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Johannes Wenck († 1460) as a Reader of the *Poetics*

Study and Edition of Wenck's Marginal Notes on Averroes'
Middle Commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle (Cod. Pal. lat. 1892)

Introduction

Until very recently, the theologian Johannes Wenck has been represented chiefly (and merely) as the Aristotelian theologian who engaged in a harsh debate against Nicholas of Cusa and his philosophy of the *docta ignorantia*. Only a few scholars recognised in Wenck something more than the rigid and conservative Aristotelian intellectual who opposed Cusanus.¹ However, after the recent publication of Mario Meliadò's article *Neuplatonismus an der Universität Heidelberg? Johannes Wenck († 1460) als Kommentator des "Corpus Dionysiacum"*,² the Neoplatonic background that characterised Wenck's philosophy can no longer be doubted.

1 The first scholar to ever acknowledge the interests in pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia* was Rudolf Haubst, see Rudolf Haubst, *Studien zu Nikolaus von Kues und Johannes Wenck: Aus Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1955. Haubst's studies were then followed by the contribution of Klaus Dieter Kuhnkeath, see Klaus Dieter Kuhnkeath, *Die Philosophie des Johannes Wenck von Herrenberg im Vergleich zu den Lehren des Nikolaus von Kues*, dissertation, University of Cologne, 1975. Following this line of interpretation, Mario Meliadò most recently tried to redefine the image that Wenck gained through the years as the "Prototyp einer verfallenden und fortschrittsfeindlichen Scholastik, welche sich gegen die Modernität des Cusanus wehrte" (Mario Meliadò, *Neuplatonismus an der Universität Heidelberg? Johannes Wenck († 1460) als Kommentator des "Corpus Dionysiacum"*, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 88, no. 1 (2021): 143–187, at 145).

2 Cf. the more recent publication: Mario Meliadò (ed.), *From Paris to Heidelberg: The Teaching of John Wenck of Herrenberg in the Mirror of His Unedited Works*, *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79,

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Indeed, as a professor in Heidelberg for many years, Wenck commented on pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia* and *De divinis nominibus*³ with zeal and interest. His own philosophical and theological speculation made such use of the theories contained therein that the question mark left by Mario Meliadò in his article's title could easily be removed.

As I will demonstrate in the following pages, Wenck's distinctive engagement with Dionysius found a crucial source of inspiration in Aristotle's *Poetics*, accessed through his study of Averroes' exposition. In particular, Wenck developed a unique reading of the *Poetics*,⁴ which he regarded as an invaluable reference for "mystic

no. 3, Special Issue (2024): 473–582, where many contributions (and in particular those of Mario Meliadò and Andrés García-Rengifo) point out Wenck's interests in the pseudo-Dionysian *corpus*.

3 It is probable that Johannes Wenck also commented on pseudo-Dionysius' *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, but such work has not yet been found; see Mario Meliadò, *Albertism and Humanism: New Historiographical Perspectives on John Wenck*. With a Catalogue Raisonné of his Works in: *From Paris to Heidelberg: The Teaching of John Wenck of Herrenberg († 1460) in the Mirror of his Unedited Works*, Mario Meliadò (ed.), *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79, no. 3, Special Issue (2024): 473–495, at 495.

4 Discussing in detail the many problems related to the transmission of Aristotle's *Poetics* in the Middle Ages, and in particular those connected to the *translatio* of the text in Syriac and Arabic, falls out of the purpose of the present chapter; nonetheless, given its importance with regard to the topics that I will present and discuss within the present contribution, I will indicate some essential bibliography on the interpretation that the Andalusian commentator Averroes offered of Aristotle's *Poetics* in his Middle Commentary on the text; on Averroes' commentary all the studies of William F. Boggess are still essential, who also offered the first provisional edition of the Latin text of Averroes' commentary as translated by Hermannus Alemannus in Toledo within 1256 – this translation was also the one read and analysed by Johannes Wenck in the Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 object of the present essay. See William F. Boggess, Aristotle's "Poetics" in the Fourteenth Century, *Studies in Philology* 67, no. 3 (1970): 278–294; William F. Boggess, Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's "Poetics": A Textual Note, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84, no. 2 (1964): 170; William F. Boggess, Hermannus Alemannus and the Sandy Desert of Zarabi, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86, no. 4 (1966): 418–419. Other relevant studies on Averroes' commentary are Francesco Gabrieli, *Estetica e poesia araba nell'interpretazione della poetica aristotelica presso Avicenna e Averroè*, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 12 (1929–1930): 291–331; Francesco Gabrieli, *Intorno alla versione Araba della "Poetica" di Aristotele*, *Rendiconti della Reale accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, 6th series, 5, no. 5 (1929): 229–235; Deborah Louise Black, *Logic and Aristotle's "Rhetoric" and "Poetics" in Medieval Arabic Philosophy*, Leiden: Brill, 1990; Salim Kemal, *The Philosophical Poetics of Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes: The Aristotelian Reception*, London: Routledge, 2010. On the medieval Latin transmission of Averroes' commentary, besides the studies of William F. Boggess cited above, see also: Gilbert Dahan, *Notes et textes sur la Poétique au Moyen Âge*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 47 (1980): 171–239; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Aristotle–Averroes–Alemannus on Tragedy: The Influence on the "Poetics" on the Latin Middle Ages*, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1979): 161–210; for the modern critical edition of the commentary of Averroes, cf. Averroes, *Commentarium medium in Aristotelis De arte poetica librum*, Charles E. Butterworth and

as well as symbolic theology” (*ad mysticam pariter et symbolicam theologiam*). At the end of this article, I provide an appendix with the transcription of the *glossae* found in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, fols. 49r–78v.⁵ This appendix contains the fifteenth-century copy of the Latin translation of Averroes’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics* consulted by Wenck. Such *glossae* illustrate the original reading of the *Poetria Aristotelis* offered by a university theologian such as Wenck, who applied the content of Aristotle’s book on metaphors (as Wenck himself defines it) to the religious discourse.

In the first part of my contribution, I will focus specifically on Wenck’s reading practices, offering a historical analysis aimed at dating his annotations on the *Poetics* as well as contextualising his broader interest in the Aristotelian treatises on artificial discourse, namely the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*. Alongside this, I will provide a preliminary analysis of Wenck’s distinctive system of annotations, which will serve as a guiding thread throughout the chapter.

In the second part, I will introduce the most important among the annotations added by Wenck to his copy of Averroes’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics*, namely the note about the role of divine grace in nature in connection with Aristotle’s *Poetics* and its relevance for the understanding of pseudo-Dionysius’ *corpus*. If anything, this present contribution aims to cast some light on the meaning of this very annotation. To this end, I will outline Wenck’s theory of metaphors as it emerges from other *glossae* present in the mentioned Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, highlighting the relevance of the paedagogic and exhortative role of the artificial discourse.

In the third part I will conduct an analysis of a few passages from Wenck’s commentary on pseudo-Dionysius’ *De coelesti hierarchia* preserved in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fols. 1r–140r, to illustrate the essential affinities that, according to Wenck, exist between the metaphorical languages of poetry and theology. Pivotal to this will be the illustration of the concept of grace within Wenck’s understanding of the agency of poetry, which I will introduce through a brief overview of his short *De gratia*, preserved in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 600, fol. 80r.

Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Majid al-Harīdī (eds.), Cairo: The General Egyptian Book Organization, 1986; the modern critical editions of Hermannus Alemannus’ Latin translation are two: one by William F. Boggess and one by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, see Averroes, *Commentarium medium in Aristot[el]is Poet[ri]am*, William F. Boggess (ed.), dissertation, University Microfilms, Chapel Hill, 1966; Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, Lorenzo Minio-Paluello (ed.), Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968. For further remarks on these two critical editions, see the appendix at the end of the present contribution.

⁵ The manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican, Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 can be consulted in its digitalised copy at: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.1892>, accessed 1 July 2025.

After discussing the more theoretical aspects of Wenck's understanding of poetry – namely, his conception of metaphors and their constitutive relationship to theology in general, and to the works of pseudo-Dionysius in particular – as well as his view on the role of grace, I will, in the fourth and final part of this contribution, analyse a *glossa* drawn from Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, fol. 49r, based on an excerpt from John's Gospel. This will serve as a practical illustration of Wenck's understanding of poetic discourse in general and of Aristotle's *Poetics* in particular.

As a whole, the aim of my contribution is to present Wenck's original interpretation of Aristotle's *Poetics* that seems to stand without precedent in the history of medieval philosophy. As I will argue, the theologian Johannes Wenck understood the *Poetics* as a crucial key for accessing the pseudo-Dionysian *corpus* and, ultimately, for interpreting the Holy Scripture. Central to Wenck's perspective is his notion of grace and his interpretation of metaphors as rhetorical devices with both paedagogical and religious significance.

Furthermore, Wenck's *marginalia* to Aristotle's *Poetics* prove Wenck's humanistic inclinations, as they show his vast knowledge of authors such as Quintilianus, Horace and Seneca,⁶ as well as his interests towards works such as Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, which did not gain much attention in medieval scholasticism – with a few relevant exceptions.⁷ The *marginalia* to the *Poetics* also reflect an intellectual practice characteristic of Wenck. As this contribution aims to demonstrate, Wenck's comments on Aristotle's *Poetics* reveal his conception of knowledge as an organic, interconnected whole, where each text is interpreted in the light of the others. In our case, Aristotle's *Poetics* was understood through Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, Seneca's tragedies, Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Horace's *Ars poetica*, and the *corpus* of pseudo-Dionysius. Similarly, a cursory look at Wenck's commentary on Aristotle's

⁶ Of course, these authors were also known and studied in the previous centuries; on the use of Quintilianus in the Middle Ages, cf. John O. Ward, Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution of the Middle Ages, *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 13, no. 3 (1995): 231–284; on the medieval fortune of Seneca's *corpus*, especially of his letters (a tradition that is witnessed by almost 400 remaining manuscripts), see the important study by Leighton Durham Reynold, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letter*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; for the specificities of Wenck's use of these sources, cf. the following discussion in the present essay.

⁷ The most relevant of which is, of course, Giles of Rome's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Cf. Rita Copeland, Giles of Rome, Commentary on Aristotle's "Rhetoric", ca. 1272, in: *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language, Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter (eds.), 792–811, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; Charles Frederick Briggs, Aristotle's "Rhetoric" in Later Medieval Universities: A Reassessment, *Rhetorica* 25 (2007): 243–268; as to the "fortune" of Aristotle's *Poetics* in the Middle Ages, cf. Kelly, *Aristotle–Averroes–Alemannus on Tragedy*. As for the "actual" reading of Roger Bacon and other medieval scholars of the *Poetics*, cf. below, note 65.

Rhetoric, contained in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 1590, reveals that these same texts – and particularly those of Quintilian, Horace, and pseudo-Dionysius – play a crucial role in shaping Wenck's interpretation of the Aristotelian treatise. The same is true for Wenck's commentary on *De coelesti hierarchia*, witnessed in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, which frequently refers to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. In other words, Wenck's *marginalia* showcase an essential interplay between philosophical (Aristotle), rhetorical (Quintilian, Horace, Seneca), and theological (pseudo-Dionysius) works, reflecting a systematic vision of knowledge that unites these domains. This study seeks to further explore and develop this, thus far, under-examined aspect of Wenck's intellectual production.

1 Reading Praxis in the Margins: Preliminary Remarks on the Date and Function of Wenck's Annotations on Averroes' Commentary on the *Poetics*

Before proceeding to analyse the content of Wenck's *marginalia* to Aristotle's *Poetics*, some preliminary considerations are necessary to contextualise his interest in the text from a historical perspective. In order to do so, I will briefly present some textual evidence drawn from three manuscripts housed at the Apostolic Vatican Library: the already mentioned Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, containing the copy of Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* glossed by Wenck, the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 600, fols. 246v–248r, containing an original work by Wenck known as *Artificum memorie*, and the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fols. 1r–20v, containing Wenck's *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*.⁸

A *glossa* contained in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, at fol. 78v,⁹ indicates that Wenck read and annotated Averroes' commentary in 1455. The content of this marginal note also provides insight into the circumstances of this endeavour. Wenck's note reads: "De Lesura 1455 in Spira", suggesting that the study and commentary on Aristot-

⁸ For the description of these manuscripts, along with a list of the extant works and the lost works from Wenck, see Mario Meliadori, *Albertism and Humanism*, 480–495.

⁹ Cf. Appendix, 216: "De Lesura 1455 in Spira".

le's *Poetics*, as recorded in Pal. lat. 1892, were completed during a journey Wenck undertook in 1455 between the German cities of Lieser and Speyer.¹⁰

In a recent contribution, Andrés García-Rengifo has correctly pointed out that Wenck might have read the commentary on the *Poetics* as early as ten years before. In 1444, Wenck composed the mentioned treatise entitled *Artificium memorie – imago symbolice theologie*, preserved in Cod. Pal. lat. 600, fols. 246v–248r. A passage of the text found at the bottom of fol. 247r reads: "... latius vide Aristotelem in sua poetria hoc tractantem". This might indicate that Wenck already had access to a copy of Aristotle's *Poetics* (likely the one preserved in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892) by 1444.¹¹ Yet this allusion to the work of Aristotle is too vague to be taken as evidence for Wenck's study of Aristotle's *Poetics* before 1444 – as it may also simply indicate Wenck's knowledge of the *Poetics* through the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*. Furthermore, although it is arguable that Wenck may have begun reading Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* around 1444, in principle it cannot be excluded that the *glossa* in Cod. Pal. lat. 600 was added after 1444, particularly since this would represent a very early mention of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Wenck's *corpus*.¹² To elaborate on this point, it will be necessary to consider the case of Wenck's *lectio* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.¹³ Indeed, based on my research, Wenck's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhet-*

10 "Lesura" is the Latin name of the modern city of Lieser, located in the German state of Rheinland-Pfalz. The city takes its name from the Lieser river, which flows through the region before merging with the Moselle at the site of the city itself. "Spira" refers to the German city of Speyer, situated on the west bank of the Rhine River, about thirty kilometers southwest of Heidelberg. Wenck's marginal note likely alludes to a journey he undertook from Lieser to Speyer, which is approximately 170 kilometers southeast of Lieser.

11 Andrés García-Rengifo, Theology as Poetry in John Wenck's Commentary to the "De coelesti hierarchia": Sources of a Quasi-Idea in 15th-Century Heidelberg, in: *From Paris to Heidelberg: The Teaching of John Wenck of Herrenberg († 1460) in the Mirror of his Unedited Works*, Mario Meliadó (ed.), *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79, no. 3, special issue (2024): 582–610, at 591, note 43.

12 Indeed, this date would anticipate Wenck's "humanistic" interests of a good decade, making it even prior to Peter Luder's arrival in Heidelberg in 1456, to which Wenck's interests in poetry as part of the academic *curricula* is usually connected. On Luder's arrival in Germany, cf. Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Basel, Karlsruhe*: Druck der G. Braun'schen Hofbuchdruckerei, 1869, 1–14.

13 Johannes Wenck commented (in the form of a *lectio*) on the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle in the Greek-Latin translation of William of Moerbeke, as is clearly witnessed by the annotated quotations in the manuscript BAV, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 1v, among which: "Rhetorica assecutiva dyalectice est", which is precisely the incipit of the *Rhetoric* as translated by Moerbeke; cf. Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma sive Vetus et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, Bernhardus Schneider (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1978, 1354a1–13, 159.

oric, preserved in Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fols. 1r–20v, only references Aristotle's *Poetics* in one place,¹⁴ where Aristotle's text is explicitly quoted.¹⁵

While commenting on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Wenck's favourite reference is clearly Quintilian – whereas he only occasionally refers to Horace's *Ars poetica*.¹⁶ Now, given Wenck's understanding of the interconnectedness of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, the scarce use of Aristotle's *Poetics* in his commentary on the *Rhetoric* is striking, especially since his *marginalia* to the *Poetics* frequently reference the *Rhetoric*, as shown in this chapter's appendix. Indeed, if Wenck had already undertaken the study of Aristotle's *Poetics* when commenting on the *Rhetoric*, one would expect that he would have at least referred to Aristotle's *Poetics* in his *Lectio de Rhetorica*, more or less in the same way he made use of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in his *marginalia* on the *Poetics*.

I was not able to find a precise date for Wenck's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Yet, if we take the year 1455 as the *terminus ante quem* for the *marginalia* to the *Poetics*, one should conclude that the *Rhetoric* was commented on by Wenck before that year, since he clearly demonstrates having known the text of the *Rhetoric* while commenting on Aristotle's *Poetics* in 1455.¹⁷ Although the precise date of

14 *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 18v: "Aristotilis in Poetria: optima oratio parans viam intellectui. Ecce significationem"; as this quotation is a marginal note, it might well also be that it was added posterior to the *lectio* on the *Rhetoric*. For another possible reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* in the *Lectio de Rhetorica*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590 fol. 7r: "Poetria est potentia considerandi utrumquodque ut est assimilabile et representabile", where the lexicon seems close to the one present in Hermannus' translation of Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*.

15 *Poetria Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, fol. 78r: "Et optima oratio viam prebens intellectum est quidem oratio notorie".

16 *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 3v: "O[rati]us Poesis"; fol. 19r: "ex Poetria Oratii".

17 Yet, the quotation of Petrarch's letters in the main text of the *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis* stands as counter-evidence which might prove the posteriority of the commentary to the *Rhetoric*. Petrarch's letter might have been very useful to Wenck in order to comment on the *De coelesti hierarchia*, for instance, composed in 1455, and also on Aristotle's *Poetics*. Yet, there is no mention of them in his commentary to pseudo-Dionysius, nor in his *glossae* to Aristotle's *Poetics*, also composed in 1455. The use of Petrarch in the *lectio* to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* could indicate that Wenck composed his commentary after annotating on Aristotle's *Poetics* and after commenting on the *De coelesti hierarchia*; indeed, Petrarch, that might have constituted a precious source to add to his *glosse* to Aristotle's *Poetics* or to his commentary on pseudo-Dionysius, is not cited by Wenck in either the copy of the *Poetics* or the commentary on *De coelesti hierarchia*. In other words, the presence of quotations from Petrarch in the *lectio* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and their absence from his commentary on the *Poetics* and on the *De coelesti hierarchia* might suggest that Wenck started composing the *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis* after 1455. On Wenck's use of Petrarch, cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 603–604, note 101.

Wenck's commentary on the *Rhetoric* remains uncertain, all other works attributed to Wenck and preserved in the same manuscript Cod. Pal. lat. 1590 with recorded dates of composition originate from the 1450s.¹⁸ Therefore, it is likely that Wenck's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was composed during the same period as his other dated works in Cod. Pal. lat. 1590. This also corresponds to the decade when he wrote his *marginalia* to the *Poetics*.¹⁹ However, it seems improbable that this *lectio* was written after 1455 – after Wenck had studied and commented on Aristotle's *Poetics*. He hardly ever cites the *Poetics* in his commentary on the *Rhetoric*, whereas he references it, for instance, in his 1455 commentary on pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia*.²⁰ In conclusion, for now we might conjecture that Wenck's commentary on the *Rhetoric* was composed around 1450, perhaps before 1455, yet apparently never finished. Given the present state of the research it is rather difficult to fix a date of this commentary with certainty. Indeed, there are good reasons to maintain that the *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis* was composed around 1450 but before Wenck's *glossae* on the *Poetics* in 1455 or also after Wenck's commentary on the *De coelesti hierarchia*, i.e. after 1455.²¹ Only further research will help resolve this issue.

Yet the fact stands that in a work from 1444, namely the *Artificium memorie*, there is one mention of Aristotle's *Poetics*. This could be interpreted as follows: such a mention would be a generic kind of reference to Aristotle's treatise. Wenck may have already had a copy as his disposal, yet not have thoroughly studied it until 1455.²²

¹⁸ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 21r: "Questio 1456 Wenck"; fol. 41r: "in vesperis 1454 in die Kalixti pro fratre Andrea ordinis augustinensium"; fol. 67r: "Wenck ad populum die resurrectionis 1457"; fol. 55r: "disputatio 1456 ferie quinta infra Epiphania: Wenck pro Blocher"; fol. 79v: "Prefatio in Hebdomades Boecii 1456"; fol. 102r: "pro fratre Johanne ordinis premonstratensis anno Domini 1457 in mensis Marcii"; fol. 115r: "Wenck: 1458 feria tertia ante festum Georii [sic]"; fol. 122r: "Wenck: 1459 pro fratre Philippo Denier professo in Mullenbrun; in crastino Gregorii"; fol. 133r: "Disputatio 1459 in die sancti Pauli primi heremite pro M. Johanne Crurher [?] plebana argentinense".

¹⁹ Andrés García-Rengifo already came to a similar conclusion in García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 603–604.

²⁰ As already demonstrated in García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 593–598.

²¹ In particular, Wenck's use of Patarch's *Res seniles* within his *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, see above, note 17.

²² Yet, in the *Artificium memorie* there is what seems to be an implicit mention of the *Poetics*: towards the end of fol. 146v: "O igitur nobilis poetice artis, que incedis in representatione, et ergo considerata cuiuslibet similitudinis in esse representationis, excitationis virtutis, vel fuge vicii"; the concept of the pursuit of virtues and the exposure of vices in connection with poetry was cer-

The reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* in the *Artificium memorie*, however vague, is far from insignificant. On the contrary, it demonstrates that Johannes Wenck was interested in Aristotle's *Poetics* long before the arrival of the renowned humanist Peter Luder at Heidelberg in 1456. This point is particularly relevant, as the arrival of the humanist intellectual in Germany is often regarded as a turning point in the rise of German humanism in the fifteenth century. Yet, Johannes Wenck's early interest in poetry suggests that humanistic pursuits were already underway at the University of Heidelberg by the time of Luder's arrival.²³ In other words, such a mention indicates a previously unrecorded interest in a text like Aristotle's *Poetics*, which was notably overlooked throughout late-medieval scholasticism.

After chronologically contextualising Wenck's analysis of Aristotle's *Poetics*, next is to address his reading practices. As shown in this work's appendix, one can reconstruct Wenck's reading of the text mainly through his annotations in the margins of the copy of Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* at his disposal. Some of his annotations represent brief comments referring to the portion of text present in the commented *folio*, while other are simple abridgements or personal reorganisation of the content of the glossed sections.

Among the most puzzling features of Wenck's commenting practice, two in particular deserve some preliminary attention: his use of graphical annotations, and his quotation of classical sources. The graphical annotations, or schemes, represent a peculiar set of *glossae* authored by Wenck. They can generally be described as annotations characterised by the use of graphical signs and are employed by Wenck to highlight the relations among concepts or passages drawn from or related to the text of Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*. These annotations can be grouped into three major categories: the "linear schemes", the "triads", and the "signs".

The "linear schemes" are annotations composing keywords or short sentences connected to one another through lines, thus creating a sort of textual map. They constitute the majority of the schemes introduced by Wenck in the margins of the *Poetics* and represent a form of reminder of the portion of text they refer to. Sometimes, these schemes also prove useful for the understanding of Wenck's interpretation of the interested portion of text, in that they make clear what was most relevant for him and what was worth remembering. Some of these schemes are

tainly present in Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*, and this passage may serve as evidence that Wenck had already read Averroes' commentary by 1444.

²³ On the life and work of Peter Luder as a humanist active between Italy and Germany, cf. Wattenbach, *Peter Luder*; Frank E. Baron, *The Beginnings of German Humanism: The Life and Work of the Wandering Humanist Peter Luder*, dissertation, University of California, 1966.

also meant as proper commentary notes, as they do not simply organise words or sentences contained in the text but add new material to it.

The same goes for the triangle schemes called triads or “*triados*”,²⁴ which are even more interesting since they sample Wenck’s mnemonic method. Wenck was most likely interested in the organisation of knowledge into a sort of encyclopaedic-mnemonic castle. The castle is composed of a long series of equilateral triangles. Each triangle is concerned with a specific topic: the topic was annotated at the centre of the figure and related concepts were annotated to each side of the triangle.²⁵ In the *marginalia* to Averroes’ commentary on the *Poetics* we find five such triangles – at least two of them were then reproduced in the same manuscript containing Wenck’s *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, although in a different section that showcases his peculiar encyclopaedic interests.²⁶

Finally, the “signs” group is constituted by an isolated “N.”, which stands for “*notabile*” or “*notabilis*”, indicating that the excerpt they refer to is of some importance; another form of signs is the so-called *maniculae* and empty triangles, both meant to signal the relevance of a particular passage in the text. This three-folded way of annotating is typical of Wenck; it appears in other manuscripts in his library. The same annotating practice is pervasive, for example, in his personal copy of the *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, as well as in his commentary on the *De coelesti hierarchia*. Both these works, I mean Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and pseudo-Dionysius’ *De*

24 In the section referred to as *Notae*, in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 26r Wenck titles his series of schemes: “memorialiter menti imprimenda”; in the same manuscript, at the section called *Figurae didacticae*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590 fol. 49v, Wenck uses the term “*triados*” to refer to the series of triangular schemes.

25 The major example of this encyclopaedic systematisation of knowledge is found in the same Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, which also contains Wenck’s *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*; especially at fols. 11v–12r, 14r, 26r–28v, 36r, 43r–44r, and 49v–60v one can witness several folios reporting thematic triads grouped in a sort of alphabetical order. Andrés García-Rengifo, to whom I owe much of the information with regard to Wenck’s mnemonic and encyclopaedic interests, is at the moment developing a PhD project on the topic at the University of Siegen.

26 I thank Andrés García-Rengifo for pointing out to me the existence of the replicas of some triangles already attested as graphical annotations on Aristotle’s *Poetics* during his seminar “Figures that Remember: Reading and Textual Mnemonics in the Tradition of the Lullian Art” held on 18 June 2025 at the University of Siegen. Indeed, two “triangle schemes” are copied by Wenck in a work contained in his *Figurae Didacticae*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 54r – a work that was arguably composed after the composition of his *glossae* to the *Poetics*; this seems to be an incomplete work and still requires further study to be properly understood; there, Wenck displays an impressive series of triangles concerning several topics; to be sure, one can find there the exact reproduction of the schemes presented in the appendix; cf. Appendix, 40 and 59.

coelesti hierarchia, as I will argue in the present contribution, were understood by Wenck as almost complementary to the Aristotelian treatise on poetic composition.

These schematic annotations are combined with more usual notes to the text, presented in the more conventional form of comments annotated in the margins. These were *glossae* meant either as general annotations recalling the content of the text, like reminders for the reader, or as personal comments. Of these marginal annotations, sixteen are represented by explicit or implicit quotations of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (often introduced by the term *Regula*). Furthermore, in two distinct places of Averroes' commentary, Wenck reports several verses from Seneca's tragedies *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, and *Trojan Women*. These annotations showcase the second most relevant feature of Wenck's annotating practice, namely his use of classical sources, to which a few remarks are necessary.

These citations are always *verbatim* and clearly point to Wenck's humanistic inclinations. García-Rengifo notes that one of Wenck's quotations of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* shows that he consulted a copy of the text reporting an excerpt recently discovered by the humanist Poggio Bracciolini.²⁷ Furthermore, the quotations of Seneca are limited to his tragedies, whereas Seneca's philosophical dialogues and letters, which represent a more common source for the Middle Ages, are never mentioned.

Indeed, in his *glossae* to the *Poetics*, Wenck never quotes Seneca's dialogues or his letters, but refers to Seneca *qua* composer of tragedies, showing a humanistic interest in Seneca's poetic production that was rather unusual for a fifteenth-century German university professor. Particularly striking is his use of Seneca's *Phaedra* to comment on a passage regarding the emotion of *ira* and *concupiscentia*. For a medieval author, an obvious reference could have been Seneca's dialogue *De ira*, but Wenck opted for a tragedy of Seneca instead. As shown by Sara Fazion, Seneca's tragedies already started to gain success in the Middle Ages between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Such circulation reflected a general interest in these works that did not seem to be as widespread within medieval academic circles. Therefore, Wenck's choice to quote Seneca's tragedies in a commentary on Aristotle still stands as a sign of a new humanistic taste that started to spread within late medieval universities.²⁸ From this, one can conclude

²⁷ Cf. Appenix 41; as noted by García-Rengifo, this excerpt of the *Institutio Oratoria* was not known in the Middle Ages until Poggio Bracciolini discovered it in 1416. This clearly indicates how Wenck was very much aware of the novelties brought about by Italian humanists in the fifteenth century. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 595, note 60.

²⁸ Cf. Sara Fazion, *Seneca tragico fra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Milan: Franco Angeli, 2023, 34–74; Peter Stacey, Senecan Political Thought from the Middle Ages to Early Modernity, in: *The Cambridge*

that not only did Wenck deem the text of the *Poetics* a text worthy of commentary, but he clearly considered it a handbook on poetic composition to be integrated into the more classical *auctoritates* on the topic, along with Quintilian, Seneca, and, to a lesser extent, Horace.

Wenck's reading of Aristotle's *Poetics* is striking not only because it reflects his humanistic interests. His fascination with schemes, the systematic references to the rhetorical teaching of Quintilian and the occasional quotation of Seneca's tragedies also reveal an intriguing perspective taken by Wenck towards the text, which he clearly handled both as a source of information and as laboratory material. This will also become clear from the analysis of the first of his "original" annotations on Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*, in which Wenck sketches a significant connection between Aristotle's *Poetics* and pseudo-Dionysius' *corpus*. On the one hand, his schemes and *glossae* represent a re-organisation of the contents of the text according to Wenck's interests, and already offer, *per se*, a fascinating insight.²⁹ On the other hand, such notes occasionally join new content to the Aristotelian text, as they combine external material to the *Poetics*, thus revealing more of Wenck's understanding of it. From this perspective, Wenck seems to stand out as the only medieval author to offer such a meaningful interpretation of the Aristotelian treatise.

Companion to Seneca, Shadi Bartsch and Alessandro Schiesaro (eds.), 289–302, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2015, 296–297.

²⁹ A similar point has already been made by García-Rengifo: "Given the fact that the great majority of the text is not original to Wenck, his intentions only manifests itself in the selection, arrangement and joining of the material. In such manner, Wenck put his efforts in harmonising the contents of the extracted materials, in order to make them sound right and compelling towards the point he intended to prove through them ...", in García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 588. In a seminal publication, Ayelet Even-Ezra offers a useful overview of medieval learning systems through schemes and diagrams; unfortunately, the case of Johannes Wenck is not treated in the important volume, yet it could be interesting to further research his glossing practice, in order to add some new and possibly interesting token to the complex picture already sketched out by Even-Ezra, cf. Ayelet Even-Ezra, *Lines of Thought, Branching Diagrams and the Medieval Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021.

2 Johannes Wenck's Theory of Poetic Speech: Role and Nature of Metaphors

In Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, the Latin translation of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* starts at fol. 50r, preceded by the heavily annotated fol. 49r containing the name of Johannes Wenck ("Poetria Aristotilis Pro Wenck"),³⁰ along with many notes written by Wenck himself.³¹

The *incipit* of this copy is known to anyone familiar with Hermannus' translation of Averroes' commentary: "Postquam cum non modico labore" etc., which is the *prologus* that the translator Hermannus gave to his work in 1256. In the upper margin at fol. 50r, right above this prologue, we read a *glossa* from Wenck that stands out as the most relevant among all those annotated by the theologian from Heidelberg in this manuscript. The *glossa* reads as follows: "Since grace operates in nature, then the *Poetics* of Aristotle is of much value equally for mystic and symbolic theology".³²

30 Cf. Appendix "Poetria Aristotilis Pro Wenck"; I interpret the note found at fol. 49r as evidence that the copy of Aristotle's *Poetics* in the manuscript was indeed used and annotated by Wenck himself; it could also be seen as a form of attribution to Wenck. However, it should be kept in mind that this note is, at the very least, ambiguous. The *pro* in the Latin text is preceded by a semicolon and followed by a point, which might suggest some form of abbreviation (arguably for *professor*); yet, this is also the case for all the other words composing this very note, which are preceded and followed by points as well, despite being clearly written, not as abbreviations (a graphic reproduction of the note would be: "• Poetria • Aristotilis •; Pro • Wenck •"). Even if one concedes that the *pro* means a sort of attribution to Wenck or simply indicates the use of the text by Johannes Wenck, this employment of the particle remains rather unusual. Could it be that the reproduction of the *Poetics* was copied upon Wenck's request? Or did Wenck claim some sort of ownership of that copy? In his description of the manuscript, Schuba does not have many doubts about it: "MS für prof. Johannes Wenck von Herrenberg kopiert". See Ludwig Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981, 488–489. The section of the manuscript containing the copy of the *Poetics* is from the middle of the fifteenth century; this detail leads to the conclusion that such a manuscript is from when Wenck was a professor at Heidelberg.

31 Cf. Appendix, 1–18.

32 Cf. Appendix, 19: "Quia in natura gracia operatur, hinc poetria Aristotelis valde valet ad mysticam pariter et simbolicam theologiam". Furthermore, in his *glossae* to the text Wenck clearly considers Hermannus' identification of the *ars laudandi* (in Averroes' Arabic *ṣinā'at al-madīḥ*) as tragedy as something rather unusual, and which requires clarification almost every time the term tragedy occurs in the text. Indeed, it is often the case that when the text at Wenck's disposal presents the word *tragoedia*, the theologian feels the need to explain it, adding in *supra linea* "i.e. ars laudativa" or simply "laudativa". The fact that Johannes Wenck needed to clarify the meaning of the term "tragedy" each time is already an interesting indication of the scarce knowledge that a theologian of the fifteenth century had of that very term.

Through the reading of the *Poetria Aristotelis*, Wenck identifies a pivotal relation between poetic language, revelation, and theology: divine grace is the key concept to understanding the actual agency of poetry in our world. To clarify the meaning of this passage, we shall look at the *glossae* contained in that heavily annotated fol. 49r, which offers a rough introduction to Aristotle's text as interpreted by Wenck.³³

Strange as it may seem to the modern reader of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Wenck's notes make clear that he understood the text primarily as a treatise on the use of metaphors – rather than on tragedy, comedy, catharsis, or other themes we would typically associate with it. He even includes an explanatory comment to clarify the content of the *Poetria Aristotelis*, which reads as follows: “In the same manner that the poet decorates speech with metaphors, so too spoken words decorate speech”.³⁴

Such interpretation is due mainly to the history of the Arabic transmission of the text, especially Averroes' understanding of Aristotle's *Poetics* as a (logical)³⁵ book on poetic composition and its rules.³⁶

33 Cf. Appendix, 1–18; as pointed out by García-Rengifo, the notes reported in fol. 49r were “sketches for the chapters of *Ad practicam rethorice*, an unstudied original treatise of Wenck” conserved in Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fols. 29r–35v.; cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 594. García-Rengifo is correct, as the majority of the *glossae* presented in Appendix 3–8 are found almost *verbatim* in the sixth chapter of the *Ad practicam rhetoricae*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590 fol. 31r, entitled: “De excellentia metaphorarum”. The title of this chapter of the *Ad practicam rhetoricae* is explicitly referenced by Wenck in a *glossa* at fol. 49r, cf. Appendix, 16. Most of the notes present in this folio have been struck through, probably by Wenck himself. Yet, the rhetorical scheme drawn at the bottom of the folio (cf. Appendix, 18) and the many references made by Wenck to the use of metaphors and the pleasure derived from their use in artificial discourse make fol. 49r fit the contents of Aristotle's *Poetics* perfectly, which follows right after.

34 Cf. Appendix, 1: “Quomodo poeta depingit orationem ex metaphoris: verba etiam dicta depingunt eam”.

35 On the Arabic medieval understanding of Aristotle's *Poetics* as part of the *Organon*, the research has been quite prolific, I will limit myself here to recalling the three most relevant publications on the topic: Henri Hugonnard-Roche, *La Poétique: Tradition syriaque et arabe*, in: *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques: Supplément*, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003, 208–218; Black, *Logic and Aristotle's “Rhetoric” and “Poetics”*; Aristotle, *Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2012; for a more general overview on the Arabic transmission of the text of Aristotle's *Poetics* cf. the most recent summary on the topic found in Frédérique Woerther, *The Arabic Philosophical Reception of Aristotle's “Poetics”: Translation, Transmission, and Interpretations: Al-Fārābī, Avicenna, and Averroes*, in: *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aristotle's “Poetics”*, Christine Mauduit, Guillaume Navaud, and Oliver Renaut (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2025, 108–138. For a further bibliography on Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* cf. above, note 5.

36 Averroes, *Expositio Poeticae*, in: Aristotle, *De Arte Poetica*, 41 (trans. mine): “Our intention in this work is to determine what [is contained] in Aristotle's *Poetics* about universal rules, common

Upon closer inspection, the annotations contained in fol. 49r reveal that Wenck read Aristotle's *Poetics* as a philosophical treatise on metaphors, which interests him primarily for two aspects: their didactic function³⁷ and their connection to divine grace.

As for the paedagogic aspect of poetic language, in fol. 53r of manuscript Pal. lat. 1892 Wenck reads the first cause for the origins of poetry as the natural pleasure that humans experience through imitation.³⁸ According to Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*, all poetic discourse is ultimately a form of imitation and comparison, with metaphor being a specific type of comparison. It is precisely this natural human pleasure in imitation that explains why teachers often convey knowledge to students through "associations" (*secundum comparisonem*) – that is, through figurative or metaphorical language. When knowledge is linked with pleasure, it becomes easier to grasp. Imaginative speech, which, according to Averroes in his commentary on the *Poetics*, is the kind of speech specific to poetry, serves this purpose particularly well. Wenck's most significant interpretation of this passage of Aristotle's *Poetics* is found in a note in the margin of the same fol. 53r, where he quotes John Chrysostom: "in order to make this more patent, we use an example".³⁹

to all-or-many nations; for much of what is in this book are either rules particular to their poems and to their habits in [composing] them, or they are not found in the speeches of the Arabs, or are found in other languages" ["Inquit Ibinrosdin: intentio nostra est in hac editione determinare quod in libro Poetrie Aristotilis de canonibus universalibus communibus omnibus nationibus aut pluribus, cum plurimum eius quod est in hoc libro aut sunt canones proprii poematibus ipsorum et consuetudini ipsorum in ipsis, aut non sunt reperta in sermone Arabum, aut sunt reperta in aliis idiomatibus"].

37 Cf. Appendix, 6–16; the theme of the paedagogical/didactic function of symbolic discourse emerges already in the above mentioned treatise *Artificium memorie – imago simboliche theologie*, contained in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 600, fols. 246v–248r, and composed by Wenck in 1444.

38 Averroes, *Averrois expositio Poeticae*, 45 (trans. mine): "And an indication of this, I mean that humans naturally rejoice and find pleasure in comparison, is that we find pleasure and rejoice in the imitation of things whose sensitive experience we do not find pleasant, and in particular when the imitation expresses very sharply the imitated thing, like what happens in the depiction of many animals that expert sculptors or painters create. And for this reason, we use allegories in teaching, so that what is said is easier to understand, by means of what is in them that is from an image-evoking nature" ["Et signum huius, scilicet quod homo naturaliter laetatur et gaudet ex assimilatione, est quod delectamur et gaudemus in representatione aliquarum rerum in quarum sensu non delectamur, et precipue quando representatio valde subtiliter exprimit rem presentatam, ut contingit in formatione multorum animalium, que periti exprimunt sculptores aut pictores. Et propter hanc causam, utimur in docendo exemplis, ut facilius intelligatur quod dicitur, propter hoc quod in eis est de motivo ymaginative"].

39 Cf. Appendix, 59: "Crisostomus hinc dicit: *ut hoc apertius fiat, ponamus sub exemplis*".

Now, setting aside the quotation's authorship,⁴⁰ Wenck's point is crucial: the use of figurative speech (*exemplum* in Latin) does not obscure but rather clarifies the content of the discourse. There is no space for any *aenigma*,⁴¹ *occultatio*, *integumentum* or *involucrum*⁴² in the conventional sense. The *exempla* – a word corresponding to the *comparatio* or metaphoric speech in Hermannus' translation – makes the truth clearer. So it is for the Bible: indeed, the Holy Scripture often speaks through poetic language and metaphors, yet not to hide the truth behind obscure words but rather to make the truth more patent.

⁴⁰ I was not able to find the quotation in Chrysostom's *corpus*, but for possible alternative sources, cf. Hieronimus, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthaei*, vol. 3, David Hurst and Marc Adriaen (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols, 1969, 163: "Quod ut manifestius fiat ponamus sub exemplis"; Echardus Magister, *Opus tripartitum: Expositio sancti Euangelii secundum Iohannem*, Karl Christ and Josef Koch (eds.), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936, ch. 1, vv. 15–16 (auctoritas: XIII), part. 169, 139, l. 1: "Quod ut manifestius fiat, dicamus sub exemplo supra posito, in homine scilicet iusto et ipsa iustitia"; also in Caius Marius Victorinus, *Liber de definitionibus: Eine spätantike Theorie der Definition und des Definierens: Mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Andreas Pronay (ed.), Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1997, 25, l. 9: "Hoc apertius ut fiat, dabo et aliud exemplum".

⁴¹ Within the medieval theological debate, the term *aenigma* was almost always connected to the famous passage of Paul's epistle to the Corinthians (Cor. 1, 13:12: "videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate"); for a short introduction to the use of metaphors as *aenigmata* in the Middle Ages cf. Umberto Eco, *La metafora nel Medioevo latino*, *Doctor virtualis* 3 (2004): 35–75, where one can also find a brief account of Thomas Aquinas' perspective on metaphors. Aquinas' position on figurative speech within the theological discourse is not always consistent, but we might conclude with Eco that the Dominican theologian tends to downplay the cognitive role of metaphor, when he states: "Et ipsa etiam occultatio figurarum utilis est, ad exercitium studiosorum, et contra irrisiones infidelium, de quibus dicitur, matth. vii, nolite sanctum dare canibus" (cf. Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 4: *Summa theologiae*, I^a q. 1–49, Commissio Leonina (ed.), Romae: Ex Typographia Polyglotta, 1888, 24, q. 1, art. 9). For a more detailed analysis of Thomas' position on the use of metaphor, cf. Gilbert Dahan, *Saint Thomas d'Aquin et la métaphore rhétorique et herméneutique*, *Medioevo* 18 (1992): 85–117; Paul Murray, *Aquinas on Poetry and Theology*, *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 16, no. 2 (2013): 63–72. Another reference useful to grasp Wenck's understanding of the term *exemplum* as a metaphorical *aenigma* is, of course, his contemporary Nicholas of Cusa; cf. Sylvianne Aspray, *Performative Finitude: Theological Language and the God–World Relationship* in Nicholas of Cusa's "De Non Aliud", *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 24, no. 2 (2022): 173–190.

⁴² These two terms, *integumentum* and *involucrum*, were particularly common in twelfth-century intellectual debate on poetic speech such as those discussed at Chartres and Saint Victor; cf. Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972; Tina Stiefel, *Twelfth-Century Matter for Metaphor: The Material View of Plato's "Timaeus"*, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 17, no. 2 (1984): 165–185; Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Involucrum: Le mythe selon les théologiens médiévaux*, *Archive d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 22 (1955): 75–79.

Therefore, metaphors are presented by Wenck as an excellent means for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge for two main reasons. First, as I already indicated, since metaphors are essentially a form of imitation, they naturally produce pleasure – through which the process of learning becomes more effective. Second, especially given their image-evoking potential, they make the truth more apparent to the listener than “unadorned speech” (*nuda dictio*). These two aspects taken together make metaphoric language a highly suitable paedagogical and epistemological tool. As a third reason for the exceptional paedagogical value of metaphors, it is worth noting that, according to Averroes’ reading of the *Poetics* – and thus also according to Wenck – poetic speech possesses not only theoretical value in itself, but also the power to move the soul toward a virtuous life.⁴³

As I will later show, Wenck insists on the sacral power of figurative speech. When metaphors are used in the Bible, not only are they a most useful learning tool, they also represent the best way to understand and predicate the nature of God and the best way to get closer to Him. In elaborating on this position, Wenck shows how his understanding of Aristotle’s *Poetics* – and, more generally, his idea of poetic composition – is very much intertwined with his reading of pseudo-Dionysius’ *corpus*, especially of the *De coelesti hierarchia*. As a matter of fact, Aristotle’s treatises on metaphors (i.e. *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*) and pseudo-Dionysius’ texts are understood by Wenck as complementary sources. They provide theoretical reflections on the power of symbolic speech not only as a mean to understand the higher Truth, but also as a practical path toward it.

Such interplay between Aristotle and pseudo-Dionysius, which (besides the explicit reference to the *symbolica theologia* in the upper margin of Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, fol. 50r) in his notes on the *Poetics* remains somewhat implicit, is more evidently displayed by Wenck in other places of his production, and namely in his commentary on pseudo-Dionysius’ *De coelesti hierarchia*, found in Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fols. 1r–140r.

Here, at fol. 21v, Wenck dwells on a famous passage drawn from the Epistles of Paul: Cor. 1, 13:12: “we see like in a mirror, not clearly”. “The image is distant from the Truth”, Wenck comments on the mentioned excerpt, “and yet did what it could as image: indeed, it converted the soul, but he does not lead it up to the very end, where the Truth manifests itself for what it really is”.⁴⁴

⁴³ This is a consideration that Wenck also makes in a scheme drawn right after his *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 37v: “Poetria-necessitate sue professionis-suadet-virtutes (et) vitia in representatione”.

⁴⁴ *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 21v: “Prima Corinth. 13: videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate – ymago longe est a veritate, et tamen facit quod potest

The world is composed of images and symbols; by interpreting these images – which function like metaphors of God – believers draw closer to Him, bridging the natural distance between Creator and creature. Understanding these images teaches human beings how to approach God, insofar as they allow for a deeper insight into His nature. Indeed, poetic language, God's dearest language, works metaphorically through images.⁴⁵

3 On the Relation Between Poetry and Theology and the Nature of Grace

"Ita Theologia veluti quedam poetria", Wenck annotates in his commentary on *De coelesti hierarchia*; here theology and poetry are explicitly correlated. In the same passage Wenck continues: "It is because of the human nature that the Holy Scripture is composed of symbols ... and theology does so artificially [i.e. through metaphors] so that while speaking to us [theology] takes on our matters, and through them, once we are admonished and instructed, it elevates us to the comprehension of higher realities".⁴⁶ This position, stated clearly in the commentary on the *De*

ut ymago: convertit enim animum, sed non perducit donec veritas manifestetur aperte ut ipsa est", where apparently Wenck is quoting the anonymous twelfth-century author (possibly John of Salisbury) of the *De septem septenis*; cf. Peter Dronke, *Fabula*, Leiden: Brill, 1985, 35.

⁴⁵ In this regard, Wenck claims to fit the teaching of Albert the Great very well when asserting that "divine matters were transmitted through symbols": cf. *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 19v "Quare concludit Albertus in prima parte summe sue, quod divina tradita sunt in symbolis"; Wenck here is summarising the quotation he is about to introduce, which is certainly taken from *Summa theologiae*, part 1, tract. 1, q. 5, m. 1: "Hinc est, quod theologia de incomprehensibili luce agens, talibus quasi poeticis utitur proprie secundum suum modum. Aliae autem scientiae philosophicae quae de luce nobis proportionali agunt, peccant si talibus utantur. Id enim quod intendunt declarare, obscuratur per talia. Clariora enim sunt in seipsis proposita, quam in figuris aenigmaticis. In theologia autem non ponuntur talia propter ea quae declarare intendit, sed propter nostram materialem intellectum, qui in connaturalibus sibi paulatim lucem colligit, et luce collecta fortificatus, sic tandem ad contuenda clarissima consurgit"; on this cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 590, note 38; yet we know that, alongside Albert, his principal reference is undoubtedly pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia*, to which he devoted an entire commentary. There, too, metaphors and poetic language (i.e. symbolic language) play a significant role in the process of coming to know God's nature.

⁴⁶ *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 18r: "Ita theologia veluti quedam poetria sanctam scripturam fictis ymaginationibus ad consultum nostri animi et reductionem corporalibus sensibus exterioribus veluti ex quadam imperfecta puericia rerum intelligibilium (ad) perfectam cognitionem tamquam in quandam interioris hominis grandevitatem

coelesti hierarchia, represents precisely the lens through which Wenck interpreted Aristotle's *Poetics*.⁴⁷

Indeed, if we look back at the *glossa* on the *Poetics* about the utility of the Aristotelian treatise with regard to the *mystica* and *symbolica theologia*, it is safe to claim that by the terms “mystic” and “symbolic theology”, Wenck was precisely referencing pseudo-Dionysius' *corpus*. With the term *mystica theologia* Wenck would therefore refer to the homonymous work from pseudo-Dionysius. And the term *symbolica theologia* seems to be a term that Wenck uses to refer to the content of those works of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* consisting of the *De coelesti hierarchia*, the *De divinis nominibus* and the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*.⁴⁸

conformat. Propter hoc, ergo humanum animum, sancta scriptura in diversis symbolis atque doctrinis contexta est, ut per ipsius introductionem rationalis nostra natura, que prevaricando ex contemplatione veritatis lapsa verum, in pristinam pure contemplationis reduceretur altitudinem. Hoc ergo theologia valde artificialiter fecit, ut, nobis loquens, nostra susciperet et per nostra admonitos et eruditos ad sua sublevaret: prius per nostra nobis conformata ad nos descenderet, et postea ad superiora reducendo illuminatos sublevaret, sic ad ipsam animum nostrum reformans vel coaptans sive contemperans sanctas scripturas anagogicas, hoc est sursum ad veritatem simplicem ducentes ...” On the Eriugenian origin of this passage, with particular attention to the quotation “theologia veluti quaedam poetria” cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 584, where there is also a mention of Peter Dronke's famous essay: Peter Dronke, *Theologia veluti quaedam poetria: Quelques observations sur la fonction des images poétiques chez Jean Scot*, in: *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, René Roques (ed.), 242–252, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1977.

47 Such a position was alluded to already in the above mentioned *glossa*: “Quia in natura gracia operatur, hinc poetria Aristotelis valde valet ad mysticam pariter et simbolicam theologiam”, cf. Appendix, 19. It should be noted how, in his *Commentarium* on pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia*, Wenck explicitly references Aristotle's *Poetics*; and on the nature of poetry Wenck dedicates a *Quaestio* in Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fols. 30v–34r; the wide use of Aristotle's *Poetics* within the mentioned *quaestio* has already been demonstrated in García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 591–603. Furthermore, this position is similar to the one held by Thomas Aquinas in his *Commentary on the sentences* and in the *Summa theologiae*. Indeed, the theme of the *modus artificialis*, which characterises the Holy Scriptures, is famously developed by Thomas Aquinas, cf. Thomas de Aquino, *Scriptum super primum librum sententiarum*, prol. art. 5, resp. 31–34, in: *Les débuts de l'enseignement de Thomas d'Aquin et sa conception de la sacra doctrina, avec l'édition du prologue de son commentaire des Sentences*, Adriano Oliva (ed.), Paris: J. Vrin, 2006, 330: “Quia etiam ista principia non sunt proportionata humane rationi secundum statum vie, que ex sensibilibus convenit accipere, ideo oportet ut ad eorum cognitionem per sensibilibus similitudines manuducatur. Unde oportet modum huius scientie esse metaphoricum sive symbolicum vel parabolicum”.

48 See, for instance, the *glossa* in *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 8r: “de symbolica theologia in tribus libris”; those very *tres libri* are indeed mentioned in the text, and are *De coelesti hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* and *De divinis nominibus*. To consider the *De symbolica theologia* – usually conceived as a lost book of pseudo-Dionysius, whose mention is found in the *De divinis nominibus*, 1.4 – as the term actually indicating these three works of pseudo-Dionysius seems to be an original conception of Wenck. For instance, Thomas Aquinas,

Despite the claims made by certain strands of historiography regarding his staunch Aristotelianism, Wenck's incorporation of a "mystical" source like pseudo-Dionysius in his analysis of the *Poetics* opens the door to a new perspective on his works. The Heidelberg theologian did not simply reject such sources;⁴⁹ rather, if anything, he merged them with Aristotelian doctrines.

Besides, as I already indicated above, following Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*, Wenck understands the Aristotelian text as the final part of the *Organon*. This means that the poetic language that Wenck is dealing with still lies within the field of Aristotelian logic. The consequences of such a remark are quite relevant. In claiming that Aristotle's *Poetics* is useful within symbolic theology, Wenck also suggests that logic (and, therefore, philosophy) represents *de facto* a pivotal step to gain access to pseudo-Dionysius.

Indeed, at the end of the *Poetria Aristotelis* Wenck comments: "the ones who are bestowed with the light of philosophy and the power of natural intellect were able to interpret the work of the Creator".⁵⁰ To claim authority over the interpretation of Scripture is still a philosophical act. Wenck understands Aristotle's philosophical work on poetic composition as a step toward the philosophical knowledge of God. The symbolic – or "metaphorical" – theology that emerges from Wenck's analysis seeks to provide deeper knowledge of God, attainable through an intellectual and philosophical process that ultimately leads to a kind of *deificatio* of the human being, as we read in his commentary to the *De coelesti hierarchia*:

in his commentary to the *De divinis nominibus* clearly considers the *De symbolica theologia* as a lost text of the Areopagite; the same goes for Albert the Great before him. Cf. Albertus Magnus, *Super IV libros Sententiarum*, Auguste Borgnet (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vivès, 1893–1894, vol. 1, dist. 22, art. 1, 567b: "Ad aliud dicendum, quod Dionysius divisit nomina divina per tractatum quatuor librorum: de quibusdam enim tractat in libro suo quem vocat de Hypostasibus, id est, de personis: in quo ipse determinat de uno membro istius divisionis Ambrosii, scilicet de his quae proprietates dicunt in divinis. In alio tangit de his quae secundum translationem, quod ipse symbolum vocat, de Deo dicuntur, et de hoc fecit symbolicae theologiae: quos duos libros non habemus"; Thomas de Aquino, *In librum beati Dionysii De divinis nominibus expositio*, Ceslas Pera (ed.), Romae: Marietti, 1950, ch. 1, lec. 3, art. 102: "Et de huiusmodi Dei nominibus promittit se dicturum in libro de symbolica theologia, qui nondum apud nos habetur". On Albert's conception of symbolic theology, cf. Henryk Anzulewicz, Albertus Magnus über die "ars de symbolica theologia" des Dionysius Areopagita, *Theologia y vida* 51 (2010): 307–343.

⁴⁹ Further remarks on Wenck's "anti-mystic" positions are found in K. Meredith Ziebart, *Nicolaus Cusanus on Faith and the Intellect: A Case Study in 15th-Century Fides-Ratio Controversy*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, 56–83.

⁵⁰ Cf. Appendix, 215: "(Regul)a: luce philosophye / naturalis ingenii vigore prediti interpretare poterunt de Creatore".

... the celestial hierarchies appear to our [human] hierarchies solely through symbols, so that through the celestial imitation we could assimilate to God. See here, *Therefore, Grace, which reveals to us, according to the proportion of our deification (the good principles of perfection and the celestial hierarchies, and making our [human] hierarchy their cooperators, according to our power in the imitation of the divine-like sanctification of these celestial hierarchies)*⁵¹

Regarding the last point, another aspect that requires clarification is what Johannes Wenck meant by the term *gratia* in relation to theology and metaphoric speech.

The issue of the relationship between *gratia* and figurative speech is raised, in the form of a rhetorical question, also in a *glossa* to his commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, where Wenck asks himself: "If in well-disposed nature grace operates better, why should the divine word not shine and manifest itself better and more clearly in the artificial discourse?"⁵² In other words, since divine grace operates better in nature if it is disposed and governed by God's will, why should it be differ-

51 Cf. *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 3r: "... quod celestes yerarchie per simbola solum manifestantur nostre yerarchie, ut yimitatione celestis deificemur. Ibi: *Huius ergo gratia nostrae secundum proportionem deificationis*..." Here Wenck is quoting *verbatim* an excerpt from pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia* in John Sarrazin's translation; cf. Dionysius Areopagita, *De caelesti hierarchia*: *Secundum translationem quam fecit Johannes Sarraecensus*, in: *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble des trad. latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage etc.*, vol. 2, Philippe Chevallier (ed.), Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1937–1951, 737–738: "*Huius ergo gratia nostrae secundum proportionem deificationis, benignus perfectionis principatus et caelestes hierarchias nobis manifestans, et cooperatricem ipsarum faciens nostram hierarchiam, secundum uirtutem nostram assimilatione deiformis ipsarum sanctificationis*".

52 *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 2r: "Si in natura disposita gracia melius operatur, quare in ar[tificiali] dictione dominica dictio non magis luceret et apertius manifestaret?"; on top of this, Wenck also adds in Cod. Pal. lat. 1590 fol. 2v a quotation from Quintilianus' *Institutio Oratoria* that reads: "Nihil precepta artis valent nisi adiuvante natura", and we already know from Wenck that nature is the realm where grace operates ("Quia in natura gracia operatur etc.", cf. Appendix, 19). A possible source for the *glossa* found in *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, surely known to Wenck, is Denys the Carthusian. We know that Denys is a secure source for our author at least for the *glossa* in fol. 57v of the *Poetria Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 (cf. Appendix, 107). Also, in his commentary on the third book of sentences, Denys writes: "Quum que caritas perseveret in patria, dicunt quod tales gradus non sunt caritatis per se. Item, quoniam Augustinus testatur, quod nihil diligimus in proximo nisi rationem imaginis, quae ratio aequaliter consistit in omnibus ... tunc enim natura concordat cum gratia ... videlicet, ordo naturae tantum, et ordo gratiae tantum, ac ordo gratiae in natura: ordo naturae tantum est, ut se principaliter diligit, et alia plus et plus secundum quod magis et magis pertinent ad se: qui ordo curvus est, et est naturae corruptae, et eget correctione ... Ordo gratiae in natura est in vita praesenti: qui ordo corrigit et reformat curvitatem naturae. Quod autem Deus plantavit in nostra natura, videlicet quod nos ipsos magis quam alios, et consanguineos magis quam alienos diligimus, tolerat" (Dionysius Cartusianus, *Commentarii in librum tertium Sententiarum*, in: *Opera omnia: In unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Coloniensium*, vol. 15, Tornaci: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1902, III.29.1, 487).

ent for the divine discourse, also artificially disposed in the Holy Scriptures? What Wenck suggests here is an analogy between the way divine grace operates in the world of nature and the way it operates in the world of language.⁵³

A follow-up to this position is found precisely in the *glossa* to the *Poetics* from which we set off at the very beginning of the present analysis. Given the agency of divine grace being displayed in nature, Aristotle's *Poetics* must be held in the highest consideration, for its reading helps decipher and appreciate God's divine will as it unfolds through the Holy Scriptures. In other words, Wenck argues that in order to understand the work of divine grace in the world, we must learn to decipher metaphors.

Not only is the natural world written in symbols, but the revelation is also conveyed through them. The theologian's task, through Aristotle, is to learn how to decipher them, how to make them meaningful, so that they will eventually navigate the believers towards a more profound knowledge of God.⁵⁴ Once more, poetry is presented as a helpful tool for understanding God's nature.

Two decisive references are then essential to clarify Wenck's position on the role of grace: a passage contained in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 600, where our author explains what he understands as divine grace, and a passage drawn from manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 149 fol. 4r belonging to his already known commentary on pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia*.

53 This idea is elaborated more explicitly by Wenck in his commentary on the *De coelesti hierarchia*, as reported by García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 600–602.

54 Wenck in *De ignota litteratura*, 10–20 dwells on the role played by *phantasmata* in the intellectual process; within the Holy Scripture, he argues, sensible images are employed, in the form of sensible metaphors, precisely to activate the human intellect, which can function only as long as it deals with sensible matter and, therefore, with *phantasmata*: “Repugnat namque in hac vita, ubi secundum Boetium ‘omne quod recipitur recipitur secundum modum recipientis’, aliter homine comprehendere quam comprehensibiliter et in imagine, cum, ex. De Anima III^o, hoc sit phantasmata ad intellectum quod est color ad visum. Constat autem sine lumine coloris actuante obiectaliter visum nihil posse videre; ergo nec sine phantasmate contingit nos intelligere. Quapropter Scriptura Sancta in symbolis nobis tradidit divinitus inspirata ac revelata pariformiter ad consuetudinem naturalis nostre conceptionis” (cf. Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's Debate with John Wenck: A Translation and an Appraisal of “De ignota litteratura” and “Apologia doctae ignorantiae”*, Minneapolis: Arthur J. Banning Press, 1998, 9). The same issues are also addressed by Wenck in his *glossae* on the *Poetics* contained in the *Poetria Aristotelis* of Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, where a passage drawn from Quintilianus' *Institutiones* explaining the meaning of *phantasmata* is quoted to integrate Aristotle's text on poetry; cf. Appendix, 41. On Wenck's theory concerning the *phantasmata*, cf. Alessandra Saccon, Albertism in John Wenck's Commentary on the Third Book of “De anima”, in: *From Paris to Heidelberg: The Teaching of John Wenck of Herrenberg in the Mirror of His Unedited Works*, Mario Meliadori (ed.), *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79, no. 3, Special Issue (2024): 506–514.

In his short *De gratia*, Wenck clearly states that grace is both “the similitude of God in the creature” and “the similitude of the soul with God”.⁵⁵ There is then a circularity, almost a sort of reciprocity, between human beings and God regarding the concept of grace.⁵⁶ Yet, what do the metaphors Aristotle discusses in his *Poetics* have to do with divine grace operating within nature? In answering this question, Wenck demonstrates his ability to merge insights from pseudo-Dionysius with the Aristotelian treatise on poetic discourse.

4 The Effect of Symbolic Discourse: A Practical Example from Wenck’s *glossae*

First, one must look again at fol. 49r of Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, where Wenck draws a “linear scheme” based on a passage of John’s Gospel (John 6:51): “The bread that I

55 *De gratia*, Cod. Pal. lat. 600, fol. 80v: “Gratia est dei similitudo in creatura ... gratia aliud non sit quam similitudo anime ad deum”; the whole passage of the manuscript, which I quote only partially, corresponds to an excerpt from Alexander of Hales’s discussion on grace in his *Summa*, cf. Alexander de Hales, *Summa theologica* (seu sic ab origine dicta “Summa Fratris Alexandri”), vol. 4, part 3, Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae (eds.), Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1948, inquis. 1, tract. 1, q. 6–632, 1000: “Secundum quod gratia est similitudo primae veritatis etc.” Textual evidence indicates that Wenck was relying on Alexander of Hales’ *Summa Theologica*; indeed also in Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 39r; while writing about the nature of God, Wenck writes about the concepts of purification (*purgatio*), enlightening (*illuminatio*) and perfection (*perfectio*), which correspond exactly to the three agencies of grace mentioned by Alexander in his *Summa*. Of course, another pivotal reference to the doctrine of the activity of the divine grace in the natural world is Augustine; cf. Chenu, *Involucrum*, 78.

56 This excerpt on grace contained in Cod. Pal. lat. 600 at fol. 80v seems to show that Wenck ascribes such an important status to grace due to pseudo-Dionysius. When commenting upon pseudo-Dionysius, he writes: “... for everything that exists participates in the divine good, either because of its nature or because of the distribution of grace, and a given natural state precedes the addition of the perfect spiritual gift, which is added only at a later time”. *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, BAV, Pal. lat. 149, fol. 3v: “Quia omne quod est divinam participat bonitatem, aut in condicione nature aut in distributione gratie. Et precedit datum naturale substitutum augmentum perfecte donationis quod subsequenter annectitur”. Then the text continues: “Pater autem luminum est pater celestis, lumen primum atque intimum, a quo verbum suum, per quod omnia a quo etiam et verbo suo lumen procedit spiritus sanctus, donationum distributor. Omnis ergo creatura visibilis et invisibilis lumen est conditum a patre luminum. Verbi gratia, ut ab ex intimis nature ordinibus paradigma summamus lapis iste vel hoc lignum michi lumen est, nam hunc lapidem vel hoc lignum considerans, multa michi occurrunt que animum meum illuminant; quod et apostolus edocuit cum dixit invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea que sunt intellecta conspiciuntur [Rom. 1:20]”.

will give is my flesh, for the life of the world”, which is followed by the description of an argument that rises among the Jews, shocked by Jesus’ claim.⁵⁷ Here is the reproduction of the scheme found in the manuscript:

	quem ego dabo		promissio					
panis	caro mea est	Johannes 6	assertio	surgit litigium Iudeorum ex hiis verbis	moventur	non pie, sed impie	est igitur motio	pia — impia
	pro mundi vita		fructifi- catio				[per oppo- situm “immotio”]	

This passage is concerned with the nature of Jesus himself, who claims to be the “bread of life” coming from heaven.⁵⁸ Wenck’s theoretical concern is about the role of *motio* as the main effect of Jesus’ words in particular and of metaphorical speech in general.

One must remember that the scheme presented here precedes a Latin copy of Averroes’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics*. In his interpretation of the text, the commentator makes it clear that the goal of tragedy (*ṣinā’at al-madiḥ* / *ars laudandi* or *tragoedia*) is to move (*ḥaṭṭa* / *inducere, movere, instigare*) the listener or the reader of the poem to follow or to imitate the virtuous deeds told wherein. Indeed, also inspired by the interpretation offered by his Muslim predecessors, Averroes

57 John 6:47–51: “Amen, amen dico vobis: qui credit in me, habet vitam aeternam. Ego sum panis vitae. Patres vestris manducaverunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt. Hic est panis de caelo descendens. Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum pro mundi vita”.

58 A good reference to better understand Wenck’s analysis of this passage is Thomas Aquinas’ *Commentary* on the same verse. In his *Super Evangelium S. Ioannis* Thomas Aquinas shows how the argument (*litigium*) that arose between the people (*Iudeorum* in Wenck’s *glossa*) after listening to Jesus’ speech were mainly due to a literal (and not metaphorical) interpretation of it. While commenting on another place of John’s gospel (John 6:42), well connected to the one here at stake, Aquinas writes: “Verba autem murmurantium ponit cum dicit nonne hic est filius Ioseph? Quia enim carnales erant, carnalem Christi generationem solam considerabant, ex qua impediabantur ne cognoscerent spiritualem et aeternam; et ideo de sola carnali loquuntur, secundum illud supra III, 31: qui de terra est, de terra loquitur, et spirituale non capiunt” (Thomas de Aquino, *Super Evangelium S. Ioannis lectura, lectio*, Raffaele Cai (ed.), Taurini: Marietti, 1952, V.II-931, 175). Wenck seems to have in mind this passage, when commenting on Aristotle’s *Poetics* introduces the following: “Opponuntur: impatientia murmuris / munificentia creatoris – vituperatio/laudatio – in blasphemiam / glorificationem – premii gehennalis/beatitudinis”, cf. Appendix, 139.

ascribes to poetry an ethical and even religious aim.⁵⁹ The offspring of this perspective is that metaphorical (which, for Wenck, is the same as poetic) language can indeed change (*motio*) the soul of whoever is reading or listening to it.⁶⁰ In other words, Wenck's concern about the *motio* as the specific agency of poetic speech reveals all his debts to Averroes' understanding of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

And yet, upon closer inspection, Wenck's scheme reveals something unexpected. I have already mentioned how, in John's Gospel, Jesus declares himself to be the bread of life. As a consequence of his statement, the Jews standing around him get upset and start quarrelling (*surgit litigium Iudeorum*). The peculiarity of the sketch Wenck presents here is that it does not focus on the success of Christ's speech but instead pinpoints its failure. Indeed, as much as the Jews are moved (*moventur*) by the discourse, they are moved "non pie, sed impie". That is to say, they do not become any closer to God after hearing Jesus' comment. The poetic speech, even when Christ himself delivers it, is unsuccessful for them. Why so?

The "religious" metaphors, by which I mean the poetic tropes used in the Bible, are not valid *erga omnes*: they need an external element to be effective on the audience. That element is "divine grace operating in nature". Now, in Wenck's example, the Jews are those who are not bestowed with the gift of grace. Certainly, Jesus' speech has an effect on them, namely that of making them quarrel with one another. After all, from Averroes' reading of the *Poetics*, Wenck learned that every poetic (symbolic) discourse has the effect of moving the soul. But the Jews cannot count on grace operating in them; they are not illuminated by it, thus they do not understand the real meaning of his words. As a consequence of this, their *motio* is *impia*, i.e. they cannot correctly interpret the symbols used by Jesus in his speech. As I already indicated above, to understand God's symbolic discourse means to make oneself somewhat more divine; yet, as a result of the impossibility of their understanding Jesus' symbolic speech, the Jews do not assimilate to God. Consequently, their *motio* is described by Wenck as *impia*.

According to Wenck's theory of metaphors, there is almost a performative agency in the metaphor's effect on the human soul.⁶¹ As stated before, in his commentary on *De coelesti hierarchia*, the theologian upholds that God created the

59 José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, *Aesthetics in the Arabic Thought: From Pre-Islamic Arabia through Andalus*, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 674–675.

60 Wenck also reads about the moving power connected to poetical language in Quintilianus, cf. Appendix, 41.

61 For the poetical precepts (*praecepta representationis*) brought about by Wenck in his commentary to the *De coelesti hierarchia*, cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 598–600.

world through images⁶² that we could understand as symbols of His own nature. Thanks to the external element of grace that illuminates our intellects so that we can actually see *in sensibilibus intelligibilia*, we are somehow moved closer to him through a process of assimilation to God. This is illustrated in the short excerpt *De gratia* witnessed in Cod. Pal. lat. 600 and supported by the passage of his commentary to pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia* on the *deificatio* already quoted above.⁶³ Therefore, whatever is contained in Aristotle's *Poetics* is to be combined with the preliminary assumption that only grace grants the poetic language the power and effectiveness to move the soul closer to God.⁶⁴ This is the nature and the role of grace according to Wenck.

This appears as a hitherto unattested and unique application of what is theoretically prescribed in Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics*.⁶⁵ Among the *scientiae*

62 *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 30v: "... Wilhelmus parisiensis [William of Auvergne] in libro suo *De Universo* ait ut faceret idest ut faciem daret. Omne ergo creatum dei symbolum est et effigies intelligibilium et divinorum".

63 Cf. the reference in *Commentarium in De coelesti yerarchia beati Dyonisii*, Cod. Pal. lat. 149, fol. 3r quoted above, note 52.

64 The theological aspect, albeit of primary importance, is not the only aspect that Wenck considers. As a matter of fact, he provides an analysis that divides the Gospel's excerpt into three different *rhetorical* segments. In his scheme, Wenck divides the *thema* into three parts: the first is the promise (*promissio*), corresponding to the statement: "the bread that I will give"; then comes the declaration (*assertio*), corresponding to the sentence: "that bread is my own flesh"; and eventually comes the *fructificatio* – that we might translate as "spiritual fruitfulness" (for this latter translation cf. Ronald Edward Latham and David R. Howlett, Fasc. 4: F–G–H, in: *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 1015) – which is, "for the life of the world". The combination of these three elements makes the speech highly efficient from a poetic perspective. In addition, the rhetorical interests of Wenck are also indicated – as the quotations of the appendix clearly shows – by the fact that his main reference while annotating upon the text is Quintilianus' *Institutio oratoria*.

65 Wenck is not the first intellectual to deal with Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* in the Latin world. The first to make use of Aristotle's *Poetics* as transmitted by Hermannus Alemannus through Averroes was the Franciscan Roger Bacon, who also gave poetry an eminent role within Aristotelian sciences; cf. Eugenio Massa, *Ruggero Bacone: Etica e poetica nella storia dell' "Opus maius"*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955. Nonetheless, I believe that the direct access that Roger Bacon had to the text translated by Hermannus is to be regarded with scepticism, as already noted by Irène Rosier-Catach, Roger Bacon, al-Farabi et Augustin: Rhétorique, logique et philosophie morale, in: *La Rhétorique d'Aristote: Tradition et commentaires de l'antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, Gilbert Dahan and Irène Rosier-Catach (eds.), Paris: J. Vrin, 1998, 107. Be this as it may, it is indisputable that Wenck represents quite a unique case of the concrete application of Aristotle's *Poetics* to religious content such as the Gospel. On the fortune of Hermannus' translation of the *Poetics* in the Latin West, cf. Kelly, *Aristotle–Averroes–Alemannus on Tragedy*; Boggess, *Aristotle's "Poetics" in the Fourteenth Century*; Dahan, *Notes et textes sur la Poétique au Moyen Âge*.

sermocinales, Wenck gives poetry a special status. Through the knowledge derived from poetic (that is, symbolic) language, it is possible not only to decipher God's way of operating in nature, but also to procure a way to intellectually come closer to Him.

Besides, one should not underestimate the role played by pleasure within this process of "metaphorical learning", which was also explicitly addressed by Wenck in his commentary on pseudo-Dionysius' *De coelesti hierarchia*.⁶⁶ There is a symbolic meaning in God's speech that the study of the rules of poetry can make us understand, whereas the other logical (*logicales*) or linguistic (*sermocinales*) sciences cannot. Once one understands this as connected to the grace operating in this world, one can be elevated towards a higher knowledge of the symbolic nature of the Divine discourse, thus realising the aforementioned process of *deificatio* granted by the symbolic structure of the world and by the intervention of grace within it.

Whether the distance between human beings and God could ever be completely bridged by the understanding of divine poetic language is a crucial issue for Wenck.⁶⁷ Wenck is cautious not to risk suggesting a real (*realiter*) assimilation to God. So, in order to clarify this last aspect, let us look for a moment at the *glossa* in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 at fol. 50r, that reads: "When philosophers, much learned in every aspect of reality, used to say that the soul is formed (*compactam*) by all the parts of nature, they did not mean it according to a [real] composition, but virtually according to a similitude of composition".⁶⁸

66 Indeed, García-Rengifo already demonstrated how the theme of the pleasure derived from symbolic discourse introduced by Wenck in his commentary to *De coelesti hierarchia* is "literally taken from Averroes' *Poetics*"; cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 593.

67 For further remarks on this issue in the late-medieval tradition, cf. the introduction to Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's Dialectical Mysticism: Text, Translation and Interpretative Study of "De visione dei"*, Minneapolis: Arthur J. Banning Press, 1988, 1–99 and Loris Sturlese, *Von der Würde des unwürdigen Menschen: Theologische und philosophische Anthropologie im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Homo Divinus: Philosophische Projekte in Deutschland zwischen Meister Eckhart und Heinrich Seuse*, Loris Sturlese (ed.), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007, 35–46.

68 Appendix, 21: "Cum philosophi, in omni rerum natura peritissimi, dicebant animam ex cunctis nature partibus compactam, non intellexerunt secundum compositionem, sed secundum compositionis similitudinem virtualiter". This is a reference to a common *topos* generally connected to Plato's *Timaeus*; one can find traces of this concept in Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*: "Probata apud philosophos sententia animam ex cunctis naturae partibus asserit esse compactam. Et Timeus Platonis ex dividua et individua mixtaque substantia, itemque eadem et diversa, et ex utroque commixta natura quo universitas designatur, entelechiam formavit" (cf. Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, Thilo Offergeld (ed. and trans.), Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1997, 110–112); here, Hugh explains his conception of the *mystic* way of learning, that takes two direc-

In this passage, the author is alluding to the *locus communis* of the soul being “formed” by all the parts of nature. All the things existing in nature contribute to the existence of our soul.⁶⁹ In fact, the passage quoted here is usually connected to the *locus* of the *Timaeus* where Plato discusses the world’s soul. The referenced passages touch on a point that is relevant for understanding Wenck’s theory of metaphors. Metaphors (as I have already shown), despite being perfect paedagogical tools that lead to a divine-like level of knowledge, must not be taken as real descriptions of reality. The claim that grace is the similitude of God within our souls, as it appears in the above-mentioned *De gratia*, does not imply that humans actually share with God some part of their essence, just as asserting that our soul is composed by all the elements of nature (*ex cuncta nature partibus compacta*) does not necessarily mean that we actually contain all of them within ourselves.

As another proof of this approach, one should look at Wenck’s remarks on Gen. 1:26: “Let us make human being in our image, after our likeness”. The *glossa* reads as follows: “When it is said that man was made after God’s likeness (*ad similitudinem Dei*), that preposition *ad* indicates the distance from a perfect similarity when he reaches Him”.⁷⁰ Now, the Latin “*ad similitudinem Dei*” is interpreted by Wenck with a special emphasis on the preposition *ad*.⁷¹ This preposition signifies the

tions: one concerns that kind of knowledge that reaches sensible things through sense, while the other leads to invisible things through intellection. The passage in the version of the *Timaeus* translated and commented by Calcidius corresponds to *Tim.* 27 in Waszink’s edition, cf. Plato, *Timaeus: A calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, Jan Hendrik Waszink (ed.), London: Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1975, 23 (26.B.6–27.C): “Hac igitur reputatione intellectu in anima, porro anima in corpore locata, totum animantis mundi ambitum cum veneranda illustratione composuit. Ex quo apparet sensibilem mundum animal intellegens esse divinae providentiae sanctione”. Another relevant reference to understand this passage is the one edited by Tina Stiefel and attributed to William of Conches that runs as follow: “Quando philosophi loquuntur de anima mundi, tunc transferunt se ad fabulosa et integumenta, ut Plato fecit in Thimeo. Sed quod Plato voluisset omnes animas simul esse creatas, numquam invenitur, sed imposita esse stellis et descendere per planetas. Sed dictum est per integumentum”. Cf. Stiefel, *Twelfth-Century Matter for Metaphor*, 185. On the reception of the *Timaeus* via Calcidian and non-Calcidian translations, cf. Michel Lemoine, Le “*Timée*” latin en dehors de Calcidius, in: *Langages et philosophie*, Alain de Libera (ed.), Paris: J. Vrin, 1997, 63–78.

⁶⁹ Cf. the translation of the *Didascalicon* published in Jerome Taylor, *The “Didascalicon” of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to Arts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1961, 178–179, note 8 and 10, with an indication of some passages from the *Timaeus*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Appendix, 33: “Cum dicitur homo factus ad similitudinem Dei hec prepositio *ad* notat distantiam a perfecta similitudine cum accedat ad Ipsum”.

⁷¹ Wenck’s remarks on Gen. 1:26 mirror a classical hermeneutics of the biblical passage that traces back to Augustine; cf. Robert Austin Markus, “Imago” and “Similitudo” in Augustine, *Revue d’Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 10, no. 2–3 (1964): 125–144, esp. 132–133; Jean-Luc Marion, *Resting*,

ultimately unbridgeable distance between humankind and God when the human being has access to him. While the human being can reach God, and the condition is provided here (*cum accedat Ipsum*), this does not imply that humanity *in via* is somehow able to participate to the exact nature of God. That *ad* is a reminder of the eternal gap between creature and Creator.⁷²

After all, Wenck here assumes an interpretation of metaphors that during the Middle Ages has been undertaken by many intellectuals (versed or not in Neoplatonic philosophy). When philosophy uses metaphors and rhetorical figures, one should not take them as if they were realistic considerations of the state of things, but rather as fictional representations of reality. In the example offered by Wenck, philosophers much acquainted with the science of nature used to say that the soul was composed (*compacta*) of all the parts of nature, yet this was meant only *virtualiter*. The same goes for what is found in the Bible when it is said that God and man are alike.

Clearly, such understanding of metaphorical speech does not necessarily entail some new stand on the subject. And, as I already noted, Wenck himself explicitly admits following his predecessors in his analysis of symbolic discourse.⁷³ The uniqueness of Wenck's position, I would argue, lies in the effectiveness he attributes to religious metaphors when illuminated by grace. According to Wenck, our souls can be affected by the symbolic language of poetry in a way that no other form of expression can reach. Bearing these remarks in mind, one should understand his quotation of Quintilian's description of the effect of poetic images as "in affectibus potentissimus".⁷⁴

Through the symbolic language of the Bible (which must always be interpreted *per analogiam*, as I have already noted), we can not only gain a deeper understanding of God, but also act more virtuously by following biblical prescriptions, thereby drawing closer to Him. Through Aristotle's *Poetics*, which, as presented by Averroes, remains part of the Aristotelian *corpus* of logic, Wenck was eventually able to offer an eminently philosophical key to help unlock the Holy Scripture.

Moving, Loving: The Access to the Self According to Saint Augustine, *The Journal of Religion* 91, no. 1 (2011): 24–42; on this point, also cf. the remarks of García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 601–602.

72 This interpretation follows the Augustinian tradition taken over by Peter Lombard in the medieval theological tradition, cf. Sturlese, *Von der Würde des unwürdigen Menschen*, 36–47.

73 See above, note 45.

74 Cf. Appendix, 41.

5 Concluding Remarks

From what we have seen, we can now draw some concluding (yet not definitive) remarks as to Wenck's reading of Aristotle's *Poetics* and, more generally, to his conception of metaphorical discourse within the interpretation of the Holy Scripture.

Metaphors, as we have seen, are the perfect paedagogical tool. Not only is poetry the art that moves us to accomplish virtuous deeds (as Averroes' commentary on the *Poetics* taught), but it is also the way by which one can intellectually assimilate oneself to God – in the sense illustrated above. In Aristotle's *Poetics*, Wenck not only reads about a profane form of poetry; Averroes' commentary helps him understand the close relationship between the Holy Scriptures and poetic language as well as the importance of metaphors in offering people a model of pious behaviour. Wenck uses all this material to provide an unattested reading of Aristotle's *Poetics* as a guide to understanding God's nature as illustrated within the Bible.

A theological tension runs throughout the text: metaphors and poetic language in general, even when used within the Holy Scriptures, need grace to be effective, forging the similitude between God and the creature – as the example of the *litigium Iudeorum* shows. This theological reading of the poetic language is always counterbalanced by the philosophical and essentially Aristotelian orientation shaping Wenck's debate on figurative speech.

As for the sources on which Wenck relies for his analysis of poetic expression, it might be too much to proclaim him a defender of the use of the pseudo-Dionysian *corpus* within the philosophical debate of his times. Yet, even after a cursory overlook at the manuscripts annotated by him, one cannot help but recognise Wenck's deep indebtedness to pseudo-Dionysius' *corpus* – at times integrated by the study of authors such as Scotus Eriugena, Hugh of Saint Victor, and Denys the Carthusian – as the sources quoted in the following appendix clearly indicate.

With regard to his classical background, one must remember that for Wenck the *Poetics* of Aristotle never ceases to be a technical handbook for poetic composition, combinable with Quintilianus' *Institutio oratoria* and Horace's *Epistula ad Pisones* and even to Seneca's tragedies.⁷⁵ Mario Meliadò presented Wenck as an intellectual who wanted to make poetry a key subject within the late scholastic

75 Cf. *Ad practicam Rhetoricae*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, 38r: "ex Oratio de Poetria"; as for his knowledge of classical *auctoritates* it is sufficient to recall once again his frequent quotation of Seneca's tragedies (cf. Appendix, 77 and 221–222) and the recurrent use of Quintilianus; cf. Ward, *Quintilian and the Rhetorical Revolution* 231–284; Priscilla Boskoff, Quintilian in the Late Middle Ages, *Speculum* 27, no. 1 (1952): 71–78; Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Willard R. Trask (trans.), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

curriculum.⁷⁶ He correctly noted how Wenck could therefore represent a case for humanism at the University of Heidelberg. A central role in this was played by his acquaintance with the humanist Peter Luder,⁷⁷ who arrived at the University of Heidelberg in 1456, in the middle of the decade during which, as I illustrated above, Wenck surely commented on pseudo-Dionysius and, arguably, on Aristotle's rhetorical treatises.⁷⁸

While Luder is undeniably a pivotal figure for understanding the rise of a humanistic interests⁷⁹ at the University of Heidelberg, Wenck's reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* in his *Artificium memoriae* from 1444 suggests that such intellectual pursuits were already present in Heidelberg. This was undeniably inspired by figures like Luder but nonetheless already flourishing nearly a decade before his arrival in Germany.

Wenck thus stands out as a remarkable figure in fifteenth-century Heidelberg. He emerges as the first medieval scholar within a major university to take Aristotle's *Poetics* seriously, integrating it into a broader system of sciences that encompassed classical Latin rhetorical treatises and the theological *corpus* of the Areopagite. As the following appendix illustrates, Wenck demonstrates an impressive familiarity with key works of the classical tradition. He engages deeply with Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (in the edition prepared by Poggio Bracciolini in 1416), prefers Seneca's tragedies over his more renowned dialogues and letters, and draws upon Horace's *Ars poetica* as well as the writings of Terence, Cicero, and Ovid.

In my analysis I avoided addressing the philosophical debate between Cusanus and Wenck. Yet I believe that Wenck's theory of metaphors as it is developed through the notes at Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 is animated by the theoretical dispute that occurred between these two great theologians. Indeed, reading his comments on Gen. 1:26 and his use of the concept of divine grace within poetic discourse, one can maintain Wenck's conception of a positive (or affirmative) theology, in contrast with the negative theology proposed by Cusanus.

⁷⁶ Meliadò, *Neuplatonismus an der Universität Heidelberg?*, 186.

⁷⁷ For the evidence regarding the direct influence of Peter Luder on Wenck's intellectual interests, cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 603–610.

⁷⁸ On this point, cf. Meliadò, *Albertism and Humanism*, 473–495 and García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 586 and 603–610. On the figure of Peter Luder, cf. Baron, *The Beginning of German Humanism*.

⁷⁹ When referring to Wenck's intellectual interests, García-Rengifo, following Meliadò, more cautiously talked of a “quasi-humanistic” rather than a “humanistic” intellectual; on Wenck's humanism cf. Meliadò, *Neuplatonismus an der Universität Heidelberg?*, 186; García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 603–610.

The theory of “metaphorical knowledge” that Wenck refers to in his *glossae* on Aristotle’s *Poetics* – namely, that metaphors serve as tools for learning about God and drawing closer to Him – is, although closely linked to his reading of the pseudo-Dionysian *corpus*, still far removed from the distinctive speculation of his rival Cusanus and his *docta ignorantia*.⁸⁰ If anything, Wenck’s theory of metaphors is built on the concept of knowledge and the “knowability” of God through poetic and symbolic speech.⁸¹

The outcomes of Wenck’s analysis of poetic language as it unfolds in his *glossae* to Aristotle’s *Poetics* and in his commentary on the pseudo-Dionysius reveal his original use of “Neoplatonic” sources, which must always be interpreted in the light of Aristotelian principles. As a theologian in Heidelberg, his response to Cusanus’ idea of reintroducing pseudo-Dionysius as a central source within the theosophical debate of the time is brilliant. One should not simply reject “mystic” sources *qua* irrational or anti-Aristotelian. On the contrary, they should be studied, but with the not insignificant caveat that they should be always read through the lens of Aristotelian philosophy. This, at least, seems to represent what Wenck had in mind while annotating Aristotle’s *Poetics*, that he explicitly conceived as a preliminary text, possibly even as a sort of *accessus*, to the intricate complexities of the *corpus Dionysiacum*.

This last consideration should not overshadow the importance of Wenck’s understanding of Aristotelian *Poetics* precisely through pseudo-Dionysian sources. This serves as definitive proof that Johannes Wenck and Cusanus, far from being distant from one another, belonged in fact to the very same cultural environment

⁸⁰ Dermot Moran famously upheld that “the negative way is not a way separate from the affirmative or from the symbolic ways ... we might say, however, that the aim of all these ways is to become, in Cusanus’ phrase, a *doctor ignorantiae*”. This is clearly not Wenck’s direction while commenting on Aristotle’s *Poetics*. His *via mystica* is very different; it does not lead to any kind of ignorance. Cf. Dermot Moran, Pantheism from John Scotus Eriugena to Nicholas of Cusa, *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1990): 131–152, at 132. Moreover, it is hard to avoid comparing this position of Wenck to the sentence found at the beginning of Cusanus’ *De docta ignorantia*: “Non potest igitur finitus intellectus rerum veritatem per similitudinem precise attingere”, which seems to stand in contrast to the theory that Wenck is applying to Aristotle’s *Poetics*; cf. Nicolaus Cusanus, *De docta ignorantia*, Ernst Hoffmann and Raymond Klibansky (eds.), Lipsiae: Meiner, 1932, part 3, ch. 10, 9.

⁸¹ Crucial to this point is the passage reported by García-Rengifo on Wenck’s commentary on the *De coelesti hierarchia*: “Cum in de mystica theologia scriptum sit: ‘ignote ascende’, in eodem libro ‘ignorancia’ capitur non ut est in irrationalibus, sed ut est in intellectualibus et in divinis, non dicens privacionem noticie, sed preeminenciam, excessum et profectum noticie” (García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 593, note 51).

that paid particular attention to pseudo-Dionysius as a major part of its philosophical and theological debate.⁸²

⁸² Cf. Mario Meliadori, Nicola Cusano e il Platonismo di un'aristotelica secta, in: *New Perspectives on the Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages: Sources and Doctrines*, Elisa Bisanti and Alessandro Palazzo (eds.), Rome: Aracne, 2021, 211–212 and 234–235.

Appendix

Johannes Wenck: Marginal Notes to Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* (*Poetria Aristotilis pro Wenck*)

This appendix contains the edition of the *marginalia* annotated by the theologian Johannes Wenck as a kind of “commentary” on the copy of the Latin translation of Averroes’ *Commentary* on the *Poetics* contained in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892, fols. 49r–78v.⁸³ There are two modern critical editions of the Latin translation by Hermannus Alemannus: one by William F. Boggess and one by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello.⁸⁴ But neither of them consulted the copy of the *Poetics* contained in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 for their edition of the text, since they were most likely not aware of its existence.

As shown by Boggess,⁸⁵ the manuscripts containing the Latin translation of Aristotle’s *Poetics* with Averroes’ commentary can be grouped into three categories: those preserving the complete text, the abridgements, and the *compendia*. The copy annotated by Wenck most likely belongs to the so-called “abridgements” group. Indeed, like the other manuscripts in this category, Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 omits the final part of Hermannus’ translation and consistently distinguishes between what is considered part of the Aristotelian text and what is identified as Averroes’ commentary. Each part of the text is, in fact, preceded by phrases such as “dixit Aristoteles” (or simply “dixit”), “dixit Averrois”, or just the names “Aristotelis” or “Averrois”. This distinction between the authorship of Averroes and Aristotle is not found in the versions of Hermannus’ translation that belong to the group of complete texts.

The manuscript contains several errors, to the extent that the Latin occasionally diverges significantly from Hermannus’ original translation. Numerous corrections appear *supra linea*, made by a second hand – possibly Wenck himself. This seems to suggest that the copy preserved in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892 was compared with another, more accurate version of the text. The copy of Averroes’ commentary contained in this manuscript was perhaps produced at Wenck’s request, as suggested by the dedication found on fol. 49r. It was certainly consulted and annotated by Johannes Wenck, possibly around 1455, as indicated by *glossa* 216.

⁸³ Some of these *glossae* have been already published in García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 596–598.

⁸⁴ Averroes, *Commentarium medium in Aristot[el]is Poetria[m]*, Boggess (ed.); Aristoteles, *De arte poetica*, Minio-Paluello (ed.).

⁸⁵ Boggess, *Aristotle’s “Poetics” in the Fourteenth Century*, 278–294.

Since the annotations contained in the manuscript were authored by Wenck,⁸⁶ I have chosen to preserve the spelling as it appears in the manuscript, without normalisation. For the same reason, I have also attempted to reconstruct, as accurately as possible, the many diagrams Wenck drew to summarise or reformulate portions of the text available to him. In particular, the “linear schemes” are reproduced through hyphens connecting the words that compose the scheme,⁸⁷ while the “triads” are reproduced as triangles, on the centre and sides of which a portion of text is reported.

Text enclosed in angle brackets “{...}” represent additions or conjectural reconstructions made to correct or complete passages that are either corrupted or difficult to read.

When a *glossa* is intended as a comment on Averroes’ commentary, I have also transcribed the corresponding portion of the main text as it appears in the manuscript. In such cases, the critical edition by Minio-Paluello is cited in the footnotes for comparison. This approach will allow the reader to appreciate the many textual variants between the version Wenck had at his disposal and the one found in the modern *Aristoteles Latinus* edition.

Each *glossa* (except for the title *Poetria Aristotelis Pro Wenck*) is numbered. Throughout the appendix, references are also provided to the corresponding *folium* in Cod. Pal. lat. 1892. I have chosen not to transcribe marginal notes that merely correct or amend miswritten words in the main text.

Poetria Aristotelis Pro Wenck

[fol. 49r]⁸⁸

[1] Quomodo poeta dipingit orationem ex metaphoris, verba etiam dicta dipingunt eam.

[2] *manicula*. Si turbaris, inspice Mariam et cogita, quale antequam loquaris, quia oportet ad intra disponere sermonem antequam gladius eloquentiae evaginetur.

⁸⁶ As also confirmed by the description of the manuscript in Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini*.

⁸⁷ The only exception is the “linear scheme” of *glossa* 18, which I decided to reproduce using a table instead of the “hyphens” system.

⁸⁸ It is worth noting how the majority of the notes written by Johannes Wenck in fol. 49r were then deleted (arguably by the same Wenck) with a diagonal line on the page; such expunction only seems to concern the *glossae* 2–17.

[3] Aristotiles miro utitur breviluquo, et paucis multa concathenat.

[4] Argumentum: si ad provisionem civitatis inquirantur modi etiam ab aliis, quare vi induta.

[5] Quid pulchrius quam – facere dicere – scire facere dicere – dictis factis et ostensis uti?

[6] Quid acceptius cultura ymaginis?

[7] Ad dictandum: quod nequaquam a bono proposito et concepto esiliendum est propter emulos. Suffragantur omnes prologi librorum, sicut ad laudem trinitatis varie omnes fines ymponum, quoniam in talibus multiformiter forma modus (componendi) videtur in practica et ad oculum prohemiandi, quia una forma in arte licet in materia variata et in modus varie, etiam ymitandus (vide ergo Verum et Entem, Boethium vel Aristotelem, Salvatorem vel Prophetam). Quomodo in eadem artis forma prohemiandi infinitis quasi utatur materiis, scilicet prohemiiis. Et tu fac similiter infingendo moderate, et ita de aliis partibus orationis.

Pro ingressu in singulos textus divinos et humanos qui utuntur dicere et ubilibet attende tam ad formam (et) materiam. Et cum materialiter nullus umquam dixerit, ut alter, varietas valde delectabat, et sic non oportet nova conficere exemplaria imitandi, cum sufficiant prius confecta.

[8] Capitulum: De scire ostendere facere facilem addiscentiam,⁸⁹ sicut aliud est dicere primum propositi, aliud dicere ostendere secundum persuasionis. Apud Aristotelem Tertio Rethorice⁹⁰ aliud

⁸⁹ For the unusual term *addiscentia*, cf. its occurrence in Enricus Bate, *Speculum divinarum et quorundam naturalium*, parts XX–XXIII: *On the Heavens, the Divine Movers, and the First Intellect*, Carlos Steel and Guy Guldentops (eds.), Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996, part XXII.1, 263: “Et Commentator ibidem: ... *homo acquirit scientiam sine addiscentiam* seu disciplina et *habet sanitatem sine exercitio*”; the term is read by Enricus Bate in Averroes’ commentary on the second book of the *De caelo*; cf. Averroes, *Commentum magnum super libro De celo et mundo Aristotelis*, Rüdiger Arnzen (ed.), Leuven: Peeters, 2003, 392, where one can find the variant *addiscitione*, with no variant witnessing Bate’s *addiscentia*. Other occurrences of the term *addiscentia* are found in Themistius, *Paraphrasis in Aristotelis: Posteriora, & Physica: In libros item de anima, memoria et remiscencia, somno et vigilia, insomniis, & diuinatione per somnum: Hermolao Barbaro interprete*, Venetiis: Hieronimus Scotum, 1549, 24, l. 22–23; Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum Sacrae Theologiae Rosarium: Iuxta Quatuor Sententiarum Libros quadripartitum: Ex Doctrina Doctoris Subtilis, Divi Thomae, Divi Bonaventurae, aliorumque Sacrorum Doctorum*, vol. 2, Venetiis: Ex officina Damiani Zenarii, 1586, ch. 4, 235; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Omnia quotquot extant D. Ambrosii ... opera: primum per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum, mox per Sig. Gelenium, deinde per alios eruditos viros diligenter castigata ...: quae singulis tomis contineantur cum catalogus eorum post uitam D. Ambrosii succedens ... index geminus sub finem operis adiectus est foecundissimus*, Basileae: Ex officina Frobeniana, 1555, 354.

⁹⁰ Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III, 1410b7, 298: “Facere quidem igitur est apti nati aut exercitati, ostendere autem methodi huius”; as to Wenck’s understanding of *facere*, cf. Wenck’s note at: Pal. lat. 149, fol. 30v: “... Wilhelmus parisiensis [William of Auvergne] in libro suo De Universo ait ut *faceret* idest ut *faciem daret* [italics are mine]. Omne ergo creatum dei symbolum est et effigies intelligibilium et divinarum”, cf. Guilielmus (Arvernus) Parisiensis, *De Univer-*

est facere, aliud est ostendere, quia: facere est ipsius apti nati et exercitati habitus, sed ostendere est ipsius methodi et artis rethorice. Ex Tertio autem De Anima⁹¹ et ex Libro Causarum⁹² “intellectus virtus est et potentia reflexiva [add. supra sup. l.] se”, gratia cuius intellectus nedum intelligit, sed etiam intelligit se intelligere. Ergo in scire ostendere, ubi est reflexio noticie et ostensionis, aliud est ostendere, et aliud scire ostendere facere facilem addiscentiam,⁹³ unde ignis elementaris comburit et tamen nescit se comburere.⁹⁴ Ita absque logica, que docet scire quicumque scit, – ayt Albertus –⁹⁵ nescit se scire. Logice autem sive dyalectice assecla est ipsa rhetorica, vestigia eius

so, in: *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, Franciscus Hotot (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Dionysium Thierry, 1674, 634, col. B.F, l. 36: “... facere enim est faciem daret, et hoc manifestum est ex ipso plano literae”.

91 Aristoteles, De anima, translatio “noua” secundum Aquinatis librum, in: *Sancti Thomae de Aquino: Opera Omnia*, vol. 45.1: *Sentencia libri De anima*, René Antoine Gauthier (ed.), Rome: Commissio Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 1984, III.4, 430a: “Et ipse autem intelligibilis est sicut intelligibilia. In hiis quidem enim que sunt sine materia, idem est intelligens et quod intelligitur; sciencia namque speculatiua et sic scibile idem est”. Dionysius Cartusianus, De lumine Christianae theoriae (seu De diuina essentiali), in: *Opera Omnia: In unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Coloniensium*, vol. 33, Tornaci: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1907, 1, art. 95, 353, col. 1, l. 31: “Videmus enim corpora rara et subtilia maiorem habere convenientiam cum perspicuo coeli, quam corpora densa et terminata: corpus autem hominis densum est et terminatum. Adhuc, nulla potentia cognoscitiva organica, est reflexiva supra proprium actum, sicut probat Aristoteles, et post ostendetur: intellectus autem intelligit se intelligere”; Dionysius Cartusianus, Enarratio in librum Ecclesiastae, in: *Opera Omnia: In unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Coloniensium*, vol. 7, 209–288, Tornaci: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1898, art. 3 (elucidatio capituli tertii: “Omnia tempus habent”), ch. 3, 232, v. 21, col. 1, l. 5: “Insuper Aristoteles clarissime docet, intellectum esse immaterialem et immortalem, tam tertio de Anima, quam libro de Animalibus. Proclus quoque Platonicus in Elementatione sua theologica subtilissime immortalitatem animae probat, eo quod omne conversivum ad se ipsum, et redivivum ac reflexivum super proprium actum, necesse sit incorporeum et incorruptibile esse”.

92 Proclus, *Elementatio theologica translata a Guillelmo de Morbecca*, Helmut Boese (ed.), Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1987, propositiones XV, XVI, XVII, and 11–12; for the use of the *Liber da causis* made by Johannes Wenck, cf. Mario Meliàdò, The Doctrine of Intelligence in John Wenck’s Commentary on the “Liber de causis”, in: *From Paris to Heidelberg: The Teaching of John Wenck of Herrenberg in the Mirror of His Unedited Works*, Mario Meliàdò (ed.), *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79, no. 3, Special Issue (2024): 523–548.

93 For the use of the term *addiscentia*, cf. the footnote at *glossa* 8 above.

94 For the analogy between intellect and fire, cf. Aristoteles, *De anima*, I.2, 405a8–13; the passage is quoted in Thomas Aquinas’ Sentences on the *De anima* according to the translation of William of Moerbeke; Thomas de Aquino, *Sentencia libri De anima*, 22: “Democritus autem dulcius dixit enuncians propter quid utrumque horum; animam quidem enim et intellectum idem, istud autem esse primorum et indiuisibilem corporum, motivum autem propter subtilitatem parcium et figuram; figurarum autem leuiter mobilissimam spericam dicit; huiusmodi autem esse intellectum et ignem”.

95 Albertus Magnus, *Super Porphyrium De V universalibus*, Manuel Santos Noya (ed.), Münster: Aschendorff (2004), I.3, 5: “Summe autem necessaria et utilis est logicalis philosophia. Ex quo enim logica docet, qualiter ignotum fiat notum, patet quod in nulla philosophia aliquid notum fieri potest nisi per logicae doctrinae facultatem ... Propter quod nescientes logicam, etiam id quod scire

ymitans et insequens,⁹⁶ cuius ex primo Rhetorice totum artificale est.⁹⁷ Ostensiones quas faciliores et perspicaciores, delectabiliores et venerabiliores faciunt methaphore, quare methaphore, de quibus tanta apud Aristotelem tractatio est, facient facilem addiscentiam.⁹⁸ Facile autem addiscere omnibus delectabile.⁹⁹ Ergo in orare sive dicere omni diligentia aspicere oportet, ob facilem addiscentiam¹⁰⁰ generandam nedum nudam orationem sive dictionem, quin potius et methaforizata.¹⁰¹

[9] Metaphora (que) habet maxime: – evidentiam – delectationem – extraneitatem facit venerabilitatem.¹⁰²

[10] 3: – metaphora – (per) oppositionem – (per) efficaciam presentiam sive pre oculis quecumque operationem servant.

[11] In addiscere in via scientie sicut est tam: – facere – (quam) ostendere sive persuadere.

[12]

Capitulum de facili addiscentia¹⁰³ ex methaphora propria et dicente.¹⁰⁴

Regula: quecumque nominum faciunt nos addiscere delectantissima.

Regula: metaphora facile facit addiscere maxime.

videntur, nesciunt se scire: quia nesciunt qualiter unumquodque sciri oportet, et qualiter probandum vel improbandum est”.

96 This remark is also present in Wenck’s commentary on the *incipit* of Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*; cf. Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 1v: “assecutiva dialetice est”, ubi in lii ‘assecutiva est’ tangitur pro memoria imitatio, cum *assequi* sit *sequi ad*, hoc est imitari vestigia alterius et eisdem adherere”.

97 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, I.1, 1354a1–1354a13, 159: “Rethorica assecutiva dialetice est ... persuasiones enim sunt solum artificiale”; on this, cf. also above, note 14.

98 For the term *addiscentia*, cf. the footnote at *glossa* 9 above.

99 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.10, 1410b10–12, 298: “Addiscere quidem facile delectabile natura omnibus est, nomina autem significant aliquid, quare quecumque nominum faciunt nos addiscere, delectabilissima”.

100 For the term *addiscentia*, cf. the footnote at *glossa* 8 above.

101 For the first part of this notes, cf. *Ad practicam rhetoricae*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 31r: *De excellentia methaporarum*; on this, cf. above, note 34.

102 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.2, 1404b8–12, 1405a9–10, 283–284: “Dissueta enim loqui facit videri venerabiliorum; sicut enim ad extraneos et ad cives homines, idem patiuntur et ad eloquium; propter quod oportet facere extraneum ydioma; admiratores enim advenarum sunt, delectabile autem quod mirabile est”; “... et evidentiam et delectationem et extraneitatem habet maxime metafora, et accipere ipsam non est ab alio”.

103 For the term *addiscentia*, cf. the footnote at *glossa* 8 above.

104 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.10, 1410b10–12, 298: “Addiscere quidem facile delectabile natura omnibus est, nomina autem significant aliquid, quare quecumque nominum faciunt nos addiscere, delectabilissima”.

[13] Quintilianus ratione:

- similitudinis dilectat
- oppositionis clarificat
- actionis seu operationis habitum ostendit.

[14] Aristoteles: “in omnibus operationem facere complacet”,¹⁰⁵ ecce quare per regula(m) multa(m) ab Aristotele tractata est methaphora.

[15] Argumentum. Si, secundum Dyonisium ca^{ta} / Bernardus [Claravallensis? †] formationes fecerunt angeli etiam simbola, tunc in lumine naturali intellectualiter prefulgentes fecerunt metaphoras.¹⁰⁶

[16] Capitulum de excellentia mathaphorarum efficientium facile addiscere, quod omnibus est delectabile.

[17] Ex parvo libello: de magistro ad discipulum regulis.¹⁰⁷

105 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.10, 1411b30–32, 301: “Et usus est in multis locis Homerus, inanimata animata facere per metaforam. In omnibus autem operationem facere complacet”.

106 Robertus Groessetesta, Versio Caelestis Hierarchiae Dionysii Areopagitae cum scholiis ex Graeco sumptis necnon Commentariis Notulisque eiusdem Lincolniensis, in: *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble des trad. latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage etc.*, vol. 2, Philippe Chevallier (ed.), Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1937–1951, XV.4,15, 274, l. 26: “Potens est enim non solum intelligibilia creata set et ipsum Deum intellectu comprehendere, in hoc existens typus et symbolum angelorum. Habet eciam homo uirtutes uisuias corporeas ad superius, id est ad superna conspicienda apte in corpore sitas, sicut et angeli habent omnes uires apprehensiuas ad superius intentas, ut uidelicet comprehendant Deum in se, et eciam ut ex omni et in omni creatura ipsum apprehendant”; Dionysius Cartusianus, Commentaria in librum de caelesti seu angelica hierarchia, in: *Opera Omnia: In unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Coloniensium*, vol. 15, Tornaci: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1902, XV, 255, art. 77, col. 2, l. 8: “Cor sic sumptum, attribuitur angelo symbolice et metaphorice, id est per similitudinem quamdam, et designat in angelis vitam eorum, seu vim intellectualem et actum deiformem ‘seminantem’ et diffundentem vitam in ea quae praeconceperunt esse agenda a se”.

107 This could be an internal reference to the *Poetics*, specifically to the place where Averroes–Aristotle talks about the way teachers usually transmit their science to the students; cf. Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45. Yet, given the proven acquaintance of Johannes Wenck with Hugh of Saint Victor, this could also be a reference to this latter’s *Dialogus de creatione mundi*, where a *discipulus* and a *magister* engage in a dialogue on the creation of the world: indeed, within this short book (*parvus libellus*) the teacher often makes use of images and metaphors to communicate his knowledge to his student; cf. Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Dialogus de creatione mundo*, Cédric Giraud (ed.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 203–348; another possible reference could be Conrad of Hirschau’s *Dialogus super auctores sive didaskalikon*, a famous *accessus ad auctores* also written in the form of a dialogue between a *magister* and a *discipulus*; cf. Edwin A. Quain, The Medieval “Accessus ad auctores”, *Traditio* 3 (1945): 215–264, at 216.

[18] Thema.

	quem ego dabo		promissio					
panis	caro mea est	Johannes 6	assertio	surgit litigium Iudeorum ex hiis verbis	moventur	non pie, sed impie	est igitur motio	Pia — impia
	pro mundi vita		fructifi- catio				per oppo- situm “immotio”	

**Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*
Cod. Pal. lat. 1892.**

[fol. 50r] Postquam cum non modico labore consummaveram translationem retorice Aristotelis, volens manum mittere ad poetriam, tantam inveni difficultatem propter disconvenientiam modi metrificandi in greco cum modo metrificandi in arabico et propter vocabulorum obscuritatem et plures alias causas quod non sum confisus me posse sane et integre illius operis translationem studio tradere latinorum.¹⁰⁸

Assumpsi ergo editionem Averrois terminatam dicti operis Aristotelis secundum quod ipse aliquid intelligibile elicere potuit ab ipso et modo quo potui in eloquium redegi latinum. Et non nullum confert intelligendi adiutorium ea que in hoc libro sunt intelligit poetrie Oratii sicut intelligit rethoricorum Tullii Cicerois adiuvens est ad intelligendum negotium Aristotile [sic] rethorice.¹¹⁰

Wenck's *glossae*.

[19] Quia in natura gracia operatur, hinc poetria Aristotelis valde valet ad mysticam pariter et sinbolicam theologiam.

[20] Prefatio in Poetriam Aristotolis.

[21] Cum philosophi, in omni rerum natura peritissimi, dicebant animam ex cunctis nature partibus compactam, non intellexerunt secundum compositionem, sed secundum compositionis similitudinem virtualiter.¹⁰⁹

[22] Oportet quem ea que discit effingere ecce poesis.

[23] Ab Aristotele prius facta est poetria quam rethorica, ut patet intuitu textum rethorice et etiam huius poetrie.

[24] Cicero – faciliat – rethoricam;
Oratius – faciliat – poetriam.

108 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41: "Postquam cum non modico labore consummaveram translationem Rethorice Aristotelis, volens manum mittere ad eius Poetriam, tantam inveni difficultatem propter disconvenientiam modi metrificandi in greco cum modo metrificandi in arabico, et propter vocabulorum obscuritatem, et plures alias causas quod non sum confisus me posse sane et integre illius operis translationem studiis tradere latinorum".

109 Hugo de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, 110–112: "Probata apud philosophos sententia animam ex cunctis natura partibus asserit esse compactam. Et *Timeus* Platonis ex dividiua et individua mixtaque substantia, itemque eadem et diversa, et ex utroque commixta natura, quo universitas designatur, entelechiam formavit. Ipsa namque 'et initia et quae initia consequuntur' capit, quia et invisibiles per intelligentiam rerum causas comprehendit, et visibiles actualium formas per sensuum passiones colligit, 'sectaque in orbes geminos motum glomerat', quia sive per sensus ad sensibilia exeat sive per intelligentiam ad invisibilia ascendat, ad seipsam rerum similitudines trahens regyrat, et hoc est quod eadem mens, quae universorum capax est, ex omni substantia atque natura, quo similitudinis representet figura, coaptatur".

110 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41: "Assumpsi ergo editionem Avenrosd determinativam dicti operis Aristotelis, secundum quod ipse aliquid intelligibile elicere potuit ab ipso et, modo quo potui, in eloquium redegi latinum. Et nonnullum conferet intelligendi adiutorium ea que in hoc libro sunt

Suscipiant igitur, si placet, et huius editionis poetrie translationem viri studiosi, et gaudeant secum adeptos logici negotii Aristotelis complementum.¹¹¹

Dixit Aristoteles: Propositum quidem nostrum nunc est loqui in arte poetica et in modis poematum et oportet qui vult quid canones qui dantur in hac arte procedant processu debito discere primitus quid agat unaqueque maneries poetica [add. scilicet sermo, pondus, tonus in marg.] et ex quibus constituuntur sermones poetici [add. quomodo ad primam maneriem sup. l.] et quot sunt modi intentionum intentarum per sermones poeticos. Et oportet ut ponat sermonem suum in toto isto incipiendo a primis que nobis naturaliter sunt in hac intentione [add. cuiusmodi esset poema sup. l.].¹¹³

[25] Quia discendi studium voluntate constat, idcirco virium plus afferunt ad discendum renovati recentes animi.¹¹²

[26] Dixit Aristoteles: si rethorica assecutiva dialectice, tunc poetria et ipsa complementum loyce.

[27] Propositum poetrie est per assimilata[m] orationem instigare ad virtutes et ad fugam vitiorum || comparatio autem facies seu similitudo. Ayt Ambrogius: *tantum ambiguitatis offundit ut diversas habeant sententias plurimorum*;¹¹⁴ Crisostomus: *prophete veluti quidam pictores virtutis ac malitie. Multum confert adiecta ymago que velut in rem presentem perducere audientes videtur*.¹¹⁵

intellectus Poetrie Oratii, sicut intellectus Rethoricarum Tullii Ciceronis adiuvens est ad intelligendum negotium aristotelicale Rethorice”.

111 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41: “Suscipiant igitur, si placet, et huius editionis Poetrie translationem viri studiosi et gaudeant se cum hac adeptos logici negotii Aristotilis complementum”.

112 Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, Michael Winterbottom (ed.), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, I.3.9–10, 20: “Itaque et virium plus adferunt ad discendum renovati ac recentes et acriorem animum, qui fere necessitatibus repugnant”.

113 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41: “Dixit Aristotiles: propositum quidem nostrum nunc est loqui in arte poetica et in modis poematum. Et oportet eum qui vult ut canones qui dantur in hac arte procedant processu debito dicere primitus quid agat unaqueque maneries poetica, et ex quibus constituuntur sermones poetici, et quot sunt modi intentionum intentarum per sermones poeticos. Et oportet ut ponat sermonem suum in toto isto, incipiendo a primis que nobis sunt in hac intentione”.

114 Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam: Fragmenta in Esaiam*, Marc Adriaen and Paolo Angelo Ballerini (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols, 1957, VII, 186–187, 279, l. 2057–2061: “Cui simile aestimabo regnum dei? simile est fermento quod acceptum mulier abscondit in farina, donec fermentatum est totum. Haec de requirendis quaestionibus comparatio quae tantum ambiguitatis offundit, ut diversas habeat sententias plurimorum”.

115 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, IV, 2, 123: “Multum confert adiecta veris credibilis rerum imago, quae velut in rem praesentem perducere audientes videtur”.

Omne itaque poema et omnis oratio poetica aut est vituperatio aut est laudatio, et hoc [*add. probatio. sup. l.*] patet ... [fol. 50v]

[28] Divisio poematis oppositionalis.

[29] Et si Aristotelis principia procul sint ab ostentatione posita, non tamen spernenda, quoniam *et operum dum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta*: si igitur vis eius fundamenta intelligere, omnes anime vires erige.¹¹⁶

[30] Sicut Oratius in Poetria sua: Cum representatio respiciat homines non in substantia sensibili, sed secundum eorum honestas consuetudines, actiones etc., tunc utile est homini volenti poetare respicere ad illas. Et qualitas representationis poetice est rerum que sunt aut possibile esse.¹¹⁷ Et sicut sermones ita et gestus inducunt passiones.¹¹⁸

[31] Quod non tollit Christus, tollit viscus; viscus¹¹⁹ dicunt legiste, est saccus sine conscientiam.

Poeticum: absque Cerere (dea frugum) et Bacho ((deus) vini), friget Venus ((dea) libidinis).¹²⁰

116 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, Prohemium, 1.4, 3: “Nam ceteri fere, qui artem orandi litteris tradiderunt ita sunt exorsi quasi perfectis omni alio genere doctrinae summam in eloquentiae manum inponerent, sive contemnentes tamquam parva quae prius discimus studia, sive non ad suum pertinere officium opinati, quando divisae professionum vices essent, seu, quod proximum vero, nullam ingenii sperantes gratiam circa res etiamsi necessarias, procul tamen ab ostentatione positas, ut operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta”.

117 This seems to be Wenck’s own abridgment of Horace’s *Ars poetica* rather than a quotation drawn *verbatim* from the text; on Horace dealing with the costumes of men, cf. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *De arte poetica (epistula ad Pisones)*, David Roy Shackleton Bailey (ed.), Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008, 316–317, vv. 165–178.

118 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.1, 1403b–1404b, 280–283.

119 As suggested to me by Andrés García-Rengifo, the text should read “fiscus” instead of “viscus”. The definition of “fiscus” as “saccus sine conscientia” appears to be typical term of the so-called *romanisch-kanonistische Korporationslehre*. See Otto von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, vol. 3: *Die Staats- und Kooperationslehre des Alterthums und des Mittelalters und ihre Aufnahme in Deutschland*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1881, 421, note 11. This trivial mistake might be simply due to Wenck’s German origins: in the rush of adding this note, Wenck probably relied on the German pronunciation of the letter “v” as “f”, therefore writing “viscus” – which, when read according to the phonology of the German language, sounds exactly like the Latin “fiscus”.

120 Dionysius Cartusianus, *Enarratio in librum Ecclesiastae*, XX.1, 131, col. 1, l. 3: “Sicut sol dicitur calidus, non formaliter, sed effective, quia ex radiorum suorum repercussione gignitur calor; sic vinum vocatur res luxuriosa, quia causat calorem, et calidum efficit sanguinem, qui incitat cito

... [fol. 50v] per inductionem et proprie poematum ipsorum que fiunt de rebus voluntariis honestis et turpibus, et hoc modo se habet in artibus representativis que imitatrices sunt poetrie, ut est percussio ciithare vel psalterii vel insufflatio tibiae vel fistule vel saltandi artificium, scilicet quod ipse sunt apte naturaliter hiis duobus, scilicet laudationi et vituperationi intentionibus.¹²¹

Dixit Aristoteles: et sermones poetici sermones sunt ymaginativi modi autem ymaginationis et assimilationis tres sunt duo simplices et tertius compositus ex illis. Unus duorum simplicium est assimilatio rei ad rem et alter exemplatio eius ad ipsam et hos fit in qualibet lingua aut per dictiones proprias illius lingue et est hec dictio quasi vel sicut et que istis simulantur sinkategoreumata similitudinis aut per assumptionem ipsius similis cum suo assimilabili vel loc sui assimilabilis.¹²³

[32] Cum qualibet theorica in iure habeat exceptiones, quia parum est quod non impugnatur, ideo periculosa est diffinire, id est sentire in iure: 2: – hortamen – exhortatio.

[33] Cum dicitur homo factus ad similitudinem Dei¹²² hec prepositio ad notat distantiam a perfecta similitudine cum accedat ad Ipsum.

[34] Artes representative sunt ymitatrices poetrie.

[35] Differunt: – sermo – sermo poeticus qui ymaginativus.

[36] [ymaginationis: exemplatio, permutatio, assimilatio.]



ad luxum; immoderate quoque laetificat, et causat audaciam, rationis que lucem obscurat: quibus peractis, quid nisi venereorum imminet amor? Ideo dictum est ab uno prudentium saeculi hujus: Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus”; also cf. Publius Terentius Afer, *Eunuchus*, John Barsby (ed.), Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999, 62, vv. 730–732: “PY.Chremes! CH.Quis est? ehem Pythias: uah, quanto nunc formosior uidere mihi quam dudum! PY.Certo tuquidem pol multo hilarior. CH.Verbum hercle hoc uerum erit ‘sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus’”.

121 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41–42: “Dixit: omne itaque poema et omnis oratio poetica aut est vituperatio, aut est laudatio. Et hoc patet per inductionem poematum, et proprie poematum ipsorum, que fiunt de rebus voluntariis, scilicet honestis et turpibus. Et hoc modo se habet in artibus representativis que imitatrices sunt poetrie, ut est percussio cithare, vel psalterii, vel insufflatio tibiae vel fistule, et saltandi artificium – scilicet quod ipse sunt apte naturaliter his duabus intentionibus”.

122 Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (eds.), *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versione*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007, 5, Gen. 1:26: “et ait faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram”.

123 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41–42: “Et sermones poetici sermones sunt imaginativi. Modi autem imaginationis et assimilationis tres sunt: duo simplices et tertius compositus ex illis. Unus duorum simplicium est assimilatio rei ad rem, et exemplatio eius ad ipsam; et hoc fit in qualibet

Et illud nominatur in ha carte concambium [add. id est, permutatio sup. l.] et es tut dixit poeta quidam de quodam valde liberali ipse est mare inundans unusque [add. undecumque sup. l.] venientium indigentias replenens copiose et effluenter.¹²⁴

[37] *manicula*: pictura liberalis¹²⁵

Et sciendum est autem quod in hanc divisionem intrant species poematum que moderni nostri temporis nominant transumptionem et translationem, [add. exemplum sup. l.] ut cum dicitur pratum ridet litur aratur. et, ut dixit poeta tales: “*sunt eque que in adolescentia sua sellas nondum receperunt aut frena, aut camele que nondum sarcinas sustinuerunt*”. Verumptamen translationes potissime dici possunt concambia ex accidentibus rei sive concomitantibus rem, et transumptio est concambium pro suo proportionali, videlicet quando fuerit alicuius proportio ad secundum proportio tertii ad quartum, tunc permutatur nomen tertii ad primum et econtrario. Et iam prehabitu est in libro Rethorice, ex quot rebus fiat huiusmodi concambia.¹²⁶

[38] idem:

- transumptio
- translatio
- permutatio.

lingua, aut per dictiones proprias illi lingue, ut est hec dictio ‘quasi’ vel ‘sicut’ et que istis simulantur, que nominantur sinkathegoreumata similitudinis, aut per sumptionem ipsius similis cum suo assimilabili vel loco sui assimilabilis”.

124 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 42: “... et istud nominatur in hac arte ‘concambium’, et est ut dixit poeta quidam de quodam valde liberali: “ipse est mare inundans undecumque venientium indigentias replens copiose et effluenter”.

125 It is not clear to which passage of Aristotle’s text this *glossa* refers; the sign that accompanies it in the classical shape of the *manicula* seems to indicate that it relates to the poem quoted in the text “de quodam valde liberali”.

126 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 42: “Et sciendum est tibi, quod in hanc divisionem intrant species poematum, que moderni nostri temporis nominant ‘transumptionem’ et ‘translationem’, ut cum dicitur: ‘pratum ridet’, ‘litus aratur’, et, ut dixit poeta talis: ‘sunt eque que in adolescentia sua nondum sellas receperunt aut frena, et camele que nondum sarcinas sustinuerunt’. Verumptamen translationes potissime dici possunt ‘concambia’ ex accidentibus rei sive concomitantibus rem, et ‘transumptio’ est concambium pro suo comproportionali, videlicet quando fuerit alicuius proportio ad secundum proportio tertii ad quartum, tunc permutatur nomen tertii ad primum et econtrario. Et iam prehabitu est in libro Rethorice ex quot rebus fiunt huiusmodi concambia”.

[fol. 51r]

... Sic reperitur in ipsis imaginatio et representatio in sermonibus poeticis sit ex parte trium rerum: scilicet ex parte soni convenientis et ex parte ponderis et ex parte ipsiusmet assimilationis.¹²⁸

[39] Regula: Memoria firmatur atque aliter exercitatione.¹²⁷

[40] [Sermonis poetici representatio ex parte: ponderis, assimilationis, soni convenientis]



[41] Q(uintilianus): *Quas greci phantasias nos visiones appellamus, per quas ymages rerum absentium ita representantur animo, ut eas censere oculis ac presentes habere videamur; has quisquis tantum ceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus (...). Proseuntur nos ymages in sompnis tanta vigilantia, ut peregrinari, navigare etc. videamur (...) et illa illustratio ymaginum et evidentia non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere etiam affectus non aliter, quam si rebus ipsis intersimus.*¹²⁹

[42] 

¹²⁷ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.1.36, 13–14: “Prosequitur haec memoria in senectutem et inpressa animo rudi usque ad mores proficiet. Etiam dicta clarorum virorum et electos ex poetis maxime (namque eorum cognitio parvis gravior est) locos ediscere inter lusum licet. Nam et maxime necessaria est oratori, sicut suo loco dicam, memoria; et ea praecipue firmatur atque alitur exercitatione et in his de quibus nunc loquimur aetatibus, quae nihildum ipsae generare ex se queunt, prope sola est, quae iuvare cura docentium possit”.

¹²⁸ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 42: “Sic reperitur in ipsis representatio per sermones naturaliter. Et imaginatio et representatio in sermonibus poeticis fit ex parte trium rerum: scilicet ex parte soni convenientis et ex parte ponderis et ex parte ipsiusmet assimilationis”.

¹²⁹ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.2.29–32, 335: “Quas φαντασίας Graeci vocant (nos sane visiones appellemus), per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere videamur, has quisquis bene conceperit, is erit in adfectibus potentissimus. [has] Quidam dicunt εὐφαντασίωτον, qui sibi res voces actus secundum verum optime finget: quod quidem nobis volentibus facile continget”. As I argued above, in note 28, García-Rengifo already demonstrated that this excerpt of the *Institutio Oratoria* was not known in the Middle Ages until Poggio Bracciolini discovered it in 1416. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 595, note 60.

Et unumquodque istorum, quandoque invenitur et singulariter per se absque suo conpari, prout est sonus in tibia seu fistula, et pondus in saltatione et representatio seu imitatio in dictione, scilicet in sermonibus representativis seu imaginativis prolatis absque metro seu pondere. Et quandoque coniunguntur ista tria simul, prout reperitur apud nos in modo carminis sic nominati reperti nuper seu adinventi ab incolis istius provincie in lingua ista, scilicet arabica, cum sint poemata naturalia que complectuntur duas res simul, et res naturales non inveniuntur nisi in nationibus naturaliter se habentibus. In poematibus nempe Arabum non existit simphonia seu consonantia sed aut metrum tantum aut metrum et representatio simul.¹³⁰

[fol. 51v] Ideoque, non oportet ut nominetur poema secundum veritatem, nisi secundum quem [*exp.* quem, *add.* quod conveniunt *sup. l.*] hec duo.¹³¹

Et ex quo representantes et assimilatores per hoc intendunt instigare ad quasdam actiones que circa voluntaria existunt et retrahere a quibusdam, erunt necessario ea que intendunt per suas representationes aut virtutes, aut vitia.¹³²

[44] Scilicet: – pondus – representatio.

[45] Propositum et intentio representatorum quod: quia duci debet ad complementum, oportet in eo esse et principia et media. 

[46] Idem: – representatio – assimilatio.

130 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 42: “Et unumquodque istorum, quandoque invenitur singulariter per se absque suo conpari, prout est sonus in tibia seu fistula, et pondus in saltatione et representatio seu imitatio in dictione, scilicet in sermonibus representativis seu imaginativis prolatis absque metro seu pondere. Et quandoque coniunguntur ista tria simul, prout reperitur apud nos in modo carminis sic nominati reperti nuper seu adinventi ab incolis istius insule in lingua ista, scilicet arabica, cum sint poemata naturalia que complectuntur illas duas res simul, et res naturales non inveniuntur nisi in nationibus naturaliter se habentibus. In poematibus nempe Arabum non existit simphonia seu consonantia sed aut metrum tantum aut metrum et representatio simul”.

131 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 43: “Dixit: ideoque, non oportet ut nominetur ‘poema’ secundum veritatem, nisi quod contingit hec duo, Dixit: ideoque, non oportet ut nominetur ‘poema’ secundum veritatem, nisi quod contingit hec duo”.

132 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 43: “Dixit: et ex quo representantes et assimilatores per hoc intendunt instigare ad quasdam actiones que circa voluntaria consistunt et retrahere a quibusdam, erunt necessario ea que intendunt per suas representationes aut virtutes, aut vitia”. This passage seems to be commented on the base of a later passage, found in fols. 57v–58r: “... per quam sit totum et completum est quod habet principium et medium et ultimum, aut ante rem est, nec compositum

... necessario ergo oportet, ut boni et virtuosus non representent nisi virtutes et virtuosos, mali autem malitias et malos".¹³³

[fol. 52r]

Et quoniam omnis assimilatio et representatio non nisi propter ostentationem decentis aut non decentis sive turpis patens est quod non intendi per hoc nisi assecutio decentis et refutatio turpis.¹³⁵

... et est assimilatio per quam intenditur convenientia assimilati cum suo assimilabili preter ostensionem aliquam decentis aut turpis, sed [add. in sup. l.] ita intenditur ipsamet convenientia. Et hec assimilationis species est quasi materia apta ad hoc, ut alteretur seu permutetur ad utramque duarum extremitatum: scilicet quod assumuntur interdum ad ostensionem decentie valde exprimendo ipsam [add. assimilatio clarificat sup. l.], et interdum permutatur ad ostensionem alicuius turpitudinis, similiter valde exprimendo illam".¹³⁶

[47] Quid representandum.

[48] "Apprime", id est principalissime.

[49] Regula: ymagines tunc bene fiunt si res, actus et voces secundum verum optime fingent; illis enim representantur res absentes ut censeantur sub oculis et presentes videantur.¹³⁴

[50] Intenditur a poeta:

- approbatio/assecutio decentis, id est virtutis;
- detestatio/refutatio turpis.

[51] Quid assimilatio.

cum eis quibus est principium. Et ultimum aut est cum eis quibus est ultimum, et non est ante. Medium autem est ante et cum ipsum ergo melius est utrisque extremis, cum sit medium in loco inter illud quod est ante et inter illud quod est post; talem enim locum obtinent in bello illi qui fortes sunt, scilicet locum medium inter locum timidorum et locum audacium seu protervorum, et hoc est locus medius", cf. Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 50.

133 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 43: "Necessario ergo oportet, ut boni et virtuosus non representent nisi virtutes et virtuosos, mali autem malitias et malos".

134 This is Wenck's paraphrase of the citation of Quintilianus already quoted *verbatim* at fol. 51r; cf. Appendix, 41.

135 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 43: "Et quoniam quidem omnis assimilatio et representatio non fit nisi propter ostentationem decentis aut indecentis sive turpis, patens est quoniam non intenditur per hoc nisi assecutio decentis et refutatio turpis".

136 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: "... et est assimilatio per quam intenditur convenientia assimilati cum suo assimilabili preter ostensionem aliquam decentis aut turpis, sed solum intenditur ipsamet convenientia. Et hec assimilationis species est quasi materia apta ad hoc, ut alteretur seu permutetur ad utramque duarum extremitatum: scilicet assumitur interdum ad ostensionem decentie valde exprimendo ipsam, et interdum permutatur ad ostensionem alicuius turpitudinis, similiter valde exprimendo illam".

[52] “Peierare”, id est fidem frangere.

[53] Regula Q(uintiliani): *prosequi quid quisque dixerit nimie miserie autem iactantie est, et detinet atque obruit ingenia melius aliis vacatura.*¹³⁷

[fol. 52v] Et ipse Aristotiles, proposuit exempla de qualibet manerie eorum per poetas qui fuerunt in tempore ipsorum famosi et notorii in legibus ipsorum, et per usum cuiuslibet manerie istarum trium manerierum assimilationum ...¹³⁸

[54] Ex usu trahitur ars.

Species vero poetrie quam “elegiam” nominant non nisi in educatio [sic] ad actus coituales, quos amoris nomine obtegunt et decorant.¹³⁹

[55] Quid elegia.

Non enim instigant Arabes in carminibus suis nisi ad has duas virtutes de numero virtutum, neque simpliciter ad has in quantum virtutes sunt, sed in quantum per eas acquiritur altitudo honoris et glorie.¹⁴⁰

[56] Virtutis vie ad: – honorem – gloriam.

Et per hanc divisionem patet quoniam maneries assimilationum tres habent radices, et quoniam earum differentie sunt tres, et patet etiam que sunt alie differentie et tres maneries. Et videtur, quando inducta fuerint poemata homeri, haberi certitudo quoniam non est hec maneries quarta differentiarum illarum manerierum.¹⁴¹

[57] Epilogus.

137 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.8.18, 57: “His accedet enarratio historiarum; diligens quidem illa, non tamen usque ad supervacuum laborem occupata: nam receptas aut certe claris auctoribus memoratas exposuisse satis est. Persequi quidem, quid quis umquam vel contemptissimorum hominum dixerit, aut nimiae miserie aut inanis iactantiae est et detinet atque obruit ingenia melius aliis vacatura”.

138 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: “Et ipse, scilicet Aristotiles, ponit exempla de qualibet manerie illorum per poetas qui fuerunt in tempore ipsorum famosi seu notorii, et in legibus ipsorum, et per usum cuiuslibet manerie istarum trium manerierum assimilationum ...”

139 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: “Species vero poetrie quam ‘elegiam’ nominant non est incitatio ad actus coituales, quos amoris nomine obtegunt et decorant”.

140 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: “Non enim instigant Arabes in carminibus suis nisi ad has duas virtutes e numero virtutum, neque simpliciter ad has in quantum virtutes sunt, sed in quantum per eas acquiritur altitudo honoris et glorie”.

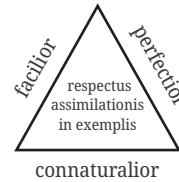
141 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: “Et patet per hanc divisionem quoniam maneries assimilationum tres habent radices, et quoniam earum differentie sunt tres. Et patet etiam que sunt ille tres differentie et tres maneries. Et videtur, quando inducta fuerint poemata, haberi certitudo quoniam

[fol. 53r] Reperitur enim doctrina naturaliter procedere ab homine ad hominem, secundum comparisonem quam habet doctor ad discipulum. Et ex quo imitationes non sunt nisi quedam assimilationes ad res que iam ceciderunt in sensum, patet quod non assumuntur nisi ut citius et facilius intelligatur quod dicitur.¹⁴²

Dixit: originis autem poetrie naturaliter in homine due videntur esse cause. Prima quidem quoniam in homine existit naturaliter, prima nativitate, assimilatio rei ad rem, et representatio rei per rem: scilicet hic assimilandi et representandi actus etiam in infantibus reperitur, et illud proprium est homini respectu ceterorum animalium. Et causa in hoc est quoniam homo inter cetera animalia delectatur in assimilatione rerum quas iam in sensu percipit, et in earum representatione seu imitatione. Et signum huius, scilicet quod homo naturaliter letatur et gaudet ex assimilatione, est quod delectamur et gaudemus [*add. de mure picto sup. l.*] in representatione aliquarum rerum in quarum sensu non gaudemus nec delectamur, et precipue quando representatio subtiliter exprimit rem valde representatam, ut contigit in fortitudine multorum animalium, quam periti exprimunt sculptores vel pictores. Et propter hanc tamen utimur docendo exemplis,

[58] Ex quo omnis notitia que est in intellectu prius ffuit [*sic*] in sensu.

[59] [Respectus assimilationis in exemplis: facilius, perfectior, connaturalior]



Crisostomus hinc dicit: *ut hoc apertius fiat, ponamus sub exemplis*.¹⁴³

Idem:

- assimilatio
- comparatio
- representatio
- ymitatio.

non est hic maneries quarta manierierum assimilationum, neque differentia quarta differentiarum illarum manierierum". The term *epilogus* seems to connect this passage to the final part contained in the copy glossed by Wenck. For another occurrence of the term, cf. Appendix, 66.

142 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: "Reperitur enim doctrina naturaliter procedere ab homine ad hominem, secundum comparisonem quam habet doctor ad discipulum. Et ex quo imitationes exemplares non sunt nisi quedam assimilationes ad res que iam ceciderunt in sensum, patet quod non assumuntur nisi ut citius et facilius intelligatur quod dicitur".

143 I could not trace this excerpt attributed to Chrysosthom. García-Rengifo does not add any source to this *glossa*, which he also edited; I assume that, like me, he could not find any; cf. García-Rengifo, *Theology as Poetry*, 597, note 70. For possible alternative sources, cf. Hieronimus, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthaei*, III, 163, l. 683: "Quod ut manifestius fiat ponamus sub exemplis"; Echardus Magister, *Opus tripartitum*, ch. 1, vv. 15–16 (auctoritas: XIII), part 169, 139, l. 1: "Quod ut manifestius fiat, dicamus sub exemplo supra posito, in homine scilicet iusto et ipsa iustitia"; also in Caius Marius Victorinus, *Liber de definitionibus*, 25, l. 29: "Hoc apertius ut fiat, dabo et aliud exemplum".

ut facilius intelligatur [*add.* ob connaturalitatem] quod dicitur, propter hoc quod in eis est de motivo ymaginative.¹⁴⁴

[fol. 53v] Causa vero secunda est delectatio quam habet per naturam ex metro et simphonia. De simphonia quippe apparet quoniam assimilatur metro apud eos in quorum natura est ut percipiant et diiudicent simphonias et metras.

Quando itaque aggregatio aliqua popularis, et constituta est gens, cepit inter eos origo artis poetice, paulatim tamen, itaque quod primo modicam quandam partem eius inveniret, et post hoc partem aliam, donec tandem sic ad artis perfectionem perventum est.

[*add.* exemplum *sup. l.*] Verbi gratia, anime virtuose et nobiles naturaliter adinvenerunt primo artem carminum ad laudandum et efferendum facta pulchra et decora, anime deficientes ab hiis in nobilitate adinvenerunt carmina ad vituperandum et detestandum facta turpia et inhonesta.¹⁴⁷

[60] Habens delectatio anime in:

- representatione
- simphonia.¹⁴⁵

[61] Scientia crevit per addidamenta ad perfectionem artis.¹⁴⁶

[62] Primi inventores artis carminum [*sic*].

Anime:

- virtuose et nobiles;
- vitiose et deficientes.

¹⁴⁴ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “Dixit: originis autem poetrie naturaliter in homine due videntur esse cause. Prima quidem quoniam in homine existit naturaliter, a prima sua nativitate, assimilatio rei ad rem, et representatio rei per rem: scilicet hic assimilandi et representandi actus etiam in infantibus reperitur, et istud proprium est homini respectu ceterorum animalium. Et causa in hoc est quoniam homo inter cetera animalia delectatur in assimilatione rerum quas iam in sensu percepit, et in earum representatione seu imitatione. Et signum huius, scilicet quod homo naturaliter letatur et gaudet ex assimilatione, est quod delectamur et gaudemus in representatione aliquarum rerum in quarum sensu non delectamur, et precipue quando representatio valde subtiliter exprimit rem presentatam, ut contingit in formatione multorum animalium, que periti exprimunt sculptores aut pictores. Et propter hanc causam, utimur in docendo exemplis, ut facilius intelligatur quod dicitur, propter hoc quod in eis est de motivo ymaginative”.

¹⁴⁵ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “Causa vero secunda est delectatio quam habet etiam homo per naturam ex metro et simphonia. De simphonia quippe apparet quoniam assimilatur metro apud eos in quorum natura est ut percipiant et diiudicent metra et simphoniam”.

¹⁴⁶ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “Quando itaque cepit aggregatio aliqua popularis, et constituta est gens, cepit inter eos origo artis poetice, paulatim tamen, ita quod primo modicam quandam eius partem adinvenerunt, et post hoc partem aliam, donec tandem sic ad artis perfectionem perventum est ...”

¹⁴⁷ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “Verbi gratia, anime virtuose et nobiles naturaliter adinvenerunt primo artem carminum ad laudandum et efferendum facta pulchra et decora, anime defi-

... quamvis necesse sit ei, cuius propositum est detestari malos et mala, ut probet et laudet bonos et facta bona virtuosa.¹⁴⁸

“... ut ex hoc amplius manifestentur mala et facta ignominiosa, scilicet quando enarraverit ista et iuxta ipsa posuerit ipsorum contraria.”¹⁴⁹

Hoc est ergo quod continetur in isto capitulo de hiis que communia sunt omnibus nationibus aut pluribus. Residuum vero, cuius in eo fecit mentionem, aut totum aut maior pars eius, est de hiis que appropriantur ipsorum poematibus et consuetudinibus ipsorum in ipsis.¹⁵⁰

[fol. 54r] Et ostendit preterea quis primus fuit qui incepit prius unamquamque illarum artium poeticarum assuetarum apud ipsos, et quis addiderit apud ipsos, et quis tandem compleverit ipsas.¹⁵³

[63] Quid: – laudandum – detestandum.

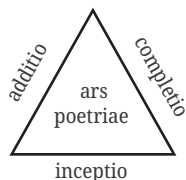
[64] Oppositionalis locus.

[65] Poematibus: – communia – appropriata.

[66] Epylogus.¹⁵¹

[67] Boecius: amicitia non querit privatas cogitationes.¹⁵²

[68] [artis poetrie: additio, completio, inceptio]



cientes ab hiis in nobilitate adinvenierunt carmina ad vituperandum et detestandum facta turpia et inhonesta ...”

148 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “... quamvis necesse sit ei, cuius propositum est detestari malos et mala, ut probet et laudet bonos et bona facta et virtuosa”.

149 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45 “... ut ex hoc amplius manifestentur mala et facta ignominiosa, scilicet quando enarraverit ista et iuxta ipsa posuerit ipsorum contraria”.

150 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 46: “Hoc est ergo quod continetur in hoc capitulo de hiis que communia sunt omnibus nationibus aut pluribus. Residuum vero, cuius in eo fecit mentionem, aut totum aut maior pars eius, est de hiis que appropriantur ipsorum poematibus et consuetudinibus eorum in ipsis”.

151 The term *epilogus* could either connect this passage to the final part contained in the copy glossed by Wenck (as it might have been the case for *glossa* 57), or it could simply indicate the end of a particular section of Averroes’ *Poetics*.

152 In *Lectio de Rhetorica Aristotelis*, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 1r, Wenck quotes the same passage and connects it to Boethius’ *De cathgoricis syllogismis*: “Boecius in de kathegoricis sillogismis: amicitia non querit cogitationes privatas”.

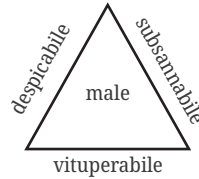
153 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: “Et narrat preterea quis fuerit qui primo incepit unamquamque illarum artium poeticarum assuetarum apud ipsos, et quis addiderit in ipsis, et quis tandem compleverit ipsas”.

Dixit Aristotelis: et defectus et magis breve ex poematibus antecessit in tempore [*tempore?*] propterea quod et facilius comprehendunt illa primitus. Brevius autem est quod ex paucioribus similis [*add. sillabis sup. l.*] constat, et defectus est qui constat ex paucioribus tonis seu poematibus.¹⁵⁴

[fol. 54v] Dixit: per artem autem vituperandi non solum intenditur representatio omnis eius quod malum est, sed despicabile et quasi subsannabile, id est quod factum est et de quo quasi non curatur.¹⁵⁵

[69] Quid: – brevis – defectus.

[70] [Malum: despicabile, subsannabile, vituperabile]



... scilicet ferida [*sic*] et corrugativa vultus, et dispositio despectiva, et paucitas corrective sollicitudinis. Et hoc secundum diversitatem eius quod accidit in vultu iracundi, scilicet torvus aspectus, et angustia quedam, et quasi ignis stridor adversus eum qui ipsum provocavit.¹⁵⁶

[71] Passio inducit aliam dispositionem vultus.

[fol. 55r] Representatio quippe non est nisi propter dispositiones que consequuntur virtuosos, non propter habitus pote ut sapientiales consequuntur virtuosos non propter habitus et consimiles, cum illorum fieri non possit ymaginativa representatione.¹⁵⁷

[72] Propter quid representatio:

– [propter] dispositiones convenientes virtuosos – non propter habitus.

154 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 46: "Dixit: et defectus et magis breve ex poematibus antecessit in tempore, propterea quod nature facilius comprehendunt illa primitus. Brevius autem est quod ex paucioribus sillabis constat, et defectus est quod constat ex paucioribus tonis seu pneumatibus".

155 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 46: "Dixit: per artem autem vituperandi non solum intenditur representatio omnis eius quod malum est, et despicabile et quasi subsannabile, id est quod abiectum est et de quo quasi non curatur".

156 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 46: "... scilicet feditas corrugativa vultus, et dispositio despectiva, et paucitas corrective sollicitudinis. Et hoc secundum diversitatem eius quod accidit in vultu iracundi, scilicet torvus aspectus, et angustia quedam, et quasi ignis stridor adversus eum qui ipsum provocavit".

157 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: "Representatio quippe non est nisi propter dispositiones que consequuntur virtuosos, non propter habitus utpote sapientiales et consimiles, cum illorum fieri non possit ymaginativa representatio".

Prima ergo partium artis laudandi poetice [*add.* in] opere est, ut enarrentur, intentiones nobiles per quas fit commotio ymaginative, deinde investiantur intentiones ille thonis et metris convenientibus rei enarrate.¹⁵⁸

Est autem operatio thoni in poemate quoniam preparat animam ad recipendum ymagines rei cuius intenditur ymaginatio. Averrois: est ergo tonus hoc, scilicet quod acquirere facit animam aptitudinem per quam recipiat assimilationem et representationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio.¹⁵⁹

Averrois: est ergo tonus hoc quod acquirere facit animam aptitudinem per quam recipiat assimilationem et representationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio. Et facit quidam acquirere hanc habitudinem in unaquaque specierum ...¹⁶⁰

[73] 2:

- narratio intentionum
- investitio earumdem.

[74] Quid tonus et usus eius.

[75] 3:

- aptitudo anime
- representatio rei
- intenta assimilatio.

[76] Concupiscentia, ira.

[77] Seneca: tragedia quarta.¹⁶¹

“... quisquis in primo obstitit / pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit; / qui blandiendo dulce nutritivum malum, / sero recusat ferre quod subiit iugum”.

“... furor cogit sequi / peiora vadit animus in preceps sciens / remeatque frustra sana consilia appetens”. [vv. 178–180]

158 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “Prima ergo partium artis laudandi poetice in opere est, ut enarrentur, intentiones nobiles per quas fit commotio ymaginative, deinde investigantur ille intentiones tonis et metris convenientibus rei enarrate”. Here the Latin text read by Wenck reported “investiantur” instead of “investigantur”, whence “investitio” in the *glossa*.

159 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “Est autem operatio toni in poemate quoniam preparat animam ad recipiendum ymagines rei cuius intenditur ymaginatio. Est ergo tonus hoc quod acquirere facit animam aptitudinem per quam recipiat assimilationem et representationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio ...”

160 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “Est ergo tonus hoc quod acquirere facit animam aptitudinem per quam recipiat assimilationem et representationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio et facit quidem acquirere animam hanc habitudinem in unaquaque specierum ...”

161 The contemporary edition of the text of Seneca’s tragedy *Phaedra* that I consulted is found in Seneca, *Tragedies*, vol. 1: *Hercules, Trojan Women, Phoenician Women, Medea, Phaedra*, John Gordon Fitch (ed. and trans.), Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2018, 316–405.

“Quemcumque dederit exitum casus feram: /
fortem facit vicina libertas senem”. [vv. 138–
139]

“... Moribus scelera imputes”. [v. 144]

“Quid pena presens, conscie noctis pavor / ani-
musque culpa plenus et semet timens?” [v. 162]

“Compesce amoris et impii flammas, precor”.
[v. 165]

“... inclusus quoque, quamvis tegatur, proditur
vultu furor / erumpit oculis ignis ...” [vv. 362–
364]

“artusque [*in marg.* membrum] varie iactat
incertus dolor”. [v. 366]

“Sevis et quis est flammis modus [*sed. exp.*
modus]?” [v. 359]

“At si quis ultro se malis offert volens / seque
ipsum torquet, perdere est dignus bona / quis
quibus nescit uti”. [vv. 441–443]

“Etate fruire mobili cursu fugit”. [v. 446]

“O mors amoris, una (*sup. l.* id est sola) sedamen
mali”. [v. 1188]

[**fol. 55v**] poematis tonus conveniens illi speciei
per eius symphoniam et per comparisonem
ipsi, [*add. exemplum convenientie sup. l.*] sicut
enim invenimus accentum vel semiaccentum
convenire cuidam speciei orationis [*add. cui*]
non convenit gravis, sic oportet ut credatur in
symphonia metrica.¹⁶²

[78] Tonus et preparat animam recipere repre-
sentationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio.

¹⁶² Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “... poematis, tonus conveniens illi speciei per eius symphoniam et compositionem ipsi. Sicut enim invenimus accentum seu tonum acutum convenire cuidam speciei orationis cui non convenit gravis, sic oportet ut credatur esse in symphonia metrica et in eius compositione”. It might be worth noting how, curiously, the Latin “semiaccentum” in the text attested in Pal. lat. 1892 represents an *unicum* in the textual tradition of Hermannus’ translation

Dixit: eorum qui recitant et representant complete ymaginationes rerum intentarum in ipsis orationibus poeticis ex parte istorum, scilicet assimilationis et ponderis et thoni, que elementa sunt representationis – sunt in summa due habitudines.¹⁶³

Non est enim habitudo eius qui loquitur dubius existens. Averrois: oportet ergo ut habitudo sermonis recitantis et representantis in tragedia sint ut habitudo et figurationem dubii et dentis seriosa et non iocosa, ut sunt sermones virorum summe honestatis in moribus et opinionibus et actionibus, et gesta et eventus de quibus loqui deceat recitatore.¹⁶⁴

... et dico “fabulam” compositionem rerum quarum intenditur representatio aut secundum hoc quod sunt in semetipsis, aut secundum quod assuetum est in poeticis fingere eas, quamvis sit fictio mendosa, et propter hoc dictum est quoniam sermones poetici fabule sunt.

[79] Elementa representationis:

- assimilatio
- pondus
- tonus.

[80] Multum facit fama loquentis.

[81] Quid fabula.¹⁶⁵

[82] Primo Methaphisice: *Multa mentiuntur poete*.¹⁶⁶

of the *Poetics* and substitutes the *tonum acutum* found in the text edited by Minio-Paluello; nor is there any trace of such variant in Boggess' *apparatus*, where – if anything – the variant *sonum acutum* is reported.

163 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “Et habitudines eorum qui recitant et representant, complete ymaginationum inventarum in ipsis orationibus poeticis ex parte istorum trium – scilicet assimilationis et ponderis et toni, que elementa sunt representationis – sunt in summa due habitudines”.

164 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: “Non est enim habitudo eius qui loquitur certus existens de re, habitudo eius qui loquitur dubius existens. Oportet ergo ut habitudo sermonis recitantis et representantis in tragedia sit habitudo et figura certi et non dubii, et dicentis seriosa, non iocosa, ut sunt sermones virorum summe honestatis in moribus et opinionibus et actionibus, et gesta et eventus de quibus loqui oportet recitatore et representatore habentes dictas habitudines”.

165 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “... et dico ‘fabulam’ compositionem rerum quarum intenditur representatio aut secundum hoc quod sunt in semetipsis, aut secundum quod assuetum est in poeticis fingere eas, quamvis sit fictio mendosa, et propter hoc dictum est quoniam sermones poetici fabule sunt”.

166 Aristoteles, *Metaphysica: Ex transl. Iacobus Veneticus (siue translatio “uetustissima”)*, Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem (ed.), Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1970, I.2, 983a2–5, 11: “Sed nec divinum individuum esse convenit, sed secundum proverbium multa mentiuntur poete, nec ea aliam honorabiliorem oportet existimare”.

Recitatores [*add.* representantes *sup.* L.] et renunciatores ergo, ut in summa dicatur, sunt illi qui potentiam habent temptandi [*sic*] [*add.* representandi *sup.* L.] consuetudines et causalitates [*add.* civilitates *sup.* L.] hominum.¹⁶⁷

Dixit: et oportet [**fol. 56r**] ut tragedie [*add.* ecce tragediam esse laudem *sup.* L.], id est laudandi, sex partes sunt: scilicet sermones fabulares representativi, et consuetudines, et metrum seu pondus, et credulitas, et consideratio, et thonus.¹⁶⁸

Et ea per que fit assimilatio tria sunt: representatio, metrum, et thonus.¹⁷⁰

Averrois: sunt itaque necessario partes tragedie sex [*add.* quia tragedia laus est *sup.* L.] et partes carminis laudatorii sunt consuetudines et credulitates. Tragedia enim non est ars representativa ipsorum hominum prout sunt individua cadentia in sensum, sed est representativa consuetudinum earum honestarum et actionum laudabilium et credulitatum beatificantium et consuetudines et mores.¹⁷¹

[83] Quid representator.

[84] Ecce: tragediam esse laudem.¹⁶⁹

[85] Partes sex tragedie.

[86] Ecce: trifariam / in assimilatione: per que fit 3 – que assimilantur.

[87] Quomodo ars tragedie est universalis.

167 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Recitatores ergo et renunciatores, ut in summa dicatur, sunt illi qui potentiam habent representandi consuetudines et credulitates hominum”.

168 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Dixit: et oportet ut tragedie, id est artis laudandi, sex partes sint: scilicet sermones fabulares representativi, et consuetudines, et metrum seu pondus, et credulitates, et consideratio, et tonus”.

169 This and other remarks within this copy of Averroes’ commentary seem to suggest that for Wenck the association between *ars laudandi* and *tragedia* was something new and of a certain relevance; a few lines below, Wenck insists again on such identification in a *supra linea*: “... Averrois: sunt itaque necessario partes tragedie sex [*add.* quia tragedia laus est *sup.* L.] et partes carminis laudatorii ...”

170 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Et ea per que fit assimilatio tria sunt: representatio, et metrum, et tonus”.

171 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Sunt itaque necessario partes tragedie sex. Et partes maiores carminis laudativi sunt consuetudines et credulitates. Tragedia etenim non est ars representativa ipsorummet hominum prout sunt individua cadentia in sensum, sed est representativa consuetudinum eorum honestarum et actionum laudabilium et credulitatum beatificantium; et consuetudines comprehendunt actiones et mores”.

Consideratio autem et declaratio rectitudinis credulitatis per quam homo laudabilis existit. Illud vero totum non reperitur quidem in sermonibus legalibus et signationes [add. considerationes *sup. l.*] per tres maneries rerum per quas fit representatio, scilicet per sermonem ymaginativum et metrum et thonum.¹⁷²

Dixit: et partes sermonis fabularis [add. ymaginativi *sup. l.*], secundum quod est representativus, due sunt. Omnis enim representatio aut preparat sibi locum

[fol. 56v] per representationem sui contrarii et post permutatur ad suam [add. representationem *sup. l.*] et est modus qui dicitur apud eos circulatio, aut [add. representando *sup. l.*] rem ipsam non faciens attentionem [add. considerationem *sup. l.*] aliquam sui contrarii. Et hec est quod ipsi vocabant signationem [add. considerationem *sup. l.*].¹⁷⁵

Est illud in quod representatio vel imitatio sustentamentum et fundamentum habuerit in hac arte; propter quod non sit delectatio ex rememoratione cui intenditur rememoratio absque representatione sui, sed fit delectatio quidem et receptio ipsius quando representata fuerit.¹⁷⁶

[88] idem: – consideratio – declaratio – signatio.

[89] Quid consideratio.

[90] Differunt: – representata – representantes.¹⁷³

[91] Idem sermo: – fabularis – poeticus – ymaginativus – representativus.¹⁷⁴

[92] Due partes sermonis representativi.

[93] Quid: – circulatio – signatio.

[94] Alter intenditur rei:

– absque sui representatione
– (vel) cum.

representatione: – contrarii – (vel) similis.

172 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Consideratio autem est declaratio rectitudinis credulitatis, per quam homo laudabilis existit. Istud vero totum non reperitur in poematibus Arabum, sed reperitur quidem in sermonibus legalibus, et representant hec tria, scilicet consuetudines et credulitates et significationes, per tres maneries rerum per quas fit representatio, scilicet per sermonem ymaginativum et metrum et tonum”. For the identification of “consideratio” and “declaratio”, cf. below, at *glossa* 90 “quid consideratio”.

173 In Wenck’s *glossa* the “representata” are the “consuetudo”, the “significatio” and the “credulitas”, which are imitated through the “representantes”, i.e. through “sermo ymaginativus”, “meter”, and “thonum”.

174 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Dixit: et partes sermonis fabularis, secundum quod est representativus, due sunt. Omnis enim representatio aut imperat sibi locum ...”

175 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “... per representationem sui contrarii et post permutatur ad suam intentionem, et est modus qui dicitur apud eos ‘circulatio’, aut rem ipsam non faciens mentionem aliquam sui contrarii et hoc est quod ipsi vocabant ‘significationem’”.

176 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Et est quidem representatio seu imitatio sustentamentum et fundamentum in hac arte; propterea quod non fit delectatio ex rememoratione rei cuius intendi-

Ideo multotiens non delectatur homo ex aspectu forme rei ipsius existentis in natura [add. exemplum de mure vivo, depitcto *sup. l.*] et delectatur in eius representatione et formatione per picturas et colores, et propterea [add. id est delectationem *sub. l.*] utuntur homines arte pingendi et rescribendi.¹⁷⁷

Et pars tertia tragedie est credulitas, et hec est potentia representandi rem sic esse.¹⁷⁸

Et hoc est simile ei quod conatur rethorica in declaratione [add. consideratione *sup. l.*] quod res existat, aut non existat, nisi quod rethorica conatur ad hoc per sermonem persuasivum [add. id est ostensivum *sup. l.*], et poetria per sermonem representativum.¹⁷⁹

[fol. 57r] Dixit: et iam Alkedemonii legum positores contenti fuerunt ad firmandum credulitates [add. fides *sup. l.*] in mentibus hominum sermonibus poeticis, quousque posteriores ceperunt invenire rethoricales.¹⁸⁰

Et differentiis inter sermonem poeticum preceptivum et instigativum ad credulitates et preceptivum et instigativum ad consuetudines est quoniam ille qui instigat ad consuetudines instigat ad operandum [add. scilicet ad consue-

[95] Argumentum: si representatio in re non delectabili est delectabilis, quanto magis in re delectabili.

[96] Quare scribere ratione representationis est delectabile.

[97] Quid credulitas.

[98] Ostendere per sermonem:
– persuasivum–est–rhetorici
– representativum–(est) poetici.

[99] Anterior fuit sermo poeticus rhetoricali.

[100] Ecce: quod post poetriam adinventata est rethorica.

[101] Poeticus sermo fundamentum et principium:
– ad consuetudinem
– (et) credulitatem.

tur rememoratio absque sui representatione, sed fit delectatio quidem et receptio ipsius quando representata fuerit”.

177 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 48: “Ideoque, multotiens non delectatur homo ex aspectu forme ipsius rei existentis in natura, et delectatur in eius representatione et formatione per picturas et colores, et propterea utuntur homines arte pingendi et describendi”.

178 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Et pars tertia tragedie est credulitas, et hec est potentia representandi rem sic esse, aut sic non esse”; notably, the manuscript here omits “et sic non esse” from the description of “credulitas”, which should read, as witnessed also in Minio-Paluello’s edition of the text: “potentia representandi rem sic esse, aut sic non esse”.

179 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Et hoc est simile ei quod conatur rethorica in declaratione quod res existat, aut non existat, nisi quod rethorica conatur ad hoc per sermonem persuasivum, et poetria per sermonem representativum”.

180 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Dixit: et iam Lakedemonii legum positores contenti fuerunt ad firmandum credulitates in mentibus hominum sermonibus poeticis, quousque posteriores ceperunt ad invenire vias rethoricales”.

tudines *sup. l.*] et agendum aliquid [*add. scilicet virtutis sup. l.*], aut ad recedendum et fugiendum ab eo [*add. id est vitio sup. l.*]; sermo vero qui instigat ad credulitatem non instigat nisi ad credendum aliquid esse vel non esse, sed non ad inquirendum ipsum, aut respuendum [*add. sicut ille poeticus ad consuetudinem sup. l.*].¹⁸¹

Quarta autem pars est metrum seu pondus. Et de perfectione ipsius [*add. scilicet ponderis sup. l.*] est ut proportionatum sit proposito seu intentio, fortassis [*add. probabile sup. l.*] enim pondus quoddam pertinet uni proposito et non pertinet alteri.¹⁸²

Et pars quinta que consistit in ordine est thonus, et est maior partium ad imprimendum anime et operandum in ipsa.¹⁸³

Et pars sexta est consideratio, scilicet argumentatio seu probatio recte credulitatis aut operationis non per sermonem persuasivum [*add. qui rhetoricus est sup. l.*].¹⁸⁴

[fol. 57v] Dixit: et ars scientialis que monstrat sive docet quibus et qualiter componuntur poemata principalior et perfectior est quam ipsa operatio poematum.¹⁸⁵

[102] Instigatio poetica:
– ad credulitate(m)
– (et) consuetudine(m).

[103] De metro / pondere, quid est idem.

[104] Effectus toni: imprimere.

[105] Quid consideratio.

[106] Scientia principalior/perfectior operatione.

181 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Et differentia inter sermonem poeticum preceptivum et instigativum ad credulitates et preceptivum et instigativum ad consuetudines est quoniam ille qui instigat ad consuetudines instigat ad operandum et agendum aliquid, aut ad recedendum et fugiendum ab eo; sermo vero qui instigat ad credulitatem non instigat nisi ad credendum aliquid esse, aut non esse, sed non ad inquirendum ipsum, aut respuendum”.

182 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Quarta autem pars est metrum seu pondus. Et de perfectione ipsius est ut proportionatum sit proposito seu intentioni, fortassis enim pondus quoddam pertinet uni proposito et non pertinet alteri”.

183 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Et pars quinta que consistit in ordine est tonus, et est maior partium ad imprimendum anime et operandum in ipsa”.

184 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Et pars sexta est consideratio, scilicet argumentatio seu probatio rectitudinis credulitatis aut operationis non per sermonem persuasivum, hoc enim non pertinet huic arti neque est conveniens ei, sed per sermonem representativum”.

185 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49: “Dixit: et ars scientialis que monstrat sive docet ex quibus et qualiter componuntur poemata principalior et perfectior est quam ipsa operatio poematum. Omnis enim ars instruens et continens quod sub ipsa de operativis sui operis dignior est eis que sub ipsa sunt”.

Dicemus ergo quoniam oportet ut sit tragedia conferens sufficientiam finibus operationis sue, scilicet ut pertingat in assimilatione et representatione ad finem ad quem potest pertingere secundum naturam suam et hoc esset per aliqua quorum unum est ut sit ei quod intenditur magnitudo quedam determinata per quam sit totum, et completum est quod habet principium et medium et ultimum, aut ante rem est, nec compositum cum eis quibus est principium et ultimum, aut est cum eis quibus est ultimum et non est ante medium, aut est ante et cum ipso, ergo melius est utriusque extremis cum sit medium in lo [fol. 58r] co inter illud quod est ante et inter illud quod est post.¹⁸⁶

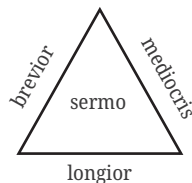
[107] Proverbia et parabole aliud habent in medulla, aliud in superficie pollicentes, in quibus divinus sensus altius perscrutandus, quasi in terra aurum, in nuce nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inqueritur.¹⁸⁷

186 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 49–50: “Dicimus igitur quoniam oportet ut sit tragedia conferens sufficientiam finibus operationis sue, scilicet ut pertingat in assimilatione et representatione ad finem ad quem potest pertingere secundum naturam suam. Et hoc erit per aliqua: quorum unum est ut sit ei quod intenditur magnitudo quedam determinata per quam fit totum et completum. Totum autem et completum est quod habet principium et medium et ultimum. Principium autem ante rem est, nec oportet ut sit cum eis quibus est principium. Et ultimum est cum eis quibus est ultimum, neque est ante. Medium autem est ante et cum, ipsum ergo melius est utrisque extremis, cum sit medium in loco qui est inter id quod est ante et inter id quod est post”.

187 Dionysius Cartusianus, Enarratio in Proverbia Salomonis, in: *Opera Omnia: In unum corpus digesta ad fidem editionum Coloniensium*, vol. 7, 1–207, Tornaci: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1898, I.1, 7, col. 1, l. 20: “Et quantum ad hoc, verum est quod asserit Glossa libri Proverbiorum: Non, ut simplices arbitrantur, habet patentia (id est manifesta) praecepta ac documenta, sed quasi aurum in terra absconditum, et nucleum in nuce conclusum; et sicut in hirsutis castanearum operculis inquitur fructus intus contentus, sic in Proverbiis altius inquirendus est sensus divinus”; Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, *Migne Patrologia Latina* 23, 493: “ad docendum populum proverbia et parabolas composuerit aliud habentes in medulla aliud in superficie pollicentes ... sed quasi in terra aurum, in nuce nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inquitur: ita in eis divinum sensum altius perscrutandum”.

“... quoniam si doctrinalis sermo brevior fuerit quam oporteat, obscurat intellectum, si longior difficilis erit retentionis et inducet discipulo oblivionem.”¹⁸⁸

[108] Regula. Ecce: quid de poetria doctrinat, etiam in proportionem ad logicam.
[Sermo: brevior, mediocris, longior]



Est igitur dispositio *ruch*^o [*add. in hoc sup. l.*] sicut est dispositio in aspectu [*fol. 58v*] alicuius sensibilis, erit enim aspectus talis [*add. id est medius sup. l.*] bene se habens quando distantia fuerit equalis inter aspicientem et aspiciendum non nimis propinquum nec nimis remotum.¹⁸⁹

[109] Ex quomodo doctrina nostra oritur a sensu.

Dixit: sermones autem rethorici quorum usus in controversia et in collatione est, seu obviatione non habent quantitatem determinatam secundum materiam. Averrois: et propterea...¹⁹⁰

[110] Causam secundam.

... et propterea indigent homines ut mensurent tempus controversie inter adversarios aut per instrumentum emforatum [*add. diffusivum sup. l.*] aque, prout erat consuetudo apud grecos cum ipsi inniterentur enchimoniatibus aut per indutias certas [*add. certas sup. l.*] dierum prout est nostra consuetudo circa illud cui nos innitimus in dirimendis litigis non nisi res ab ectrinseco sumpte ad satisfaciendum nostre credulitati. Ideoque, si esset tragedia consistens in collatione altercationis, indigeretur in ea mensuratione temporis altercandi.¹⁹¹

[111] Alia commensuratio tragedie laudandi, (alia) altercandi.

188 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 50: “... quoniam si doctrinalis sermo brevior fuerit quam oporteat, obscurat intellectum, et si longior fuerit, difficilior erit retentionis et inducet discipulo oblivionem”.

189 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 50: “Est igitur dispositio in hoc sicut est dispositio in aspectu alicuius sensibilis, erit enim aspectus talis bene se habens quando distantia fuerit equalis inter aspicientem et aspiciendum, non nimis propinqua, neque nimis longinqua”.

190 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 50: “Sermones autem rethorici quorum usus in controversia est, in collatione, seu obviatione non habent quantitatem determinatam secundum naturam ...”

191 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 50: “... Et propterea indigent homines ut mensurent tempus controversie inter adversarios aut per instrumentum emanativum aque, prout erat consuetudo apud grecos, cum ipsi inniterentur tantum enthimematibus, aut per indutias certas dierum, prout est

[fol. 59r] Averrois: et tu reperies illud frequenter in poematibus Arabum, et in novis sive modernis, et precipue in carminibus laudativis, quando concurrerit eis aliqua materia laudandi, ut aliquis equus aut ensis laudandus et pretiosus, digrediuntur a proposito et immorantur nimis in laudibus materie que se obtulit ad laudandum.¹⁹²

[fol. 59v] Et, ut susanna [add. in summa sup. l.] dicatur, oportet ut ars in hoc imitetur naturam: videlicet, ut omnia que agit agat secundum unum propositum et ad unum finem [add. secundo physicorum: natura agit propter finem].¹⁹³

... representationes que fiunt per figmenta mendosa adinventitia non sunt de opere poete, ut sunt ea que nominantur proverbialia et exempla, ut ea que sunt in libro Ysopi seu Hesiodi et inconsimilibus fabulosis circumscriptionibus.¹⁹⁴

Res enim quarum consistentia penes ordinationem fit est et bonitas sui operationis penes debitum ordinationis, si priventur debito ordine, non consequentur suam operationem.¹⁹⁵

[112] Regula: non oportet digredi a proposito.

[113] Natura duce, intendere debemus proposito, cui est et:

- initium
- (et) medium
- (et) complementum.

[114] Qualis representationum poeticarum differt a fabulis.

[115] observa: ordo bonificans.

nostra consuetudo, cum id cui nos innititur in dirimendis litigiis non sunt nisi res ab extrinseco sumpte ad satisfaciendum nostre credulitati. Ideoque, si esset tragedia consistens in collatione altercationis, indigeretur in ea mensuratione temporis ad altercandum".

192 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: "Et tu reperies istud frequenter in poematibus Arabum, et in novis seu modernis, et precipue in carminibus laudativis, quando occurrerit eis aliqua materia laudandi, ut aliquis equus strenuus aut ensis preciosus, digrediuntur a proposito et immorantur nimis in laudibus materie que se obtulit ad laudandum".

193 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: "Et, ut in summa dicatur, oportet ut ars in hoc imitetur naturam: videlicet, ut omnia que agit agat secundum unum propositum et ad unum finem".

194 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: "... representationes que fiunt per figmenta mendosa adinventitia non sunt de opere poete – et sunt ea que nominantur proverbialia et exempla, ut ea que sunt in libro Esopi et consimilibus fabulosis conscriptionibus".

195 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: "Res enim quarum consistentia penes ordinationem est et bonitas operationis sui penes debitum ordinationis, si priventur debito ordine, non consequentur debitam sibi operationem".

[fol. 60r] Compositorum vero fabularum et proverbiorum opus non est opus poetarum, quamvis proverbialia et fabulas quas componunt sermone metrico communicent cum alterius eorum completur operatio intenta per fabulas etiam si sit absque metro. Et est instructio ...¹⁹⁶

“... et est instructio quedam prudentialis, que acquiritur per tales adinventicias fabulas – poeta vero non pertingit ad complementum propositi sui per ymaginativas commotiones nisi per metrum. Fictor ergo proverbiorum adinventorum adinvenit sue fingit individua que penitus non habent existentiam in re et imponit eis nomina. Poete vero non imponunt nomina nisi rebus existentibus, et fortassis loquuntur in universalibus, ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum”.¹⁹⁷

Ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum.¹⁹⁸

[fol. 60v] Dixit: et plurimum eius cui intendendum in arte laudativa sive tragedia est ut sint res a quibus sumitur ymitativa representatio res existentes in natura, non res adinventicie sive figmentales.¹⁹⁹

[116] Notabilis.

[117] Differt: – poeta – fabularius.

[118] Utilitas fabularum.

[119] Differunt:

– ars poetrie

– (et) proverbiorum.

[120] Regula. Cui intenditur in arte laudativa: assimilatur rei a qua sumitur ymitativa representatio.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: “Compositorum vero fabularum et proverbiorum opus non est opus poetarum, quamvis huiusmodi proverbialia et fabulas adinventicias componant sermone metrico. Quamvis enim in metro communicent, tamen alterius eorum completur operatio intenta per fabulas etiam si sit absque metro”.

¹⁹⁷ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: “... et est instructio quedam prudentialis, que acquiritur per tales adinventicias fabulas – poeta vero non pertingit ad complementum propositi sui per ymaginativas commotiones nisi per metrum. Fictor ergo proverbiorum adinventiciorum et fabularum adinvenit seu fingit individua que penitus non habent existentiam in re, et ponit eis nomina. Poete vero ponunt nomina rebus existentibus, et fortassis loquuntur in universalibus, ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum”.

¹⁹⁸ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 51: “Ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum”.

¹⁹⁹ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: “Dixit: et plurimum eius cui innitendum est in arte laudativa sive tragedia est ut sint res a quibus sumitur imitativa representatio res existentes in natura, non res adinventicie sive figmentales, quibus ficta sunt nomina”.

²⁰⁰ In the *glossa* to this passage, Wenck is simply rephrasing what is reported in the text.

... quando ergo fuerint actiones possibiles et quasi reales, amplius incidit per eas sufficientia persuasiva – scilicet credulitas [add. fides sup. l.] poetica motiva fame ad assequendum aliquid aut refutandum ipsum [add. intenti fines a poeta sup. l].²⁰¹

[121] Mocio fame.

[122] N(otabilie).

Rebus autem non existentibus in natura non inponuntur nomina nec finguntur in tragedia nisi raro, prout liberalitatem ponunt esse individuum aliud [add. aliquod], deinde attribuunt ei actiones convenientes liberali, et representant eam, et multiplicant carmina in laudem ipsius, et hec est quedam maneries ymaginative commotionis; et sic proficitur ...²⁰²

[123] *manicula*: Aliquando finguntur virtutes/vitia persone.

Et sic proficitur per hoc interdum profectu non modico proportionem actionum talis rei adinventicie et passionum suarum ad res existentes in natura, non ergo oportet ut utatur talibus in tragedia, nam iste modus commotionis ymaginative non est in quo convenient quelibet nature, immo derident ipsum et subsannant seu impediunt plures hominum.²⁰³

[124] Nota: que nature non eadem apud omnes que adinventitie, quamvis tamen propotionate nature.

[fol. 61r] Cum hoc sic fuerit, patet quod poeta non est poeta nisi per operationem fabularum et metrorum [add. tonorum sup. l.] sive ponderum, secundum quantitatem per quam potens sit ad operandum assimilationes et imitativas representationes.²⁰⁴

[125] Ecce: maneries representantes (ill.) [tres?]

[126] *manicula*.

[127] N(otabile)

201 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: "... quando ergo fuerint actiones possibiles et quasi reales, amplius incidit per eas sufficientia persuasiva, scilicet credulitas poetica motiva anime ad assequendum aliquid aut refutandum ipsum". This *glossa* mirrors the wrong lemma transmitted by the copy at Wenck's disposal, which read "motiva fame" instead of "motiva anime".

202 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: "Rebus autem non existentibus in natura non ponuntur neque finguntur nomina in tragedia nisi raro, prout quandoque liberalitatem ponunt esse individuum aliquod, deinde attribuunt ei actiones convenientes liberali, et representant eam, et multiplicant carmina in laudem ipsius. Et hec est quedam maneries ymaginative commotionis. Etsi proficiatur ..."

203 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: "Etsi proficiatur per hoc interdum profectu non modico proportionem actionum talis rei adinventicie et passionum suarum ad res existentes in natura, non ergo oportet ut utatur talibus in tragedia, nam iste modus commotionis ymaginative non est in quo convenient quelibet nature, immo derident ipsum et subsannant seu plures hominum".

204 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: "Cum ergo sic fuerit, patet quoniam poeta non est poeta nisi per operationem fabularum et metrorum seu ponderum, secundum quantitatem per quam potens

Et non est in conditione sua ut imitetur seu representet res illas tantum que existentes sunt, sed et eas etiam de quibus putatur quod possibile sit earum consistentia. Et erit per hoc poeta non minus quam si hoc faciat in existentibus: nichil enim prohibet tunc si sumat res illas tamquam eas que nunc existunt. Non indiget in quod in commotionem ...²⁰⁵

Non indiget in quod in commotionem ymaginationis poetica fabulis. Dixit: nec etiam indiget poeta peritus seu perfectus ut compleat representationem suam per ea que extrinsecus sunt, ut est in gestibus theatralibus et vultuum [*add. facierum sup. l.*] dispositionibus – hiis [*add. scilicet gestibus sup. l.*] enim non utuntur nisi poete illi qui ostendunt se esse poetas, licet poete non sint. Poete autem secundum utilitatem non utuntur istis nisi cum per hoc volunt obviare visui [*add. conatui sup. l.*] fabulorum poetarum ad peritos autem poetas non utuntur istis penitus. Et interdum coguntur etiam perfecti poete ut pro loco et tempore adiuvent se per usum eorum que extrinsecus [*add. ex principio tertii rethorice sup. l.*] seu extrinsece se habent ad fundamentum poetrie, propterea [*add. ecce causam sup. l.*] quod imitatio

[**fol. 61v**] seu representatio non fit ex omni loco in rebus completis, quarum imitatio firma sit et completiva, sed et rebus defectivis, quarum imitatio difficilis est per sermonem adiutorem ergo fit ad eorum ymitationem per ea que extrinsecus.

[128] Poeta representat tam res existentes, [quam] putatas existere; ille enim etiam commovent ymaginationem.

[129] Poeta:
– peritus
– (aut)sophysta.²⁰⁶

[130] Ymitatio in rebus:
– completis
– defectivis.²⁰⁷

[131] *manicula*.

sit ad operandum assimilationes et imitativas representationes”.

205 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: “Et non est de conditione sua ut imitetur seu representet res illas tantum que existentes sunt, sed et eas de quibus putatur quod possibile sit earum consistentia. Et erit per hoc poeta non minus quam si hoc faciat in existentibus: nichil enim prohibet ut sumat res illas tamquam eas que nunc existent ...”

206 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52: “Non indiget itaque in commotione ymaginativa poetica huius fabulis figmentalibus, neque etiam indiget poeta peritus seu perfectus ut compleat representationem suam per ea que extrinsecus sunt, ut est in gestibus theatralibus et vultuum dispositionibus – hoc enim non utuntur nisi poete illi qui ostendant se esse poetas, licet poete non sint”.

207 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52–53: “Non indiget itaque in commotione ymaginativa poetica huius fabulis figmentalibus, neque etiam indiget poeta peritus seu perfectus ut compleat represen-

Et quandoque permistentur ea que extrinsecus sunt cum ymaginationibus poeticis ac si hoc acciderit casualiter absque proposito et esset factum mirabile cum res quarum natura est ut causa accidant mirabiles sic existant.²⁰⁸

Dixit: et multi sermones poeticorum sunt quorum bonitas consistit penes imitationem simplicem, non habentes distinctiones et multi ipsorum sunt quorum bonitas non consistit nisi penes distinctionem assimilationum et imitationum²⁰⁹ [add. probatio ex similitudine sup. l.] habet enim se in assimilatione, sicut se habet in operationibus.

Quemadmodum ergo operationum quedam summuntur per actum simplicem quedam penes compositum, sic in imitatione seu representatione.

Et imitatio simplex est in qua usitatur aliqua duarum specierum ymaginationis, scilicet aut species que nominatur “circulation”, aut species que nominatur “directio” seu “directiva significatio”.

Imitatio autem composita est ea in qua usitantur utreque species, et hoc ut incipiatur a circulatione et perveniatur ad directionem, aut incipiatur a directione et perveniatur ad circulatio-

[132] Notabilis.

[133] $\triangle$ Differunt sermones poetici penes:
– ymitacionem simplicem
– distinctionem assimilationum et ymitationum.

[134] 2: – assimilatio – operatio

[135] Idem:
– assimilatio
– ymitatio
– representatio.²¹⁰

[136] Ymitatio: – simplex – composita.

[137] Idem:
– directio
– directiva
– significatio.

tionem suam per ea que extrinsecus sunt, ut est in gestibus theatralibus et vultuum dispositionibus – hoc enim non utuntur nisi poete illi qui ostentant se esse poetas, licet poete non sint. Poete autem secundum veritatem non utuntur isto nisi cum volunt per hoc obviare usui falsorum poetarum, ad peritos autem poetas non utuntur isto penitus. Et interdum coguntur etiam perfecti poete ut pro loco et tempore adiuvent se per usum eorum que extrinsecus sunt seu extrinsece se habent ad fundamentum poetrie, propterea quod imitatio seu representatio non fit in omni loco rebus completis, quarum imitatio firma sit et completiva, sed et rebus defectivis, quarum imitatio difficilis est per sermonem. Adiutorium ergo fit ad earum imitationem per ea que extrinsecus sunt ...”

208 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: “... cum res quarum natura est ut casu accidant mirabiles existant”.

209 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: “Dixit: et multi sermonum poeticorum sunt quorum bonitas consistit penes imitationem simplicem, non habentem multas distinctiones et multi ipsorum sunt quorum bonitas non consistit nisi penes distinctionem assimilationum et imitationum; habet enim se in assimilatione, sicut se habet in operationibus ...”

210 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: “... Quemadmodum ergo operationum quedam summuntur per unum actum simplicem, penes compositum, sic in imitatione vel representatione”.

nem. Et hoc cui innitendum est magna namque differentia est [add. scilicet illarum duarum viarum, ob differentem, triorum: incipientium, terminantium *sup. l.*] incipere a circulatione et pervenire ad directionem, aut incipere a directione et pervenire ad circulationem.²¹¹

[138] Wenck:

– in prosperis exulta – de munere dei – in – gratiarum actione – quia ibi – Dei placitum.
– in adversis hylaresce – de – tribulatione – in – spe operarie glorie – quia ibi – multitudo consolationum.

[139]

Opponuntur:

– inpatientia murmuris – vituperatio in blasphemiam premii gehennalis

– munificentia creatoris – laudatio – in / glorificationem – premii beatitudinis.

[140] Jacobi videlicet dicitur: si *tristatur aliquis vestrum, oret equo animo* [add. equanimi susceptione $\triangle$ *sup. l.*] et *psallat*.²¹² *Oret*: ut deus eius pusilannimitatem consoletur, nam stultum est hominem labi in tristitiam seculi, cui promittuntur munera regni eterni; *psallat* bonis operibus, ut liberioribus ~~ad~~ *ae* pennis ad celum possit convolare.

[141] Tristatur:

– in temptatione alicuius delectationis,
– dampno temporalis incommodi,
– periculo amissionis amici.

[142] Scilicet illarum duarum viarum ob directivam terminorum:

– incipientium
– terminantium.

²¹¹ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: “Et imitatio simplex est in qua usitatur aliqua duarum specierum ymaginationis, scilicet aut species que nominatur ‘circulatio’, aut species que nominatur ‘directio’ seu ‘directiva significatio’. Imitatio autem composita est ea in qua usitantur utreque species, et hoc ut incipiatur a circulatione et perveniatur ad directionem, aut incipiatur a directione et perveniatur ad circulationem. Et hoc cui innitendum est, est ut incipiatur a circulatione et perveniatur ad directionem. Magna namque differentia est incipere a circulatione et pervenire ad directionem, aut incipere a directione et pervenire ad circulationem”. The “utreque species” quoted in the text are “significatio directiva” and “circulatio”.

²¹² Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra*, 1863–1864, Jac. 5:12–13: “sit autem vestrum est non / uti non sub iudicio decidatis / tristatur aliquis vestrum oret / aequo animo est psallat”.

[fol. 62r] ... ut deinde permutetur ab hoc [add. horribili sup. l.] ad imitationem ipsiusmet quod laudandum est [add. scilicet laudabile sup. l.], ut [add. exemplum sup. l.] qui volt ymitari vel representare felicitatem vel proprietates ei pertinentes incipiat primo ab imitatione infelicitatis et ab illis que pertinent ei [add. videlicet vitia sup. l.], deinde permutetur ad imitationem felicitatis cum ei pertinentibus [add. id est virtutibus sup. l.].²¹³

Dixit: et interdum usitantur directio et circulatio in rebus inanimatis, non in modum quo intenditur operatio aut dimissio, sed per modum commotionis ymaginative: tantum dico convenientium.²¹⁵

[fol. 62v] Dixit: et directio humana et circulatio non usitantur nisi in inquisitione et species directionis est que movet animam quandoque ad miserendum quandoque ad timendum. Et hoc est qua indiget in arte laudandi actus humanos laudabiles et decentes, et vituperandi indecentes. Dixit: hee itaque ...²¹⁶

[143] *manicula*. Forma representandi felicitatem.

[144] Quam pulchrum oppositionem locutio.

[145] Aristoteles primo Rhetorice: agenda sunt procurantia felicitatem, aut partem eius, id est virtutes.²¹⁴

[146] 2:

– intenta ~~ymaginatio~~ operatio

– ymaginis commotio.

[147] Quid species directionis.

213 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: "... ut deinde permutetur ab hoc ad imitationem ipsiusmet quod laudandum est, ut cum quis voluerit imitari seu representare felicitatem et ei pertinentes incipiat primo ab imitatione infelicitatis et ab illis qui ei pertinent, deinde permutetur ad imitationem felicitatis et ei pertinentibus".

214 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, I.4–5, 1360b2–13, 174: "Sit itaque felicitas eupraxia cum virtute vel per se sufficientia vite vel vita que cum infallibilitate delectabilissima vel habundantia possessionum et corporum cum potentia servativa et activa horum; fere enim aliquid horum aut unum aut plura felicitatem confitentur esse omnes".

215 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 53: "Dixit: et interdum usitantur directio et circulatio in rebus animatis et inanimatis, non per modum quo intenditur operatio aut et dimissio, sed per modum commotionis ymaginative: tantum dico convenientiam".

216 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 54: "Dixit: et directio humana et circulatio non usitantur nisi in inquisitione et refutatione. Et hoc est quo indiget in arte laudandi actus humanos laudabiles et decentes, et vituperandi turpes et indecentes. Dixit: hee itaque ..."

Dixit: hee itaque due partes quas enarravimus sunt partes tragedie.²¹⁷

Et hec pars est tertia, scilicet ea que generat passiones animales, videlicet miesericordiam, timorem et tristitiam. Averrois: et Ipse ponit inter hos eventus quosque miserabiles, amicorum pericula et parentum funera et cetera talia consueta evenire hominibus. Hoc enim sunt que inducunt miseriam et timorem et hec est pars maxima eorum partium per quas est instigatio ad acciones que merentur laudari apud eos ad quorum laudem intenditur.

Dixit Averrois: et ipse mentionem facit in hac ratione partium que proprie sunt ipsorum arabum et sunt tres: prima est que rebus apud nos in poemate ad modum excidii in rethorica, et est ea in qua mentionem faciunt edificiorum nobilium et ruinarum et vestigiorum, et post hec quedam preludia et solacia tractantur in ea.²¹⁸

[fol. 63r] Et pars quidem prima magis notoria est et magis famosa quam hec postrema, ideoque nominant permutationem a parte prima ad secundam “consecutionem”, et fortasse, accedunt ad laudandum omisso exordio, prout dixit Abiammi: *verecundum utique esset nobis dicere et agere*.²¹⁹

[148] Tragedie partes seu laudative.

[149] Notabilis

[150] Poematum tres partes.

[151] Comparatio earundem partium ad invicem.

[152] Nota: de exordio.

217 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 54: “Dixit: hee itaque due partes quas enarravimus partes sunt tragedie. Et est hic pars tertia, scilicet ea que generat passiones animales, videlicet miesericordiam et timorem et tristitiam, et ipse ponit inter has eventus quosque miserabiles, ut amicorum pericula et parentum funera, et cetera consimilia consueta evenire hominibus. Hec enim sunt que inducunt miesericordiam et timorem. Et hec pars magna earum partium per quas est instigatio ad acciones que merentur laudari apud eos et ad quarum laudem intenditur”.

218 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 54: “Et ipse mentionem facit in hac ratione partium que proprie sunt ipsorum poematibus. Partes autem que ex ipsis reperiuntur in poematibus Arabum sunt tres: prima est que se habet apud ipsos in poemate ad modum exordii in rethorica, et est ea in qua mentionem faciunt mansionum, seu edificiorum nobilium et ruinarum et vestigiorum post hec, et quedam preludia et solatia tractantur in ea”.

219 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 54: “Et pars quidem prima magis notoria est et magis famosa quam hec postrema, ideoque nominant permutationem a parte prima ad secundam ‘consecutionem’, et fortasse, accedunt ad laudandum omisso exordio, prout dixit Abutememin: ‘Verecundum utique esset nobis dicere et agere’”.

Dixit: partes namque tragedie que sunt secundum qualitatem et que sunt secundum quantitatem iam enarravimus. Ex quibus autem locis fieri possit operatio artis laudandi, id est tragedie, postmodum dicemus subiungentes illud eis [add. dictis sup. l.] que precesserunt.²²⁰

Oportet ut ode, id est carmina laudum per que intenditur instigatio ...²²¹

[fol. 63v] ad virtutem, composite sunt ex representatione virtutum et ex representationem rerum inducentium timore, pavorem et contristantium ex quibus sequitur perturbatio, ut sunt in fortuna accidentia bonis preter merita ipsorum.²²²

Per hec enim fit vehementer incitatio anime ad perceptionem virtutum, nam permutatio poete a representatione virtutis ad representationem virtuosum, aut a representatione virtuosum ad representationem non virtuosum non agit aliquid per quod incitetur homo aut stimuletur, quasi terrefactus, ad virtutum actiones, cum talis permutatio non inducit amorem ad eas intensum, neque pavorem.²²³

[153] Ordo dictorum, ad dicenda.

[154] Pars tragedie artis laudandi secundum:
– qualitatem
– quantitatem

[155] 2: – oda – carmen.

[156] Representantur: – virtutis – passionibus.

[157] Notabilis: de permutatione.

220 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 54–55: “Dixit: partes itaque tragedie que sunt secundum qualitatem et que sunt secundum quantitatem iam enarravimus. Ex quibus autem locis sumi possit operatio artis laudandi, id est tragedie, postmodum dicemus subiungentes illud eis que precesserunt”.

221 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “Oportet enim ut ode, id est carmina laudum, per que intenditur instigatio ...”

222 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “... ad virtutes composite sint ex representationibus virtutum et ex representationibus rerum incutientium pavorem et contristantium, ex quibus sequitur perturbatio, ut sunt infortunia incidentia bonis preter merita ipsorum”.

223 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “Per hec enim vehemens fit incitatio anime ad receptionem virtutum, nam permutatio poete a representatione virtutis ad representationem non virtutis, aut a representatione virtuosum ad representationem non virtuosum non agit aliquid per quod incitetur homo aut stimuletur, quasi terrefactus, ad virtutum actiones, cum non inducat amorem ad eas intensum, neque pavorem”.

Averrois. Et tu reperies plures representationum incidentium in sermonibus legalibus, secundum habent cursum cuius hoc fecit mentionem, cum talia sint sermones laudativi instigantes ad opera laudabilia, ut quod inducitur de historia Ioseph et fratrum suorum.²²⁴

... ut quod inducitur de historia Ioseph et fratrum suorum. et alia consimilia de narrationibus gestorum preteritorum que nominantur “exempla exhortativa”. Dixit: et accidit quidem miseratio et compassio, cum narratur miseria et calamitas, incidens ei qui eam non meruerunt, et indebite; et formido quidem accidit ex horum narratione propter ymaginationem nocumenti potius cadere debentis super eos qui indigniores ipsis sunt, scilicet super auditores verbi, qui se recognoscunt indigniores illis.

[fol. 64v] [vacat folium]

[fol. 65r] Dixit: et cum facta fuerit mentio virtutum singulariter; non incutit anime timorem perendi eas, nec miserationem, nec amorem. Necesse est ergo ei qui vult instigare ad virtutes, ut ponat partem representationis in rebus inducentibus tristitiam, formidinem et misericordiam”

[158] Ecce legalia laudabilia.

[159] Regula: narratio miseriarum inducit passionem.²²⁵

[160] Rubrica decreti, apparatus: concordantia discordantium canonum ex arte rhetorica super probatione utriusque partis contradictionis, cum Rhetoris sit ostendere ex apparere.

[161] Quod (*corr.* Idem):

- movere
- in-citare
- in-stigare
- excitare.²²⁶

224 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “Et tu reperies plures representationum incidentium in sermonibus legalibus secundum hunc modum cuius fecit mentionem, cum talia sint sermones laudativi instigantes ad opera laudabilia, ut quod inducitur de historia Ioseph et fratrum suorum”.

225 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “... ut quod inducitur de historia Ioseph et fratrum suorum. et alia consimilia de narrationibus gestorum preteritorum que nominantur ‘exempla exhortativa’. Dixit: et accidit quidem miseratio et compassio, cum narratur miseria et calamitas, incidens ei qui eam non meruerunt, et indebite; et formido quidem accidit ex horum narratione propter ymaginationem nocumenti potius cadere debentis super eos qui indigniores ipsis sunt, scilicet super auditores verbi, qui se recognoscunt indigniores illis”.

226 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “Dixit: et cum facta fuerit mentio virtutum singulariter; non incutit anime timorem perendi eas, nec miserationem, nec amorem. Necesse est ergo ei qui vult instigare ad virtutes, ut ponat partem representationis in rebus inducentibus tristitiam, formidinem et misericordiam”.

ira nempe tristita est quedam et perturbatio cum vehementi appetitu vindicte

Dixit: representationum autem viciorum seu defectuum intro **[fol. 65v]** miserunt aliqui in carmina laudativam propoterea quod in ea quid modus circolationis ac tamen representatio defectum magis satyra quam tragedia [*add. id est laudative sup. l.*].²²⁸

Ideoque non oportet ut eorum ymaginatio sit in tragediis secundum principalem intentionem, nec per modum circolationis quam cum in carmine laudativo habita simul mentio defectuum tunc ut excusatio quando fiat mentio in ipso inimicorum et eorum qui habentur ...ⁿ²²⁹

[162] Quid ira. Q(uintilianus): Quid in recenti dolore existens disertissime exclamant et indoctus iram eloquentissimam facit, in *causa* est vis mentis eorum, et veritas ipsa morum?

Ergo simus nos ipsi similes eorum, affectibus qui vere communes patiuntur, et a tali animo, sicut affectionato, profisciscatur oratio. Igne accendimur, humore madescimus, nec res ulla dat alteri quod ipsa caret. Afficiamur igitur (que) antequam afficere conemur.²²⁷

[163] Qualia poete intromittant in Tragedia.

[164] Differun: – satira – tragedia.

[165] Aliud esse in arte ex principali / incidenti intentione.

227 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.2.26, 326: “Summa enim, quantum ego quidem sentio, circa movendos adfectus in hoc posita est, ut moveamur ipsi. Nam et luctus et irae et indignationis aliquando etiam ridicula fuerit imitatio, si verba vultum que tantum, non etiam animum accommodarimus. Quid enim aliud est causae, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissime quaedam exclamare videantur et ira nonnumquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quam quod illis inest vis mentis et veritas ipsa morum? Quare in his, quae esse veri similia volumus, simus ipsi similes eorum, qui vere patiuntur adfectibus, et a tali animo profisciscatur oratio, qualem facere iudici volet. an ille dolebit, qui audiet me, qui in hoc dicam, non dolentem? irascetur, si nihil ipse, qui in iram concitat, ei quod exigit simile patietur? siccis agentis oculis lacrimas dabit? fieri non potest. Nec incendit nisi ignis nec madescimus nisi umore nec res ulla dat alteri colorem, quem non ipsa habet, primum est igitur, ut apud nos valeant ea, quae valere apud iudicem volumus, adficiamur que antequam adficere conemur”. This *glossa* is placed next to the passage in which Averroes’ commentary offers the Aristotelian definition of *ira*: “ira nempe tristita est quedam et perturbatio cum vehementi appetitu vindicte”, cf. Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55.

228 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 55: “Representationem autem vitiorum seu defectuum intromiserunt aliqui in carmina laudativa, propterea quod in ea est quidam modus circolationis, attamen reprehensio et vituperatio defectuum magis pertinet satyre quam pertineat tragedie”.

229 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 56: “ideoque, non oportet ut ipsorum ymaginatio sit in tragediis secundum principalem intentionem, sed per modum circolationis et quando in carmine laudativo habita fuerit mentio defectuum, tunc non est excusatio quin fiat mentio in ipso inimicorum et eorum qui odio habentur”.

[fol. 66v] Dixit: et laus quidem oportet ut non sit nisi actionis decentium a voluntate et scientia.²³⁰

Dicimus itaque quoniam consuetudines que digne in representandum ad laudando et bone, scilicet quarum decens est incidentia apud auditores, quatuor sunt quedam vero earum sunt consuetudines que bone sunt et virtuose in ipso laudato illud enim cuius vestigium remanet in anima est representatio rerum verarum existentium in ipso laudato. In quolibet enim genere bonum aliquod est licet in eo inveniantur quedam non bona.²³¹

Averrois: Ideo illud quod narratur de Abraham, quod mandatum fuit ei de immolatione filii sui dilectissimi valde miserabilis existit et quasi in fine commotionis ad dolorem et compassionem et pavorem.²³²

[fol. 67v] Pictor peritus depingit rem prout est in sua existentia, ita quod iracundum et ridentem et pigrum representat pingendo, licet ipsorum accidentia potius sint ex parte anime; sic oportet ut poeta in sua representatione pingat et formet rem quamlibet prout ipsa est et prout ei competit, ita quod imittetur et exprimat mores [add. et sup. l.] habitudines anime.²³³

[166] De laude cuius sit.

[167] Consuetudo in laude:
– representanda
– aut non.

[168] Quid representare.

[169] Notabile.

[170] Ecce quod Averrois vidit legem divinam.

[171] Poeta assimilatur pictori.

²³⁰ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 57: “Dixit: et laus quidem oportet ut non sit nisi actionum prodeuntium a voluntate et scientia”.

²³¹ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 57: “Dicimus ergo quoniam consuetudines digne ad representandum in laudando et bone, scilicet quarum decens est incidentia apud auditores, quatuor sunt. Quedam earum sunt consuetudines que bone sunt et virtuose in illo laudato, illud enim cuius vestigium remanet in anima est representatio rerum verarum existentium in illo laudato. Et in quolibet genere bonum aliquod est, licet in eo inveniantur quedam non bona”.

²³² Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 57: “Ideoque, quod narratur de Abraham quod mandatum fuit ei de immolatione filii sui dilectissimi valde miserabile existit et quasi in fine commotionis ad dolorem et compassionem et pavorem”.

²³³ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 58: “... pictor peritus depingit rem prout ipsa est in sua existentia – ita quod iracundum et ridentem et pigrum representat pingendo, licet ipsorum accidentia hec potius sint ex parte anime, sic oportet ut poeta in sua representatione pingat et formet rem quamlibet prout in ipsa est, et prout ei competit, ita quod imittetur quod exprimat mores et habitudines anime”.

Dixit: et species signaculorum directivorum que hoc modo procedunt imitative representationes que se habent bene et artificiose multe sunt.²³⁴

[172] Species representationis.

Averroys: et circa hoc mentioni facit poete homeri et carminis sui in qua expresserit mores viri cuiusdam et maneries; dico carmen ymaginem faciens et representans anime dispositonem; est dictum [*add. illius poete sup. l.*] Abichaiibi describentis nuntium quedam romanorum [*add. exemplum in marg.*] accedentem ad presentiam cuiusdam regi Arabum nominati Sceyffen adulantis et intendentis per hoc magnificare regem illum cum dixit ...²³⁵

[173] Quid carmen.

Quedam enim eorum sunt ut fiat representatio rerum sensibilibus per res sensibiles [*sic*] quarum natura sit ut quasi in dubio ponat aspernatorem et estimatorem faciat ipsum presentes res ipsas esse representantur propter communicationem earum in dispositionibus sensibilibus penes quas fit representatio prout nominant quasdam formas stellarum cancrum et quasdam lancee iaculum.²³⁶

[174] Prima (specierum signaculorum).

[**fol. 68r**] Dixit: et quedam sunt ut representatio intellectualium rerum per res sensibiles, quando habuerint ipse res actiones proportionatas rebus illis intellectualibus per quas potest estimari quod sunt res iste.²³⁷

[175] Secunda (specierum signaculorum).

234 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 59: “Dixit: et species signaculorum directivorum que hoc modo procedunt – scilicet imitative representationes que se habent bene et artificiose – multe sunt”.

235 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 58: “Et ipse circa huiusmodi mentionem fecit poete Homeri et carminis sui in quo expresserat mores viri cuiusdam. Et huius maneriei, dico carmen imaginari faciens et representans anime dispositionem, est dictum Abytaibi describentis nuntium quandam Romanorum accedentem ad presentiam cuiusdam regis Arabum, nominati Sceifu Addeulati, et intendentis per hoc magnificare regem illum, cum dixit: ...”

236 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 59: “Quedam earum sunt ut fiat representatio rerum sensibilibus per res sensibiles quarum natura sit ut quasi in dubio ponant aspectorem, et estimare faciant eum presentes esse res ipsas que representantur propter communicationem earum in dispositionibus sensibilibus penes quas fit representatio. Prout nominant quasdam formas stellarum ‘Cancrum’ et quasdam ‘Lancee Gerulum’”.

237 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 59: “Et quedam sunt ut sit representatio intellectualium rerum per res sensibiles, quando habuerint ipse res actiones proportionatas rebus illis intellectualibus per quas potest estimari quod sint res ille”.

Prout soliti sunt dicere [*sup. l. exemplum*] de beneficio quoniam est de torques colli, de denariis quoniam sunt compedes ei qui recipit dona, prout dixit Abichaŷbi poeta: qui bona dona seu beneficia invenit compedes invenit.²³⁸

[176] *manicula*.

[**fol. 68v**] Dixit: et sunt alie species poematorum que magis pertinent ad suadendum vel faciendum fidem quam ad faciendum ymaginationem vel representationem poeticam et sunt propinquiorem exemplis rethoricis quam representationibus.²³⁹

[177] Aliud est facere fidem / ymaginem.

[**fol. 69r**] Dixit: et species tertia repretationis per quam inducitur obliti rememoratio est ut poeta ponit aliud in carmine suo per quod rememorari facit alicuius alterium.²⁴⁰

[178] Tertia (specierum signaculorum).

Et plurima exempla consimilia reperiuntur que luctuosas mortuorum memorias voluit inducere et amantium calamitates exprimere. Unde apud eos hec maneries elegia est et in lamentationibus plurium frequentata.²⁴¹

[179] Elegia.

Dixit: species autem quarta representationis seu imitationis vel metaphorica assimilatio est ut fiat rememoratio qua unum individuum quoddam simile esset alterius individuo illius eiusdem specie et ista assimilatio non fit nisi in factura aut ut si dicat aliquis “ecce venit similis

[180] Quarta (specierum signaculorum).

238 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 60: “... prout soliti sunt dicere de beneficio quoniam est torques colli, et de denariis quoniam sunt compedes ei qui dona recipit, prout dixit Abutaybi poeta: Qui dona seu beneficia invenit, compedes invenit”.

239 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 60: “Dixit: et sunt hic species alie poematis, que magis pertinent ad persuadendum vel ad faciendum fidem, quam ad faciendum imaginationem vel representationem poeticam, et sunt propinquiores exemplis rethoricis quam metaphoris et representationibus poeticis”.

240 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 60: “Dixit: et species tertia representationis est per quam inducitur cuiuspiam rememoratio, ut cum poeta ponit aliquid in carmine suo per quod rememorari facit alicuius alterius; ut cum videt quis scriptum alterium”.

241 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 60: “Huiusmodi carminum rememorativorum apud poetas Arabes plurima consimilia exempla reperiuntur, dum luctuosas mortuorum memorias volunt inducere, aut amantium calamitates et miserias exprimere. Unde apud eos hec maneries poematum in (elegia) et in lamentationibus plurimum est frequentata”.

Platoni” et non venit nisi Socrates, quem fortassesimilem Platoni in moribus representant.²⁴²

[fol. 69v] Dixit: species vero quinta est qua utuntur illi qui sophiste poetarum sunt et est yperbole [sic] sive excessus in moderatio.²⁴³

[fol. 70r] Dixit: et est hoc locus sextus famosus sive vulgatus cum rei inanimate attribuitur quod est rei animate, ut loqui vel ratiocinari.²⁴⁴

[fol. 71r] Dixit: et bonitas narrationis poetice et perventio in ipsa ad finem complementi quidam est quando poema in relationibus et narrationibus sic certionaliter narrat ut rem narratam quasi presentem sub sensu et aspectu auditorum ponat, ita ut non solum rem narratam comprehendant sed etiam contrariorum ipsius eos non preterat.²⁴⁵

Exemplum autem in quo intenditur sola convenientia ymaginative representationis est dictio Durokyn [add. exemplum sup. l.] [fol. 71v] poete descriptionem facientis ignis accendendi

[181] Quinta (specierum signaculorum).

[182] Sexta (specierum signaculorum).

[183] Qualitas bone narrationis poetice.

[184] Oratio – emendata/dilucida/ornata – dicere aperte, quod est principium grammaticae.²⁴⁶

242 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 60: “Dixit: species autem quarta representationis seu imitationis, id est metaphorica assimilatio, est ut fiat rememoratio quoniam individuum quoddam simile existit alteri individuo illius eiusdem speciei. Et ista assimilatio non fit nisi aut in factura aut in moribus, ac si dicat aliquis: ‘ecce venit similis Platoni’, et non venit nisi Socrates, quem fortassis similem Platoni in moribus reputavit”.

243 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 61: “Dixit: species vero quinta est qua utuntur illi qui sophiste poetarum sunt; et est yperbole, seu excessus in mendacio”.

244 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 61: “Dixit: et est hic locus sextus famosus seu vulgatus quo utuntur Arabes, scilicet cum rei inanimate attribuitur quod est rei animate, ut loqui vel ratiocinari”.

245 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 62: “Dixit: et bonitas narrationis poetice et perventio in ipsa ad finem complementi est quidem quando poeta in relationibus et narrationibus suis sic certitudinaliter narrat, ut rem narratam quasi presentem sub sensu et aspectu auditorum ponat, ita ut non solum rem narratam comprehendant, sed etiam quo intellectus contrariorum ipsius eos non (pretereat)”.

246 For this glossa cf. possibly: Cicero (pseudo), *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Friedrich Marx (ed.), Lipsiae: Teubner, IV.12.17, 122: “Barbarismus est, cum uerbis aliquid uitiose efferatur. Haec qua ratione uitare possumus, in arte grammatica dilucide dicemus. Explanatio est, quae reddit apertam et dilucidam (o)rationem”.

ad stillicis [add. silicis sup. l.] concussionem sic dicentis: *scintilla rutilans quasi oculati pupilla in concussionem vehementi prosiliit alimentum adapta tui insideat et fomenta arida subministrat et, ut vivificetur; spiritum Aquilonis advoca et manus ei, ne evanescat, circumplica*.”²⁴⁷

Ideoque refertur de ipso quod voluerit aliqua gesta describere regis Sceŷfa ad daul ecidium sui, quibus ipse non interfuerit cum ipso. Certius enim comprehenduntur ab ipso prospecta quam visa aut audita ab aliis. Optime ergo se habet aliquis ad referendum ea que ipse cum suis quibuslibet accidentibus et circumstantiis per se comprehendit et quasi sensualiter conspexit.²⁴⁹

[fol. 72r] Dixit: omnium autem carminum laudativorum quedam sunt quorum partes habent colligationem et quedam quorum partes habent dissolutionem.²⁵⁰

[fol. 72v]

[185] Analogia, id est proportio cuius hec vis est, ut id quod dubium est ad aliquid simile de quo non queritur referat, ut incerta certis probet, quod efficitur dulci via comparatione similium. In extremis maxime sillabis.²⁴⁸

[186] *manicula*.

[187] 2: – colligatio – dissolutio.

[188] Oratius: facetum Cathoni genus natura concessum est, Virgilio decoris.²⁵¹

247 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 62: “Exemplum autem in quo intenditur sola convenientia imaginative representationis est dictio Dirromatyn poete, descriptionem facientis ignis accendendi ad silicis concussionem, sic dicentis: ‘Scintilla rutilans quasi oculati pupilla in concussionem vehementi prosiliit’; aio: ‘nidum adapta cui insideat, et fomenta arida subministra, et, ut vivificetur, spiritum aquilonis advoca; et manus ei ne evanescat circumplica’”.

248 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.6.3–4, 41–42: “Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone, ut nummo, cui publica forma est. Omnia tamen haec exigunt acre iudicium, analogia praecipue, quam proxime ex Graeco transferentes in Latinum proportionem vocaverunt. Eius haec vis est, ut id, quod dubium est, ad aliquid simile, de quo non quaeritur, referat et incerta certis probet. Quod efficitur duplici via: comparatione similium in extremis maxime syllabis, propter quod ea, quae sunt e singulis, negantur habere rationem, et deminutione”.

249 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 62: “Ideoque, refertur de ipso quod (noluerit) aliqua gesta describere regis Sceŷfi Addauleti domini sui, quibus ipse non interfuerat cum ipso. Certius enim comprehenduntur a seipso prospecta quam audita ab aliis. 17.1c Optime ergo se habet quis ad referendum ea que ipse cum quibuslibet suis accidentibus et circumstantiis propriis per se comprehendit, et quasi sensualiter conspexit”.

250 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 62: “Dixit: et omnium carminum laudativorum, quedam sunt quorum partes habent colligationem, et quedam quorum partes habent dissolutionem”.

251 This quotation does not seem to refer *verbatim* to any specific passage in the text of Aristotle and its attribution to Horace is mistaken; the quotation is from Quintilianus’ *Institutio Oratoria*: Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, VI.3.20, 340: “Facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor

Carminis ita laudativi quatuor sunt species, quarum tres sunt simplices et sunt ille que precesserunt: una earum est circulatio, altera est directio, tertia est passionalis, prout dicitur de hiis qui in inferno, ibi enim continua tristitia et meror inconsolabilis; et quarta est composita ex hiis.²⁵²

Dixit: et causa in hoc est quoniam, cum poeta bonus et peritus sit ille qui describit et determinat unamquamque rem secundum sua propria et suam veritatem et res ipse sunt diversificate secundum multitudinem in pertinentibus sibi accidentibus et propriis, oportet ut sit bona et debita representatio ymaginativa non pertransiens propria rei et veritatem presentationis iprius. Quidam autem homines sunt qui ex consuetudine aut natura apti sunt ad faciendum ymaginari eas res qui pauca habent propria.²⁵⁴

[189] Quatuor species carminis laudativi.

[190] In tertio libro Rhethorice de narratione ponit etiam Infernum.²⁵³

[191] *manicula*.

[192] De tristitia inferni.

[193] De poeta perito.

consistere; neque enim diceret Horatius *facetum carminis* [italics mine] genus natura concessum esse Vergilio; decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto". Wenck misquotes this passage (or his source was already corrupted), reading "cathoni" instead of "carminis". Thus, he misunderstood the excerpt. This passage, where Quintilianus offers his interpretation of the genre referred to as "facetum" attributed by Horace to Vergil, occasions in Wenck a division between the *facetum* genre, attributed to Cato, and a more praiseworthy style, *decoris*, attributed to Vergil, although in Quintilianus there is no mention of Cato.

252 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 63: "Dixit: carminis itaque laudativi quattuor sunt species, quarum tres sunt simplices – et sunt ille que precesserunt – una earum est 'circulatio', altera est 'directio', tertia 'passionalis' (prout dicitur de illis qui sunt in inferno, ibi enim continua est tristitia et meror inconsolabilis). Et quarta est composita ex istis, aut ex tribus ipsarum, aut ex duabus".

253 Aristoteles, *Rhetorica: Translatio Anonyma et Guillelmi*, III.16, 1417a24–30, 315: "... exemplum quod ex Antigona, quod magis de fratre curabat quam de viro aut pueris; hec quidem enim forsitan fierent adhuc perdita, 'matre autem apud inferos et patre cum vitam transegerint non est frater qui exurgat aliquando'".

254 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 63: "Et causa in hoc est quoniam, cum poeta bonus et peritus sit ille qui describit et determinat unamquamque rerum secundum sua propria et secundum suam veritatem, et sint res ipse diversificate secundum multitudinem et paucitatem in pertinentibus sibi accidentibus et propriis, oportet ut sit bona et debita representatio et commotio imaginativa non pertransiens propria rei et veritatem ipsius. Quidam ergo hominum sunt qui, ex consuetudine aut ex natura, apti sunt ad faciendum imaginari eas res que pauca habent propria ..."

Hoc prologo abito, incepit a principali proposito laudibus suis extollere eum quem laudare intendebat. Multa huius maneriei apud arbes [sic] inveniuntur. Dissolutio autem quandoque absque omni prefatione a principali proposito laudandi propositum intrant.²⁵⁵

Dixit: et quidam poetarum sunt qui bene se habent in compilando metra phixa, alii autem se bene habent ad componendum metra brevia seu curta.²⁵⁶

[fol. 73v] Ex quo ergo iam diximus de eis ex quibus constituuntur vel conficiuntur poemata que sunt partes ipsorum secundum veritatem et intrinsece, dicendum quoque est de istis que ab extrinseco adminiculantur ad eorum bonitatem...²⁵⁷

[fol. 74v] Dixit: elementa autem in qua resolvuntur omnes orationes poetice septem sunt: sillaba, copulatio sive ligamen-

[fol. 75r] -tum, disiunctio, nomen, verbum, casus et oratio.

Elementa vero sillabe sunt res indivisibiles scilicet littere, non tamen omnes, sed hec ex ipsis cuius natura est ut intret in compositionem sil-

[194] Idem:
– premissio
– prologus
– prefatio.

[195] Idem:
– breve
– curtum
– decisum.

[196] poematum in-/ex-trinseca.

[197] Elementa orationum poeticarum septem.

[198] Q(uintilianus): ut sillabe e litteris melius sonantibus sunt clariores, ita verba ex syllabis magis vocalia, et quomodo plus quodque spiritus habent, auditu pulchrius etc.²⁵⁸

[199] Quid littera.

²⁵⁵ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 63: “Hoc prologo habito, incepit a principali proposito laudibus suis extollens eum quem laudare intendebat. Multa huius maneriei exempla apud Arabes reperiuntur. Dissolutio autem quandoque absque omni prefatione a principali proposito laudandi intratur”.

²⁵⁶ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 63: “Dixit: et quidam poetarum sunt qui bene se habent in componendo metra polixa, alii vero bene se habent ad componendum metra brevia seu curta, et illa que penes nos nominantur ‘decisa’”.

²⁵⁷ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 64: “Ex quo ergo iam diximus de eis ex quibus constituuntur seu conficiuntur poemata, que sunt partes ipsorum secundum veritatem et intrinsece, dicendum quoque est de istis, que ab extrinseco amminiculantur ad eorum bonitatem”.

²⁵⁸ For the corresponding text, cf. *glossa* 198; Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII.3.16, 433: “Sed cum idem frequentissime plura significant, quod συνωνυμία vocatur, iam sunt aliis alia honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, iocundiora, vocaliora. Nam ut syllabae e litteris melius sonantibus clariores, ita verba e syllabis magis vocalia, et quo plus quodque spiritus habet, auditu pulchrius. Et quod facit syllabarum, idem verborum quoque inter se copulatio, ut aliud alii iunctum melius sonet”.

labarum et est simplicissimum eorum ex quibus loquutio constituitur [*sic*].²⁵⁹

Vocales autem sunt que generantur ex percussione que fit a labiis et dentibus et aliis partibus gutturis vel faucium et est vox opposita quidem, sed inpartibilis.²⁶⁰

Dixit: littera autem que semivocalis est que habet cum vocali protractionem quamdam et non habet secundum sua singularitatem sonum audibilem prout habet vocalis.²⁶¹

[fol. 75v]

[200] Quid vocalis.

[201] Semivocalis.

[202] Regula: vox preceptoris ut sol universis lucem caloremque largitur,²⁶² et oportet doctri-
nantem ad intellectum audientis discendere²⁶³
et suas temperare vires infirmitati discentium.
Usus litterarum, ut custodiant voces et velut
depositum reddant legentibus itaque id expri-
mere debent quod dicturi sumus;²⁶⁴ verborum
in tragediis gravitas, comediis elegancia.

Dixit: et consonantibus quidam non sonus nisi quando componuntur cum aliis quibus non est sonus ut b, d.²⁶⁵

[203] Discat puer quid in litteris conveniens /
proprium, que cum qua coniunctio cognatio.

259 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 65: "Dixit: elementa autem in que resolvitur omnis oratio poetica septem sunt: sillaba, copulatio seu ligamentum, disiunctio, nomen, verbum, casus, oratio. Elementa vero sillabarum sunt res indivisibiles, videlicet littere, non tamen omnes, sed hoc ex ipsis cuius natura est ut intret in compositionem sillabarum, et est simplicissimum eorum ex quibus locutio constituitur".

260 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 65: "Vocales autem sunt que generantur ex percussione que fit a labiis et dentibus, aut ab aliis partibus gutturis vel faucum. Et est vox composita quidem, sed inpartibilis ..."

261 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 65: "Littera autem que est semivocalis est que habet cum vocali protractionem quamdam, et non habet secundum suam singularitatem sonum audibilem".

262 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.2.14, 16: "... (non enim vox illa praeceptoris ut cena minus pluribus sufficit, sed ut sol universis idem lucis caloris que largitur): grammaticus quoque si de loquendi ratione disserat, si quaestiones explicet, historias exponat, poemata enarret, tot illa discent, quot audient".

263 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.2.27, 18: "Quod adeo verum est, ut ipsius etiam magistri, si tamen ambitiosis utilia praeferet, hoc opus sit, cum adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non statim onerare infirmitatem discentium, sed temperare vires suas et ad intellectum audientis descendere".

264 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.7.31, 53–54: "Hic enim est usus litterarum, ut custodiant voces et velut depositum reddant legentibus. Itaque id exprimere debent, quod dicturi sumus".

265 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 65: "Et consonantibus quidem non est sonus nisi quando componuntur cum illis quibus est sonus, ut 'el', 'eb'".

Et universaliter te scire oportet quoniam mox sillaba ex duobus efficitur, quorum unum est ei tamquam materia (*sup. l. ad*) forma, scilicet vocalis, et illi qui sunt de lingua nostra nominant vocales ut dictum motiva et protractiva, quietas autem et mutas appellant consonantes.²⁶⁶

[204] Idem:

- vocalis
- motiva
- protractiva.

[205] Regula: oportet concipere ymagines rerum, et easdem transformari quodammodo ad naturam eorum de quibus loquendum sit, enim augere eloquium et impetu crescit.²⁶⁷ Et plurimi in omnibus carminibus loci ex intima naturalium questionum subtilitate repetuntur.²⁶⁸

[206] Regula: non oportet quibuscumque ingenia: obrui/detineri melius aliis vacatura.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 65: “Et universaliter scire te oportet quoniam vox ex duobus efficitur: quorum unum est ei tamquam materia, scilicet consonans, et alterum tamquam forma, scilicet vocalis, et illi qui sunt de lingua nostra nominant vocales, ut dictum est, motiva et protractiva et mollitie”.

²⁶⁷ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.2.29–30, 18–19: “Utile igitur habere, quos imitari primum, mox vincere velit: ita paulatim et superiorum spes erit. His adicio praeceptores ipsos non idem mentis ac spiritus in dicendo posse concipere singulis tantum praesentibus, quod illa celebritate audientium instinctos: maxima enim pars eloquentiae constat animo. Hunc adfici, hunc concipere imagines rerum et transformari quodam modo ad naturam eorum, de quibus loquitur, necesse est. Is porro quo generosior celsiorque est, hoc maioribus velut organis commovetur, ideoque et laude crescit et impetu augetur et aliquid magnum agere gaudet”.

²⁶⁸ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.4.4–5, 22: “Nec poetas legisse satis est: excutiendum omne scriptorum genus non propter historias modo, sed verba, quae frequenter ius ab auctoribus sumunt. Tum neque citra musicen grammaticae potest esse perfecta, cum ei de metris rhythmisque dicendum sit, nec si rationem siderum ignoret, poetas intellegat, qui, ut alia omittam, totiens ortu occasuque signorum in declarandis temporibus utuntur, nec ignara philosophiae, cum propter plurimos in omnibus fere carminibus locos ex intima naturalium quaestionum subtilitate repetitos, tum vel propter Empedoclea in Graecis, Varronem ac Lucretium in Latinis, qui praecepta sapientiae versibus tradiderunt: eloquentia quoque non mediocri est opus, ut de unaquaque earum, quas demonstravimus, rerum dicat proprie et copiose. Quo minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem ut tenuem atque ieiunam cavillantur. Quae nisi oratoris futuri fundamenta fideliter iecit, quidquid superstruxeris, corruet: necessaria pueris, iucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes, et quae vel sola omni studiorum in genere plus habeat operis quam ostentationis”.

²⁶⁹ Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.8.18, 57: “Persequi quidem quid quis umquam vel contemptissimorum hominum dixerit, aut nimiae miseriae aut inanis iactantiae est et detinet atque obruit ingenia melius aliis vacatura”.

[fol. 76r] Nomen est vox vel dictio significativa separatim rei absque tempore, cuius nulla partium eius significantia est partium illius separata.²⁷⁰

[207] Quid nomen.

[fol. 76v] Dixit: verbum vero est vox vel dictio significativa intentionis alicuius temporis circumstantis illam intentionem, nec etiam aliqua partium eius est significantiam separatim alicuius partium orationis.²⁷¹

[208] Quid verbum.

[fol. 77r] Et oratio est dictio composita, cuius quelibet pars significativa est separatim.²⁷²

[209] Quid ora(tio).

... prout dicimus quoniam sillaba est oratio una, exhortatio rethorica est oratio una, et contextio poetica est oratio una.²⁷³

[210] Triformiter oratio dicitur un[a?].

[fol. 77v] ... prout quidam antiqui senectutem vesperum vite nuncupant et vesperum senectutem diei; videtur enim proportio senectutis ad vitam, quasi proportio vespere ad diem.²⁷⁴

[211] Senectus.

[fol. 78r] Dixit: et optima oratio viam prebens intellectum est quidam oratio notorie usitata que non occultatur [sic] alicui et iste orationes non complectuntur nisi quidem ex notoriis usitatis.²⁷⁵

[212] De optima oratione.

[213] *manicula*.

270 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 66: "Nomen est vox vel dictio significativa separatim rei absque tempore, et nulla partium eius significativa est aliqua partium illius rei separata".

271 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 66: "Verbum vero est vox vel dictio significativa intentionis alicuius et temporis quod circumstat illam intentionem, neque etiam aliqua partium eius significativa est separatim alicuius partium illius intentionis".

272 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 67: "Et oratio est dictio composita cuius quelibet pars significativa est separatim".

273 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 67: "... prout dicimus quoniam sillogismus est oratio una, et exhortatio rethorica est oratio una, et poetica contextio oratio una". Notably, the version of Averroes' *Poetics* that Wenck had at his disposal read "sillaba" instead of "sillogismus", witnessed instead by Minio-Paluello's edition.

274 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 67: "... prout quidam antiquorum senectutem 'vesperam vite' nuncupant, et vesperam 'senectutem diei'. Videtur enim proportio senectutis ad vitam quasi proportio vespere ad diem".

275 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 67: "Dixit: et optima oratio viam prebens intellectui est quidem oratio notoria et usitata, que non occultatur alicui, et iste orationes non complectuntur quidem nisi ex nominibus notoriis usitatis".

[fol. 78v in marg. sup.]

[214] Peryfrasis dicitur circuitus ~~colloquendi~~ eloquendi.

[215] (Regul)a: luce philosophye / naturalis ingenii vigore prediti interpretare poterunt de Creatore.

[216] De Lesura 1455 in Spira regula precipua et summata.

[217] Modus studendi iura.

Ad legendum in iure tria attendere oportet.

Primum: quantum ad textum. quod nulla particularum eius alteri contradicat, aut alicui alteri particule cuiuscumque textus iuris.

Secundum: quod sermoni seu expositioni tali nihil humani aut divini, aut naturalis iuris obviet: debet enim esse consonantia et non repugnantia tam sermonum quam textuum; “omne enim verum vero consonant” Ethicorum primo.²⁷⁶

Tertium: ubilibet locorum particulares limitationes intueri sunt enim circumstantie et ex reportatione artium leg(is).

dixit in [†] paucis consistere miss [†] iuris.

²⁷⁶ Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea*, “recensio recognita” secundum Exemplar Parisiacum – sec. transl. Robertus Grosseteste (translator [sec. retract.]), Guillelmus de Morbeka (retractator translationis), René-Antoine Gauthier (ed.), Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1973, I.8, 1098b, 385: “Vero quidem enim omnia consonant existencia, falso autem cito dissonat verum”; the quotation is closer to the one found in Iohannes de Fonte (*quas compilauit*), *Auctoritates Aristotelis: Senecae, Boethii, Platonis, Apulei Africani, Porphyrii et Gilberti Porretani*, Jacqueline Hamesse (ed.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, opus XII (Ethica), 232, l. 11: “Omnia vera vero consonant”; cf. also Heymericus de Campo, Tractatus de sigillo eternitatis, in: *Opera Selecta*, Ruedi Imbach and Pascal Ladner (eds.), Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz, 2001, part 27, 118: “Et respondet, quod non, cum Aristoteles dicat I Ethicorum, quod omne verum vero consonat semper propter essentialium, nocionalium et causalium divine perfeccionis attributorum in proposita figura connexionem”.

Sed nobilis sermo poeticus est modestus seu moderatus qui componitur ex nominibus preeminentiam habentibus usitatam et ex illis et aliis speciebus. Et ideo poeta, cum voluerit plane modeste aliquid dicere, inducit nomina que habent prerogativam in manifestatione. Cum vero voluerit aliquid afficere [*add. ad*] admirandum aut ad delectandum, inducit nomina alterius, scilicet generis peioris [*sic*] [*add. id est pertinentia ad poetam sup. l.*], ideoque deride.²⁷⁷

Finit poetria Aristotelis

[218] Sermo poeticus: nobilis / derisorius.

[219] *manicula*. Caritas est elegans concordia discordie amotiva.

[220] Res intenta in poemate secundum: naturam finita, accidentia in contraversiis infinita.

[221] Seneca tragedia quinta.²⁷⁸

“... Quicquid excessit modum / pendet instabili loco”.

Utere ingenio miser quo sepe fieri non potest fiet diu quicquid facimus venit ex alto.

[222] Tragedia sexta.²⁷⁹

“... nulla dies merore caret / sed nova fletus causa ministrat”.

²⁷⁷ Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 68: “Et nobilis sermo poeticus moderatus seu modestus est qui componitur ex nominibus que preeminentiam habent usitatam, et ex illis aliis speciebus. Et poeta, cum voluerit plane et manifeste aliquid dicere, inducet nomina que habent prerogativam in manifestatione. Et cum voluerit afferre aliquid admirandum et delectabile, inducet nomina illius alterius speciei. Ideoque, deridetur ...” Here the copy of Averroes’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Poetics* interrupts abruptly; cf. above, the introduction to the appendix.

²⁷⁸ Seneca, *Tragedies*, vol. 2: *Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes, Hercules on Oeta, Octavia*, John Gordon Fitch (ed. and trans.), Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2018, 18–114.

²⁷⁹ Seneca, *Tragedies*, vol. 1, 142–240.

Inclitas laudes iuvat et clare magna facta genitoris sequi; iuvenile viciū est regere non posse impetum; quo plura possis plura patienter feras violenta; nemo imperia continuit diu; moderata durant generosa; in ortus semina exurgunt suos.

[223] Obstat quidquid aliquid non adiuuat.

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