo dia de becho a questo, mo a quello, secundum quod hunc vel illum informat."

**31** Pomponazzi 1966, vol. 2, 42: "De opinione Commentatoris dico vobis verum, ego credo quod opinio illa sit [in]imaginabilis, fatua ac chimerica. Oh, dixisti quod est opinio Aristotelis! Dico verum est, sed dico quod ipse Aristoteles fuit homo et potuit errare et … opinio Aristotelis de anima in-

According to Pomponazzi, Averroes' opinion was a chimera, a fantastic dream without any real consistency. If this was Aristotle's thesis, then it was proof for Pomponazzi that even the greatest philosopher of all time could be prone to error. For a certain period of time, Pomponazzi supported the idea of some correspondence between Averroes' position and Aristotle's thought; but then he rejected it for the sake of the unity of the soul as the form of an organic body. Averroes' view is false, according to Pomponazzi, even if many erudite philosophers believe that it is the right interpretation of Aristotle.

For Pomponazzi, like any authority, Aristotle was not infallible, and this follows from the view according to which truth is not eternal, immutable, and discoverable once and for all, but something that may change over time, and be subject to continuous and constant additions. Criticisms of Aristotle or of some of his ideas had to have flooded into the classroom and also had to not always have been well received by his students. Bettoni would emphasize how "*in destruendo Aristotelem*," Pomponazzi had caused a certain boredom and annoyance.[32] Indeed, tackling the Averroistic interpretation of Aristotle, Pomponazzi must have felt some discomfort. With respect to the age-old problem of the *copulatio*, specific to Averroes' exegesis, Pomponazzi candidly professed his own ignorance.[33] Some Aristotelian arguments were, in turn, insoluble. Like Averroes, for Pomponazzi "*Aristoteles non fuit deus et ipse non omnia novit.*"[34] When diverging from Averroes, he agreed with Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd C. AD.), at least when he understood the interpretation of the Greek commentator in its entirety.[35] However, when the interpretation of Alexander seemed to be at odds with Aristotle, Pomponazzi's agreement with the outlook of Duns Scotus (late 12th century-early 13th century) came to the fore, especially pertaining to the neutrality of the soul in the face of reason and philosophy. Scotus's hypothesis is without doubt a "Scotusization" of Aristotelian

tellectiva est multum chimerica et bestialis. Si tot audeo dicere contra Philosophum, vel est ignorantia mea… Sed tu dices: quid dicendum ergo? Dico quod opinio Commentatoris est in extremo fatuitatis. Quid dicendum? Dico, sicut dixit, quod est opinio falsa. Quid tandem dicendum? Dico, etsi ipsa est fatua et bestialis quod potest substentari…"

**32** Against Aristotle: "tot et tantis mediis argumenta ista prolixissime probavit (et mostravit) quibus modis ac viis potuit ita apud eum concludere, quod insolubilia a toto mundo forent. Quapropter multorum excitavit ingenia scholarium in volendo Aristotelem tueri ab istis argumentis" (Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, Ms. 390, 181v).

**33** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6537, 160r: "nescio quid teneam: unum scio, quod nihil scio. In his vero comes in dubitando, et dicam quae dicuntur ab Aristotele."

**34** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, Ms. 390, 41v.

**35** See Poppi 1970.

thought, but the scholastic thinker is closer to the truth in supporting this thesis.[36] Pomponazzi's love for the truth supersedes any form of authority, no matter whether it is that of Averroes, Alexander, or Aristotle himself (or the Church). It is precisely in terms of this aspect that we can find the most interesting insights in his lectures, not only in terms of content but also in terms of methodology, especially for a philosopher who teaches against the grain.

## 4 Teaching against the Christianization of Aristotle

According to Pomponazzi, the main problem of the enslavement of philosophy, and of Aristotelian philosophy *in primis*, to the dictates of religion, is not in the doctrines that it wishes to impose, but in the fact that it confuses two spheres, that of faith and that of reason. In other words, it would accommodate Aristotle's truth with respect to revealed religion. Since two truths in contradiction cannot exist, as there is always only one truth, the revealed truth would trump that of philosophy. However, such a position for Pomponazzi is methodologically wrong, because it proceeds from the presupposition that Aristotle could not err as an authority; and therefore his philosophy should be in agreement with revealed religion. Thus, Aristotelian philosophy must be Christian, as it is the true philosophy. In Pomponazzi, however, as we have seen, this clashes with the dogma of Aristotle's infallibility; therefore it was possible that two truths could come into conflict.And in such a case, revealed truth undoubtedly had the upper hand. At the same time, however, this contradiction emerges only when the two spheres, that of reason and that of faith, are methodologically confused, because in themselves they should be kept separate. When reason cannot reach a solid conclusion then faith can extend its dominion. If reason finds the solution, the intervention of faith is not necessary. By way of reason and philosophy, however, as we have seen, one should not mean Aristotelian reason or Aristotle's philosophy, but rather human reason and the philosophy that human beings elaborate and that may change in the course of time. Therefore, Thomas Aquinas may be philosophically true, but on shakier ground when it comes to Aristotelian thought. Theses that aim to Christianize Aristotle,

**36** Pomponazzi 1966, 90: "quando dicitur hoc esset scotizare etc., dico quod tu verum dicis, et dico quod non solum scotizo, immo dico veritatem, nec aliter dici potest. Et quando dicitur: oh, est contra Philosophum etc.! Dico quod tu dicis verum, quia secundum Philosophum non possunt esse plures formae eiusdem speciei cum non dicant necessariam aptitudinem ad subiecta, seu ad materiam quantam …"

rather, are methodologically wrong: the critical aspect is mixing up the two different spheres of knowledge.

In his lectures, Pomponazzi disagrees with this confused methodological attitude, which is more than just indicative of a personal contempt of religion, as scholars have maintained.[37] One must not mix religion with philosophy, for that would mean to "fratizare, idest miscere diversa brodia [fraternize, i. e., mix different broths]."[38] "*Fratizare*" is an expression peculiar to Pomponazzi's language, using lively tones and colloquial interlayers; in this case made use of to characterize, in a depreciative manner, a mode of undermining the position of philosophy.

The clash or comparison obviously arises when he has to talk about the problem of the immortality of the soul, because he sees an intrinsic contradiction between what Aristotle says, between what can be supported philosophically, and what must be defended in accordance with faith. Challenging the Papal bull *Apostolici regiminis*, Pomponazzi says that "ego vero teneo animam mortalem et multiplicatam secundum Aristotelem. Aliter conclusio videtur repugnare premissis [But I maintain the idea that according to Aristotle the soul is multiplied and mortal. Otherwise, the conclusion would be incompatible with the premises]."[39] In no way, having pondered the philosophical premises of the Aristotelian system, through Aristotle and the explanation of his writings, is it possible to reach the conclusion that the soul is immortal.

The result of his analysis should not be considered scandalous or shocking. Indeed, Pomponazzi states that this was the very opinion of Albert the Great, many times cited in Pomponazzi's works to defend his position from the charge of heresy.[40] On the one hand, Franciscans and Dominicans, epitomized by Pompo-

**37** Nardi 1965b, 122 – 142.

**38** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 567v–568r.

**39** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, 84r.

**40** "Sciendum est quod secundum philosophiam virtus immaterialis non potest movere corpus generabile et corruptibile immediate…. Et Albertus hoc declaravit in libro de causis; et ibi isti fratres truffa[l]dini, dominichini, franceschini vel diabolini habent bene rationem comburendi Albertum, quia omnes questiones sunt contra fidem nostram, licet dicat in fine quod ita dixit quia ut philosophus loquitur, et philosophica non sunt miscenda cum theologicis; et dicit quod in theologia aliter sentit, et dicit quod est fatuum miscere credita cum phisicis. Me autem vellent comburere…" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 567v–568r.). Or again, "Albertus Magnus … omnes questiones determinavit contra fidem; sed post dixit: Ego dixi physice … Tamen fratres sancti dominici non dicunt iullum esse hereticum, imo faciunt sanctum" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 384v). And finally "Notandum quod Albertus Magnus determinavit plura contra fidem; tamen, inquit, dixi sic, quia phisica non sunt commiscenda cum theologia, quia theologia aliter sentit quam philosophia. Ideo fratres diabulini sancti dominici deberent comburere Albertum … Tamen faciunt Albertum Sanctum" (Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, 318v).

nazzi as "*diabolini*" and "*truffaldini*," that is devils and crooks, hailed Albert the Great as a saint for his ideas that were sometimes contrary to religion, on the other, they condemned Pomponazzi as a heretic and wanted to publicly burn his works. The main thesis that Pomponazzi defends in his lectures on natural philosophy is that of the separation between what a natural philosopher and a theologian have to say on the same topic. Indeed, they adopt two very different approaches that must be kept separate.

The task of a university professor who teaches natural philosophy is not to argue philosophy through religion, but to follow the university statutes and the wishes of the rector, which is to interpret Aristotle by means of Averroes. On this methodological precept, Pomponazzi is very forthcoming with his students.[41] Philosophy is based on something that can be known; the philosopher can know the truth because he can distinguish truth from falsehood and discover new things. Religion, instead, would be a congeries of "*pedochiarie* [lousy things]," the weak point of which is its inability to prove its own doctrine. The doctrines of religion are neither true nor false: they are unverifiable, and therefore they constitute an obstacle to truth because they are believed to always be true. Indeed, they are not truths, but only dogmas. Insofar as they are considered truths, however, they hinder the true way to the truth and therefore they are false. About this attitude and this methodological turn, Pomponazzi confesses to be "*stomacato* [nauseated]."

Considering the problem of resurrection, for instance, Aristotelian philosophy maintains the idea that what is decomposed cannot be regenerated; however, Pomponazzi declares that he believes in what the Church has established, even if it is rationally wrong.[42] What is philosophically defended by religion is philosophically wrong. For instance, with respect to divine power, one should believe what the Church says; however, it is clear that, according to Aristotle, resurrection is not possible.[43]

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**41** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, 192v–193r: "quod phylosophia habet oculum clarum, cognoscit verum et falsum, <que> aut sunt per se nota, aut reducit ad per se nota, et non credit nisi per se nota .... Nullus phylosophus potest studere legibus: sunt pedochiarie tot nuge ... Veritas sibi viam facit, <phylosophus> cognoscit veritatem; leges sunt false, quia non sunt per se note, nec reducuntur ad per se nota: ille <qui> non habet malam consuetudiem, non potest adiscere. Stomachatus de legibus, dicit quod non sunt vere nec false; veritas nunquam impedit veritatem; sed leges impediente; ergo sunt false."

**42** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 268r-v: "sed si ecclesia tenet hoc, ego credo esse verum; tamen haec opinio videtur esse erronea in pura philosophia et natura, quae tenet hoc esse possibile in permanentibus, et non in successivis."

**43** Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Regin. Lat. 1279, 298v–299v: "Et ideo ego aliter dico. Et primo dico, quod id quod ecclesia sacta tenet, etiam teneo. Nihil me intromittendo de potentia div-

Aristotelian philosophy in considering these phenomena is always a step behind. The natural philosopher argues according to the principles of natural philosophy, in relation to which, for instance, there is a correlation between the motions of the heavens and the existence of God. If the heavens or stars or the Sun were to stop, as happens in some stories of the Holy Scriptures, either God would not be or He would not be the cause. For example, the biblical passage in which Joshua stops the Sun must be believed by faith, but it cannot be accepted according to Aristotelian philosophy: it is more "a Jewish fable."[44] Nonetheless, Pomponazzi is extremely aware of the importance of such "fables" and "stories"; and in his lectures he explicitly states, doubting the existence of miracles, that if everything happened according to what Aristotle and Averroes dictated, that is, that all knowledge came from external impressions, then all our religions die (*sic periret tota lex nostra*). Then, contemptuously, especially towards those who methodologically mixed the two perspectives and those who called him a heretic, he declares the uselessness of these "pious louts".[45] The prescriptions of religion would be meaningless because much of faith is based on miracles. If these were retracted, it would no longer make sense, or at least it would make less sense, to believe in religion. Pomponazzi's criticism is against these "*miseri patres*" and "*zoculantes*" ("miserable fathers" who go around "flapping their hooves"), who are none other than Dominican and Franciscan friars, whom he often targets.

On another occasion, Pomponazzi suspends his judgment about the Church's truth, defending the methodological distinction between religion and reason, and mocking the "*fratres.*" Concerning the existence of the antipodes, denied by St. Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, and about their salvation, Pomponazzi points out that "ad hoc respondeo dicendo quod hoc solvant fratres, quoniam ego credo ecclesiae sancta [to which I reply: let the brothers find a solution, because I believe in the Holy Church]."[46] From the natural philosopher's standpoint, he sarcastically adds: "quare nescio quid dicendum est, nisi forte quod Christus fecit se crucifigere etiam in alio polo [Since I do not know what to answer; except maybe that Christ also got crucified in the other pole]."[47]

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ina, puto quod impossibile sit, quod corruptum reat idem numero. … Tamen sciatis, quod apud Aristotelem illa resurrectio est impossibilis; ideo non ex appetitu naturali debet appetere illud, cum resurrectio non sit naturalis apud philosophum; nec apud catholicos etiam."

**44** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6534, 139v: "negant hoc philosophi … hoc non dicunt nisi fabule iudaice."

**45** Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 1317, 222r: "si ita esset, quid facerent isti miseri patres, et maxime isti zoculantes qui tantam abstinentiam faciunt?"

**46** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6535, 229v–230r.

**47** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6535, 229v–230r.

## 5 Conclusion: The Value of Experience

What emerges from reading Pomponazzi's lectures is a profound anti-authoritarianism, one that is based on the conviction of truth. What, then, is the touchstone of truth? What is the means for distinguishing truth from falsehood? The answer from Pomponazzi's lectures is clear: experience. If there is a thing that Pomponazzi must have taught his disciples more than any other in his lectures, more than Averroes's commentaries, or Aristotle's philosophy, or the dogmas of religion, it was the importance of experience as a key tool for guiding truth. Several times and repeatedly, he emphasized to his students that if experience contradicts reason, then experience should come first.[48] Experience demolishes any rational argument, any authority, even Aristotle. Thus, Pomponazzi warns his students, many of whom had a keen interest in anatomical dissections, that the authority of the experiment is greater than that of Aristotle and that he loves philosophizing rather than glossing the Stagirite.[49] Defending Aristotle even when his theses are at odds with experience contradicts Pomponazzi's ethical approach. Students can justify Aristotle to the bitter end, but this attitude is not fair to the truth and is methodologically incorrect. Indeed, Aristotle—Pomponazzi says—did not see and know everything. On this point, he was not willing to compromise (*glosare*).

But what did Aristotle not see? What did he not know? Pomponazzi must have been particularly impressed by an event, one that in his eyes must have upset the entire Aristotelian epistemological system and destroyed all of his authority. At the end of a lesson, after the exposition of Aristotle's thought through Averroes' commentary, Pomponazzi reveals how experience destroys the Aristotelian theory.[50]

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**48** For instance he says "cum sensus contradicit rationi, standum est sensui" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6533, 461v) or "quod quando est sensus et est ratio que invicem contradicunt, quod tunc est standum sensui et non rationi, quia omnis ratio cui contradicit sensus est falsa" (Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, ms. 390, 248v.)

**49** Arezzo, Biblioteca della Fraternita de' Laici, ms. 390, 277r: "Si auctoritas Aristotelis est apud vos maior experimento, tenete vos ipsum; ego non teneo Aristotelem hic, quia ipse non vidit omnia; glosare autem mihi non placet, quia illa mihi videtur mens Aristotelis."

**50** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 6535, f. 228v: "Sed quid dicendum est de hoc? Dicendum: ubi sensus et ratio contradicuntur, oportet stare sensui. Unde dico vobis quod habui litteras a quodam meo amico qui scripst mihi quod rex Hispaniae misit tres naves, et iverunt ad alium polum per 25 gradus et transiverunt trorridam zonam, deinde et invenerunt eam esse habitatam, et invenerunt multas insulas et post columnas Herculis navigaverunt per ters menses, vento propitio. Unde omnia quae demonstrantur ab Aristotele sunt falsa … *Lasso pensare a te* quomodo illae rationes quas dixit commentator esse demonstrationes sunt demonstrationes. Quoniam contra veritatem non possunt fieri demonstrationes. Quare, *pensate bene come stiamo.* Si nescimus nescimus de istis rebus quae sunt in terra et possunt videri a nobis quomodo sciemus de coelo?

The vernacular interlayers reveal the great enthusiasm with which Pomponazzi talked to his students about these issues. The tone is almost subversive.[51] Pomponazzi tells his students that his friend Antonio Pigafetta sent him a letter proving that everything Aristotle wrote about the uninhabitability of the torrid zone is false. The alleged demonstrations of Averroes are therefore founded on false premises, and accordingly, false demonstrations; since experience is stronger than any demonstration and one truth cannot contradict another truth, what derives from experience is true and what Aristotle says is false. Pomponazzi's argument is very simple and plain, but it is undoubtedly radical and was bound to cause some confusion among his students. Pomponazzi also adds that if Aristotle produced nonsense about things that are on Earth and that can be experienced or seen with the senses, then we should be doubly suspicious of what we draw from him in regard to the heavens.

Pomponazzi's lectures clearly show how he approached teaching in an unconventional manner that broke with the rigidity of the university system. Of Aristotelianism itself, although it leaned towards a certain conformism, it was certainly not a static philosophical movement, but had within it numerous interpretations, great contrasts, and divergent approaches. Pomponazzi showed that he had a radical approach to knowledge, because he tended to dismantle any form of authority in favor of experience. Experience is what is lived first-hand or has been communicated by others with absolute certainty. This reliance on experience brings with it a corollary that is not exactly insignificant, namely that there is no longer a stable and fixed, certain, universal and necessary knowledge, but that everything is continuously questioned. Pomponazzi's lectures are not important merely because they help us to understand the development of his thought, but because they are symptomatic of a new approach to knowledge. That this approach was developed within a knowledge-making institution like a university, and not beyond the university walls, as many scholars in the past have suggested, is remarkable; because it shows once again how there is not a real distinction between the academic and extra-academic world, how knowledge circulates and is examined and criticized indiscriminately.

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Unde stulti sunt qui credunt se demonstrare; et Aristoteles dixit multa; experimentum tamen est in oppositum."

**51** In a different transcription of the same lecture we can read the following: "Notetis quod ego habeo epistolam missam a quodam veneto, qui iverat in legationem ad Regem Hispaniae, et venit versus polum antarticum; oportuit ergo ad transiret torridam zonam, dixitque ibi esse plus quam trecentum insulas, tamen scribit illas esse discontinuas, et quod ibi sunt infinita loca habitata. Ideo ea quae hic dicuntur ab Aristotele, sunt fatuitates, ut videtis" (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R. 96 sup., f. 69v).

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# Index of Names



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