Thinking in the Margins

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Thinking in the Margins

Marginalia in Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy

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With the assistance of
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Preface

This volume originates from the DFG-funded project *manicula* ("Nikolaus von Kues als Leser Platons und Aristoteles': Edition und Studie der Cusanus-Marginalien", no. 503202801), which has been based at the University of Siegen since August 2023. The aim of the project is to produce a critical edition of Nicholas of Cusa's marginal notes and glosses on the Latin translations of Plato and Aristotle, and to investigate Cusanus' reading practices within the broader context of fifteenth-century engagement with ancient philosophy.

The idea for this book, which does not directly focus on Cusanus, arose from the desire to situate the project's primary object of research in a wider perspective – by comparing it with other case studies and reflecting on methodological and interpretative questions related to the study of marginalia, and philosophical marginalia in particular. The book seeks to explore the reading and writing practices that shaped these textual and paratextual documents in their diverse functions and contexts.

About half of the contributions collected here were presented and discussed at the 16th *Dies Quodlibetalis*, the annual conference of the Gesellschaft für Philosophie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (GPMR), held at the University of Siegen on 29 and 30 September 2023, under the title "Denken am Seitenrand. Marginalien in der Philosophie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance". Sincere thanks go to the board of the Society, in particular to Isabelle Mandrella (LMU Munich) and Matthias Perkams (University of Jena), for their support of this initiative, as well as to the members of my project team – Luca Burzelli, Olivia Jabbour, and Fabian Marx – who helped to organise the event. Further contributions were developed in dialogue with the authors in the context of the *Philosophiehistorisches Kolloquium* and the *AG Philosophiegeschichte* im Gespräch at the University of Siegen. In this sense, the book is not a conventional conference volume, but rather the result of lively academic exchange within a network of researchers who, in recent years, have engaged with related questions and approaches in – and about – the margins.

Dustin V. Saynisch, a philosophy student at the University of Siegen, contributed to the completion of the manuscript with great care, reliability, and expertise. He revised the footnotes, compiled the final bibliographies, and frequently went above and beyond his duties to support the editorial work and help the editor avoid error.

Markus Friedrich (University of Hamburg), editor of the series *Cultures and Practices of Knowledge in History*, kindly accepted this volume for publication and followed the project with interest and encouragement. Bettina Neuhoff at De Gruyter oversaw the production process with rare professionalism and commit-

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ment, providing patient support throughout every stage of the work. Florian Ruppenstein's editorial assistance throughout the proofreading significantly enhanced the final version of this volume. The content of this book has also greatly benefited from the insightful feedback of the anonymous reviewers, to whom I extend my sincere thanks. The publisher is gratefully acknowledged for including this book in the Open Access Transformation Package in History 2025.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Hans Gerhard Senger (1936–2023), former head of the Cusanus-Forschungsstelle at the Thomas-Institut of the University of Cologne. As a gifted editor and subtle interpreter of Cusanus' marginalia, he inspired this project from the beginning, as a colleague and friend, his example continues to shape its unfolding.

Mario Meliadò
Wiesbaden, 8 April 2025

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Mario Meliadò

An Eccentric View on the History of Philosophy – or: In Praise of the Margins

Introduction

The recent resurgence of scholarly interest in marginalia may reflect a broader historiographical zeitgeist – one that tends to define itself through the revaluation of what lies at the margins or has been marginalised, and that is committed to extending the boundaries of the canon as far as possible.[1] The historiographical appeal of what was once deemed peripheral has become increasingly compelling. This, of course, does not refer solely to local or geographical peripheries: any form of centrism – whether cultural or linguistic, political, social, or anthropological – is now being critically examined, and often actively contested, both in the field of the history of philosophy and in the humanities more broadly.[2]

In the case of the study of marginalia, however, this shift towards the periphery does not necessarily imply abandoning, or relativising the notion of centre. The reference to what is written at the centre of the page seems, inevitably and from the outset, to define the very nature of marginalia and to affirm the legitimate primacy of the centre. In short: without a main text in the middle of the page, there can be no marginalia at its edge.

Against this backdrop, two central questions guide the ensuing reflections and frame the research perspective of the contributions gathered in this volume. First,

1 With particular regard to the recent research in the field of the history of Medieval and Early Modern knowledge, key examples include the NWO project "Marginal Scholarship: The Practice of Learning in the Early Middle Ages (c. 800–c. 1000)"; Christoph Sanders' studies on early modern magnetism ("Magnetic Margins: A Database of Reader Annotations in Early Modern Works on Magnetism"); the DFG project *manicula* based at the University of Siegen and investigating the marginalia of Nicholas of Cusa; Silvia Di Vincenzo's ERC project on the history of Arabic logic, ("The Uncharted Margins of Philosophy: An AI-Enhanced Material History of Arabic Logic Across Time and Frontiers"); and the project "Producing Normative Knowledge in the Margins. The Handwritten Annotations of Alonso de la Vera Cruz", directed by José Luis Egío García and Andrés Iñigo Silva at the Max Planck Institute in Frankfurt.

2 For an overview and informed reflection on major research trends in medieval philosophical historiography, particularly with respect to the critique of various forms of centrism, see Catherine König-Pralong, Space, Scale, Anachronism, and the History of Medieval Philosophy Today, *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 102, no. 3 (2023): 461–478; Andreas Speer, *1000 Jahre Philosophie: Ein anderer Blick auf die Philosophie des "Mittelalters"*, Paderborn: Brill Mentis 2023.

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what relevance do marginalia hold for the history of philosophy – a discipline that traditionally tends to focus on main texts? To put it differently: how should the history of philosophy regard this curious, even secondary, textual and paratextual form? A second, symmetrical question emerges as a mirror image of the first: what does the history of philosophy look like from the vantage point of the margin? Or, how does our view of it change when marginalia are recognised as an equally appropriate source for philosophical-historical investigation? As will become apparent, these questions are closely intertwined. The relevance of marginalia for philosophical historiography emerges only once we adopt an eccentric perspective on the discipline – one that, to some extent, also transforms its self-understanding and recasts its operational categories. In this respect, the inclusion of marginal texts within the corpus of philosophically relevant documents should be understood neither as a mere expansion of available sources nor as a necessary relativisation of the primary text. Rather, as this introductory chapter argues, engaging with marginalia is always also an exercise in disciplinary self-reflection. It contributes to a more precise understanding of philosophy as a historically situated practice of thinking, writing, and reading, by looking at the history of its main texts through the off-centre lens of their material transmission. In line with the focus of the essays collected in this volume, this introduction concentrates on medieval and Renaissance philosophy at the threshold between manuscript and print culture.

1 Blurred Boundaries: At the Edge of the Page, in the Margin of the Text

Before addressing these questions, one is faced with the non-trivial challenge of precisely classifying marginalia both as a written document and a writing practice. The difficulty in defining marginalia is closely tied to their liminal character at the edge of a text or a page. Marginalia are often described as a "threshold" – *seuils*, a term made famous by the French literary scholar Gérard Genette. Due to their heterogeneity and variability, they do not constitute a literary genre, but a form of paratext in the broadest sense: they frame and delimit a main text and testify to – even manifest – its material transmission in the unique appearance of a manuscript or book page.[3]

3 Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987, 7–8: "Le *paratexte* est donc pour nous ce par quoi un texte se fait livre et se propose comme tel à ses lecteurs, et plus généralement au public. Plus que d'une limite ou d'une frontière étanche, il s'agit ici d'un *seuil*, ou – mot de Borges à propos

A first approximation may help to set the stage: Marginalia are a type of writing (it can include signs, drawings, words, or fully formulated annotations) that appears in the margins of a main text and generally refers to the latter as its original horizon of sense and understanding. One might suggest that marginalia are inherent to the text located at the centre of the page, just as, in Aristotelian terms, the accidentals are inherent to the substance. Their meaning is fully revealed only in relation to this reference text or in the light of its reading. But how is this liminal, relational character of the marginalia to be understood? When compared with the empirical variability of writing habits, this abstract attempt at a definition quickly reveals its limitations.[4]

For instance, it would be misleading to understand marginalia merely in terms of commentary-like textual features, such as an explanatory orientation towards the primary text. One might be tempted to consider commentary as the result of a progressive autonomisation of marginal glosses and, conversely, to see marginal glosses as an embryonic form of commentary. It is often the case in the history of transmission that commentary developed into an independent genre through the gradual migration of scholia from the margins to the centre of the page. In a pivotal study, Jacqueline Hamesse has emphasised this aspect in relation to the university tradition of the thirteenth century.[5] There is indeed a close connection between

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d'une préface – d'un « vestibule » qui offre à tout un chacun la possibilité d'entrer, ou de rebrousser chemin. « Zone indécise » entre le dedans et le dehors, elle-même sans limite rigoureuse, ni verso l'intérieur (le texte) ni vers l'extérieur (le discours du monde sur le texte) ….” On the difficulties involved in applying the concept of paratext to the medieval manuscript tradition, however, see Charlotte Cooper, What is Medieval Paratext? *Marginalia* 19 (2015): 37–50.

4 For a broad and differentiated overview of the multiple functions of marginal annotations in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance see, most notably, the following collections of studies: Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017; Danielle Jacquart and Charles S. F. Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Geneva: Droz, 2005.

5 Jacqueline Hamesse, Les marginalia dans les textes philosophiques universitaires médiévaux, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998*, vol. 1, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferrari, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), 301–318, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002, 303–305: “Un lien étroit apparaît très vite entre la mise en page des textes, la lecture d'une part et l'enseignement de l'autre. … Dans le cadre de l'enseignement, pour mieux dominer l'ensemble de ce matériel disponible, on assiste à l'élaboration d'une mise en page sophistiquée en colonnes. Le texte faisant l'objet d'une étude approfondie est écrit en *grossa littera* au milieu de la page. Il est accompagné de une ou de deux colonnes (parfois plus, d'après les besoins) de dimension différente suivant les cas … On verra d'ailleurs que lorsque le commentaire personnel deviendra une œuvre en soi, la mise en page changera à nouveau. Le commentaire systématique figurera alors comme texte suivi, d'abord en bas de

university teaching practices and the development of the *mise en page* of medieval manuscripts. Yet, this very development also yields numerous counterexamples. In many manuscripts from the university tradition that present commentaries as the main text, the marginalia might contain, for example, the *auctoritates* upon which the commentary relies, the theses or even the running commentary of other masters, and excerpts from the source the interpretation is engaging – in other words, the marginalia can convey both the texts being commented on and the texts that do the commenting.

Therefore, the concept of marginalia does not depend on the nature of the text in the margin and cannot be traced back to specific textual characteristics. Rather, the material location of this written document in a particular manuscript or book copy appears to be decisive: the edge constitutes the marginalia.

It should be noted, however, that this material condition alone is not sufficient. I cite three examples that merit closer examination. Firstly, in medieval or early modern manuscripts, interlinear glosses are often difficult to conceptually distinguish from marginal glosses. In an edition of a scholar's autograph marginalia on a particular work, it would not make sense to exclude the interlinear glosses, even if they are identified as such. In a similar way, underlinings and marginal lines provide often evidence of the same reading process and are both documentarily significant, regardless of their different placement on the page. Secondly, annotations made on the blank verso of a manuscript or on a loose sheet of paper inserted between pages can also rightly be considered marginalia, insofar as their content aligns with the main text. In this sense, there are marginalia that are not written in the margin but even reach the centre of the page. Thirdly, not everything written in the margin is properly speaking a marginal note. The term would acquire a weak meaning if any note or ephemeral writing on a sheet of paper, lacking the slightest recognisable reference to the text in the centre, were regarded as marginalia. If I were to jot down the address of a colleague in my copy of Plato's *Republic*, it would be difficult to consider this as a marginal note to the *Republic*. Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts are filled with such random notes.[6] Moreover, corrections

page dans des espaces prévus à cet effet, puis s'intercalera entre deux œuvres ou bien entre les différentes parties d'un même traité. … Les commentaires quant à eux sont d'abord réduits, puis se développent au fil du temps pour devenir des œuvres en soi. C'est à ce moment que la mise en page du texte va bouger à nouveau pour donner plus d'espace à l'explication personnelle des maîtres. … Nous sommes alors en plein 13e siècle, époque où le commentaire philosophique devient un genre littéraire à part entière et occupe toute la page".

6 With particular reference to the manuscript of the English Renaissance, see, for instance, William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, 23: "… by no means all of the interesting notes written by readers in the

or additions made in the margin to rectify a scribal error or fill a gap (*lacuna*) in the text, which may have been written by the copyist's own hand, can only be considered marginalia in a very limited sense: from a philological point of view, these marginalia belong to the main text itself and can be editorially integrated into it or recorded in the variant apparatus with good reason.

As Adolfo Tura writes in an essential study for marginalia research, which combines the analysis of numerous examples with a plausible attempt at conceptualisation and typologisation: "The margins are thus the margins of a text (*marges d'un texte*), which is identified by its position in the book itself and to which the marginalia, in order to be properly considered marginalia, must refer in some way. … The essence of marginalia lies in such an act of communication (*acte de mise en communication*)."[7]

It thus seems that the materiality of the edge must be supplemented by the more ideal concept of a textual margin, which does not correspond to a fixed position on the page, without rendering the concrete design of the page irrelevant for the identification and classification of marginalia. Rather, textual and material aspects are in constant interplay. To use an expression by Vincenzo Fera and Silvia Rizzo, who aptly described this dynamic, the marginalia are determined by a double movement: a centripetal movement that allows them to communicate with the text in the centre of the page or connect to it in some way, and a centrifugal movement that leads them away from the text and refers to the material and intellectual context of its production or reception, potentially to the point of becoming independent of the main text.[8]

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margins and other blank spaces of books comment directly or indirectly on the text they are found in. Many of the notes that readers wrote in their books – doodles, pen practices, ownership formulae, and a wide variety of quotidian marks that were entered in books simply because they offered a convenient space for writing and archiving – do note qualify as 'annotations.' Are students of marginalia and readers' marks supposed to study these inscriptions and, if so, how are they to be described and approached?"

7 Adolfo Tura, Essai sur les "marginalia" en tant que pratique et documents, in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Danielle Jacquart and Charles S. F. Burnett (eds.), 261–380, Geneva: Droz, 2005, 268–269. Tura makes clear that the notion of "text" itself must be conceived in a broad sense, insofar as even a figure or diagram may constitute a "text" that can give rise to marginal annotation.

8 Vincenzo Fera and Silvia Rizzo, Conclusioni, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998*, vol. 2, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferrari, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), 979–988, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002, 980.

2 Precarious Taxonomies: Between Production and Reception

If this working definition is accepted, an essential distinction within the complex taxonomy of marginalia becomes important: namely the distinction between marginalia that arose in connection with the production of a particular manuscript or book copy (what Tura terms *marginales de confection*, envisioned from the outset and often copied by the same hand as the main text) and the so-called reading marginalia (*marginales de lecture*), which are added later by the user and reflect the engagement with the text in a specific copy.[9] (Often, but not always, this distinction is linked to the one between apograph and autograph marginalia.)

Both types are of interest to philosophical-historical research, although they allow for different observations. The *marginales de confection* constitute a paratextual instrument through which the production context attempts to steer the reception of a text or to respond to the usage needs of the intended readership. If we consider the "scribe as an author", as Luciano Canfora provocatively advocates,[10] one aspect of this authorial intention becomes visible in the form of marginal writing: the scribe (and later also the printer) prepares the reception of a text by furnishing it with signs, paragraph numbers, diagrams, or glosses that suggest – or even prescribe – a certain use, and sometimes also a given interpretation. Readers never engage with ideal texts detached from material constraints: the layout of the page and the paratextual apparatus play a decisive role in shaping the modes of reception. In this sense, the analysis of marginalia invites a critical expansion of the notion of a text, to include both editorial strategies and contingent circumstances tied to the context of its production and transmission. Moreover, by challenging a purely semantic conception of textuality, marginalia of production prompt us to observe how a main text – even if stable in its wording – can acquire a specific status and an additional layer of meaning whenever the paratex-

9 For this distinction and in general for a reflected and articulated taxonomy of marginalia, see Tura, *Essai sur les marginalia en tant que pratique et documents*.

10 Notoriously, Canfora argues that scribes should be considered active agents in the transmission and structuring of texts, often exercising interpretive and editorial functions traditionally associated with authorship. See Luciano Canfora, *Il copista come autore*, Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 2019, 21: "A ben vedere, è il copista il vero *artefice* dei testi che sono riusciti a sopravvivere. Così fu, fino al tempo in cui la loro salvezza fu presa in carico dai tipografi. Il copista è colui che materialmente *scrive il testo*. Le parole che lo compongono prima sono passate attraverso il filtro, e il vaglio, della sua testa, poi sono state messe in salvo grazie alla destrezza della mano nel tener dietro alla dettatura interiore".

tual features surrounding it are altered.[11] The *marginales de lecture*, on the other hand, represent the direct, text-facing reaction of a reading community to the book itself and document the actual, selective use and appropriation of a source. They offer a particularly informative basis for tracing the reception history of individual sources or groups of sources, and they bear witness to doctrinal approaches, exegetical emphases, and forms of disinterest in a way that cannot – or only to a limited extent – be gleaned from traditional main text-based research. In this vein, over the past decades, a well-established field of study has shed light on note taking as a fundamental epistemic activity and an effective technology of information management.[12] For example, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have emphasised the "goal-oriented" nature of reading in a pioneering analysis of the annotation strategy employed by the sixteenth-century English scholar and Elizabethan courtier Gabriel Harvey, who methodically glossed Livy's *History of Rome* to inform concrete political decisions.[13]

However, the distinction between *marginales de confection* and reading marginalia proves to be fluid. This becomes evident, for instance, when a scribe, in the process of producing an apograph, decides to incorporate glosses left by a previous reader in the antigraph, integrating them from the outset into of the paratextual design of the new copy. A concrete example is provided by the Latin translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Praeparatio Evangelica*, copied by the monks of Tegernsee from the exemplar that belonged to Nicholas of Cusa: here, the copyist transcribes not only the main text but also the Cardinal's marginal notes, thus transforming someone else's reading traces into the paratextual apparatus of a new witness.[14] At the same time, readers may also act as copyists, integrating into their own exemplars glosses found in other witnesses of a given text. This is precisely what Giovanni Pico della Mirandola occasionally does when, in his personal copies of

11 On this aspect, see Roger Chartier, *L'Ordre des livres: Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre XIV^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècle*, Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1992, esp. 15–16.

12 See among others Anthony Thomas Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997; Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2010.

13 See Anthony Thomas Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy, *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30–78.

14 Cf. Mario Meliadò and Hans Gerhard Senger, Cusanus-Marginalien: Zur Edition und Interpretation einer Textüberlieferung am Seitenrand, *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 64 (2022): 209–241, esp. 230–231.

Platonic works, he transcribes annotations originally penned by Marsilio Ficino in his own books.[15]

The precariousness (or permeability) of this taxonomy stems from the fact that the agents in the material history of knowledge do not occupy fixed roles: scribes also act as readers (indeed, as first readers and recipients of the text they copy), and conversely, readers also act as scribes, actively reshaping the manuscripts they engage with and embedding the heterogeneous outcomes of their studies into the book itself. Not least, the social practices of exchange, comparison, and copying of manuscripts – practices on which the transmission of knowledge itself is grounded – fundamentally involve marginalia as well. Annotations frequently migrate from one manuscript to another, undergoing constant transformation not only in content but also in status. It is not uncommon, therefore, for marginal notes to be absorbed into the main body of the text, or conversely, for sections originally part of the main text to be transcribed into the margins.

3 Entangled Practices: Reading and Writing

In connection with the type of notes that arise from the reception of a book, a further liminal dimension of marginalia comes to the fore – one that in turn questions the boundary between reading and writing.[16] Marginalia that simultaneously testify to engagement with and reaction to texts inhabit a space that eludes a sharp separation of these two practices. To reflect on the characteristic difference between writing and reading, it is still useful to start from the famous and suggestive description offered in Michel de Certeau's *L'invention du quotidien* (1980):

> Far from being writers – founders of their own place, heirs of the peasants of earlier ages now working on the soil of language, diggers of wells and builders of houses – readers are travellers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves. Writing accumulates, stocks up, resists time by the establishment of a place and multiplies its production through the expansionism of reproduction. Reading takes no measures against the erosion of time (one forgets oneself and also forgets), it does not keep what it acquires,

15 Sebastiano Gentile, Marginalia umanistici e tradizione platonica, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998*, vol. 1, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferrari, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), 407–432, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002, esp. 431.

16 See Heather Joanna Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2001.

> or it does so poorly, and each of the places through which it passes is a repetition of the lost paradise.[17]

De Certeau here draws a far-reaching contrast: writing aspires to permanence and resists the passage of time, while reading tends to vanish without a trace; writing is reproducible and accumulative, reading remains ephemeral, tied to the immediacy of its exercise and to the singularity of the moment in which it occurs. While writing creates a locus and persists through repetition and dissemination, reading unfolds in transit, consumed in the act itself.

Yet this contrast becomes less clear-cut when we consider the practice of annotation. Marginalia can represent precisely a form of writing that originates in the act of reading, and whose status oscillates between permanence and contingency, repetition and singularity. They are traces of reading, yet they partake of writing; they fix a gesture that would otherwise be fleeting, yet they do so in the margins, without claiming the full authority of the main text. As such, marginal notes embody a hybrid practice that destabilises rigid taxonomies: they turn out to be the writing form of a reader who has given in to the temptation to leave a trace – or, alternatively, the reading exercise of a writer who renounces the centre of the page and confines creative agency to the margins, travelling through someone else's land, as De Certeau alludes. Seen from this perspective, they provide both material evidence and conceptual insight into an interdependence between reading and writing that the history of philosophy often documents but rarely interrogates.

At a closer look, this transitional status of marginalia offers a vantage point from which to reassess central categories of philosophical historiography, such as those of "work" and "author", and to unsettle traditional interpretive dichotomies, such as those between authorial and derivative, original and imitative, or private and public. It is legitimate to ask, for instance, to what extent the annotations that scholars such as Robert Grosseteste or Petrarch added to the manuscripts in their libraries should be regarded as expressions of their authorial voice, and whether the corpus of marginalia scattered across their heavily glossed books might be considered part of their œuvre.[18] Do they bear witness to a reader's fleeting engage-

17 Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, vol. 1: *Arts de faire* (1980), Luce Giard (ed.), Paris: Gallimard, 1990, 251, here quoted from Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven F. Rendall (trans.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 174. The same passage is cited and commented upon in Chartier, *L'Ordre des livres*, 13–14.

18 On the significance of annotation practice for Grosseteste and Petrarch as well as on their relationship to books, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1990 and Christian Moser, *Buchgestützte Subjektivität: Literarische Formen der Selbstsorge und der Selbsthermeneutik*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006.

ment or to a writer's incipient authorship? Michel Foucault's provocative questions remain particularly pertinent in this regard: "Is everything an author wrote and said, everything he left behind, to be included in his work?" It invites to consider "how a work can be extracted from the millions of traces left by an individual after his death."[19] The liminal status of marginalia renders such questions difficult to resolve – and this ambiguity is arguably part of their epistemic value. The hesitation over whether marginalia should be considered part of a philosophical œuvre, or dismissed as incidental traces of use, reflects a broader tension within intellectual historiography itself: between what is preserved and what is left out, between apparently systematised doctrines and fragmented thoughts, between texts consciously addressing a reader and the unclaimed surplus they generate.

A reasonable objection might arise at this point. Marginalia are mostly private notes, traces of use that, for various and perhaps good reasons, remained on the margins. While they may be of general relevance for a history of reading, their contribution to the history of philosophy remains to be demonstrated. It is not uncontroversial to use them to interpret an author's thought: is there not a risk of falling into a form of historiographical voyeurism? Yet this objection must be tempered. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, codices were social artefacts, and marginalia often addressed a specific audience. Glosses circulated, were copied, and transmitted. It is partly a modern optical illusion to view marginalia as private or nameless jottings, as if glossators were unaware of a potential readership, or as if contemporary readers were unable to ascertain the origin of marginal comments.[20] The issue is, then, not merely whether marginalia can be attributed to an identifiable author, or whether they were ever intended to address a reader. More fundamentally, they complicate the very notion of what counts as a philosophical statement and where it may be located. In the manuscript cultures of the Middle Ages and early modern period, margins were not simply spaces for personal study,

19 Michel Foucault, What is an Author? in: *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault*, Donald F. Bouchard (ed.), 113–138, Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1980, 118–119. For the original French text, based a lecture delivered to the Société française de philosophie at the Collège de France on 22 February 1969, see Michel Foucault, Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie* 63, no. 3 (1969): 73–104.

20 A particularly intriguing example is Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486), who even signed the glosses to which he attributed particular value beyond his personal use. For a detailed documentary analysis and insightful reflections on this practice, see the volume of Daniela Rando, *Dai margini la memoria: Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486)*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003, esp. 260–268, here 268: "L'autorappresentazione di fronte a un 'pubblico' giocò una parte importante nella messa per iscritto di sé anche nelle postille di Hinderbach, il quale ebbe coscienza precisa della presenza del pubblico, cui anzi talora si appellò."

but decisively participated in a broader ecology of intellectual transmission, where reading and writing – considered as continuum and not as distinct parts – were a collective enterprise and where authorship itself was diffuse, multiple, and stratified, at times consciously anonymous.

In a certain sense, each marginal annotation encapsulates a historiographical challenge: it stands at the intersection of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the book being read and the formation history of the reader's thought, thus marking an encounter – to borrow Paul Ricoeur's formulation – between the world of the book and the world of the reader, from which a mutual transformation occurs. Reading annotations resist a clear-cut classification as either an act of reception or an instance of thought production, oscillating between the appropriation of an inherited text and the emergence of a new voice speaking obliquely from the edges. Rather than calling for definitive categorisations, the study of marginalia encourages us to dwell within this undecidability and to treat it not as a deficiency, but as a critical resource. This shift to the margins opens a field of inquiry in which the contours of philosophical authorship and text emerge as less stable and more porous than traditional historiography tends to acknowledge. As a methodological gesture, this openness and "eccentric" gaze can, with due caution, be extended to every philosophical text under historiographical analysis. For more often than we suspect, what is commonly regarded as a work reveals itself as the condensation of peripheral practices – the visible peak of a submerged labour of reading and annotation: the mirror of a thinking in the margins.

4 Mapping the Margins: Polycentric Approaches

The contributions gathered in this volume engage with marginalia from a variety of methodological perspectives, sometimes complementary. What unites these diverse inquiries is not a fixed definition of marginalia, but a shared effort to render them intelligible as historical and conceptual artifacts. The scale of analysis ranges across several levels – from the most material and fragmentary signs of attention, such as the *maniculae* (or even the mere "pen trials", attesting only to a user's incidental presence), to sustained marginal commentaries that surround a central text and tend to emancipate themselves, ultimately becoming self-standing documents. Yet, in order for marginalia to constitute a coherent corpus of historical-philosophical inquiry, it is essential that an interpretative centre be established. This centre is not merely the main text to which the annotations respond, but rather functions as a guiding principle for mapping the margins: it connects individual annotations to each other within a defined investigative framework and provides a criterion for

their historiographical significance. In what follows, I briefly present the essays included in this volume not in terms of their specific contents or findings, but in light of the methodological choices that shaped the construction and selection of their respective corpora. Five distinct approaches may be abstractly identified, though the execution of each study often reflects intersections or combinations of methods.

The first approach maps marginalia across multiple extant copies of a *single work*, annotated by different hands in various times and places. This line of investigation adopts a quantitative and comparative perspective on patterns of reading and offers a diachronic survey of a work's transmission and reception. In such cases, the text itself becomes both the organising principle of the corpus and the horizon of its elucidation. This model is exemplified in Silvia Di Vincenzo's study of the Arabic transmission of Avicenna's (Ibn Sīnā, d. 428H/1037) *Book of Healing* (*Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*), Lisa Devriese's contribution on the Latin tradition of pseudo-Aristotle's *De coloribus*, and Christoph Sander's examination of the extant printed exemplars of *De magnete* by William Gilbert (d. 1603).

A second approach focuses on marginalia found in multiple works owned, read, or annotated by the *same individual*. Here, the corpus is constituted not by many exemplars of a single text, but by the various books of a particular library. This mapping reveals intellectual habits, scholarly interests, and working strategies developed by a reader over time. Silvia Negri's contribution scrutinises the manuscript collection of the Parisian master Godfrey of Fontaines (d. after 1306), while Valentina Zaffino analyses early printed editions from the convent library of San Domenico in Nicastro, where the young Tommaso Campanella (d. 1639) left traces of his early philosophical formation.

A third approach takes as its object different works belonging to a *single exegetical tradition*. In this vein, Aurora Panzica investigates the Latin transmission of commentaries on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, while Clarisse Reynard focuses on those on the *De memoria et reminiscentia*, stemming from the fifteenth century. The marginalia analysed in these contributions document the material formation of a commentary tradition, shedding light both on the paratextual apparatus accompanying manuscript production and on the contexts of use and doctrinal reception.

A fourth approach centres on clusters of manuscripts containing annotations by various hands, yet originating within the *same intellectual milieu*. According to this research line, neither a single work, reader nor commented authority constitutes the unifying principle; rather, the focus is on a specific community of readers or a network of scholars and their shared knowledge practices. In this volume, Giovanna Murano's chapter explores a selection of manuscripts from fifteenth-century Italy, mostly of Florentine origin, to reconstruct the graphic notation habits

typical of Italian humanism. Her study concentrates on three types of intervention: textual corrections, indices, and mnemonic signs.

The fifth and final approach focuses on a *single manuscript witness* and the systematic analysis of interventions by *one annotator*. Fabio Bulgarini examines the glosses added by Johannes Wenck (d. 1460) to his personal copy of the Latin translation of Averroes' *Middle Commentary* on Aristotle's *Poetics*; Michael Engel investigates the Hebrew marginal critiques of an anonymous opponent of Elijah Del Medigo's (d. 1493) Averroist positions; and Leonardo Graciotti analyses the paratexts of Domenico Bonfioli's (d. 1571) *Reportationes* on Pietro Pomponazzi's (d. 1525) university lectures on *De sensu et sensato*. Bonfioli was, strictly speaking, neither the reader, nor the copyist, nor the author of the texts he transmitted – yet in writing at the margins of his reportations, he seems to paradoxically embody all three roles at once. It is precisely this ambiguity, and the resistance it poses to reductive classification, that the volume as a whole invites us to explore.

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Silvia Di Vincenzo

The Uncharted Margins of Arabic Philosophy

Challenges and Prospects in Surveying Philosophical Marginalia in Arabic Manuscripts

Introduction

From Antiquity until the dawn of Modernity, Aristotelian logic and the corpus of texts known as the *Organon* served as the bedrock of scientific method across a vast geographical area extending far beyond the borders of the Mediterranean. In the Arabo-Islamic tradition, logic appears to have formed a staple part of the curricula of higher-level education until the nineteenth century. However, the contexts and modalities through which the discipline was concretely taught and studied largely elude our understanding to date. This is partly due to the considerable diversity in which education was provided in different geographical and temporal settings. Philosophical and scientific education in the Arabo-Islamic context manifested itself in a variety of non-standardized curricula that changed significantly over the centuries and across the different geographical areas under Islamic influence. Students wishing to educate themselves could rely on educational institutions such as *madrasas*, travel to join the intellectual circles of renowned experts, or pursue self-directed learning.[1] Information on the curricula and texts studied in differ-

1 For a recent comprehensive historical study of educational practices in the Arabo-Islamic context from the ninth to the eighteenth century, see Sonja Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamicate Societies (800–1700)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2018. Landmark studies on the educational system in the Arabo-Islamic world are also: George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1994. More specifically on the teaching of Avicennian philosophy, see Gerhard Endress, Reading Avicenna in the Madrasa: Intellectual Genealogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in

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ent educational contexts is unfortunately somewhat limited, especially when compared to our knowledge of university education in Latinate Europe during the same period. The activities of many scholars, professors, and students who engaged with philosophy across all regions of Europe, North Africa, and Asia under Islamic influence are, therefore, largely inaccessible.

A promising strategy to access this large missing part of the history of Arabic philosophy is a novel approach to the "common denominator" of philosophical education and practice throughout the Islamicate world: the manuscript book. Professors, students, and individual scholars from the Islamicate world have historically engaged with ideas and concepts of authoritative texts from the margins of the pages of manuscripts. This unconstrained space is the uncharted terrain in which they challenged assumptions, critically assessed the reliability of information, built networks of cross-references, and graphically represented arguments. Philosophical activity largely assumed the form of a multifaceted corpus of textual and visual materials that occupy marginal places in the manuscript book (such as guard-leaves, the margins of the written page, or flyleaves). A large part of this treasure trove of scholarly production, including notes and appending comments (*ḥawāshī*, *taʿālīq*) as well as graphic representations and models, stands as the sole point of access to a scholar's original thoughts, or to the content of lectures and the students' queries and doubts. These paratexts, to recall Gérard Genette's terminology,[2] or "paracontents," as they have been called more recently,[3] possess an inherently relational nature, as they depend on the "main text" (*matn*) they accompany. They defy traditional categorizations, as they often transcend mere commentaries or annotations, and provide original contributions that address lexical and conceptual aspects, establish hypertextual connections with other sources, and graphically display philosophical concepts and arguments. These unexplored sources can offer a brand-new insight into the contents, dynamics, and forms of scholarly debate over the centuries.

Copies of authoritative and widely circulated texts in the history of Arabic philosophy – such as the works of Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, d. 428H/1037) – likely served as material platforms for collective intellectual exchanges and scholarly debates surrounding their contents.[4] This "choral" philosophical enterprise, however, has

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the Islamic East, in: *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, James E. Montgomery (ed.), 371–422, Leuven: Peeters, 2006.

2 Gérard Genette, *Seuils*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987.

3 Giovanni Ciotti, Michael Kohs, Eva Wilden, Hanna Wimmer, and the TNT Working Group, Definition of Paracontent, *Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures Occasional Paper* 6 (2018): 1–5.

4 Cf. George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press, 2007, 241–242.

largely remained on the uncharted margins of manuscripts and on the fringe of the history of philosophy. This assumption forms the basis of my current research on philosophical marginalia within the framework of the ERC project "The Uncharted Margins of philosophy" (*UnMaP*).[5] The project seeks to integrate the material study of manuscripts – through codicological and philological analysis – with the examination of their philosophical and conceptual content. The central hypothesis is that the material features of these manuscripts can offer a wealth of new data concerning the intellectual environments in which these texts circulated. The project's proof of concept involves a pioneering large-scale analysis of the traces of philosophical activity found in the manuscripts that preserve Avicenna's *Book of Healing* (*Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*), the most influential Medieval Arabic encyclopedia of Aristotelian philosophy. With its 207 manuscripts, the Logic section (*manṭiq*) of the work has served as a primary "vector" of Aristotelian logic for over eight centuries.[6] The *UnMaP* project seeks to examine the visual and textual annotations made by professors, students, and scholars over a span of seven centuries (twelfth to nineteenth centuries), across a vast geographical area extending from present-day Spain to India. The analysis of this unique stream of knowledge, which bridges Europe, North Africa, and Asia, holds the potential to reshape our understanding of cross-cultural philosophical exchanges in the Arabo-Islamic world. This essay aims to offer some methodological considerations preliminary to the research that is being conducted within the *UnMaP* project along with the discussion of some case-studies.

1 The Margins of Philosophical Manuscripts: An (Almost) Uncharted Territory

In the past decade, the study of paratexts has gained significant momentum across various disciplinary fields, as evidenced by an increasing number of projects and publications.[7] Historians of philosophy, too, have begun to focus more on the phil-

5 ERC Starting Grant 2024, The Uncharted Margins of Philosophy: An AI-Enhanced Material History of Arabic Logic Across Time (12th–19th c.) and Frontiers (from Spain to India) (*UnMaP*), hosted by Università Ca' Foscari in Venice, 2025–2030 (project number: 101164324).

6 A complete list of the manuscripts with a general presentation of the manuscript tradition will be published in Silvia Di Vincenzo, The "Avicennian Pandemic" in Context: Insights into the Spread of Avicenna's Logic across the Islamicate World, in: *Persuading and Transmitting in Classical Arabic Philosophy*, Frédérique Woerther and Jawdath Jabbour (eds.). Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

7 Among the several projects and digital initiatives that have recently embarked in an exploration of paratextual sources, see the NWO project "Marginal Scholarship: The Practice of Learning in the

osophical content found in the margins of manuscripts within the Greek,[8] Latin,[9] Hebrew,[10] and Judeo-Arabic[11] traditions. In the field of Arabic philosophy, this elusive genre has drawn new attention over the last thirty years, eliciting new

Early Middle Ages (c. 800–c. 1000)"; the ERC project "Paratexts of the Bible" (*ParaTexBib*), led by Martin Wallraff at the University of München; the database "Ex(-)libris ex oriente," hosted by the University of Liège; the DFG project "Manicula: Marginalia Nicolai de Cusa Latina" at the University of Siegen. Publications are also increasingly addressing methodological problems entailed by the study of these sources; cf., for instance, Mariken Teeuwen, Marginal Scholarship: Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts, in: *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Claudia Di Sciacca (eds.), 19–37, Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011; Mariken Teeuwen, Writing in the Blank Space of Manuscripts: Evidence from the Ninth Century, in: *Ars Edendi Lecture Series*, vol. 4, Barbara Crostini, Gunilla Iversen, and Brian Møller Jensen (eds.), 1–25, Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2016; Ciotti, Kohs, Wilden, Wimmer, and the TNT Working Group, *Definition of Paracontent*; Patrick Andrist, Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts, in: *Bible as Notepad: Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci (eds.), 130–149, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018; Jaap Mansfeld, Helping the Reader: The Paratextual Elements in the "Placita" in the Context of their Genre, in: *Received Opinions: Doxography in Antiquity and the Islamic World*, Andreas Lammer and Mareike Jas (eds.), 33–50, Leiden: Brill, 2022.

8 For example, Sofia Kotzabassi, Aristotle's "Organon" and Its Byzantine Commentators, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 64 (2002): 51–62; Marwan Rashed, Les marginalia d'Aréthas, Ibn al-Ṭayyib et les dernières gloses alexandrines à l'"Organon", in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Charles S. F. Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (eds.), 57–73, Geneva: Droz, 2005; Marwan Rashed, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise, Commentaire perdu à la Physique d'Aristote (Livres IV–VIII): Les scholies byzantines: Édition, traduction et commentaire*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011; Michele Trizio, Reading and Commenting on Aristotle, in: *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Anthony Kaldellis and Niketas Siniossoglou (eds.), 397–412, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2017.

9 For example, Silvia Negri, Wege eines Textes: Die "Summa quaestionum ordinariarum" des Heinrich von Gent von Paris nach Rom, *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 57 (2015): 117–169; Lisa Devriese, Physiognomy in Context: Marginal Annotations in the Manuscripts of the "Physiognomonica", *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 84 (2017): 107–141; Caterina Tarlazzi, The Latin Tradition of Studying Porphyry's "Isagoge", ca. 800–980: A Working Catalogue of Manuscripts, Glosses and Diagrams, *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 87 (2020): 7–42; Mario Meliadò and Hans Gerhard Senger, Cusanus-Marginalien: Zur Edition und Interpretation einer Textüberlieferung am Seitenrand, *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 64 (2022): 209–241; Mario Meliadò, The Idiota's Library, or Cusanus as a Reader of Plato (Cod. Cus. 177), *Vivarium* 62 (2024): 147–177.

10 For example, the ERC project "Hebrew Philosophical Manuscripts as Sites of Engagement (HEPMASITE)," led by Yoav Meyrav at the University of Hamburg.

11 For example, Colette Sirat and Marc Geoffroy, *L'original arabe du Grand Commentaire d'Averroès au "De Anima" d'Aristote*, Paris: J. Vrin, 2005 and Colette Sirat and Marc Geoffroy, *De la faculté rationnelle: L'original arabe du Grand Commentaire (Šarḥ) d'Averroès au "De anima" d'Aristote (III,*

methodological reflections.[12] The study of philosophical and scientific marginalia has allowed scholars to discover fragments of lost texts of the Arabic tradition and prompted a reevaluation of their circulation and transmission.[13] Yet systematic work on corpora of philosophical paratexts on a global scale is largely missing. Two key factors may help explain why this endeavor is still in its early stages.

The first is a longstanding prejudice against post-classical Arabic philosophy, referring to the period after the so-called "golden age" (eighth to thirteenth centuries). The philosophical output dating from this period is often seen as emblematic of a decline in intellectual and scientific thought. This bias stems in part from the challenge of defining what constitutes philosophical practice[14] and partly from the proliferation of commentaries and glosses, which are generally perceived as derivative and lacking in originality.[15] This misconception relates, in turn, to the idea

4–5, 429a10–432a14): Éditions diplomatique et critique des gloses du manuscrit de Modène, Biblioteca Estense, a. J. 6. 23 (ff. 54v–58v), Rome: Aracne, 2021.

12 Dimitri Gutas, Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works, in: *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions*, Charles S. F. Burnett (ed.), 29–76, London: Warburg Institute, 1993; Gregor Schoeler, Text und Kommentar in der klassisch-islamischen Tradition, in: *Text und Kommentar*, Jan Assmann (ed.), 279–292, Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1995; Robert Wisnovsky, The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary in Post-Classical (ca. 1100–1900 AD) Islamic Intellectual History: Some Preliminary Observations, in: *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, vol. 2, Peter Adamson, Han Baltussen, and Martin William Francis Stone (eds.), 149–191, London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2004; Asad Q. Ahmed, Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins, *Oriens* 41 (2013): 317–348; L. W. C. (Eric) van Lit, Commentary and Commentary Tradition: The Basic Terms for Understanding Islamic Intellectual History, *Mélanges de l'institut dominicain d'études orientales* 32 (2017): 3–26.

13 For example, Roshdi Rashed, Notes sur la version arabe des trois premiers livres des Arithmétiques de Diophante, et sur le problème 1.39, *Historia Scientiarum* 4, no. 1 (1994): 39–46; Sirat and Geoffroy, *De la faculté rationnelle.*

14 Dimitri Gutas, Avicenna and After: The Development of Paraphilosophy: A History of Science Approach, in: *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*, Abdelkader Al Ghouz (ed.), 13–65, Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2018; Dimitri Gutas, Philosophical Manuscripts: Two Alternative Philosophies, in: *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar and Cornell H. Fleischer (eds.), 907–933, Leiden: Brill, 2019; Jari Kaukua, Post-Classical Islamic Philosophy – A Contradiction in Terms? *Nazariyat* 6 (2020): 1–21.

15 Gutas, *Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works*; Wisnovsky, *The Nature and Scope of Arabic Philosophical Commentary*; Lit, *Commentary and Commentary Tradition*; Andreas Lammer, Philosophie nach Format: Vermittlung aus dem Griechischen und Aneignung im Arabischen, in: *Heteronome Texte: Kommentierende und tradierende Literatur in Antike und Mittelalter*, Katharina Bracht, Jan Dirk Harke, Matthias Perkams, and Meinolf Vielberg (eds.), 149–176, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021. For a similar judgement on post-classical logic, see Ibrahim Madkour, *L'Organon*

that exegeses and commentaries denote a minor intellectual and scientific maturity of their authors. Considerable efforts have been made in the field of the history of philosophy to prove that, on the contrary, commentaries have historically been a gateway to the original thoughts of their authors. Pioneering in this regard was Sorabji's work on the late ancient Greek tradition,[16] which profoundly impacted the study of exegetical practices across Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew philosophical traditions.[17] Over the past two decades, however, scholars have increasingly recognized the richness and originality of post-classical Arabic philosophy. This shift is reflected in the growing number of monographs, collective volumes, and sourcebooks dedicated to key figures and topics from this period,[18] along with new

d'Aristote dans le monde arabe, Paris: J. Vrin, 1934, 240–248 and Nicholas Rescher, *The Development of Arabic Logic*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964, 81, claiming that by around 1500 "the disintegration of logical study to a purely text-oriented comment-mongering was complete."

16 Richard Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, London: Duckworth, 1990; Richard Sorabji, *The Philosophy of Commentators 200–600 AD: A Sourcebook*, vol. 1: *Psychology*, vol. 2: *Physics*, vol. 3: *Logic and Metaphysics*, London: Duckworth, 2004; and Richard Sorabji, (ed.), *Aristotle Re-Interpreted: New Findings on Seven Hundred Years of the Ancient Commentators*, London: Bloomsbury, 2016.

17 Francesco Del Punta, The Genre of Commentaries in the Middle Ages and Its Relation to the Nature and Originality of Medieval Thought, in: *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter? Qu'est-ce que la philosophie au moyen âge? What is Philosophy in the Middle Ages?* Jan Adrianus Aertsen and Andreas Speer (eds.), 138–151, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998; Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (ed.), *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du colloque international de l'Institut des traditions textuelles*, Paris: J. Vrin, 2010; Riccardo Chiaradonna, Commento, in: *Forme letterarie della filosofia*, Paolo D'Angelo (ed.), 71–104, Rome: Carocci, 2012; Pascale Bermon and Isabelle Moulin (eds.), *Commenter au Moyen Âge*, Paris: J. Vrin, 2019; Andrea Falcon, Commentators on Aristotle, in: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2022 Edition)*, Edward Nouri Zalta and Uri Nodelman (eds.), Stanford: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2022, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/aristotle-commentators/>, accessed January 26, 2025.

18 For example, Heidrun Eichner, *The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy: Philosophical and Theological Summae in Context*, habilitation, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2009; Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Relational Syllogisms and the History of Arabic Logic, 900–1900*, Leiden: Brill, 2010; Khaled El-Rouayheb, Logic in the Arabic and Islamic World, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, Henrik Lagerlund (ed.), 686–692, Dordrecht: Springer, 2011; Khaled El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200–1800)*, Basel: Schwabe, 2019; Robert Wisnovsky, Avicenna's Islamic Reception, in: *Interpreting Avicenna*, Peter Adamson (ed.), 190–213, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2013; Abdelkader Al Ghouz, (ed.), *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2018; Frank Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy in Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021; Peter Adamson and Fedor Benevich, *The Heirs of Avicenna: Philosophy in the Islamic East, 12–13th Centuries: Metaphysics and Theology*, Leiden: Brill, 2023.

editions and translations of significant works.[19] International projects and digital initiatives have also proliferated.[20] As a result, the time seems ripe for systematic work on philosophical paratexts. However, a second major obstacle has thus far impeded progress in this area.

This second factor resides in the technical difficulty of working on large manuscript traditions. The Arabo-Islamic tradition is a unique case-study in terms of the material evidence available. Two historical circumstances set this tradition apart from Byzantine, Latin, and Hebrew traditions. While Europe was on the brink of a printing revolution as early as the fifteenth century, the Islamicate world fully adopted this transformative technology for book production no earlier than the eighteenth century.[21] This has resulted in exceptionally long-lasting manuscript traditions for Arabic texts in the Islamicate world, with manuscripts dating to the first half of the twentieth century. The second, concomitant factor is an unparalleled output of manuscripts. The *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* estimated that a staggering three million surviving manuscripts were produced in the Arabo-Islamic Near East prior to the adoption of printing.[22] This figure is unmatched by any

19 To mention but a few of the most recent editions and translations of logical works: Khaled El-Rouayheb (ed.), *Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī, Kashf al-asrārʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār*, Berlin: Free University of Berlin, Institute for Islamic Studies and Iranian Institute for Philosophy, 2010; Khaled El-Rouayheb, "Takmīl al-Manṭiq": A Sixteenth-Century Arabic Manual on Logic, in: *Illuminationist Texts and Textual Studies: Essays in Memory of Hossein Ziai*, Ali Gheissari, Ahmed Alwishah, and John Wallbridge (eds.), 199–256, Leiden: Brill, 2018; Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, *Commentary on the "Jumal" on Logic by Khūnajī*, Khaled El-Rouayheb, (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 2022; Fouad Ben Ahmed (ed.), *Ibn Ṭumlūs (Alhagiag Bin Thalmus d. 620/1223), Compendium on Logic al-Muḫtaṣar fī al-manṭiq*, Leiden: Brill, 2019; Asad Q. Ahmed, *Palimpsests of Themselves: Logic and Commentary in Postclassical Muslim South Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022; Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī, *"Isagoge": A Classical Primer on Logic*, Feryal Salem (ed. and trans.), Chicago: Blue Mountain Press, 2022; Ibrahim Safri, *Aḥmad al-Wallālī's Commentary on al-Sanūsī's Compendium of Logic: A Study and Edition of Lawāmiʿ al-Naẓar fī Taḥqīq Maʿānī al-Mukhtaṣar*, Leiden: Brill, 2023; Tony Street, *Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah: An Edition and Translation with Commentary*, New York: New York University Press, 2024.

20 For example, "Knowledge in Post-Avicennian Islamic Philosophy," Academy of Finland project, 2013–2018; "The Heirs of Avicenna," DFG project, 2016–2019, LMU Munich; ERC project "ETI," 2016–2021, University of Jyväskylä; the "Post-classical Islamic Philosophy Database Initiative" led by Robert Wisnovsky at McGill University.

21 In Europe, however, texts in Arabic were being printed as early as the fifteenth century; see Jonathan Max Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2001.

22 Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*, London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992–1994; Geoffrey Roper, The History of the Book in the Muslim World, in: *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, Michael F. Suarez and Henry Ruxton Woudhuysen (eds.), section 38,

other major manuscript tradition in the Mediterranean area: the number of extant Latin manuscripts is estimated at about 300,000, while extant Greek manuscripts stand at 55,000 units[23] and Hebrew codices may be estimated between 70,000 and 100,000.[24] Reference works of philosophy in Arabic, such as Avicenna's *Shifāʾ*, can easily count hundreds of manuscripts spread all over the world. Such manuscripts have long been recorded in loosely accurate catalogues or partial handlists and are sometimes housed in difficult-to-access collections.

Only recently have international projects begun the systematic surveying of this vast manuscript heritage. In 2011, the ERC project "Philosophy in Context (PhiC)"[25] initiated a comprehensive cataloguing of Arabic and Syriac philosophical manuscripts from the Mediterranean area. This work is being continued by the "PhASIF" project,[26] which has cataloged over 8,000 manuscripts in the ABJAD database, marking a major milestone in the exploration of the philosophical heritage of the Mediterranean. In the meantime, further exploratory work on the Indian manuscript collections has underscored the need for research beyond the Mediterranean, thus contributing to broaden the horizons of research.[27] In parallel with these systematic surveys, new critical editions of individual philosophical works in Arabic are increasingly accompanied by a more thorough and methodologically informed study of the surviving manuscript tradition.

These efforts have been greatly aided by the recent launch of systematic digitization programs on Arabic collections in the US, in Europe, and in the MENA region, which has helped to address the longstanding issue of limited access to these sourc-

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Oxford: Oxford University Press, 527; Jonathan Max Bloom, How Paper Changed the Literary and Visual Culture of the Islamic Lands, in: *By the Pen and What They Write: Writing in Islamic Art and Culture*, Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan Max Bloom (eds.), 107–127, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2017, 116; Beatrice Gruendler, *The Rise of the Arabic Book*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2020, 2.

23 Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, Paris: Diderot éditeur, 1997, 77–78.

24 Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2002, 8; Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts Until 1540 Using a Quantitative Approach*, Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2021, 65–67.

25 The project, led by Maroun Aouad, was hosted at the CNRS – UMR 8230, Centre Jean Pépin.

26 See the website of the project: <https://www.phasif.fr>, accessed January 26, 2025.

27 Asad Q. Ahmed, The "Shifā'" in India I: Reflections on the Evidence of the Manuscripts, *Oriens* 40 (2012): 199–222; Asad Q. Ahmed, Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration, in: *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought: Studies in Honor of Professor Hossein Modarressi*, Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb, and Asma Sayeed (eds.), 227–243, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

es.[28] It is within this renewed scholarly landscape that projects like *UnMaP* are poised to undertake systematic research on philosophical paratexts in the Arabic tradition, leveraging the groundwork laid by these earlier initiatives.

2 Paratextual Evidence in Arabic Philosophical Manuscripts

The concept of "paratextuality" was famously developed by Gérard Genette to describe the relation between a literary work and the texts that accompany and/or extend it. Scholars have recently exposed the limits of applying this very concept, which was originally intended to apply to works in print, to the study of manuscripts.[29] These limits are all the more evident in the specific case of Arabic manuscripts, which present a distinctive set of paratextual elements that stem from educational practices specific to the Arabo-Islamic context. Therefore, a primary methodological challenge to be faced is to provide at least an indicative categorization of paratextual elements to be applied to the analysis of Arabic philosophical manuscripts. Table 1 below is intended to provide a preliminary delimitation of the data that are subject to examination within the *UnMaP* project, classified according to the type of information that can be expected to be obtained from them.

The sources under consideration include a variety of philosophical and scientific paratexts, such as readers' marginal commentary notes, graphs, and diagrams (type a), alongside a broader range of non-scientific paratexts and material evidence that offer insights into the production and circulation of manuscripts, such as colophons, ownership notes, and more (type-b-d).

Type-a evidence provides a gateway to the philosophical and theoretical content of a largely unknown philosophical activity whose traces are found in the margins of the manuscripts of Avicenna's *Shifāʾ*. A notable feature of these philosophical paratexts, especially in the manuscripts of the Logic section of this summa, is their tendency to transcend linguistic and cultural frontiers. For example, multilingual annotations are preserved in the left margin of fol. 76r of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye

28 Among the most recent digitization projects, of special relevance for this project are the vHMML initiative and the programs concerning the collections of the Monastery of St. Catherine (Egypt), now accessible online through the "Sinai Manuscripts Digital Library," as well as the collections hosted at The National Library of Israel, at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, and at the most important manuscript collections in Iran (Majles Library, Tehran University Central Library, and Malek National Library).

29 For example, Andrist, *Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality*.

Table 1: Classification of evidence (C: context, CP: context of production, CC: context of circulation of the manuscript, S: the school transmission of the book, R: the reception of the book and the readers' reactions)

Paratext/Material evidence conveying:	Type of paratexts or material evidence:		Information:			
			C		S	R
			CP	CC		
(a) Scientific and philosophical content	(a.1) Glosses, appending comments (*ḥawāshī*, *taʿālīq*)			■	■	■
	(a.2) Schemes, diagrams or tables added by readers			■	■	■
(b) Information on the teaching and study of the book	(b.1) Certificates of authorisation to teach the text (*ijāzāt*)			■	■	
	(b.2) Certificates of audition (*samāʿāt*)			■	■	
	(b.3) Certificates of reading (*qirāʾāt*)			■	■	
	(b.4) Study notes (*muṭālaʿāt*)			■	■	
(c) Verbal information on the copy and transmission of the book	(c.1) Colophons		■		■	
	(c.2) Ownership statements		■	■	■	
	(c.3) Owners' seals		■	■	■	
(d) Information on the production and transmission of the book	(d.1) Illuminations and decorations		■			
	(d.2) Material support and its features	(d.2.1) Bookbinding	■			
		(d.2.2) Paper or parchment	■			
		(d.2.3) Watermarks	■			
		(d.2.4) Inks	■			
		(d.2.5) Region-specific scripts (e.g., *nastaʿlīq*, *maghribī*)	■			

Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2442 (Figure 1), a thirteenth-century manuscript produced between Marāgha (northwestern Iran) and Kharbūt (modern-day Elazığ, eastern Turkey). The copy and circulation of this manuscript is associated with intellectuals from the circle of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), Maphrian of the Syriac Orthodox Church.[30] These annotations, likely written by a scholar from Bar Hebraeus' entou-

30 See Gaia Celli, The Manuscript Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2442: A Thirteenth Century Copy of the "Kitāb al-Šifāʾ" with Syriac and Greek Marginalia, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 67 (2017–2018): 305–326; Silvia Di Vincenzo, *Avicenna, "The Healing, Logic: Isagoge":*

rage, served as a trilingual lexicon – Arabic, Greek, and Syriac – of technical logical terms needed to comprehend Avicenna's treatment of three forms of argumentation from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: the enthymeme, the *sēmeion*, and the *tekmērion*.

Another characteristic of the philosophical paratexts found in Arabic manuscripts is the frequent inclusion of visual elements, such as diagrams, graphs, models, and tables. Examples include the schematization of syllogisms and geometric proofs. Visual materials, which are hardly ever investigated in the domain of Arabic philosophy, can present elements of great philosophical relevance: this is proven, for instance, by two original Arabic versions of the square of opposition[31] and Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī's (d. ca. 560H/1165) newly discovered model for testing the validity and productivity of syllogistic arguments.[32] While the role and richness of such visual representations in the logical tradition in the Latin context has been amply demonstrated,[33] in the study of Arabo-Islamic philosophical heritage, emphasis has been predominantly on textual material, often neglecting the crucial role played by diagrams and models in logical education.

Type-b-d evidence in the manuscripts of the Logic section of the *Shifāʾ* offers a fair amount of information regarding the contexts where the work was copied and circulated as well as the individuals responsible for the copying of the text (copyists, patrons, sponsors) or for its circulation (teachers, students, owners, heirs, buyers, etc.). Type-b evidence, in particular, offers direct insights into the practices and transmission of the text within educational contexts. It is not uncommon, for

A New Edition, English Translation and Commentary of the "Kitāb al-Madḫal" of Avicenna's "Kitāb al-Šifā'", Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021, lxxvi–lxxvii.

31 Saloua Chatti, Two Squares of Opposition in Two Arabic Treatises: al-Suhrawardī and al-Sanūsī, *Logica Universalis* 16 (2022): 545–580.

32 Wilfrid Hodges, Two Early Arabic Applications of Model-Theoretic Consequence, *Logica Universalis* 12 (2018): 37–54; Tony Street, Abū l-Barakāt al-Baġdādī and the Traditions of Arabic Logic, *Studia graeco-arabica* 11, no. 2 (2021): 41–66, esp. 43–44 and 59.

33 Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1996; Frank T. Marchese, The Origins and Rise of Medieval Information Visualization, in: *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Information Visualization: IV'12 (Montpellier, France, July 11–13, 2012), IEEE Computer Society*, Washington, D.C., 389–395 and Frank T. Marchese, Medieval Information Visualization, in: *Proceedings of the IEEE VIS Arts Program (VISAP),* Atlanta, Georgia, October 2013; Annemieke Verboon, The Medieval Tree of Porphyry: An Organic Structure of Logic, in: *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory and Structural Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, Andrea Worm and Pippa Salonis (eds.), 83–101, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014; Susanna Berger, *The Art of Philosophy: Visual Thinking in Europe from the Late Renaissance to the Early Enlightenment*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017; Ayelet Even-Ezra, *Lines of Thought: Branching Diagrams and the Medieval Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020; Tarlazzi, *The Latin Tradition of Studying Porphyry's "Isagoge", ca. 800–980*; the NWO funded project "The Art of Reasoning: Techniques of Scientific Argumentation in the Medieval Latin West (400–1400)" (2016–2020).

instance, to find certificates attesting to the study of the text in question in a school environment. This is the case, for example, with a certificate for the completion of study of a number of texts (*ijāza*) issued to the scribe of manuscript Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2710: thanks to this certificate, preserved at the beginning of the manuscript, we have a direct insight into the philosophical education of the copyist of the volume, a thirteenth-century mathematician from the Marāgha circle with a keen interest in Avicenna's logic.[34] Type-c evidence offers the elements to trace a history of the circulation of a text from its copy to the shelves of its readers. Readers have often left traces of their interaction with the text, through notes and seals. With the support of systematic catalogues, we are in most cases able to trace each seal back to a specific owner.[35] The categorization offered in Table 1 also includes decorative and material elements (type-d), as they allow us to verify or acquire contextual information, especially in the absence of type-c evidence.

3 Readers of Avicenna's Logic: A Case-Study from an Eighteenth-Century Manuscript of *The Healing*

Noteworthy examples of type-a annotations including both graphic and textual elements are found in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Atıf Efendi 1565. This manuscript is a copy of the Logic section of Avicenna's *Shifāʾ* produced in Istanbul in the first half of the eighteenth century. It arguably circulated within the school of Asʿad Ibn ʿAlī Ibn ʿUthmān al-Yānyawī (Yanyalı Esad Efendi, d. 1143H/1730), a professor at the *madrasa* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and a distinguished scholar involved in the translation enterprise sponsored by the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa.[36] Yānyawī is also known as the author of a logical work with title *The Most Luminous Commentary* (*al-Sharḥ al-anwar*), a revised translation of *The Most*

34 Silvia Di Vincenzo, Early Exegetical Practice on Avicenna's "Šifāʾ": Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Marginalia to Logic, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 28, no. 1 (2018): 31–66.

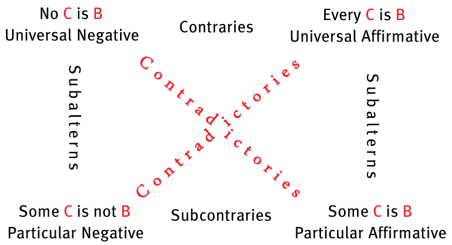
35 For example, Ramaḍān Şeşen, *Muḥtārāt min al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīya al-Nādira fī Maktabāt Turkiyā*, Istanbul: Waqf al-Abḥāṯ li-l-Tārīḫ wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Ṯaqāfa al-Islāmīya, 1997 and Mohammad Javad Jadi, *Daneshnameh-ye Mohr va Hakaki Dar Iran (*دانشنامه مهر و حکاکي در ايران*)*, Tehran: Farhangestane Honar, 2014.

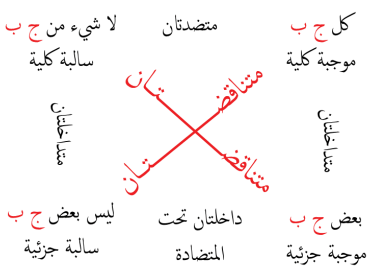
36 Silvia Di Vincenzo, Reading Avicenna's "Kitāb al-Šifāʾ" in the Ottoman World: The Circulation of the Work Within the School of Asʿad al-Yānyawī, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 67 (2017–2018): 327–350, see 334–343.

Clear Exposition of Universal Logic (*Expositio lucidissima universae logices*, published in 1651 and 1669) by Ioannes Cottunius, a Greek-born professor of philosophy at the Academy of Padua.[37]

Yānyawī's students alternated in the copy of Avicenna's text in MS Atıf Efendi 1565 and added several annotations, often referring to their professor's lectures and works. As a result, this manuscript serves as a valuable resource for understanding how students actively engaged with Avicenna's text and which texts they consulted as references in their study of Avicennian logic. In a marginal note on fol. 102v of MS Atıf Efendi 1565 (Figure 2), in correspondence with the beginning of chapter I.10 of Avicenna's reworking of Aristotle's *De interpretatione* (*Kitāb al-ʿIbāra*) in the *Shifāʾ*, one of Yānyawī's students – who is arguably also the copyist of this section of the manuscript – introduced a graphic representation of the Aristotelian "square of opposition," accompanied by an extensive discussion of the nature of the oppositions depicted in the diagram. On closer inspection, the note can be divided into two sections: the first includes a representation of the square of opposition along with a concise explanation of the diagram, while the second elaborates further on the nature of the oppositions represented by the square. In the two sections, the anonymous student resorted to bibliographic sources to comment upon the Avicennian interpretation of the Aristotelian theory of oppositions among universal and particular propositions set forth by Aristotle in *De interpretatione* 7, 17b16–37. Below follows a transcription of the first section of the annotation:

37 Among the most recent bibliography on Yānyawī's life and philosophical activity, see Aslan Adnan, As'ad Afandi of Yanya, in: *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy*, vol. 1: A–I, Oliver Leaman (ed.), 39–40, London: Bloomsbury, 2006; Naim Şahin and Türk Mantıkçıları, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 17 (2005): 343–354, esp. 349–350; Sait Özervarlı, Yanyalı Esad Efendi's Works on Philosophical Texts as Part of the Ottoman Translation Movement in the Early Eighteenth Century, in: *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert – Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (ed.), 457–472, Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2011; El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200–1800)*, 216–221; Teymour Morel, Al-Yānyawī's Prologue to the "Translation of the Most Luminous Commentary on Logic": A Short Philosophical Manifesto, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 69 (2021–2022): 331–362. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Morel, *Al-Yānyawī's Prologue to the Translation*, 332–334, no. 4.





It is customary to present here the following scheme: any two [propositions] that differ in quality but share the same quantity are called "contraries" if they are universal. For it is possible for both to be false – specifically in the matter of possibility – but not for both to be true. If [the propositions] are particular, they are called "sub-contraries," as they fall under [their corresponding] universals. In this case, both can be true – again, in relation to the same matter[38] – but not both false. Any two [propositions] that share the same quality but differ in quantity, positioned along the side of the square, are called "subalterns," because one is contained within the other. Any two [propositions] that differ in both quality and quantity at the same time, being mutually opposed, are called "contradictories," since it is impossible for both to be either true or false in any given matter. *Ṭūsī.*

جرت العادة بأن يوضع ههنا لوح هكذا: فمختلفتا الكيفيّة متّفقتا الكمّيّة إن كانتا كليّتين سمّيتا متضادّتين لجواز اجتماعهما على الكذب دون الصدق وهو في مادّة الإمكان وإن كانتا جزئيتين سمّيتا داخلتين تحت التضادّ لدخولهما تحت الكلّيّتين وهما يجوز أن يجتمعا على الصدق دون الكذب كما في تلك المادّة بعينها ومتّفقتا الكيفيّة مختلفتا الكمّيّة وهما الواقعتان في الطول سمّيتا متداخلتين لدخول إحداهما في الأخرى[1] ومختلفتاهما[2] معا وهما المتقاطعتان سمّيتا متناقضتين لامتناع اجتماعهما على الصدق أو الكذب في شيء من الموادّ. **طوسي**

1. «أحدهما في الآخر» في النسخة |
2. «ومختلفاهما» في النسخة.

Both the graphic representation of the square and the subsequent explanation are part of a quotation from the Commentary on Avicenna's *Pointers and Reminders* (*Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*) by the Persian philosopher and astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672H/1274).[39] This is one of the commentaries on Avicenna's work which had the most profound intellectual impact on subsequent tradition. The Arabic tradition of the graphic representation of the square of opposition is still a matter of investigation, and scholars have argued that it was not widespread in the Arabic logical tradition.[40] The square reproduced in the marginal annotation in Figure 2 was certainly copied from Ṭūsī's commentary along with the explanation. For in fact, while not included in the printed edition of Ṭūsī's commentary, an iden-

38 I.e. possible matter.

39 See Ṭūsī's commentary in Sulaymān Dunyā, (ed.), *Ibn Sīnā, Al-Ishārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt maʿa Sharḥ Naṣīr ad-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1994, 306, no. 7.

40 Chatti, *Two Squares of Opposition in Two Arabic Treatises*.

tical square is found in the manuscript tradition of the work, as evidenced by one of its earliest extant copies, MS Leiden Or. 95, fol. 51r (Figure 3).[41] Avicenna does not appear to have adopted it in his reworking of the *De interpretatione* in the *Shifāʾ*; the reason, as we shall argue, may be that the model fails to represent the Avicennian theory of oppositions in all of its aspects.

The four kinds of opposition represented in the square are contradiction, contrariety, subcontrariety, and subalternation. The explanation drawn from Ṭūsī's commentary elaborates on Avicenna's own substantial revision of the Aristotelian square based on his own theory of "material" modalities. In the *Kitāb al-ʿIbāra*, Avicenna revisited the relations of opposition between propositions as represented in the traditional square in light of his modalized conception of propositions that lack explicit modal indicators. According to Avicenna, the truth value of a given proposition is determined not only by its formal structure but also by the nature of the relation that exists between a predicate and its subject. This idea has its roots in the late ancient Greek and Syriac commentaries on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, where the relation between predicate and subject – the "matter" (Gr. *hylê*, Ar. *mādda*) – is defined as necessary when the predicate always belongs to the subject, possible when it sometimes belongs to it, impossible when it never belongs to it.[42] Classic examples of propositions with necessary matter provided in commentaries from Ammonius' school in Alexandria are "man is an animal" or "man is rational," where the necessity of the universal affirmative is ensured by the fact that "animal" and "rational" are constituents of the definition of "man" and thus never fail to belong to it. Examples of propositions with impossible and possible matters are, respectively, "man is winged" and "Socrates walks."[43]

The Avicennian theory summarized in the passage from Ṭūsī's commentary selected here by the anonymous annotator provides for a classification of the types

41 On this thirteenth-century copy of Ṭūsī's *Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*, see Bruno De Nicola, A Manuscript Witness of Cultural Activity in Mongol Baghdad: Notes on MS Leiden Or. 95, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 14 (2023): 70–108.

42 See, for instance, Ammonius, *In De Int.*, 88.12–28. On the Syriac tradition, see Henri Hugonnard-Roche, La constitution de la logique tardo-antique et l'élaboration d'une logique "matérielle" en syriaque, in: *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque: Études sur la transmission des texts de l'"Organon" et leur interpretation philosophique*, Henri Hugonnard-Roche (ed.), 255–274, Paris: J. Vrin, 2004. For the Arabic development of this theory, see also Asad Q. Ahmed, The Jiha/Tropos-Mādda/Hūlē Distinction in Arabic Logic, in: *The Unity of Science in the Arabic Tradition: Science, Logic, Epistemology and their Interactions*, Shahid Rahman, Tony Street, and Hassan Tahiri (eds.), 229–253, Dordrecht: Springer, 2008; Saloua Chatti, Logical Oppositions in Arabic Logic: Avicenna and Averroes, in: Around and Beyond the Square of Opposition, Jean-Yves Béziau and Dale Jacquette (eds.), 21–40, Basel: Springer, 2012.

43 Ammonius, *In De Int.*, 88.12–17.

of opposition in view of the relationships that exist between predicate and subject, from a stronger form of opposition on all three matters (i.e. contradiction) to a weaker form, which bears on only one matter (i.e. subalternation).[44] In Table 2 below is a comparison of Aristotelian definitions of oppositions and their Avicennian redefinitions, which take material modalities into account.

Table 2

	Traditional Aristotelian definition	**Avicennian definition**
def1 **Contradiction**	Two contradictory propositions can never be true or false together.	Two contradictory propositions can never be true or false together *in any of the three matters (i.e., necessary, possible, impossible).*
def2 **Contrariety**	Two contrary propositions can never be true together, but they can be false together.	Two contrary propositions can never be true together, but they can be false together *when they are possible*.
def3 **Subcontrariety**	Two subcontrary propositions can never be false together but can be true together.	Two subcontrary propositions can never be false together but can be true together *when they are possible*.
def4 **Subalternation**	A proposition is the subaltern of another one if, when the latter is true, the former is true too, and if the former is false, the latter is false too.	The truth-values of two subaltern propositions are the same when the propositions are necessary or impossible, *while they are opposed when the propositions are possible*.

Without Ṭūsī's further explanation, the traditional graphic representation of the square alone would fail to account for the Avicennian analysis of each of the four oppositions defined in Table 2 with respect to the three material modalities of propositions. This is because the scheme is based precisely on the assumption that Avicenna's theory challenges, namely that the oppositions among propositions are determined solely by their quantity and quality.

The second part of the marginal annotation in Figure 2 elaborates further on the elements that determine an opposition in truth values in any pair of propositions. Upon closer examination, this passage turns out to be a quotation from another fairly widespread work that formed a staple part of the curriculum in the post-Avicennian logical education, namely Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī's (d. 766H/1365) commentary on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's (d. 675H/1276) *Epistle for Shams al-Dīn*

44 As evident from *def4*, Avicenna treats subalternation as a form of opposition, with respect to possible matter.

(*al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*), with title *Redaction of the Rules of Logic in Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-Dīn* (*Taḥrīr al-Qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya fī sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*).[45] The passage transcribed below, a literal quotation from *Taḥrīr al-Qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya* (324–325), comments on the definition of opposition between propositions given in Kātibī's *Shamsiyya*, 2.3: "Contradiction has been defined as a difference between two propositions in affirmation and negation such that it requires of itself that one is true and the other false."[46]

يعني أن الاختلاف المقتضي إمّا أن يكون مقتضياً لذاته وصورته وإمّا أن لا يكون بل بواسطة أو بخصوص المادّة. أمّا الواسطة فكما في إيجاب قضية وسلب لازمها المساوي كقولنا زيد إنسان، زيد ليس بناطق، فإنّ الاختلاف بينهما إنّما يقتضي صدق إحداهما وكذب الأخرى[1] إمّا لأنّ قولنا زيد ليس بناطق في قوّة قولنا زيد ليس بإنسان وإمّا لأنّ قولنا زيد إنسان في قوّة قولنا زيد ناطق وأمّا خصوص المادّة فكما في قولنا كلّ إنسان حيوان، لا شيء من الإنسان بحيوان، وقولنا بعض الإنسان حيوان، وبعض الإنسان ليس بحيوان، فإنّ اختلافهما بالإيجاب والسلب يقتضي صدق إحداهما وكذب الأخرى[1] لا لصورته وهي كونهما كليّتين أو جزئيّتين بل لخصوص المادّة وإلّا لزم في كليّتين أو جزئيّتين مختلفتين بالإيجاب والسلب وليس كذلك فإنّ قولنا كلّ حيوان إنسان ولا شيء من الحيوان بإنسان كليّتان مختلفتان إيجاباً وسلباً واختلافهما لا يقتضي صدق إحداهما وكذب الأخرى[1] بل هما كاذبتان وكذلك قولنا بعض الحيوان إنسان وبعض الحيوان ليس بإنسان جزئيّتان مختلفتان وليس إحداهما[2] صادقة والأخرى كاذبة بل هما صادقتان بخلاف قولنا بعض الحيوان إنسان ولا شيء من الحيوان بإنسان فإنّ اختلافهما يقتضي لذاته وصورته أن تكون إحداهما صادقة والأخرى كذبة حتّى أنّ

I.e., the difference that determines [the truth of one proposition and the falsity of the other] may do so [(a)] in itself and by its own form or not, but [(b)] through some intermediary or [(c)] due to a [certain] specificity of matter.

[(b)] The case of the intermediary resembles [the relationship between] affirming a proposition and denying its coextensive necessary implication – for example, when we say "Zayd is a man" and "Zayd is not rational." The difference between these propositions determines the truth of one and the falsity of the other because saying "Zayd is not rational" is akin to saying "Zayd is not a man," and saying "Zayd is a man" implies "Zayd is rational."

[(c)] As for the specificity of matter, consider our propositions "every man is an animal" and "no man is an animal," or "some man is an animal" and "some man is not an animal." The difference in affirmation and negation here determines the truth of one and the falsity of the other, not because of its form – namely, whether they are universal or particular – but due to the specificity of the matter. Otherwise, this would necessarily apply to any pair of universal and particular propositions differing in affirmation and negation, but that is not the case. When we say "every animal is a man" and "no animal is a man," both universal propositions differ in affirmation and negation, yet their difference does not determine the truth of one and the falsity of the other, as both are false.

45 Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī, *Taḥrīr al-Qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya fī sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*, Muḥsin Bīdārfar (ed.), Qom: Bīdār, 1384H/1965.

46 Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*, 2.3, Arabic text and English translation in Street, *Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah*, 42–43.

Similarly, when we say “some animals are men” and “some animals are not men,” we are dealing with two particular propositions, but they are not such that one is true and the other false – both are true. This differs from saying “some animals are men” and “no animal is a man,” where the distinction between the two propositions inherently and by its very form determines that one is true and the other is false, so that the difference in affirmation and negation between each [pair formed by] a universal and a particular [proposition] determines this.

الاختلاف بالإيجاب والسلب بين كلّ كلّيّة وجزئيّة يقتضي ذلك.

1. «أحدهما وكذب الآخر» في النسخة. |
2. «أحدهما» في النسخة.

Taḥtānī introduces in the passage a distinction – absent from Kātibī’s corresponding text – between the cases in which the opposition of a pair of propositions in their truth-values is determined by their forms (a) and those in which it is either determined through some intermediate term (b) or by their matters (c). Taḥtānī’s focus here is on cases (b) and (c). The case involving an intermediate term (b) contemplates some instances that would not be classified as oppositions in a strict, technical sense by Aristotle. Propositions like “A is a man” and “A is not rational,” in fact, do not attribute and deny the same predicate of the subject. Nonetheless, as Taḥtānī observes, such pairs of propositions do oppose each other in their truth-values, because being rational is a necessary implicate of being a man, so that from “A is not rational,” it is legitimate to infer “A is not a man.”

Besides this somewhat “unorthodox” kind of opposition, what struck the interest of the anonymous annotator of MS Atıf Efendi 1565 was arguably Taḥtānī’s discussion of the role of the matters of propositions in determining an opposition in the truth-values among any two propositions (b). Taḥtānī’s argument in in the text above demonstrates that certain oppositions cannot be determined by the mere form of propositions, since propositions that share the form may either oppose or not oppose in their truth-values. What determines the occurrence or non-occurrence of this opposition is the relation established between the subject and the predicate. In this respect, the quotation from Taḥtānī’s work may have served the anonymous annotator as a support in understanding Avicenna’s own theory of material modalities.

4 Concluding Remarks

Annotations and paratexts in Arabic manuscripts appear in various forms, conveying a broad spectrum of doctrinal and historical insights crucial for understanding how these texts were read and studied – both by individual scholars and within institutionalized educational settings. Through an analysis of the paratexts that provide context on the production and circulation of manuscripts of the *Book of Healing*, we can identify many "actors" in the transmission of Avicennian philosophy who have been largely overlooked in official accounts.

In addition to these contextual paratexts, manuscripts of Avicenna's *Book of Healing* contain a wealth of annotations of doctrinal significance, demonstrating varying degrees of originality. However, the importance of examining philosophical marginalia in the Arabo-Islamic tradition extends beyond simply discovering new philosophical texts or ideas. As I aimed to demonstrate in section 3, even annotations derived from earlier commentaries offer valuable information concerning the texts that were most commonly used to engage with Avicennian logic – information that may be otherwise hard to access due to the limited historical records of curricula in Islamicate educational institutions.

More specifically, the case-study in section 3 provides a glimpse into the texts that influenced the reading and interpretation of Avicenna's theory of oppositions among propositions within the school of Asʿad al-Yānyawī in eighteenth-century Istanbul. These annotations shed new light on the textbooks and philosophical sources employed in Yānyawī's school, revealing part of the interpretive framework through which Avicenna's work was analyzed and understood. Studying annotations of this type also allows us to explore the circulation of graphic and visual representations accompanying philosophical texts. In the specific case of the Arabic philosophical tradition, this is a field that still has ample room for further study.

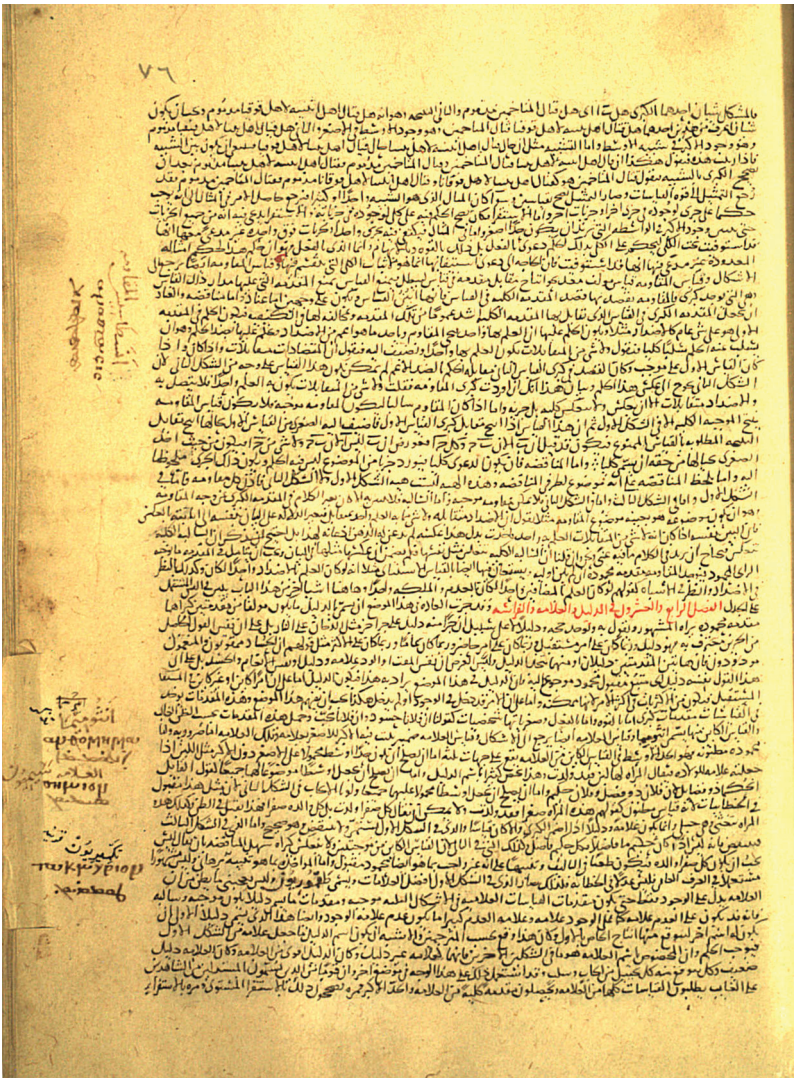


Figure 1: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2442, fol. 76r.



Figure 2: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Atıf Efendi 1565, fol. 102v.

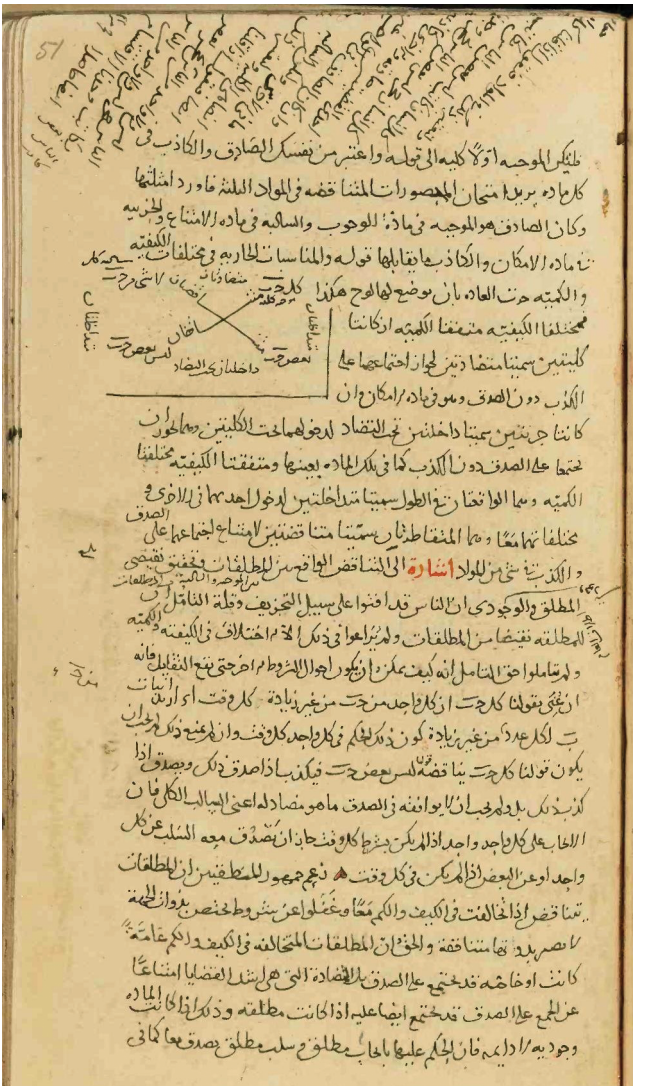


Figure 3: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 95, fol. 51r.

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Lisa Devriese

Marginal Annotations in Treatises at the Margin of Aristotelian Philosophy

The Case of *De coloribus*

Introduction

Among the Latin Aristotelian texts available in the Middle Ages, it is quite rare to have one with hardly any medieval commentary. Most Aristotelian texts received wide reception and many commentaries once they were available to the Latin West in a translation. Nevertheless, the natural philosophical treatise *De coloribus* did not enjoy the same fate. This treatise – nowadays considered not to be an authentic Aristotelian treatise and therefore labeled pseudo-Aristotelian – was translated from Greek into Latin in the second half of the thirteenth century: once by William of Moerbeke, but only one partial manuscript of this translation survives, and once by Bartholomew of Messina, of which 80 manuscripts survive.[1] Despite the relatively large number of surviving manuscripts, *De coloribus* did not attain significant success following its translation.

In a previous study, I have demonstrated this lack of a reception history: *De coloribus* inspired only one medieval commentary, hardly any marginal annotations in the manuscripts, and barely any references to this treatise by prominent medieval scholars. On the contrary, where some acknowledgment of *De coloribus* might be anticipated, authors and treatises remained conspicuously silent. This limited reception can be ascribed to a combination of factors. *De coloribus* was introduced to the Western intellectual milieu only with the translations by William of Moerbeke and Bartholomew of Messina, both dating to approximately 1260. However, other influential Aristotelian treatises, such as *De anima* and *De sensu et sensato*, had already engaged with similar topics on color in a more philosophical manner and were available to scholars a century earlier, by the mid-twelfth century. A century after the translation of these pivotal Aristotelian treatises, a treatise like *De coloribus*, focused on enumerating empirical observations on how colors are generated and change, can no longer play an important role. The treatise contributed

1 A critical edition of both translations is available in the *Aristoteles Latinus* series: Aristoteles, *De coloribus: Translationes Bartholomaei de Messana et Guillelmi de Morbeka*, Lisa Devriese (ed.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2025.

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insufficiently to the existing natural philosophical corpus. Even within the realm of non-Aristotelian treatises, *De coloribus* faced serious competition. Color, a subject frequently addressed in diverse disciplines such as in books on the discipline of *Perspectiva*, on uroscopy, on alchemy and color recipes, and on stones and minerals, did not lack treatises. Each of these disciplines possessed an extensive and specialized tradition of authoritative sources, rendering an empirical and general description of colors inconsequential.[2]

Examining the marginal annotations in the manuscripts containing the Latin *De coloribus*, did not, as previously mentioned, reveal much. Among all manuscripts containing a Latin medieval translation of *De coloribus*, only four exhibit marginal notes.[3] Two of these manuscripts feature limited structural notes and diagrams that reference the text's structure, while another includes a brief alchemical recipe at the conclusion. However, one particular manuscript proves to be pivotal in shaping the study of the medieval reception of *De coloribus*, as it contains a comprehensive commentary on *De coloribus* in the margins. Discovering this commentary serves

2 For a study of the medieval reception history of *De coloribus*, on which this paragraph is based, see Lisa Devriese, The Colorless History of Pseudo-Aristotle's "De coloribus", *Early Science and Medicine* 26 (2021): 254–288.

3 The limited amount of marginalia aligns with the scarcity of commentaries on the treatise, a correlation that is also evident in other pseudo-Aristotelian texts. When studying the Greek-Latin pseudo-Aristotelian texts, most exhibit a paucity of a substantial commentary tradition. Noteworthy exceptions include the *Oeconomica* and *Physiognomonica*, each boasting a considerable number of medieval commentaries. See Pieter De Leemans and Lisa Devriese, Translating and Reading Pseudo-Aristotle in the Latin West, in: *Pseudo-Aristotelian Texts in Medieval Thought: Acts of the XXII Annual Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Cluj-Napoca, 28–30 September 2016*, Monica Brînzei, Daniel Coman, Ioana Curut, and Andrei Marinca (eds.), 1–27, Turnhout: Brepols, 2023, 23–26. A parallel scenario emerges when scrutinizing the marginalia in these texts, although it is essential to note that the study of marginalia in pseudo-Aristotelian texts is still in its infancy. Upon an initial examination of manuscripts containing these pseudo-Aristotelian texts, marginal notes are also scarce, aligning with the trend observed in commentaries. Only two texts, again the *Oeconomica* and *Physiognomonica*, stand out with a noteworthy number of marginal notes. For a study on the marginalia of these two texts, see Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der aristotelischen "Politica" im späten Mittelalter: Teil 2*, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1992 and Lisa Devriese, Physiognomy in Context: Marginal Annotations in the Manuscripts of the "Physiognomonica", *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 84, no. 1 (2017): 107–141. The investigation into why most of the pseudo-Aristotelian texts appear to have been scarcely read once translated and copied requires distinct inquiries for each text, necessitating individualized studies. Potential factors contributing to this phenomenon include the limited philosophical relevance of a given text, the challenges associated with its translation, the existence of multiple translations, or the presence of comparable treatises within the intellectual landscape. For a study on the marginal notes of *De coloribus*, see Devriese, *The Colorless History*, 258–264.

as a crucial catalyst, marking a significant milestone, as, until that point, no medieval commentary on *De coloribus* had been documented.

In what follows, I will discuss this commentary: I will first pay attention to the manuscripts in which the commentary has survived, then dwell more on the attribution of this commentary to Berthaud of Saint-Denis, and finally discuss the content and value of the commentary. In the appendix of this contribution, I offer a critical edition of the commentary.

1 One Commentary, Two Manuscripts

While Charles Lohr's substantial catalogue of medieval Aristotelian commentaries did not yet include any mention of commentaries on *De coloribus*, a recent discovery changed this view.[4] In 2018, Pieter De Leemans identified a commentary written in the margins of a fourteenth-century manuscript located in Saint-Omer, which turned out to be a commentary on *De coloribus.* Following this discovery, I subsequently uncovered a second manuscript, currently housed in Melk, which contains the same commentary but presented within the main body of the text. The commentary starts with "*Simplices colorum sunt.* Postquam Philosophus determinavit de coloribus prout color est motivum visus in secundo *De anima*, et de coloribus considerando quid sit color secundum se, ut in libro *De sensu et sensato*, consequenter …" and ends with the words "*Considerationem igitur que quidem.* Ponit epilogum huius totius libri, dicens quod considerationem que est ex hiis que sunt circa colores maxime ex hiis que dicta sunt potest aliquis videre." I will briefly discuss both manuscripts.

Manuscript Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 592 dates from the fourteenth century and contains 28 Aristotelian treatises. Folia 111v–114r contain *De coloribus* as main text, while the marginal commentary on this text already starts on fol. 111r, next to the end of the previous treatise *De progressu animalium* and ends on fol. 114r. The commentary ends with the colophon "Explicit, Deo gratias, expositio libri Aristotilis de coloribus per Bertandum episcopum Aurelianensem edita," ascribing the commentary to Berthaud, bishop of Orléans.

4 However, it is always possible that other commentaries will show up in the future. Pieter De Leemans, "Per episcopum Aurelianensem"… A New Attribution of the Commentary on Aristotle's "De progressu animalium" in ms. Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, 159, in: *Edizioni, traduzioni e tradizioni filosofiche (secoli XII–XVI): Studi per Pietro B. Rossi*, Luca Bianchi, Onorato Grassi, and Cecilia Panti (eds.), 273–284, Rome: Aracne, 2018.

De coloribus is not the only treatise within this manuscript with a commentary in the margins. Numerous treatises within this manuscript are supplemented with marginal notes, varying in their extent – some appearing to constitute comprehensive commentaries, while others are dispersed sporadically across the pages. The attribution of certain marginal commentaries was facilitated by two distinct indications. The marginal commentary on fols. 58v–60r ends with "Explicit liber Alberti de etate iuventutis et senectutis" and in fact contains Albert the Great's commentary on Aristotle's *De iuventute et senectute*; only the first two paragraphs of Borgnet's edition are missing in the manuscript.[5] Fols. 61v–62v are also heavily commented upon, and although Albert the Great's name is nowhere mentioned, the marginal commentary seems to be an extract from Albert's commentary on *De morte et vita*.[6] Fols. 121r–123r does not contain an *explicit* or a name either, but the marginal commentary is a copy of Albert the Great's commentary on *De lineis insecabilibus*.[7] The manuscript does not only contain marginal notes taken from Albert the Great's commentaries. On fol. 83r, at the beginning of the *Meteorologica*, one can read in small letters "liber primus meteorologicorum cum commento Alexandri." The notes in the margins of *Meteorologica* are indeed taken from Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Expositio libri meteorologicorum Aristotelis* in the translation of William of Moerbeke.[8] Moreover, it is possible that the shorter marginal notes in this manuscript are also taken from Albert the Great or another commentator. The manuscript also mentions the name of Jean of Jandun: on fol. Fv we read "Philosophia magistri Johannis de Jenduno, quondam recentis Parisius, valoris decem florenorum."

In addition, there are several indications of ownership to be found in the manuscript, of which two date it back to the middle of the fourteenth century. Fol. Ev notes "Iste liber est Eustacii de Lisques, filius cuiusdam militis nobilis." Eustacius of Lisques was a prebendary in Thérouanne on April 15, 1343. In addition, the same folio notes "Iste liber pertinet domino Georgio le Scot, religiosus sancti Bertini in sancto Audemaro." Georgius Lescot was a monk of the Saint Bertin community

5 Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, Auguste Borgnet (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vives, 1890, 306–319.

6 Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 9, 345–363. The manuscript does not contain the end of the commentary.

7 Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, Auguste Borgnet (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vives, 1890, 463–481.

8 Alexandre d'Aphrodisias, *Commentaire sur les Météores d'Aristote: Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, Alfons J. Smet (ed.), Leuven: Leuvense Universitaire Uitgaven, 1968.

from 1383 until 1407.[9] In any case, Livesey mentions that the manuscript was clearly produced at Paris before entering the collection of the monastery. Many manuscripts in the collection of the Saint-Bertin monastery are influenced by university material and have traces of university activity.[10]

Manuscript Melk, Benediktinerstift, cod. 1858 is a manuscript from the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries and contains the commentary on *De coloribus* in the main text (fols. 147–161).[11] According to Val Naval, the manuscript has its origin in France in the thirteenth century and came to Melk around 1300.[12]

One can notice a possible link in origin between the two manuscripts. The Saint-Omer manuscript seems to have a Benedictine origin in the north of nowadays France, and so does the Melk manuscript. It is possible that the two manuscripts were written in the same region around the same time, or that the link with the Benedictine order provides an explanation for the existence of two manuscripts in two Benedictine libraries with this rare treatise.

2 Berthaud of Saint-Denis

2.1 Life and Work

While the end of the commentary in the Melk manuscript ends with the standard "Explicit expositio libri de coloribus," the end of the Saint-Omer manuscript gives us more information on its author. "Explicit, Deo gratias, expositio libri aristotilis de

9 I thank Steven Livesey for sharing this information with me in a private email correspondence. A reproduction and description of the manuscript is found on the website of the library of Saint-Omer, at: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.bibliotheque-agglo-stomer.fr/viewer/18306/?offset=2#page=119&viewer=thumb&o=info&n=0&q=>, accessed March 29, 2024.

10 Steven J. Livesey, *Science in the Monastery: Texts, Manuscripts and Learning at Saint-Bertin*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, 52.

11 The other treatises in this manuscript are Palladius' *De re rustica*, Vitruvius' *De architectura*, Albert the Great's *Liber de principiis motus processivi* and *De unitate intellectus*, and William of Aragon's *Summa super physiognomiam Aristotelis*. Christine Glassner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk, Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000; Mieczysław Markowski, *Repertorium commentariorum medii aevi in Aristotelem Latinorum qui in bibliothecis austriacis asservantur,* Kraków: Polska Akademia, 2008, 105.

12 Paula Val Naval, *Estudio, Edición Crítica, Traducción y Comentario de la "Summa supra phisonomiam" de Guillermo de Aragón (c. 1300)*, dissertation, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006, 93.

coloribus per Bertandum episcopum Aurelianensem edita" indicates that the commentary was composed by Berthaud, bishop of Orléans. Previous research by De Leemans has revealed that there was a bishop of Orléans with the name Berthaud, more commonly known as Berthaud of Saint-Denis.[13]

Berthaud of Saint-Denis is, up until now, only known as a theologian.[14] He was Master of Theology at the University of Paris, then chancellor in 1288, archdeacon of Reims in 1295, and finally elected bishop of Orléans on December 23, 1299. He died on August 1, 1307, which suggests that the commentary on *De coloribus* has been written within the first decades after Bartholomew of Messina's translation, in the second half of the thirteenth or in the first years of the fourteenth century.

As a theologian he did not go by unnoticed; on the contrary, he is described as a quarrelsome and turbulent person: it is known that there were several conflicts with the University, and he was involved in several other issues, such as the issue of the number of substantial forms and the issue concerning the privilege of the friars. He was also the opponent of Henry of Ghent's analysis of finger counting.[15] He is author of two sermons (of which one is dated February 1, 1282), a quodlibet dated March 5, 1282, a *quaestio disputata* on the motion of heaven and a *quaestio disputata* on the pastoral privileges of the friars.[16] Although he has never been linked with any philosophical output, it seems that he can now be considered to be a commentator of Aristotelian texts as well.[17]

13 De Leemans, *"Per episcopum Aurelianensem"*, 277–281.

14 The information on Berthaud's life and work is taken from De Leemans, *"Per episcopum Aurelianensem"*, 282–284; Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1, Paris: J. Vrin, 1933, 392–393; P. Calendini, Berthauld de Saint-Denis, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 8, 940–942, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935, 940.

15 Gordon A. Wilson, Berthaud of St. Denis: An Opponent of Henry of Ghent's Counting Method, *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 81–94.

16 De Leemans, *"Per episcopum Aurelianensem"*, 282, with references to further literature.

17 Berthaud probably came into contact with this Aristotelian text during his time at the University of Paris. He was a Master of Theology at the University of Paris, and we know that the Latin *De coloribus* circulated at the University of Paris since it was part of the *exemplar* and *pecia* system, a system that enabled rapid multiplication of handbooks among students. However, the colophon of the two extant manuscripts with the commentary speak of *bishop* Berthaud, which suggests that he either wrote his commentary on *De coloribus* later on in his career, or a later copyist was aware of the fact that Berthaud had since then become bishop.

2.2 Commentary on *De progressu animalium*

Berthaud as commentator on Aristotelian *texts*, plural, because the commentary on *De coloribus* does not seem to be the only Aristotelian text upon which he has commented. Upon discovering the marginal commentary on *De coloribus*, De Leemans argued that an anonymous commentary on *De progressu animalium* was written by Berthaud of Saint-Denis as well. This commentary is handed down in the fourteenth-century manuscript Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, 159 and is the only known commentary on *De progressu animalium*.[18] De Leemans mentions several reasons for this statement, but all have to do with the close similarity between the commentary on *De progressu animalium* and the one on *De coloribus*: the formulation of the explicit of both treatises is very similar ("Explicit expositio huius libri, Deo gratias, per d. episcopum Aurelianensem cum auxilio Dei elaborata et facta" for *De progressu animalium*) and the structure of both commentaries is of the same kind. However, in order to ascribe both texts to the same author, De Leemans noted that a more detailed stylistic comparison is a desideratum.[19]

2.3 Stylistic Comparison Between the Commentaries on *De coloribus* and *De progressu animalium*

In order to carry out a stylistic comparison between the commentary on *De coloribus* and the one on *De progressu animalium*, for the purpose of ascribing it to the same or to a different author, I was able to make use of the expertise of the *Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium* (CTLO), Brepols' Digital Humanities lab.[20] They devised a tool to search for literal similarities between both texts and to compare these matches with a larger text corpus. Once a transcription of both commentaries was made, this process of comparison was carried out in two consecutive steps.

First, the CTLO staff made a tool that extracted all literal matches between both texts. These matches could be a few words, or entire sentences with different degrees of similarity. Afterwards, I went through the 294 potential matches

18 For more information on this manuscript, see De Leemans, *"Per episcopum Aurelianensem"*, 275–277; on the limited medieval reception of *De progressu animalium*, see Pieter De Leemans, Aristotle's "De progressu animalium" in the Middle Ages: Translation and Interpretation, in: *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, Outi Merisalo (ed.), 525–541, Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales, 2006.

19 De Leemans, *"Per episcopum Aurelianensem"*, 280–281.

20 I would like to thank the CTLO team for their help and expertise, most notably Jeroen Lauwers, Yannick Anné, and Tim Denecker.

in order to select which ones could be significant and could be part of Berthaud's writing style. However, the question remained: even though there are many similar phrases between the two commentaries, are they unique to Berthaud's style, or do these phrases occur in many other medieval texts?

In step two, the selected phrases were compared to a large corpus of texts, more specifically the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth-century texts of Brepols' Library of Latin Texts. There are currently 1274 texts in this corpus, which served as a background to check the phrases. The CTLO tool works as follows: I could type a specific phrase, which was then compared to the entire text corpus. The result appears in eight categories, clearly showing the degree of agreement of that phrase with other texts. The categories go from "No intervening words – in order – exact words," i.e. searching for the exact phrase, to "Intervening words allowed – out of order – lemmatized words," i.e. searching for similar phrases, where other words could be interjected and where other declensions and conjugations are possible.[21]

By means of this tool, I was able to check the phrases that regularly occur in both commentaries. Several of these turned out to be used only in those two commentaries, and did not occur in any of the other 1274 medieval texts. Therefore, these could be taken as being unique and part of Berthaud's writing style:

circa primum primo ponit
et ponit exemplum, dicens quod[22]
hoc dicens quod id est quod
hoc per exemplum … dicens propter hoc
ex hiis infert quoddam correlarium, dicens quod propter hoc accidit quod
dat causam huius, dicens
ex quo concludit quare sequitur
ubi sic procedit: primo ponit *or* ostendit
reddit causam huius, dicens quod causa huius est quod
cuius causam subdit, dicens quod hoc accidit
proponit intentum suum, dicens quod

21 1. No intervening words – in order – exact words. 2. No intervening words – in order – lemmatized words. 3. No intervening words – out of order – exact words. 4. No intervening words – out of order – lemmatized words. 5. Intervening words allowed – in order – exact words. 6. Intervening words allowed – in order – lemmatized words. 7. Intervening words allowed – out of order – exact words. 8. Intervening words allowed – out of order – lemmatized words.

22 When searching for this phrase, many results turned up under the category "intervening words allowed – out of order – lemmatized words," but these results include sentences such as "ponit secundum exemplum, et dicit quod," which do not actually resemble Berthaud's sentence anymore.

Obviously, the results should be interpreted with caution, as there are numerous medieval commentaries that remain unpublished or were not accessible, consequently not included in the comparative study.[23]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to compare the two commentaries with the theological writings of Berthaud of Saint-Denis: since the composition and the content and goal of these texts is completely different, there are no meaningful similarities between the texts.

Despite certain limitations, we can conclude that the commentary on *De coloribus* and the one on *De progressu animalium* are written by one and the same author: in addition to the similar explicit, there are many stylistic similarities between both texts that are not shared by any other medieval author included in the extensive Library of Latin Texts. Since both treatises are attributed to a bishop of Orléans, and since the Saint-Omer manuscript adds the name of Berthaud, I agree with De Leemans' statement that both commentaries are written by Berthaud of Saint-Denis, bishop of Orléans.

Two Aristotelian commentaries can now be added to Berthaud's name, and in both cases it is a commentary on a text on the fringes of the Aristotelian corpus. For both the *De coloribus* and the *De progressu animalium*, Berthaud is the only medieval commentator known to have commented on these texts, which makes his contributions all the more special. In what follows, I will go more deeply into the content of the *Expositio libri de coloribus*.

3 *Expositio Libri De Coloribus*

3.1 Content of the Commentary

The *Expositio libri de coloribus* is a commentary on pseudo-Aristotle's *De coloribus* and is a typical scholastic text: the commentary presents itself as a literal explication, wherein the text is subdivided into smaller parts and commented upon.[24] It

23 Other phrases that were regularly used in both commentaries include "et hoc est quod subdit, quod," "cum dicit … ostendit quod," "cum dicit … manifestat hoc," "et exponit se, dicens quod," "cum dicit … prosequitur intentum," and "dicens quod hoc quod dictum est," but the results showed that the use of these phrases was widespread in the Middle Ages and therefore not unique to Berthaud.
24 On the typology of the literary genre, see Olga Weijers, *La "disputatio" à la Faculté des arts de Paris (1200–1350 environ): Esquisse d'une typologie*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995, 11–14.

adheres to the typical structure of commentary in the form of a *lectio*: initially, only the first words of the base text are mentioned, then the commentary commences with a *divisio textus*, elucidating how the text is subdivided. Subsequently, in the *expositio*, the general idea of the passage is expounded upon, followed by a literal analysis and paraphrase of the passage in question.[25] Since Berthaud of Saint-Denis makes little original contribution (he certainly does not give us new insights in the color theories of the Middle Ages), it is hard to deduce much about the author's field of interest. At times, additions to the text are made towards the end of each part.

One may ponder the context in which the text originated: it appears to aim at providing a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the text, making this type of commentary usually a product of teaching, yet *De coloribus* has never been part of the official curriculum at the medieval university. However, the text could also have been written outside of a scholarly context and may not necessarily be the result of a lesson.[26] In any case, the commentary appears to be aimed at fostering a detailed comprehension of the base text.

The quoted sources give an idea of how Berthaud situated the commentary in a broader textual (Aristotelian and non-Aristotelian) network, and how he linked it to the standard texts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. The sources mentioned by name are Aristotle's *De anima*, *De sensu et sensato*, *Meteorologica*, *De plantis,* and *De animalibus*, Isidore of Sevilla's *Ethymologica*, Avicenna's *De mineralibus*,[27] and Alfred of Sareshel's commentary on the *Meteorologica*. These treatises were widely available in Latin translation by the second half of the thirteenth century and do not reveal a specialized interest by the author. Berthaud could have encountered these sources during his education at the Arts faculty in Paris, before becoming Master of Theology.

It is possible that Berthaud relied on more existing material that he does not explicitly quote or attribute to a certain author. When discussing two types of

25 He makes abundant use of explanatory notes: after the words *id est*, he not only offers a synonym or a rephrasing of the content, but also offers another version of some basic words, such as "unde, id est propter hoc" and "commixtione, id est per commixtionem."

26 Olga Weijers, La structure des commentaires philosophiques à la Faculté des arts: Quelques observations, in: *Études sur la Faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales: Recueil d'articles*, Olga Weijers (ed.), 193–217, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, 214.

27 Although he references Avicenna's *De mineralibus*, which in the Latin world was known as a compilation of two chapters from Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'*, compiled and translated by Alfred of Sareshel and added to the end of Book IV of Aristotle's *Liber Metheororum*, the quotation in Berthaud's commentary is actually taken from Albert the Great's *De mineralibus*. For an edition of Alfred of Sareshel's translation of Avicenna's *De mineralibus*, see Elisa Rubino, Il "De mineralibus" di Avicenna tradotto da Alfredo di Shareshill, *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 58 (2016): 23–87.

plants, Berthaud silently borrows Albert the Great's *De vegetabilibus* and quotes him verbatim for four sentences (*infra*, p. 92 l. 12–16). Similarly, he does state that light is the underlying reality of color ("lux enim est ypostasis colorum," p. 60 l. 24). This is a sentence that also occurs in – among others – Albert the Great's commentaries on the *Metaphysics* and *Topics* and Thomas Aquinas' *In Sententiarum*.[28] This could indicate that this is a generally accepted view and statement, or Berthaud could have borrowed this literal phrase from another scholar. The same goes for his explanation of the rainbow, when he states that a rainbow is caused by the irradiation of the sunlight on a vapor: "in iride, ubi propter differentem redditum radiorum solis ad vaporem contrarium vel oppositum nubibus simul generantur plures colores" (p. 90 l. 9–11). It seems that it was commonly accepted that vapor had a role in making a rainbow, and it is possible that Berthaud took this information from Grosseteste's *De iride* or Albert the Great's commentary on *Meteorologica*, or was aware of this information himself.[29]

Special attention must be paid to *De sensu et sensato* and *De anima*. In the introduction to his commentary, Berthaud positions *De coloribus* in relation to these two major Aristotelian treatises that discuss the topic of color:

> Postquam Philosophus determinavit de coloribus prout color est motivum visus in secundo *De anima*, et de coloribus considerando quid sit color secundum se, ut in libro *De sensu et sensato*, consequenter in hoc libro determinat de coloribus confectis penes simplicitatem et compositionem prout sunt in corporibus simplicibus et compositis. (p. 60 l. 2–6)

28 Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, Auguste Borgnet (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vives, 1890, 470 (*In libros Topicorum* lib. VI, tr. 6, c. 2): "Attende tamen quod revera dicit Aristoteles in libro De coloribus, quod lux est colorum hypostasis, et quod album est ex admixtione ignis clari cum corpore albo."; Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol 16.1, Bernhard Geyer (ed.), Münster: Aschendorff, 1960, 89, r. 22–23 (*Metaphysica*, lib. I, tr. 5, c. 15): "sicut lux corporalis est hypostasis colorum." It also occurs in Thomas Aquinas' *In Sententiarum* (I, 17, 1, 1; III, 23, 2, 1). See Devriese, *The Colorless History*, 265–266.

29 Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 4, Auguste Borgnet (ed.), Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Vives, 1890, 678 (*Meteora* lib. III, tr. 4, cap. 10): "Causa autem efficiens utrorumque est radius solis rediens repercusus et reflexus ad vaporem in multiplici refractione, qui vapor stat contra nubem, hoc est, ante nubem quando incipit descendere tempore pluviae"; Robert Grosseteste, De iride, in: *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, Ludwig Baur (ed.), Münster: Aschendorff, 1912, 75–76: "Non enim possible est iridem fieri radiis solaribus per incessum rectum a sole in concavitatem nubis incidentibus … Nec possible est, ut iris fiat per reflexionem radiorum solis super convexitatem rorationis a nube descendentis … Necesse est ergo, quod iris fiat per fractionem radiorum solis in roratione nubis convexae."

The three treatises on color seem to be complimentary, and each discuss a different topic: in *De anima* Book II, color is discussed as being the cause of vision; *De sensu et sensato* discusses what color is in itself; and *De coloribus* discusses simple and compound colors in simple and compound bodies. *De coloribus* is regarded as standing at the same level as *De anima* and *De sensu et sensato*, as it sheds light on another aspect of colors that was not addressed in the other two works. Furthermore, the fact that it is an independent treatise and does not build upon the other two is evident in the minimal references to *De anima* and *De sensu et sensato* found in the commentary.

Although the *expositio* heavily relies on the original text and, in many instances, merely represents a rephrasing of the Aristotelian text, Berthaud demonstrates his interest in the content and his desire to present the reader with an intelligible text. Particularly the color names seem to be in need of explanations. When discussing the color of fire and sun, he cautions against confusing the words *rubicundum* and *rubeum*: "Sciendum immo quod non intelligit per colorem rubicundum colorem rubeum, sed rubicundum colorem vocat album colorem rutilantem vel splendentem sive lucem perspicuam" (p. 60 l. 22–24). In his context, *rubicundum* signifies reddish white or bright white or clear light. However, when comparing Bartholomew of Messina's translation of the Latin text with the Greek original, we notice that the words *rubicundus* and *rubeus* are both used interchangeably as the translation of the Greek ξανθός. Berthaud thus applies a distinction between the two words that does not go back to the original treatise.[30] Another example concerns the word *kyanoydes*, which was a transliteration of the Greek κυανοειδής, meaning dark blue. Berthaud offers an explanation for this technical word and explains that it is close to purple, saying: "kyanoydes, id est colorem proximum colori purpureo. Kyanoydes est enim color grece, latine dicitur purpureus" (p. 79 l. 17–18).

His own contribution extends beyond the explanation of color names. Berthaud mentions that Aristotle states in *De coloribus* that the color black is a quality, while in his *De sensu et sensato*, he states that black is the privation of white, but privation is not a quality: "Sed secundum quod Aristoteles vult hic, videtur quod color niger sit qualitas, cuius contrarium ipse dicit in libro *De sensu et sensato*. Dicit enim ibi quod nigrum est privatio albi. Privatio autem non est qualitas" (p. 65

30 Somewhat later in the text, Berthaud specifies that *rubicunditas* itself can be seen in two ways: "Et similiter potest dici quod lux est color solis. Et isto modo rubicunditas est color simplex … Alio modo accipitur rubicunditas pro colore composito ex flammeo et nigro …" (p. 60 l. 25 – p. 61 l. 6). *Rubicunditas* can be seen both as a simple and a compound color but should in this case be understood as simple.

l. 12–14). Berthaud tries to reconcile both statements, by saying that blackness and whiteness can be opposed to one another *contrarie* or *privative*, by opposition of contrariety or by opposition of privation. If black and white are opposed *contrarie*, it is because it relates to the matter, the essence, of whiteness; if *privative*, we are speaking about the form of whiteness. With this explanation, the commentator can ascertain that Aristotle did not contradict himself, but that both statements can be correct.

Berthaud adds several hints to everyday life and utensils. When speaking of colors, Aristotle remarks that we never see color in absolute purity, but that it is always blend with other colors or rays or shadows, etc. That is why reflections in mirrors resemble the color of the mirrors (793b30–32). Berthaud adds that there is no difference in representing colors between flat, convex, and concave mirrors that they use, except that the figure appears smaller or larger.[31] In addition, he makes mention of dyers of fabrics who daily make washings and women with very dark hair who dye it blonde through coloring.[32]

Finally, he makes a medical addition when encountering the word *morphea*, a deformative disease of the skin. He notes that morphea is a spot on the skin and comes in three colors: some are white, some red, and some black. White morphea is caused by phlegm and Aristotle speaks about it in *De coloribus*. Black morphea, on the other hand, arises from melancholy, and red morphea is caused by blood or bile. In addition, the hair is also affected: for example, if a person has white skin and black morphea in a particular area, then the hair in that area will be black (p. 94 l. 14–20).

Since the version of the Latin translation of *De coloribus* by Bartholomew of Messina that circulated in the highest number of manuscripts already contained some scribal mistakes not present in the original translation of Bartholomew and, by extension, in the original Greek text, it happens that Berthaud gives explanations to certain words or sentences that were not present in the Aristotelian source text.[33] For example, p. 67 l. 6–7, instead of reading *in aere*, he read *mare*, which lead

31 See *infra* p. 78 l. 5–8: "Et nota quod sicut in planis speculis representantur colores et figure, ita et in speculis convexis quibus consequenter utimur et in concavis nec est differentia representando colores et figuras, nisi quod minor apparet figura in convexo quam in plano."

32 See *infra* p. 81 l. 6–7: "Et nota quod istas ablutiones cotidie faciunt tinctores pannorum" and p. 81 l. 9–10: "sicut mulieres habentes capillos multum nigros per tincturam faciunt eos flavos."

33 See the introduction in the critical edition of Aristoteles, *De coloribus: Translationes Bartholomaei de Messana et Guillelmi de Morbeka*, Lisa Devriese (ed.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2025, that is published as volume 18.1–2 of the *Aristoteles Latinus* series. Berthaud of Saint-Denis had access to Bartholomew of Messina's translation in a manuscript that stems from the Parisian tradition, which is of a lesser quality than the manuscripts of the independent tradition.

him to understand *unde* not as the adverb, but as coming from *unda* ('wave, water'), since he adds "humores undosi vel aquei." Similarly, instead of reading *pulverositates* ('rot, decay,' p. 83 l. 18–19), he read *pluviositates* ('rainfall'). The error may have been hastened due to the context involving cisterns and water.[34]

3.2 Marginalia and/or Commentary

Interestingly, however, the main text of the Saint-Omer manuscript often has a correct Latin reading, while the margin has the incorrect reading. This implies that there is a lack of cohesion between the main text and the marginal notes, as is often the case with marginal annotations. The marginal notes, distinct in their origin, did not arise organically from an engagement with the main text but rather have an independent source. This is evident from the non-alignment between the main text and the *lemmata* of the commentary, wherein differences in the terminology become apparent. Additionally, the marginal commentary started a folio earlier than the main text of *De coloribus*, suggesting a foreknowledge on the part of the scribe regarding the substantial length disparity between the commentary and the main text. Consequently, it can be inferred that the main text and the marginal annotations were conceived autonomously and subsequently added together at a later time.

As was mentioned before, the Saint-Omer manuscript contains marginal annotations not only for *De coloribus* but for many other texts in the manuscript, and some of these contained commentaries by Albert the Great and Alexander of Aphrodisias. Furthermore, many marginal annotations in the manuscript appear to have been written by the same hand, distinct from the handwriting evident in the main text. At a certain moment, therefore, a decision was made to incorporate marginal notes into this manuscript, given the uniformity of script in the majority of the marginalia. Consequently, *De coloribus* acquired a commentary as well. This aligns Berthaud, our commentator, with esteemed figures such as Albert the Great and Alexander of Aphrodisias. At that time, Berthaud seemed to have been known as a commentator, or at least for the scribe of the Saint-Omer manuscript, notwithstanding his subsequent descent into obscurity.

34 Similar mistakes can be found on p. 77 l. 6–7: *madens* instead of *incidens*; p. 80 l. 15: *cutes* instead of *succis*; p. 96 l. 29: *etatem* instead of *lenitatem.* There are also cases where Berthaud gives two options, maybe because the two options were also present in his source manuscript, or because he was uncertain about the Latin abbreviation or handwriting of his model, e.g. p. 64 l. 14: *est vel fit*.

This case study invites reflection on the concepts of margins and marginalia, as it is not immediately obvious that the commentary in the Saint-Omer manuscript can be classified as marginalia. Instead, it could be suggested that it would be better categorized under the broader notion of "commentary," as is the case with the Melk manuscript. However, in Tura's extensive article on practices of marginalia in which he develops a theoretical framework to define marginalia, he also addresses the issue of distinguishing between commentary and marginalia. He argues that it is more appropriate to link the notion of marginalia not to the nature of certain texts, but rather to the position that various writings assume in each individual manuscript. Every manuscript is shaped by choices made by the scribe or the commissioner, determining the hierarchical arrangement of texts. Rather than mechanically reproducing pre-established relationships, each manuscript creates a new, entirely endogenous organization. Consequently, marginalia should not be determined based on the auxiliary nature of texts but rather in consideration of their position within a manuscript.[35] Therefore, since the commentary in the Saint-Omer manuscript is written in the margins, it can be called a commentary and a marginalia at the same time.

Furthermore, a distinction can be made between "marginalia de confection," i.e. annotations conceived from the outset to complement the text within a given witness, and "marginalia de lecture," i.e. annotations added without prior coordination between the book's creator and the glossator, inserted independently of the manuscript's initial design.[36] The commentary found in the margins of the Saint-Omer manuscript falls into this second category, as it was not originally planned as an integral part of the manuscript's textual structure.

The reception of this commentary (once in the margins, once as main text) is shrouded in limited evidence and seemed to have remained in relative obscurity. It is apparent that this commentary did not achieve widespread recognition, as it is preserved in only two manuscripts. The Saint-Omer manuscript likely originated in Paris before finding its place in the monastery's collection, with records indicating its presence in the monastery from at least the mid-fourteenth century onward. Similarly, the Melk manuscript, with its French origin, was incorporated into the Melk monastery around 1300. This suggests a confined reception of the commentary within the borders of Benedictine monasteries, possibly indicating a niche readership within the Benedictine monastic communities.

35 Adolfo Tura, Essai sur les "marginalia" en tant que pratique et documents, in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Danielle Jacquart and Charles S. F. Burnett (eds.), 261–387, esp. 264–266, Geneva: Droz, 2005.
36 Tura, *Essai sur les "marginalia"*, 305.

From our perspective, this commentary assumes a distinctly marginal status on multiple fronts. First, its physical manifestation occurs quite literally in the margins of a manuscript. Second, within the broader context of the Aristotelian corpus, *De coloribus* occupies a peripheral position, existing on the fringes with scant evidence of its utilization and only one extant medieval commentary, authored by Berthaud. Moreover, Berthaud emerges as a marginal commentator within the Aristotelian tradition due to the dearth of information about him as a commentator on philosophical texts. This lack of historical record positions him at the periphery of Aristotelian commentators, except for the individual associated with the Saint-Omer manuscript who, intriguingly, categorizes Berthaud alongside illustrious commentators. This underscores the unique nature of Berthaud's commentary within the broader Aristotelian tradition.

3.3 Edition and Editorial Principles

It has been decided to include an edition of the commentary on *De coloribus* as an appendix to this chapter. The addition of the commentary allows us, on the one hand, to complement our understanding of the reception history of *De coloribus* in the medieval period, while on the other hand, it is beneficial from the perspective of the study of reading and writing practices. Berthaud's commentary illustrates how an Aristotelian text could be commented upon during the Middle Ages, revealing substantial differences between the commentary and the source text. When juxtaposed and analyzed together, there are indeed disparities in content and phrasing between the two. In the edition of the commentary, the decision has been made to retain these differences, preserving the text as Berthaud read and interpreted it, as this constitutes part of medieval reading practices and is not unique to this particular text alone. Many discrepancies between the two arise due to pre-existing errors in the transmission of the Latin *De coloribus*, where the commentator no longer had access to the best version. Additionally, the commentator occasionally misinterprets or diverges from the Latin translation. It is evident in the commentary that, in some instances, the commentator paraphrases and explains the Latin text in different words, whereas in other parts, he reproduces verbatim the Latin text from the source without any modification or commentary. This provides insights into reading practices and the extent of comprehension of the Latin text, as well as the ability or inability to navigate complex Latin sentences due to it being a word-for-word translation from the Greek.

For the edition, the manuscript of Melk was primarily followed, although both manuscripts are highly corrupt and exhibit varying quality. Both contain numerous errors, making it sometimes difficult to ascertain whether Berthaud misread

or misinterpreted a passage from the source text, or whether the error reflects a common error in the model of the two manuscripts, made independently from Berthaud. Neither manuscript can be considered a direct descendant of the other; both rely on a shared model. In instances where the manuscript of Melk and Saint-Omer offer different readings, and both seem plausible (e.g., *ergo* vs. *igitur*, or *iste* vs. *hoc*), the Melk manuscript is followed. However, if there is a link with or indication in the Latin *De coloribus*, or if the surrounding commentary provides clarity on a particular variant, that variant is preferred. The reading of the manuscript not followed is noted in the critical apparatus.

It was decided not to intervene too much in the commentary. If I were to reconstruct according to the Latin *De coloribus*, it would not be historically accurate, as that text also underwent early changes, which Berthaud likely did not read. If the two manuscripts of the commentary both diverge from the Latin *De coloribus*, the text is left as is, as it may have been Berthaud's intended reading.

Although the commentary closely parallels the source text in many sentences, only *lemmata* are set in italics. References to sources mentioned in the commentary are noted in the source apparatus. The margin of the commentary provides Bekker references of *De coloribus* in order to contextualize the text.[37]

Conspectus siglorum:

M	Melk, Benediktinerstift, cod. 1858
S	Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 592
^{ac}	ante correctionem
add.	addidit, addiderunt
inv.	invertit, inverterunt
iter.	iteravit, iteraverunt
om.	omisit, omiserunt
praem.	praemisit, praemiserunt
scr.	scripsi, scripsit
tr.	transposuit, transposuerunt
a – b	*a verbo* a *usque ad verbum* b
a … b	*verbum* a *et verbum* b

37 Aristoteles, *Opera*, vol. 2, Immanuel Bekker (ed.), Berolini: Apud Georgium Reimerum, 1831, 791a–799b.

⟨Expositio De coloribus⟩

791a1 *Simplices colorum sunt quicumque elementis*. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de coloribus prout color est motivum visus in secundo De anima, et de coloribus considerando quid sit color secundum se, ut in libro De sensu et sensato, consequenter in hoc libro determinat de coloribus confectis penes simplicitatem et compositionem prout sunt in corporibus simplicibus et compositis. Et dividitur in partes duas, quia primo determinat de coloribus simplicibus prout sunt in corporibus simplicibus, scilicet in elementis, secundo, cum dicit *alii autem ex hiis commixtione*, determinat de coloribus compositis vel commixtis prout sunt in corporibus compositis vel commixtis.

Adhuc primo ostendit qui sunt simplices colores. Secundo, cum dicit *aer quidem et aqua*, manifestat quis color unicuique conveniat elemento. Dicit ergo quod colorum illi sunt simplices quicumque consequuntur elementis, que sunt corpora simplicia, ut igni, aeri, aque et terre. Et hoc est *simplices colorum.*

Deinde manifestat quis color conveniat unicuique elemento, et primo de aere et aqua, dicens quod aer et aqua, accepti secundum se ipsos et in pura simplicitate aeris et aque, per naturam sunt albi coloris. Et hoc est *aer quidem.* Secundo manifestat quis color conveniat igni, dicens quod ignis et sol sunt rubicundi coloris. Et bene iungit solem cum igne, non quia sol sit de natura ignis, sed quia aggregatio lucis per naturam facit colorem rubicundum. Et ideo sol, cum sit corpus simplex, est eius coloris cuius est ignis.

Sciendum immo quod non intelligit per colorem rubicundum colorem rubeum, sed rubicundum colorem vocat album colorem rutilantem vel splendentem sive lucem perspicuam. Lux enim est ypostasis colorum. Unde et infra dicit quod lux est color ignis, et similiter potest dici quod lux est color solis. Et isto modo rubicunditas est color simplex et consequitur duobus corporibus simplicibus,

3 color–anima] Aristoteles, *De anima* II, 7 (418a31–b1): "Omnis enim color motivus est eius quod secundum actum dyafani." **3–5** de[2]–sensato] Aristoteles, *De sensu et sensato* 3 (439a10–12): "Quid autem oporteat dicere quodlibet eorum, scilicet quid color, quid sonus, quid odor, quid sapor, similiter autem et de tactu, considerandum est, et primum de colore."

2 quicumque elementis (*scr.*)] quecumque elementis M : *om.* S **2–3** determinavit] determinat M **4** secundum–ut] *om.* M **5** confectis] considerans M **6** corporibus] coloribus M **7** duas] et M coloribus simplicibus] *inv.* M **8** in[1]] *om.* M corporibus] *add.* coloribus M **9** commixtione] *om.* S commixtis] commixtum M **11–12** quidem] quidam M **12** conveniat] convenit M ergo] igitur S **14** ut] et M aeri aque] et aque aeri M Et–colorum] *om.* S **15** color] colorum M conveniat] *tr. post* unicuique M : convenit S **15–16** et–aqua[1]] *om.* S **17** Et–quidem] *om.* S **18** quod] *om.* M **21** est[2]] etiam M **22** immo] sed, *tr. ante* sciendum S intelligit] intendit S **24** lucem] lucidam M enim] autem S **26** duobus–simplicibus] due corpora simplicia S

scilicet igni et soli. Alio modo accipitur rubicunditas pro colore composito ex flammeo et nigro secundum quod infra dicit quod lexivium fit rubicundum ex flammeo et nigro colorante aquam. Quod autem rubicunditas in hoc loco primo modo sit intelligenda patet quia, sicut Aristotilis dicit in libro De sensu et sensato, sol secundum se quidem albus videtur, per caliginem vero et fumum, puniceus. Et hoc est *ignis vero et sol*.

Tertio, cum dicit *et terra autem*, manifestat quis color conveniat terre, dicens quod terra est per naturam alba, sed propter tincturam multicolor videtur – id est multos habens colores –. Quod autem terra per naturam sit alba, probat consequenter cum dicit *manifestum autem in cinere*, dicens quod hoc, scilicet quod terra per naturam sit alba manifestum est in cinere, quia cinis adusto humido faciente tincturam fit albus. Non tamen omnino fit albus, quia cinis tinctus est fumo existente nigro. Et nisi esset hec tinctura facta per fumum nigrum, cinis appareret omnino albus. Quod autem tinctura fiat per fumum nigrum manifestat per exemplum de lexivio, dicens quod propter hoc lexivium fit rubicundum, quia flammeum et nigrum colorant aquam.

Niger autem color consequitur. Ostenso qualiter duo colores simplices, scilicet albus et rubicundus, consequuntur elementis, consequenter hic quarto ostendit qualiter niger color consequitur elementis, ubi sic procedit: primo ostendit qualiter niger color consequitur elementis. Secundo, cum dicit *tripliciter enim nobis*, tangit plures modos quibus aliquid nigrum dicitur. Tertio, cum dicit *propter hoc autem huiuscemodi*, ostendit quare aqua et aer nigri videntur. Quarto, cum dicit *niger autem color*, ostendit qualiter niger color in aere et in aqua generatur. 791a9

Circa primum tria facit: primo ostendit qualiter niger color consequitur elementis, dicens quod niger color consequitur elementis ad invicem transmutatis. Per transmutationem enim factam in aere et in aqua apparet in eis niger color, et hoc est cum dicit *niger autem color*. Secundo vero, cum dicit *alii vero*, ostendit

5 sol–puniceus] Aristoteles, *De sensu et sensato* 3 (440a10–12): “Et quemadmodum sol secundum se quidem albus videtur, per caliginem vero et fumum, puniceus.”

1 igni–soli] ignem et solem M **2** flammeo et] flammineo vel M infra–quod[2]] *om.* S ex] *om.* S **3** Quod] quia S **3–4** primo modo] *tr. post* intelligenda S **4** libro] *om.* S **5** caliginem] celigionem M **7** et] *om.* M conveniat] consequitur M terre] terram M **8** est[1]] autem *exp.* M **9** probat] *praem.* videtur et hoc M **12** faciente] faciendo M omnino fit] *inv.* S **14** albus] album M **15** lexivio] *add.* vel lescivio M **17** consequitur] *om.* S **18** consequuntur–consequenter] consequenter elementis S **20** consequitur elementis] *inv.* S **21** plures] philosophus M nigrum dicitur] *inv.* S **22** huiuscemodi] huiusmodi S quare] *praem.* qualiter vel M : qualiter S aqua ... aer] *inv.* S nigri] nigra M **23** color[1]] *add.* contingit fieri M color[2]] nigredo M **24** tria facit] *om.* S **27** cum dicit[1]] *om.* S vero[1]–dicit[2]] contingit S

qualiter alii colores ex predictis coloribus simplicibus generantur, dicens quod alii colores ex hiis predictis coloribus coniunctis fiunt, quia simplices colores fiunt per mixturam bene copulabiles ad invicem. Tertio, cum dicit *tenebra autem*, ostendit qualiter fit tenebra, dicens quod tenebra fit deficiente lumine.

Consequenter cum dicit *tripliciter enim*, tangit tres modos quibus aliquid nigrum videtur, dicens quod tripliciter aliquid nobis nigrum videtur. Aut enim illud quod sic videtur est omnino per naturam nigrum. Ab omnibus namque huiusmodi que sunt per naturam nigra repercutitur aliquid lumen et a pennis corni. Et iste est primus modus quo videtur aliquid nigrum quia est naturaliter nigrum, et hoc est *aut enim quod sic videtur*. Secundus modus est quia ea que videntur nigra aut sunt talia a quibus nullum penitus lumen fertur ad visum, sicut fit cum aliquis est in aliquo loco in nocte obscura. Illud enim quod non videtur quando locus continens non videtur, efficit fantasiam – id est apparentiam – nigri. Quando enim quis est in aliquo loco ubi nichil videt, totum videtur ei nigrum, et iste est secundus modus quo aliquid videtur nigrum, et hoc est *aut a quibus nullum*. Tertius modus est quod omnia huiusmodi videntur nobis nigra a quibuscumque rarum et vehementer modicum repercutitur lumen. Et ponit exempla, dicens quod unde – id est propter hoc – accidit quod umbre videntur nigre, quia ab umbris rarum aut modicum valde repercutitur lumen. Et similiter aqua, quando exasperatur vel tumultuatur a forti vento, videtur nigra in superficie. Et maxime fit hoc in aqua maris, sicut apparet quando fit crispatio aque maris, quia propter asperitatem aque maris in superficie, paucis splendoribus vel radiis incidentibus et dimissis in superficie undarum, illud quod est umbrosum luminis – id est quod obumbrat lumen – videtur nigrum. Et eadem ratione nubes, quando est fortiter densa, videtur nigra, quia rarum et modicum lumen repercutitur ab ea. Et iste est tertius modus quo aliquid videtur nigrum, et hoc est *videtur autem et huiusmodi.*

Consequenter tertio ostendit quare aqua et aer videntur nigri coloris, et circa hoc tria facit: primo hoc ostendit. Secundo ostendit occasione huiusmodi quod tenebra non est color, cum dicit *quoniam autem tenebra.* Tertio ostendit quod lux est color ignis, cum dicit *quod quidem*. Dicit ergo primo quod propter hoc et huiuscemodi – id est propter hoc et talia que dicta sunt aut hec que dicenda sunt – et

2 hiis] *om.* S coniunctis fiunt] *inv.* M **3** cum dicit] contingit S **5** cum dicit] contingit S tres] plures S **5–6** nigrum] dicens nigrum vel S **7** videtur] *add.* nigrum M **8** que] *add.* scilicet M aliquid–et] quod scilicet de lumine ut M iste] hoc S **9** aliquid nigrum] *inv.* M **10** videtur] *om.* S **11** fertur] refertur S **13** enim] *om.* S **14** iste] hoc S **15** quo–nigrum] *om.* S **16** huiusmodi] *add.* ut M **17** exempla–quod] exemplum dicens M **18** aut] vel M **20** hoc] *om.* S **21** crispatio] timpatio S **22** vel] et S dimissis] demissis S **23** obumbrat (*scr.*)] obumbat M : obumbere S **24** nigra] nigrum M **25** modicum] *add.* tunc S **27** aqua ... aer] *inv.* M **28** tria–ostendit[1]] primo ostendit hoc S **29** cum dicit] contingit S **30** cum dicit] contingit S quidem] *add.* ignis lux est color M ergo] *om.* S **31** hec] hiis M

aqua et aer supple videntur nigra. Et hoc est *propter hoc et huiuscemodi.* Deinde tangit plures causas quare aqua et aer videntur nigri coloris. Prima est quando aer et aqua omnino distendunt a se lucem. Quando enim omnino abest lux ab eis, ut in obscura nocte, tunc videntur nigri coloris. Et hoc est *quando utique omnino.* Deinde tangit aliam causam huiusmodi, dicens quod etiam videntur esse nigri coloris quando sunt habentes profunditatem, quia tunc omnino rari radii repercutiuntur ab eis, quia medie partes ipsorum non habent aliquid luminis, cuius contrarium apparet in aqua non profunda. Et hoc est *et enim esse videntur*. Tertio ponit tertiam causam, dicens quod omnes aque, scilicet profunde et non profunde, videntur nigre propter tenebram, et hec est causa generalis aque et aeri. Et hoc est *omnes autem videntur esse nigre.* Deinde occasione huiusmodi ostendit quod tenebra non est color, dicens quod non est difficile discere ex multis aliis quod hic dicatur, quod tenebra non est color sed est privatio luminis. Et maxime potest hoc sciri ex eo quod ipsa non est sensibilis (omnis autem color est sensibilis) nec etiam apparet quanta et qualis quedam figura contingat in aliqua re quando est tenebra existens, sicut accidit in aliis visibilibus in quibus et color et figura et quanta et qualis sic apparet. Et hoc est *quoniam autem tenebra.*

Consequenter quarto ostendit quod lux est color ignis, quod primo probat. Secundo, cum dicit *considerandum autem hoc*, ostendit quod lux non est color solius ignis. Dicit ergo quod manifestum est quod lux est color ignis ex eo – id est propter hoc – quod nullus alius color quam hic – id est quam lux – invenitur in igne, et etiam propter hoc quod tantummodo est per se ipsam visibilis, et alia autem per hanc. Et hoc est *quod lux ignis est color.*

Deinde cum dicit *considerandum autem*, ostendit quod lux non est color solius ignis, dicens quod considerandum est hoc quod dictum est, scilicet quod lux est color ignis, quia quedam sunt, etsi non sunt ignis neque species ignis, tamen secundum naturam videntur facere lumen, sicut stelle et specialiter, sicut patet ex quo sequitur, quia lux est color stellarum. Ideo subdit quod, quamvis lux sit color ignis, non tamen lux color solius ignis, sed aliorum ab igne, et hoc est quod subdit. Sed convenit non soli quidem igni lumen inesse ipsius colorem. Ex quo concludit quod, si ergo nullo alio accidit visum ipsius ignis fieri nisi lumine sicut et eo quod lumen quod est aliorum corporum accidit supple ipsa videri et nullo alio, sequitur

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1 aqua ... aer] *inv.* S **2** plures] Philosophus M quare–aer[1]] quibus aer et aqua S Prima] *praem.* et S **2–3** aer[2]–aqua] *om.* M **4** omnino] *om.* S **7** medie] maxime M ipsorum] ipse S **8** enim] enuarum M **9** dicens] *add.* scilicet M **10** aque ... aeri] *inv.* S **12** est[2]] *om.* S quod[2]] quid S **15** aliqua re] *inv.* S **16** et[3]–qualis] quanta M **20** ergo quod] igitur S est[1]] esse S **20–21** id–hoc] *om.* S **21** id est] *om.* S **22** tantummodo est] propter tamen modo M visibilis et] est visibilis M autem ... ignis] *om.* S **24** autem] *om.* M **26** quia] quod S etsi–ignis[3]] que licet non sint ignis neque ignis species S **27** et] *om.* M **28** quia] quod S **29** lux color] *om.* S **31** ergo] igitur S accidit] accidat M lumine] lumen S **31–32** quod[2]–quod] lumen quidem S **32** videri] videntia M

quod lux est omnium istorum communis fantasia, quod dicit ut vocet differentiam inter colorem qui est lux et colorem tamen a qualitatibus primis.

Consequenter cum dicit *niger autem color*, ostendit qualiter niger color in aere et in aqua generatur, et ponit duos modos quibus fit niger color. Secundum ponit cum dicit *nigra autem et hec fiunt*. Circa primum duo facit, quia primo dat causam quare niger color fit in aqua et in aere, dicens quod niger color contingit fieri quando aer et aqua ab igne perurunturur. Calidum enim ad urens extrahit humidum et quod relinquitur siccum est et nigrum. Et hoc est *niger autem color*. Secundo, cum dicit *propter quod omnia*, probat hoc per plura exempla, dicens quod propter hoc, scilicet quod aer et aqua perurunturur ab igne, fit niger color. Accidit quod omnia combusta nigra fiunt sicut ligna et carbones extincto igne, et similiter fumus qui est ex latere niger est exalato et adhusto humido quod est in latere vel ante latere, id est illa coagulata a calido. Et addit consequenter dicens unde accidit supple quod fumus fit nigerrimus qui est vel fit a pinguibus et crassis, sicut ab oleo et pice et lana que habent humiditatem superinductam, quia ista crassa et pinguia maxime comburuntur et continuitatem faciunt in emittendo fumum. Et hec plana sunt ex quarto libro Metheorum, ubi agit Philosophus de combustibus. Et hoc est *niger autem color*.

Deinde cum dicit *nigra autem et hec fiunt*, dat alium modum quo fit niger color, dicens quod hec nigra fiunt per quecumque fluit aqua, quando herbosa facta sunt primum – id est herbei coloris primum – et postea cum desiccatur humidum quod est in eis, fit nigrum. Hoc apparet in pulverositatibus que sunt in mineralibus, que primo sunt herbei coloris quando superhabundat humidum, et hoc vocat pulverositates. Humido vero exalato fiunt nigri coloris, ut patet in ferro. Et

17 ex–combustibus] Aristoteles, *Meteorologica* IV, 6 (383b11–15): “Later quidem igitur et lapidum quorundam genera, quecumque ab igne terra combusta fiunt, velut morales, insolubilia, nitrum autem et sales solubilia humido, non omni autem sed frigido; propter quod aqua, et quecumque aque species, liquescunt, oleo autem non liquescunt. Sicco enim calido contrarium frigidum humidum.”

1 vocet] nocet S **2** tamen] causatur S primis] *add.* et hoc est quod lux ignis est color M **3** niger[1]] ignis M color[1]] *add.* fit M **4–5** quibus–dicit] secundum ibi S **5** et] *om.* M duo–quia] *om.* S **6** color[2]] *om.* M **8** relinquitur] delinquitur M est et] fit S **9** plura] *om.* S **9–10** quod[2]–scilicet] propter quod in S **10** aer … aqua] *inv.* M perurunturur] *tr. post* igne S **11** fiunt] sunt M **12** adhusto] combusto M **12–13** vel–calido] est autem latus argilla coagulata S **13** consequenter dicens] *om.* S **14** nigerrimus] nigerius S crassis sicut] qualis fit M **15** pice] pisce S ista crassa] illa grossa M **17** libro] *om.* S Philosophus] Aristotilis S **19** et hec] *om.* S **20** hec] *add.* similiter S **21** id est] et M et–desiccatur] primo M **22** fit–apparet] fiunt nigra sicut patet S que] pulmositatibus S **22–23** mineralibus] naturalibus, *in marg.* mineralibus M **23** quando] et M **24** pulverositates] pulmositates S

similiter hoc patet in lapidibus qui sunt in aquis. Hii enim primo herbosi facti – id est herbei coloris –, posterius desiccati colore fiunt nigri. Et hoc est *nigra autem.*

Deinde recapitulat, dicens quod colores simplices hii et tot sunt. Et ex dictis videtur quod sint quattuor colores simplices, vocando colorem verum et fantasiam colorum, scilicet color albus et color niger qui sunt veri colores, et color rubicundus de quo dicit Ysidorus in XIX Ethimologiarum luteus color rubicundus, quod est croceus; nam crocum est lutei coloris. Secundum alios vero color conchilinus idem est quam coccineus, qui est rubicundus cum claritate. Et iste est tertius color. Et quartus est lux qui est color ignis, ut supra dixit. Color igitur rubicundus et lux fantasiam faciunt coloris, sed de rubicundo colore intelligendum est sicut supra exposuimus. Et hoc est *simplices igitur colores*.

Sed secundum quod Aristoteles vult hic, videtur quod color niger sit qualitas, cuius contrarium ipse dicit in libro De sensu et sensato. Dicit enim ibi quod nigrum est privatio albi. Privatio autem non est qualitas. Adhuc sciendum quod nigredo, ad opacitatem reducta sicut ad causam, que quidem opacitas est contraria perspicuitati, qualitas est et non privatio. Et sic albedini opponitur contrarie. Sed quia lumen non habet contrarium (lumen enim non est perspicuum, sed est actus perspicui), ideo quantum ad hoc, nigredo opponitur albedini privative. Unde si aliquis velit subtiliter investigare, invenit quod nigredo opponitur contrarie albedini secundum id quod est materiale in albedine. Privative autem opponitur secundum id quod est formale. Propter quod magis opponitur privative quam contrarie. Ex quo patet quod Philosophus non est sibi contrarius.

Alii autem ex hiis commixtione. Postquam Philosophus egit de coloribus simplicibus, hic agit de coloribus compositis, ubi primo ponit duos modos quibus colores compositi sunt. Secundo, cum dicit *secundum autem premonstratum modum*, prosequitur de illis. Circa primum duo facit: primo ponit illos modos, 792a4

6–7 Ysidorus–coloris] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XIX, 28: “Luteus color rubicundus, quod est croceus: nam crocum lutei coloris est.” **13**–**14** cuius–albi] Aristoteles, *De sensu et sensato* 4 (442a25–26): “Et quemadmodum nigrum privatio est in perspicuo albi.”

1 hoc] *om.* S enim] *om.* M **1**–**2** herbosi–coloris] herbei facti S **2** desiccati colore] vero siccat M **3**–**4** hii–simplices] *om.* M **5** colorum] coloris S **6** XIX] IC M rubicundus quod] qui est rubicundus M 7 crocum] crocus M **9** supra dixit] Galenus dixit S **10** faciunt] efficiunt S **11** Et–colores] *om.* M **13** ipse] *om.* M **14** nigrum] nigredo M **15** reducta] *add.* sunt S est contraria] contra est S **16** albedini] album M **17** non[1]] nullum S perspicuum–est[2]] propter perspicuum etiam S **18** hoc] huiusmodi M albedini privative] *inv.* M **19** velit–invenit] subtiliter velit hic attendere inveniet S **20** id] idem M Privative–opponitur] sed privatio ostenditur M **21** id] idem M est] fit M formale] *add.* in da (?) S opponitur] ostenditur M **22** sibi] *add.* ipsi M **23** Philosophus egit] *inv.* S **24** hic] *praem.* consequenter S **25** autem premonstratum] quod premonstratum est M **26** facit] *add.* quia S

secundo, cum dicit *secundum quod maius et minus*, exemplificat de illis. Dicit quod alii colores compositi sunt ex hiis, scilicet coloribus simplicibus, commixtione – id est per commixtionem –. Et iste est primus modus, et hoc est *alii autem.* Alius autem modus est secundum quod isti colores sunt magis vel minus facti. Unde dicit quod isti colores magis et minus facti – id est intensi et remissi – multas et varias efficiunt colorum fantasias. Et hoc est *et in magis et in minus.*

Deinde cum dicit *secundum quidem magis et minus*, exemplificat de istis modis. Et primo exemplificat de secundo modo, dicens quod secundum magis et minus sunt colores, sicut color rubeus qui secundum minus est fuscus, secundum magis vero est purpureus. Minus enim rubeum est fuscum et magis vero rubeum est purpureum. Unde magis rubeum et minus rubeum diversos efficiunt colores.

Deinde cum dicit *secundum autem commixtionem*, exemplificat de primo modo, ubi ponit quattuor exempla de quattuor coloribus qui fiunt per commixtionem. Et primo exemplificat de colore fusco, dicens quod secundum commixtionem fiunt colores compositi, secundum quod albus color et niger color, quando sunt mixti, efficiunt fantasiam – id est apparentiam – coloris fusci. Nigrum enim permixtum albo obfuscat album, ita quod ex hac commixtione fit color fuscus. Secundo exemplificat de colore puniceo, dicens quod propter nigrum et tenebrosum permixtum lumini fit color puniceus, quia videmus quod nigrum permixtum lumini quod est a sole et ab igne semper est factum puniceum, sicut apparet de nube nigra non tamen densa, quando permiscetur lumini solis. Et hoc est *propter nigrum vero*. Tertio exemplificat de colore rubeo, dicens quod omnia nigra, quando fuerint ignita, mutantur in colorem rubeum. Fumose enim flamme, quia enim flamma nihil alia est quam fumus ardens, et similiter carbones nigri, quando fuerint perusti a calido aut ab igne, videntur rubeum habentes colorem. Et hoc est *et nigra ignita omnia.* Quarto exemplificat de colore purpureo, dicens quod color purpureus fit quidem bene floridus et splendidus, quando mensurato albo et mensurato umbroso commiscentur debiles solis splendores, id est quando radii solares incidentes non perpendiculares permiscentur quod non est minus album nec minus umbrosum. Tunc fit color purpureus floridus et splendidus. Et hoc est *purpureus autem bene*.

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1 secundo] secundum M Dicit] dicens M **2** colores] polores scilicet S sunt] fiunt S hiis scilicet] *om.* M **3** iste] ille M **4** est] *om.* M magis] maius M **5** magis et] sunt maius vel M remissi] *add.* vel M **6** colorum] coloris S magis] maius M **7** Deinde–minus] *om.* M **8** secundo] primo S magis] maius M **10** est[1]] *om.* M enim] vero M vero[2]] *om.* S **12** cum dicit] contingit S **15** color[2]] *om.* M mixti] commixti M **16** coloris] *om.* M enim permixtum] vero apponit M **17** commixtione fit] permixtione resultat S **19** nigrum] *add.* quod est M **20** nube] *om.* S **23** enim[2]] *om.* S **24** alia] aliud M **25** perusti] combusti M aut] vel S rubeum–colorem] rubea M **26** omnia] *om.* S **27** splendidus] splendius M **28–29** incidentes] inscidentur M **29** minus[1]] unus M minus[2]] unus M **31** bene] sium M

Deinde cum dicit *unde et circa ortus et occasus*, manifestat hoc per exempla, dicens quod unde – id est propter hoc – accidit quod circa ortus et occasus solis aer est purpureus, quando scilicet videtur aer, sole existente circa orientem et occidentem. Splendores enim vel radii solares tunc debiles existentes tunc maxime ad umbrosum aerem se immittunt. Secundo manifestat hoc alio modo, dicens quod videtur in aere fieri colorem purpureum, quando unde – id est humores undosi vel aquei – sublevate in aere secundum inclinationem unius partis ad aliam umbrantur et inspissantur. Ad cuius umbre declinationem splendores solis debiles iniecti colorem purpureum faciunt apparere. Et hoc accidit quando aer fit umbrosus, sole non existente in ortu et occasu, sed longe ab utroque. Et hoc est *videtur autem*. Tertio manifestat hoc per aliud exemplum, dicens quod hoc, scilicet quod fiat color purpureus, videtur fieri in pennositatibus avium, ut columbarum. Penne enim earum quodammodo distense vel expanse ad lumen videntur habere hunc purpureum colorem. Et hoc est *quod in pennositatibus*. Quarto exemplificat de colore opaco, dicens quod minori lumine iniecto aeri – id est quando minus lumen iniectum est –, tunc ex lumine et aere fit color opacus, quem aliqui vocant colorem obscurum. Et hoc est *minori autem lumine*. Quinto exemplificat de colore flammeo, qui fit ex duobus coloribus, quorum unus est compositus, ut ex puniceo colore qui est compositus ex nigro et tenebroso permixto lumini, ut supra dixit. Et quando fit scintillans et floridus, tunc ex puniceo et scintillante florido fit color flammeus. Dicit igitur quod quando color puniceus est multus et primo est nigro permixtus, ut supra dictum est, tunc si color puniceus existens fit bene floridus et scintillans, transmutatur in colorem flammeum. Et hoc est *multum autem et primo*.

Et iuxta hoc addit qualiter accipienda sit talis mixtura, dicens quod secundum alterutram commixtionem, scilicet primam et secundam, sic accipienda est mixtura, ut ex subiecto viso colore simus accipientes mixturam, id est quod primus color compositus sit subiectus et simplex color sit ei superadditus. Et hoc est *secundum enim alterutram*.

Et iuxta hoc addit quod non debemus esse facientes omnium colorem similem generationem, cuius causam subdit, dicens quod quidem colores simplices habent

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1 unde] *om.* M et occasus] *om.* M **2** solis] *tr. ante* et S **4** Splendores] splendor M **6** videtur–purpureum] talis color fit in aere M **9** iniecti] iniecte S **10** et] vel in S **12** quod] *add.* sic S color] *praem.* rubeus S **13** earum] eorum S distense] extense M **14** purpureum] *om.* M Quarto] consequenter S **15** minori] minore M aeri–quando] aere quem M **16** iniectum est] est aeri iniectum M quem] quoniam M **17** Quinto] tunc S **18–19** ut–compositus] *om.* S **19** lumini] plerium M **21** igitur] ergo sic M **22** existens fit] exinde sit M **23** multum] multus S **24** accipienda sit] *inv.* S **26** viso–mixturam] istorum colorum simus facientes commixturam M primus] primo M **27** compositus sit] *inv.* S ei] *om.* M **29** facientes] faciens M **30** subdit] reddit M colores simplices] colorum qui simplices sunt S

eandem rationem ad aliquos colores compositorum – id est qui sunt compositi – quam habent simplices ad se ipsos. Et ideo si tunc generatur color ex colore composito et simplici, non propter hoc oportet quod omnis color generetur ex colore composito et simplici. Et hoc est *sed non omnium.*

Deinde subdit rationem quare non semper in commixtione apparet alius color, et est quia id quod latet in commixtione, minus habet mixturam – id est minus facit mixturam – et istud quod est immanifestum in omni compositione, minus facit mixturam. Et hinc est quod istud quod est prius visum post commixtionem apparet similiter sicut ante. Verbi gratia: si aliquid latens et immanifestum vel modicum commisceatur colore puniceo, adhuc apparebit puniceus. Et hoc est *quod quia latet.*

Econtrario autem si fiat plena commixtio muricei aut punicei coloris, et hoc est *muricei namque*, quia dicentes – id est si aliqui sint dicentes – mixturam supple plenam muricei aut punicei coloris – id est quod aliquid plene et secundum multum misceat cum colore commisceatur colorem muriceo aut puniceo –, tunc necesse est hiis mixtis similiter et facientibus alium colorem variatur generationem istorum colorum et non similem facere apparitionem. Et hoc est *muricei namque*.

Deinde alio exemplificat de colore vinoso, ubi primo dicit quod propter id quod dictum est ex preparato colore et presupposito sumendum et considerandum mixturam. Et exponit se, dicens ut quoniam vinosus color fit quando inseparabili nigro et scintillante preparatis vel presuppositis eis commiscentur splendores aerei, sicut apparet in botro uve. Horum enim ut bene videtur color vinosus sicut etiam color puniceus commutatur in muriceum et in fine maturando fit nigrescens. Et hoc est *propter quod ex preparato*.

792b11 *Secundum autem premonstratum modum*. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de generatione colorum compositorum, consequenter determinat de illis coloribus prout sunt in corporibus quibuscumque, ubi sic procedit, quia primo repetit

1 aliquos ... compositorum] alios ... compositos M sunt compositi] *inv.* S **5** rationem] causam S in commixtione] commixtione, *tr. ante* non S alius color] *inv.* S **6** id[1]] istud M **6–7** id[2]–mixturam] *om.* M **9** similiter] *om.* M **10** colore] colori S **11** quod quia] *inv.* M **12** Econtrario] econtro M fiat ... commixtio] fuit ... mixtura S **12–14** coloris–coloris] colorem M **13** muricei namque (*scr.*)] nam pro quia S : [M] **15** misceat–colore] commisceatur colorem M **16** et] *tr. ante* similiter M variatur] variarum M **17** similem] solum M **20** et presupposito] vel supposito S et[2]] est M **22** scintillante] scintillantur M presuppositis–commiscentur] suppositis miscentur eis S **22–23** splendores aerei] splendoris aeree M **23** ut–videtur] vel talium apparet M **24** color puniceus] *inv.* S fine] *add.* in S **24–25** nigrescens] nigro similis in grossans M **25** preparato] preparata etcetera M **26** modum] *om.* S determinavit] determinat M **28** quibuscumque] *praem.* cum S sic] *iter.* S quia] *om.* S

modum secundum quem oportet accipere colorum differentias. Secundo, cum dicit *oportet autem omnium*, prosequitur intentum secundum eas. Dicit ergo quod secundum demonstratum modum (scilicet qui immediate dictus est: quia scilicet ex preparato vel supposito colore accipere et considerare debemus mixturam) considerandum est omnes colorum differentias accipientes similitudinem colorum ex motu ad quem moventur colores vel ordinantur, et hoc ita quod sumus assimilantes mixturam que est in unoquoque colore secundum id quod nobis videtur. Et apparet et etiam non tamen in universalibus, sed in particularibus – id est prout colores sunt in corporibus particularibus et determinatis –, prout in quadam generatione et commixtione ipsis scilicet facientibus fantasiam coloris et fidem secundum veritatem nos conferentes – id est conferendo loquentes supple dicemus de illis –. Et hoc est *secundum autem premonstratum modum.*

Deinde cum dicit *oportet autem omnium horum*, prosequitur intentum de differentiis colorum, ubi sic procedit, quia primo dat modum secundum quem non intendit agere de eis, et ponit modum quem intendit. Secundo, cum dicit *maxime enim potest*, prosequitur intentum, dicens quod omnium istorum – scilicet colorum mixtorum – oportet fieri considerationem, non tamen sicut (vel non eodem modo quo) pictores faciunt hos colores commiscentes. Isti enim commiscent unum colorem cum altero et inde faciunt tertium colorem. Sed erimus conferentes – id est considerantes – repercussos splendores a predictis coloribus, id est considerabimus qualiter ex repercussis splendoribus generantur et variantur colores, quod pictores non considerant, sed quod unus color alteri commisceatur. Et hoc est *oportet autem omnium horum.*

Deinde cum dicit *maxime enim potest aliquis*, prosequitur intentum, ubi sic procedit, quia primo ostendit multas causas per quas colores generantur, variantur et alterantur. Secundo, cum dicit *que autem sunt singulari*, determinat specialiter de varietate et alteratione colorum in plantis et animalibus. Circa primum sic procedit: primo ostendit multas causas per quas generantur varii colores. Secundo ostendit causas per quas alterantur colores, cum dicit *colorum autem nullum videmus*. Adhuc primo ostendit quod quedam commixta secundum magis

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1 colorum] colores et eorum M **2** omnium] *om.* M **3** scilicet qui] *inv.* S **4** supposito colore] presupposito colorem M **4–5** mixturam–est] *om.* M 7 colore] quorum colores M **8** universalibus] universali S **9** colores] *om.* M **10** generatione–commixtione] mixtione et comparatione M facientibus–et[2]] fantasiam facientibus colorem et similiter M **15** modum] *add.* tamen M **16** potest] primo M dicens] dicit igitur S scilicet] *om.* M **18** pictores faciunt] *inv.* S commiscentes] *om.* M Isti] illi S **19–20** id est] et S **20–21** considerabimus] consideramus M **22** commisceatur] misceatur S **23** horum] *om.* S **24–25** sic–ostendit] ponit S **25** per quas] quare S generantur] *add.* et S **27** varietate] variatione S **28** per quas] quibus S **29** cum dicit] ibi S **30** Adhuc] circa primum sic procedit quia M commixta] mixta M

et minus faciunt quasi omnes colores per naturam. Secundo, cum dicit *accipiendum autem*, ostendit quod quedam commixta splendoribus faciunt colorum similitudinem et varietatem et mutationem. Tertio, cum dicit *alia autem et digestione*, ostendit quod quedam varios habent colores per digestionem. Quarto, cum dicit *oportet autem non latere*, ostendit quod in infinitum possunt variari colores propter inequalitatem et improportionalitatem. Quinto, cum dicit *facit autem differentiam*, ostendit quod fiunt differentie colorum per splendidi et scintillantis et obscuri mixturam. Sexto, cum dicit *est autem et quedam*, ostendit quod quedam habent varios colores per contritionem. Septimo, cum dicit *et tinctura autem*, ostendit quod quedam habent varios colores per tincturam. Octavo, cum dicit *in combustis autem et solutis*, ostendit quod quedam habent varios colores per combustionem et liquationem in igne factam.

Dicit ergo primo quod maxime potest aliquis considerare colorum commixtiones que sunt facte secundum naturam. Fidem autem de istis – id est credulitatem de istis – et similia – id est similitudinem – de eis oportet considerare ab eis in quibus generatio colorum est manifesta. Declarat consequenter que sunt illa, dicens quod hec autem maxime lumen quod est a sole, et lumen quod est ab igne, et aer et aqua. Hec enim secundum magis et minus commixta maxime, ut ita dicam, quasi omnes efficiunt colores. Et hoc est *maxime enim potest.*

Deinde secundo ostendit quod quedam commixta splendoribus solis et ignis faciunt colorum similitudinem et varietatem et mutationem, dicens quod accipiendum est similitudinem colorum ab aliis coloribus quibus commixti sunt splendoribus solis vel ignis, et hoc intendit cum dicit *commixtis splendoribus*. Et explanat se, dicens quod carbones et fumus vel vitrum et sulphur et pennositates avium, quando hec commixta sunt solis splendoribus, alia vero sunt mixta splendoribus ignis, hec quidem multas et varias faciunt colorum mutationes. Ista enim predicta, es et fumus et vitrum etcetera, sunt alterius coloris secundum se et alterius quando splendores solis vel ignis eis commiscentur. Fumus enim, niger secundum se, fit rubeus cum miscetur splendoribus ignis. Et similiter carbo qui est niger secundum se, et sic de aliis. Et hoc est *accipiendum autem.*

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1 quasi] quod S **1–2** accipiendum] accidit M **2–3** colorum–et[1]] similitudinem colorum M **5–6** variari colores] cari varietates colorum M **7** autem] aliud M fiunt] sint S **8** est] *om.* M **11** et solutis] *om.* S quedam] aliqui S varios colores] *inv.* S **12** combustionem] contritionem et solutionem M **13** ergo] igitur S **14–15** credulitatem (*scr.*)] cerdulibatem M : credubitatem S **15** id est] vel S **16** generatio ... est] genere ... contingit M Declarat] *praem.* et S **17** hec autem] sunt M **20** secundo] *om.* M **22** aliis] albis M **22–23** splendoribus] splendores S **24** quod–fumus] quia colorum fumi M et[2]] *om.* M **25** commixta] quidem mixta S **26–27** Ista–et[2]] ita scilicet predicta fumus vel M **29** cum–splendoribus] si commiscetur splendor M **30** secundum–aliis] qui secundum se niger est S accipiendum] accicendum est M

Deinde tertio ostendit quod quedam varios habent colores digestione – id est per digestionem –, dicens quod alia sunt in quibus considerandum, facta digestione varios supple esse colores, sicut apparet in plantis et fructibus et pennositatibus avium. Ista enim secundum quod magis et minus digeruntur alterius et alterius fiunt coloris, ut quod primo est viride, postea fit rubeum per fortificationem caloris. Et hoc est *alia autem digestione.*

Deinde quarto ostendit quod in infinitum potest causari varietas colorum propter inequalitatem et improportionalitatem contingentem in caliditate eorum, ubi dicit quod oportet non latere multiformem modum colorum et in infinitum procedentem. Et per quod contingit fieri varietas colorum hoc modo. Nos enim inveniemus propter id fieri varios colores quod lumine et umbris inequaliter et improportionaliter se habentibus accipiuntur. Et hoc est quia umbre et lumen secundum magis et minus multum differunt se ipsis, quare ex hoc sequitur quod duobus modis differunt, id est secundum se ipsas, et cum splendoribus mixte faciunt mutationes colorum. Et tunc aut mixta multitudine et potentiis mixtorum contingit ea differe, aut quia non habuerit easdem rationes mixture. Et exponit se, dicens quod nos videmus quod color muriceus multas habet differentias secundum magis et minus. Et similiter color puniceus et albus et aliorum colorum unusquisque secundum magis et minus. Albus enim est secundum magis et minus et habet secundum hoc multas differentias et iterum habet multas differentias secundum alterutram mixturam, scilicet primam et secundam. Et etiam secundum sinceritatem ipsorum maiorem vel minorem fiunt multe differentie colorum. Et hoc est *oportet autem non latere.*

Et evidentia predictorum: sciendum quod, si colores mixti essent secundum debitam proportionem, sicut est proportio aritmetica in numeris et proportio musicalis in consonantiis, necesse essent finiti colores et determinati, sicut sunt numeri proportionati, determinati et finiti, et consonantie musicalis proportionate sunt et determinate. Sed quando numeri copulantur ad invicem, nulla proportione observata, tunc fiunt numeri quos vocat assimetras, id est sine mensura. Et simi-

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1 tertio] *om.* M **2** facta (*scr.*)] est facta M : macta S **3** plantis–fructibus] fructibus et in plantis M **4** magis–minus] niger et magis S **5** fiunt–ut] sunt colorum istud M **6** caloris] calorum M autem] *add.* in M **7** quarto] *om.* M **9** ubi–non] nec quod non ostendit M colorum] coloris S **10** varietas] varietates S **11** inveniemus] videmus M lumine–umbris] lumen et umbra M **12** est] *om.* M **13** multum differunt ... quare] mixtum ... quia M sequitur] ostenditur M **16** ea differe] eos dicere M habuerit] habent M **17** quod[1]] quia S quod[2]–habet] colorem muriceum multas habere M **18–19** unusquisque] uniuscuiusque M **21** alterutram] alteram S **22** multe] *om.* M **24** Et–predictorum] evidentiam istarum est M mixti] multi M **25** debitam proportionem] *inv.* S aritmetica–numeris] armetrica luminis M **26** essent–colores] colores finiti S **27** proportionati] *add.* et S **27–28** musicalis–determinate] musicales determinate et finite S **28** copulantur] copolantur M **29–72,1** tunc–proportione] *om.* M

liter quando copulantur voces vel soni nulla sunt observata proportione, offendunt auditum. Et hec improportio vel inequalitas potest procedere multiformiter et in infinitum, sicut accidit in coloribus: quod colores secundum rectam proportionem generati sunt delectabiles et determinati; sine autem omni proportione sumpti possunt esse infiniti. Et hec patent ex libro Aristotelis De sensu et sensato.

Deinde cum dicit *facit autem differentiam*, ostendit quintam causam variorum colorum, dicens quod differentiam – id est diversitatem colorum – facit istud quod contingit splendidum esse aut scintillans esse quod miscetur, id est quando splendidum et scintillans commiscetur. Ex hoc fiunt diversi colores. Aut econtrario quando illud quod miscetur est obscurum et non splendens. Ex hoc similiter generantur diversi colores. Et consequenter exponit quid sit scintillans, dicens quod non est aliud aliquid quam continuitas lucis et densitas, sicut apparet in stellis. Fit enim aureus color quando rubicundum vel lumen solarum condensantur et tunc vehementer scintillant. Propter quod accidit quod columbarum colla et gutte aquarum miscentur in speciem aliam coloris lumine repercusso – id est propter lumen repercussum –, quia videntur colla columbarum splendere et scintillare propter lumen repercussum ab eis, et hoc quando moventur contra lumen.

Deinde cum dicit *est autem et quedam*, ostendit sextam causam generationis diversorum colorum, dicens quod est autem – id est contingit – quod quedam habent alios varios colores revoluta contrictione – id est per revolutam contrictionem, scilicet revolvendo contriuntur –. Et similiter quibusdam potentiis – id est per quasdam potentias, id est per quasdam virtutes quas quedam habent – fiunt in eis alii et varii colores.

Deinde exemplificat premissa, dicens sicut argentum contrictum alium et varium colorem recipit per contrictionem et malleationem, et similiter aurum et es et ferrum.

3–5 quod–sensato] Aristoteles, *De sensu et sensato* 3 (439b31–33): “Qui quidem in numeris, proportionatissimi colores, quemadmodum ibi concordancias, hii autem delectabilissimi colorum esse videntur.”

2 improportio–inequalitas] est improportionalis differentam M multiformiter] multifortiter M **3** sicut] sic M **5** possunt–ex] generari ex hiis que dicta sunt in M **6** causam] differentiam M **8** esse aut] autem M **9** et–commiscetur] est vel scintillans quod miscetur S hoc] *add.* quod hoc M **10** quando illud] quod istud M miscetur] commiscetur S similiter] *om.* M **11** generantur diversi] *inv.* S consequenter] hoc iuxta hoc S **11–12** dicens–est] non S **12** aliquid] scintillans M apparet] patet S **13** enim] autem M **15** miscentur] mutentur M **17** hoc] *add.* est M **18** est–et] aliter M **19** est[1]–est[2]] *om.* M **20** alios–colores] colores et varios S **20–21** contrictionem] *add.* quando S **21** contriuntur] contrentur M **22** potentias–quasdam[2]] *om.* M quedam] quidem M **23** varii] alii M **24** premissa–sicut] dicens sic M et] esse S

Deinde exemplificat de potentiis vel virtutibus per quas quedam varios habent colores, dicens quod quedam genera lapidum, preciosorum scilicet, differentes faciunt colores, sicut patet in lapide qui vocatur agathes, qui, cum sit nigri coloris, albas tamen facit lineas. Et hoc est quod subiungit: sicut et lapides nigri existentes albas faciunt lineas, quod apparet in eorum contritione.

Deinde assignat causam huius, dicens quod hoc accidit quia omnium talium conglutinationes quidem que sunt ex principio – id est a principio vel primo, id est quando primo conglutinantur isti lapides –; conglutinationes eorum fiunt ex parvis partibus vel perspicuis, et ex partibus densis et nigris. Propter quod fiunt nigri coloris, propter partes densas et nigras. Propter partes vero parvas et perspicuas relinquuntur in eis quedam hee albe que sunt quasi quedam vene. Quando enim multum densum et nigrum conglutinata sunt cum pauco parvo vel perspicuo, necesse est quod simpliciter surgat niger color et paucus albus vel alius secundum potentiam perspicui receptam in qua est actus luminis, sicut in purpura materia. Unde sciendum est quod de lapidibus nigris secundum Ysidorum multe inveniuntur differentie, quia quidem lapides nigri, ut dicit XVI Ethimologiarum in capitulo de lapidibus nigros. Achates enim, ut dicit, primum reperta est in Sicilia iuxta flumen eiusdem nominis; postea plurimus in terris. Est autem nigra habens in medio circulos nigros et albos multos et variatos. Sic et subdit de lapide absicto que est nigra et ponderosa, distincta venis rubentibus. Et de pluribus aliis nigris lapidibus ibidem subdit quod potest studiosus lector inspicere.

Avicenna etiam dicit in libro suo De mineralibus quod lapides qui agathes nominantur quattuor modi inveniuntur. Unus quidem modus est dictus. Et alius

16–19 ut–variatos] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XVI, 11: “Achates reperta primum in Sicilia iuxta flumen eiusdem nominis, postea plurimis in terris. Est autem nigra, habens in medio circulos nigros et albos iunctos et variatos.” **19–20** de–rubentibus] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XVI, 11: “Absictos nigra et ponderosa, distincta venis rubentibus.” **22–74,3** Avicenna–respersum] Albertus Magnus, *Mineralia* II, 2, 1: “Agathes autem lapis est niger cum albis venis, et quodammodo istius speciei lapidis invenitur alius modus eiusdem speciei qui est similis corallo. Et tertium genus quod secundum plurimum in Creta insula nascitur, quod habet in nigro venas croceas. Et quartum genus indicum est varium quasi sanguineis guttis respersum.”

1–2 quedam–habent] quidem habent tales M **3** patet in] apparet de M **4** facit] habet, *tr. ante* tamen M sicut] *add.* etiam M **5** quod] *praem.* secundum M **6** quod] quia M **7** conglutinationes–que] conglutionatorum que quidem M id[1]–principio[2]] *om.* M **8–9** conglutinationes–vel] conglutinatio eorum fit ex partibus M **10** coloris] colores M partes[2]–et[2]] vero partes primas vel M **11** eis] ea M albe] alie M quedam[2]] *add.* hee S **12** pauco parvo] parvo parvio M **13** alius] albus M **15** multe] multi M **16** differentie] dicere M Ethimologiarum in] Ethicorum M **17** lapidibus nigros] *inv.* M Achates enim] *praem.* acaches vel M primum] *om.* M **18** flumen] fluvius M autem nigra] aut M **20** nigris] magnis S **21** ibidem subdit] differit S **22** dicit] *tr. post* mineralibus M agathes] achates S **23** nominantur] videtur S est dictus] doctus est M

est qui est similis corallo. Et tertium genus quod secundum plurimum sui in Creta insula nascitur, quod habet in nigro venas croceas. Et quartum genus indicum et marinum eo quod sanguineis guttis sit respersum. Que autem sit virtus cuiuslibet consequenter apparet, sed ad propositum non pertinet, quia hic solum intendimus de coloribus.

Deinde cum dicit *tinctura autem que est*, ostendit aliam causam generationis diversorum colorum que est tinctura, dicens quod a tinctura que est ab ipsis tinctis in generatione ipsorum supple fit varietas colorum, ut patet in diversis floribus. Quidam enim generantur tincti glauco colore, quidam albo, quidam rubeo, quidam purpureo, cuius causam subdit, dicens quod huius causa supple est quia illud per quod transivit ipsorum tinctura in sua generatione aliam et aliam habet coloris fantasiam – id est aliam et aliam habet coloris apparentiam – quia secundum diversitatem tinctarum diversi et varii fiunt colores.

Deinde cum dicit *qui vero conteritur ab ipsis*, addit quod color qui conteritur ab ipsis coloribus sic primo generatis, non amplius sic remanet aureus neque nullum alium huiusmodi habens colorem precedentem supple, sed penitus nigrum. Id est, si aliquis flos puta rubei coloris, ut rosa, conteratur, non amplius remanet rubeus color, sed niger tantum. Et sic intelligendum est in aliis.

Deinde cum dicit *propter id quod pori*, dat causam huius, dicens quod hoc accidit propter id quod ipsis floribus contrictis pori quidam per quos transit tinctura infringuntur et comprimuntur, et sic non potest manere prior color. Et addit quod natura autem et habet hec. Et talis est ipsorum natura, scilicet quod sic generantur varii colores a natura vel per naturam, et talis ipsorum natura quod si conterantur non amplius remanet primus color. Et hoc est quod subdit, quod priore igitur colore non adhuc nobis manifesto, cuius causa est quia color primus qui est secundum naturam divellitur. Ideo in ipsis alium colorem videmus, unde et omnia huius videntur nigra.

Deinde cum dicit *in conterendo autem*, tangit iuxta premissa duos modos contrictionis, dicens quod in conterendo autem ad equale – id est si fiat contritio

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1 est[1]] modus M quod secundum] *inv.* M **2** insula] supula M nigro] medio M indicum] rubicum M **3** sit[1]] sunt S **4** apparet] apperit S propositum] proponit M solum] solis M **6** que est] *om.* S **7–8** que[1]–colorum] *om.* M **9** tincti] tali S **10** supple est] *om.* S illud] ipsum M **11–12** coloris] colorem M **12** habet] *om.* S **13** varii fiunt] alii sunt M **14** ab ipsis] *om.* M conteritur[2]] generatur S **15** primo] *om.* M **16** huiusmodi] *om.* M **18** tantum] tamen M **19** id] idem M causam huius] *inv.* M **20** id … contrictis] hoc … certi M quidam–transit] quidem per quas transivit M **21** infringuntur] infliguntur M prior] idem M **22** autem–Et] eorum hec habet hec est M ipsorum] eorum M scilicet] *om.* M **23** a–vel] *om.* M **24** primus] eorum M **24–25** quod[2]–manifesto] dicens quod priores igitur colores non addit nobis existente in aliquo M **26** qui–secundum] est qui per M Ideo] *praem.* et M alium] album M

ad equale, id est secundum equale ita quod non sit nimis violenta –, tunc bene unumquodque contritum supple est aliquid horum colorum qui supple prius fiunt, quasi dicens quod in tali contritione aliquid remanet de priore colore. Et subdit contrarium de violenta contritione, dicens quod sicut accidit supple econtrario quod color eiectus ad tormenta – id est violentus contrictus – accipit iterum alium colorem, et hoc in communi eiectione et continuitate – id est quando communis est eiectio, id est contrictio, ita quod non in parte una coloris et in alia non, sed in toto colore et continuo –. Et addit quod iste color tantus ex tali violenta contritione est tincture – id est dicitur esse tincture, id est pertinere ad tincturam – propter id quod videtur, id est propter id quod apparet totaliter alius color quam primo apparebat ante contritionem.

Deinde cum dicit *in combustis autem et solutis et liquatis*, tangit octavum causam varietatis colorum, dicens quod in combustis in igne, sicut in lignis, et solutis et liquatis in igne, sicut in metallis, accidit scilicet quod combusta et soluta et liquata habent plures colores, id est habent plurimos et varios colores qui apparent ex fumo istorum per ignem, quorum enim fumus est subtilis et aereus, et quorum supple fumus est grossus et umbrosus. Et secundum hoc generantur varii colores, quidam subtiles et quidam umbrosi.

Deinde cum dicit *et colores umbrosi*, manifestat a quibus egreditur color umbrosus, dicens quod colores umbrosi sunt sicut color qui est a sulphure et sicut color qui est in ere rubiginoso, et quecumque sunt densa et levia, faciunt colorem umbrosum, sicut argentum, quando liquatur in igne. In aliis autem similiter contingit quod quecumque habent umbrosos colores et levitatem participant, quod in eis apparent varii colores, sicut aqua et nubes et pennositates avium. Et enim hec, scilicet aqua etcetera, propter splendores et levitatem quas participant et incidentes splendores aliquid aliud commixtum aliter – id est diversitate commixtus – faciunt differentes colores, sicut et tenebra commixta splendoribus.

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1 ita] *praem.* et M nimis violenta] tiictus molenta M **2** unumquodque] unum quod est M **3** dicens] diceret M aliquid remanet] *inv.* M priore] priori M **4** quod] *om.* M **5** eiectus] contrictus M **6–7** communis est] *inv.* M **8** continuo] continuis S **9** dicitur] de M tincturam] differentias tincturas S **12** et liquatis] *om.* S **12–13** octavum causam] scilicet causas M **13** solutis ... liquatis] *praem.* in S **14** sicut–metallis] facit in metallicis S scilicet] supple S et[2]] scilicet M **15** plures] plurimorum S **16** quorum] quorundam S **17** quorum supple] quorundam S est] *add.* fumosos et M **19** cum dicit] contingit S et] *om.* M **21** ere] aere M **22** autem] *om.* M **23** umbrosos colores] *inv.* M **24** apparent–colores] apparet varius color M sicut] *add.* sunt S **25** splendores] splendorem S quas] quid S **26** diversitate commixtus] diversis commixtum M **27** et] *om.* M

793b12 *Colorum autem nullum videmus sincerum ut est*. Postquam Philosophus tetigit plures causas propter quas generantur varii colores, consequenter hic tangit plures causas propter quas alterantur colores. Et primo tangit causas propter quas colores videntur alterari. Secundo, cum dicit *que tinguntur autem*, tangit causas propter quas colores secundum veritatem fiunt alterati. Circa primum sic procedit, quia primo tangit causas propter quas colores videntur alterari. Secundum, cum dicit *quare ex tribus esse*, ex dictis causis quedam correlaria concludit.

Circa primum primo ponit quattuor causas propter quas colores videntur alterari: primam cum dicit *colorum autem*, ubi primo premittit unum generale ad suum propositum in omni genere, dicens quod nullum colorum videmus sincerum – id est purum, ut est in sua puritate –, sed omnes videmus commixtos in aliis, et nullum aliorum colorum natum videri per se. Et hoc est *colorum autem*. Secundo tangit causam quare colores videntur alterari, dicens sed colores mixti splendoribus lucis et umbris alterati videntur et non quales sunt, ut patet manifeste quando radius solis intrat per fenestram et cadit super perietem. Videtur color perietis alteratus quia ubi radius incidit videtur peries albior. Et hoc est *sed lucis splendoribus*. Tertio, cum dicit *unde et que in umbra*, ex hoc infert quoddam correlarium, dicens quod unde – id est propter hoc – accidit quod colores qui in umbra videntur et in lumine et sole et duro – id est forti – splendore aut molli – id est mediocri – splendore et secundum diversas inclinationes sic aut sic se habente, et secundum alias causas que possunt contingere colores inquam qui sic videntur, alterati videntur quia, secundum quod umbra et lumen diversimode incidunt, videntur colores alterati.

Deinde cum dicit *et splendoribus*, ponit secundam causam alterationis colorum, dicens quod splendoribus – id est per splendores – qui sunt in igne et in luna et in lucerna videntur alterati colores. De nocte – id est in lumine lune – videtur esse aliud alterius coloris quam de die. Unde subdit quod lumen uniuscuiusque

1 sincerum–est] *om.* S **2** generantur–colores] alterantur colores et generantur varii M hic] *om.* M **2–3** plures[2]] Philosophus M **3** alterantur–quas[2]] secundum varietatem M **4** alterari] alterati M que] quem S **4–5** causas–quas] propter quos M **5** secundum veritatem] *om.* M **6** quia] *om.* S propter–alterari] quibus colore videntur alterati S **7** esse] *om.* S correlaria] correlarium M **8** primo] *om.* M colores] colorum M **9** alterari] alterati S primam] id est primam ponit M autem] *om.* M **10** in–genere] antedendum S colorum] colorem M **12** aliorum] aliquorum M colorum[2]] color M **13** quare colores] propter quam M alterari] alterati S mixti] commixti in M **14** quales] qualiter M **16** radius–peries] incidit radius solis videtur M **17** que] qui M **19** in] *om.* S aut] autem M **20** et] *om.* S aut] autem M **21** inquam] *om.* M **22** quia] quod S **25** splendoribus–est] *om.* M in[2]] *om.* M **26** alterati colores] *inv.* M **27** esse] *om.* S coloris] colorum M subdit] *add.* propter S **27–77,1** uniuscuiusque–scilicet] cuiuscumque coloris M

horum, scilicet ignis, lune et lucerne, alteratum habet colorem, id est alteratum habet facere colorem secundum apparentiam.

Deinde cum dicit *et mixtura autem*, ponit tertiam causam alterationis colorum, dicens quod mixtura – id est per mixturam – alterantur colores – id est videntur alterari – quia colores per se invicem delati colorantur, id est alterius videntur coloris que causatur ex mixtura colorum. Unde subdit quod lumen, quando madens est – id est quando est mixtum cum madido ut cum nubibus vel cum aqua – a quibusdam coloratur madidis – supple id est colorat quedam madida – et facit apparere colorem puniceum aut herbeum. Et si istud lumen quod repercutitur incidat in alterum quendam colorem, iterum ab illo commixtum aliam quandam accipit coloris emphasim – id est fantasiam vel apparentiam –. Et hoc quidem sustinet non tamen continue, quod patet si fiat repercussio ab uno colore ad alium, sicut patet in coloribus iridis, a quibus propter repercussionem luminis apparent quandoque due irides, quandoque tres.

Deinde cum dicit *sensibiliter autem*, ponit quartam causam alterationis colorum, dicens quod quandoque sensibiliter accedit ad visus nostros ex multis coloribus simul existentibus unus color. Et sic videntur alterari colores qui non faciunt sensum, id est qui non apparent sensui sensibiliter. Et quando contingit ex multis coloribus apparere unum, dicit quod hoc contingit uno illorum colorum existente maxime dominantium – id est quando unus color maxime dominatur – et est faciens sensum. Unde concludit quod in aqua propter speciem aque aliqua magne videntur, quia imago et idolum apparens in aqua magis modum visum, et similiter sunt in speculis. Imagines eorum que apparent in speculis videntur habentes similes colores hiis que apponuntur speculis. Et addit quod similiter oppinandum est accidere in aere. Aer enim et aqua, cum sit quieta, et maxime cum aer fuerit inspissatus, reddunt imagines etiam oculis sanis, secundum quod dicit Alfredus tertio Metheorum. Licet aer quandoque infirmis oculis propter humores defluen-

25–27 Aer–Metheorum] Alfred of Sareshel, *Commentarius in IV libros Metheororum Aristotelis* III: "Intensio et splendor non videntur in aere et aqua nisi quando sunt quieti. Ex quiete enim partes confluunt cum sint similes."

1 lune] lucem M **5** alterari] alterati M quia] quod S per] ad M delati] doleti S colorantur] videntur colorati M **6** coloris que] esse colorum quia M **7** vel] *add.* quando S **8** quibusdam] quibus M colorat–madida] coloratur madidum M **9** aut] id est M **10** quendam] quoddam M **11** coloris] colorem M **12** sustinet] sustinent M ab–alium] ad aliquem colorem ab uno alio M **14** due] duo S **15** cum dicit] contingit S **16** accedit] accidit M ex] in M **17** alterari] alterati M **18** sensui] sensum S sensibiliter] sensibili M contingit] contingat S **19** apparere–dicit] unde apparere sensibiliter dicens S **20** dominantium] dominante M color] illorum S **21** magne] nigri S **22** idolum ... modum] ydolis ... movet M **23** Imagines eorum] idem ymagines S speculis[2]] speculo M habentes] habentia S **24** hiis] *om.* M **25** sit (*scr.*)] sint MS **26** etiam] in M **26–27** secundum–oculis] *om.* M

tes ad pupillam, reddit imaginem similem, sicut Aristoteles dicit tertio METHEORUM quod reflectio fit ab aere cum factus fuerit consistens. Propter visus autem debilitatem et sine inspisatione facit aer refractionem, qualis aliquando accidit cuidam passio debiliter et non acute videnti: semper enim idolum videbatur precedere ambulantem ipsum, ex opposito respiciens ad ipsum. Et nota quod sicut in planis speculis representantur colores et figure, ita et in speculis convexis quibus consequenter utimur et in concavis nec est differentia representando colores et figuras, nisi quod minor apparet figura in convexo quam in plano.

Deinde cum dicit *quare ex tribus*, ex dictis causis quedam correlaria concludit, dicens quod ex predictis apparet quod colores omnes contingit esse mixtos ex tribus, scilicet luce et hiis per que videtur lux, sicut per medium, ut quod est aque et aeris. Aqua enim et aer sunt medium per quod colores videntur, licet Democritus opinatus sit contrarium, dicens quod si vacuum esset inter celum et terram certissime viderentur formice in celo, ut patet per Aristoteles secundo DE ANIMA. Et tertium in ista mixtione sunt colores subiecti. Unde dicit quod tertium est ex subiectis coloribus a quibus contingit lux repercuti, id est a quibus contingit quod lux facit repercussionem unius coloris ad alium, sicut supra visum est. Et hoc est *quare ex tribus.*

Deinde cum dicit *album autem*, tangit aliud correlarium, quod est quod in istud quod est album et lucidum, quando est rarum, videtur esse quedam nebula, sicut patet in vitro et in aere quando est grossus. Et subdit causam huius, dicens quod splendoribus undique efficientibus – id est propter splendores undique efficientes – circumquaque apparentes non possumus evidenter videre ea que intra ipsa sunt. Ut verbi gratia: videmus vitrum album et lucidum exterius, tamen

1–5 Aristoteles–ipsum[2]] Aristoteles, *Meteorologica* III, 4 (373b1–7): "Fit autem ab aere quidem, cum factus fuerit consistens. Propter visus autem debilitatem sepe et sine inspissatione facit refractionem, qualis aliquando accidit cuidam passio debiliter et non acute videnti: semper enim ydolum videbatur precedere ambulantem ipsum, ex opposito respiciens ad ipsum." **12–14** Democritus–anima] Aristoteles, *De anima* II, 7 (419a15–17): "Non enim bene hoc dicit Democritus, opinatus, si esset vacuum quod medium, prospici utique certe, et si formica in celo esset."

1 reddit] oculi reddat S **2** quod] quia M reflectio] *add.* sine refractione M autem] *om.* M **3** debilitatem] *add.* fit sepe S aer] *om.* M **5** ambulantem] ambulante S ex opposito] et appositio M ad] *om.* M **6** et[2]] *om.* S **7** representando colores] inter specula in representando colorem M **8** quod] quia S **9** ex tribus] existentibus esse colorum M causis] ostensis M **10** predictis] premissis M omnes contingit] *inv.* M **11–12** aque–aeris] aqua et aer M **12** quod] que M **13** sit] est M **15** mixtione] commixtione M quod] et S **15–16** est–coloribus] in ista mixtione est ex coloribus subiectis M **17** facit repercussionem] fiat repercussione S **19** quod[1]] et S **22** splendoribus] *praem.* in S **23** circumquaque apparentes] circum quod apparunt M **24** Ut] *om.* S

quod est intra vitrum propter lucem exteriorem non possumus evidenter videre. Et sic est de aere grosso illuminato et de nube lucida alba. Et hoc est *album autem et lucidum.*

Deinde cum dicit *aer autem*, ponit tertium correlarium, et est quod aer de prope visus nullum videtur habere colorem, quia propter suam raritatem vincitur splendoribus. Splendores enim in aere videntur. Sed aer, cum sit rarus, non videtur propter minimam eius raritatem, quia sic accipitur aer: ut separatus ab ipsis densis existentibus – id est ab eis que sunt existentia densa separati – et etiam ut separatus a visis per ipsum. Aer enim est medium videndi, ut dictum est. Aer igitur acceptus preter ea que sunt densa et preter ea que sunt visa per ipsum nullum videtur habere colorem. Nota quod non dicit 'nullum habet colorem', sed 'nullum videtur habere colorem', quia non potest percipi propter raritatem. Aer tamen secundum se est albi coloris, ut a principio huius libri Aristoteles dixit.

Deinde cum dicit *in profunditate*, ostendit qualem colorem habet aer visus in profundo et de longe, cum fuerit densatus et inspissatus, dicens quod aer visus in profunditate – id est in profundo inspissato et denso supple per lucem supervenientem – proximo videtur colore kyanoydes, id est colorem proximum colori purpureo. Kyanoydes est enim color grece, latine dicitur purpureus. Non apparet autem aer simpliciter purpureus, sed proximum colorem purpureo videtur habere.

Deinde cum dicit *propter raritatem*, ostendit quomodo fit color kyanoydes, dicens quod propter raritatem autem in quantum deficit lux – id est minuitur vel decrescit – quia si superhabundaret lux, faceret colorem glaucum. In quantum igitur minuitur lux et aer fuerit sicut tenebra – id est tenebroso vapore – involutus, tunc videtur color kyanoydes densatus, sicut et aqua densata quando albissima est.

12–13 Aer–dixit] Aristoteles, *De coloribus* (791a2–3): "Aer quidem et aqua secundum se ipsos natura albi."

1 intra] infra M evidenter videre] *inv.* S **7** minimam eius] *inv.* M **8** eis que] hiis qui M separati] separatim et seorsis S **9** separatus] separatis M Aer[2]] *add.* est enim medium videndi aer M **10** sunt densa] *inv.* M sunt visa] *inv.* M **13** libri] *om.* M **14** profunditate] profunditatem autem M **15** profundo–de] profunditate a M longe] *add.* dicens S **16** id–in] *om.* M supple] *add.* id est M **17** colore] esse coloris M kyanoydes] kymoides S **18** Kyanoydes est] kynoides S dicitur] *om.* M **19** autem] *add.* tunc S simpliciter purpureus] *inv.* M colorem] *tr. post* habere M **21** raritatem] varietatem M kyanoydes] kynoides S **22** quod] *om.* M raritatem autem] varietatem aeris M minuitur] miniuntur M **24** tenebroso] tenebrosa M **25** kyanoydes] kinoides S et] *om.* S densata] *add.* est M

794a16 *Que tinguntur autem omnia*. Postquam Philosophus posuit causas propter quas colores secundum apparentiam videntur alterari, consequenter hic ponit causas propter quas colores secundum veritatem sunt alterati. Et primo ponit causas vere alterationis colorum. Secundo, cum dicit *eorum autem que contingunt*, recapitulat. Primo adhuc ponit generalem causam alterationis colorum. Secundo, cum dicit *multa quidem enim*, prosequitur intentum. Dicit ergo primo quod omnia, illa que tinguntur, accipiunt colores a tingentibus, ex quo sequitur quod tinctura est generalis causa alterationis colorum. Et hoc est *que tinguntur autem.*

Deinde prosequitur intentum et procedit sic, quia primo enumerat multa ex quibus fit tinctura. Secundo, cum dicit *universaliter quecumque*, docet que sunt illa que tinguntur. Dicit ergo primo quod multa tinguntur floribus vegetabilibus, multa etiam tinguntur radicibus, multa etiam tinguntur corticibus aut frondibus aut fructibus. Amplius multa quidem tinguntur terra, que diversorum colorum invenitur, multa etiam tinguntur spuma, multa etiam tinguntur atramento. Animalia autem et animalium cutes multotiens tinguntur, ut cutis alba tingitur in nigram, sicut videmus habentem muriceum colorem tingi purpura. Alia autem tinguntur vino, alia autem a fumo, quedam autem tinguntur lexivio, alia vero tinguntur a mari, sicut pilositates piscum marinorum, quia omnia huius tinguntur a mari sunt rubea. Et hoc est *multa quidem enim floribus.*

Deinde cum dicit *et universaliter*, determinat de quibusdam que tinguntur, ubi sic procedit, quia primo dat regulam generalem de illis que habent proprios colores. Secundo determinat de pilis nigrum colorem habentibus, cum dicit *tinguntur autem et nigra*. Tertio determinat de crinibus medie distantie colorem habentibus, cum dicit *medie autem distantie*. Circa primum sic procedit, quia primo ponit regulam suam. Secundo infert ex ea quoddam correlarium, cum dicit *unde et multotiens*. Dicit ergo primo quod universaliter quecumque habent proprios colores tinguntur et hoc quia semper tinguntur ab omnibus coloribus per calidum et humidum simul convenientibus vel intrantibus in poros tinctorum. Quando ista enim desiccantur, colores ab ipsis accipiunt, id est a calido et humido. Et hoc est *et universaliter.*

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1 omnia] *om.* S Philosophus] Aristotilis S **2** alterari] alterati S **3–5** Et–adhuc] ibi sic procedit quia primo M **6** ergo] *om.* S 7 colores] colorem M **8** que tinguntur] quod continguntur M **9** intentum–quia] et S **10** universaliter] et similiter M **11** floribus] *praem.* a M vegetabilibus] *add.* ut patet de floribus gravee S **14** etiam[1]] enim M etiam[2]] enim M atramento] *om.* M **15** multotiens tinguntur] *inv.* S **16** purpura] purpurea M autem] vero S **17** alia[1]–fumo] *om.* S autem[2]] vero M lexivio] *praem.* a M tinguntur[2]] *om.* S **18** pilositates piscum] palositates M huius tinguntur] hec huius S sunt] *om.* M **19** enim] *om.* M **20** determinat] tangit S **21** quia] *om.* S **22** colorem habentibus] *om.* S **23** et nigra] *om.* S **24** quia] *om.* S **25** regulam suam] *inv.* S infert] *tr. post* ea S **26** quod] *om.* S **27** ab omnibus] propriis M **28–29** ista enim] *om.* S **29** accipiunt] accipiuntur M **30** universaliter] *add.* autem M

Deinde ex hoc infert quoddam correlarium, dicens quod unde – id est propter hoc – videmus quod ea que tinguntur, abluuntur ex floribus ex poris effluentibus – id est per poros –. Tinctorum talium multas in tinctura differentias faciunt et mixturas et passiones tingentium, id est quod secundum differentias et mixturas et passiones vel proprietates tingentium de quibus dictum est prius diversi generantur colores. Et hoc est *unde et multotiens*. Et nota quod istas ablutiones cotidie faciunt tinctores pannorum.

Deinde cum dicit *tinguntur et nigra*, determinat de tinctura nigrorum pilorum, dicens quod tinguntur et nigra pilorum – id est nigri pili –, sicut mulieres habentes capillos multum nigros per tincturam faciunt eos flavos. Non tamen omnes pili nigri fiunt per tincturam similiter splendidi in colore, quia diversimode tinguntur pori ipsorum secundum quod sunt ingredientes in florem qui facit tincturam, id est secundum quod diversitatur flos ingrediens poros eius quod tingitur, diversificatur color.

Deinde cum dicit *medie autem distantie*, determinat de tinctura crinum medie distantie colorem habentium, dicens quod medie distantie crinum neque unam – id est nullam – accipiunt tincturam, id est que neque sunt simpliciter albe neque simpliciter nigre, sed secundum mediam distantiam sunt albe aut nigre. Quia hee quidem albe manentes et subalterne coloribus superpositis iacentes faciunt omnes flores videri splendidiores, ex quibus floribus videtur fieri tinctura, nec tamen alterantur secundum se. Econtrario nigre faciunt videri flores umbrosos et opacos. Propter quod id quod vocatum est obscurum floridius fit albis aut nigris. Sic enim flos ipsorum mixtorum splendoribus qui sunt nigri videtur esse infirmior, quia secundum se ipsam est ibi media distantia. Non tamen est ibi media distantia propter parvitatem unius quod est in mixtura, sicut non esset media distantia si parvum stagnum eri multo esset mixtum neque nullum aliorum talium.

Deinde cum dicit *eorum autem que contingunt*, recapitulat ea que dicta sunt de causis propter quas alterantur colores, dicens quod eorum que contingunt – id est eorum tincturam contingunt – colores alterantur propter predictas causas.

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1 quoddam] *om.* S **2** floribus] floris S **3** poros] porum M Tinctorum] *add.* enim S differentias faciunt] *inv.* S **4** id est] illud M et mixturas] *om.* M **8** nigra] *add.* secundum M pilorum] pannorum M **9** nigri pili] *inv.* S habentes] habentis M **10** per tincturam] *tr. post* eos S **11** nigri] *om.* M **12** pori] pili S **15–16** determinat–crinum] crimum M **16** unam] suam M **17** sunt simpliciter] *inv.* S **18** aut] autem M **19** quidem] *add.* hoc modo S superpositis iacentes ... flores] suppositis ... colores M **20** videtur fieri] *inv.* M **22** aut] autem M enim] *om.* M **23** nigri] nigre M **25** unius] visus M **26** aliorum] alborum M **27** que contingunt] qui tingunt M **27–29** recapitulat–eorum] id est autem qui M

794b12 *Pilositates enim et pennositates.* Postquam Philosophus determinavit de generatione, variatione et alteratione colorum in generali, consequenter hic determinat in speciali de generatione, variatione et alteratione colorum in plantis, animalibus et fructibus, ubi sic procedit, quia primo enumerat ea circa que contingunt mutationes colorum. Secundo, cum dicit *que autem sunt singula*, prosequitur intentum. Dicit ergo primo quod pilositates animalium et pennositates avium et fructus et plante omnes quoniam quidem simul digestione – id est per digestionem – accipiunt omnes colorum mutationes manifestum est ex multis. Et hoc est *pilositates enim.*

Deinde prosequitur intentum, ubi primo agit de mutatione colorum in plantis et fructibus. Secundo agit de mutatione colorum in animalibus, cum dicit *fiunt autem et pilositates*. Adhuc primo dat intentionem suam circa dicenda, secundo prosequitur de intento. Dicit ergo quod que sunt principia vegetabilium colorum – id est eorum que sunt vegetabilia sicut sunt plante – et quales mutationes et ex quo eas accipiunt et per quas causas hec sustinent et si quas alias dubitationes ipsis sequi contingit, ex hiis que dicenda sunt de hiis omnibus considerandum.

Deinde cum dicit *in omnibus autem*, prosequitur de intento, ubi sic procedit: primo agit de coloribus plantarum. Secundo, cum dicit *quando autem maturantur fructus*, agit de coloribus fructuum. Tertio, cum dicit *flores autem fructibus*, agit de coloribus florum. Quarto, cum dicit *multe autem*, agit de coloribus frondium arborum. Circa primum sic procedit: primo ponit colorem in principio communem in plantis. Secundo declarat propositum in pluvialibus aquis, cum dicit *videbit autem utique aliquis*. Tertio, cum dicit *secundum autem rationem*, probat hunc colorem in principio rationabiliter inesse plantis.

Dicit ergo quod in omnibus plantis communiter ita est quod principium colorum eorum est herbeum, id est quod plante communiter in principio sunt herbei coloris. Quod patet quia palmites – qui sunt rami vicis – et frondes et fructus sunt in principio herbei coloris. Et hoc est *in omnibus autem plantis.* In secundo libro De plantis sic dicit: viriditas plante debet esse res communissima in

28–83,2 In–propinquiori] Nicolaus Damascenus, *De plantis* II, 8: "Viriditas vero plantae debet esse res communissima in arboribus. Videmus quod communius est albedo et viriditas exterius. Et hoc est quia materia utuntur propinquiori."

1–2 de–variatione] determinatione M **2–3** hic–generatione] ostendit de varia hic determinavit de M **3** plantis] *add.* et S **4** et fructibus] *om.* S quia] *om.* S **4–5** mutationes colorum] variationes colorum vel variationes S **6** ergo] igitur S **7** quoniam] *om.* M **11** fiunt] sunt S **12** primo] *om.* M **13** ergo quod (*scr.*)] ergo M : igitur quod S vegetabilium colorum] *inv.* S **14** sunt plante] in plantis M **16** ex–sunt] *tr. post* considerandum M **17** ubi–procedit] et S **19** fructus] *om.* M **21** sic procedit] *om.* S **22** in[1]] *om.* S **24** in principio] *om.* M **25** ergo] primo S principium ... eorum] in principio ... ipsorum M **29** secundo] *add.* vero S

arboribus. Videmus enim quod in lignis communis est albedo et viriditas exterius. Et hoc est quia materia utuntur propinquiori.

Deinde cum dicit *videbit autem aliquis*, declarat propositum in pluvialibus aquis, dicens quod hec, scilicet quod plante in principio sunt herbei coloris, videbit utique aliquis – id est videre poterit in pluvialibus aquis – ubi utique – id est quando in aliquo loco, ut in cisternis – multo tempore congregatur aqua. Enim ibi omnino iterum desiccata colore fit herbea – id est fit herbei coloris –.

Deinde cum dicit *secundum autem rationem*, probat herbeum colorem in principio rationabiliter inesse plantis, quod primo proponit, dicens quod secundum rationem – id est rationabiliter – contingit primum – id est a principio – in omnibus vegetabilibus hunc consistere colorem, scilicet herbeum.

Deinde cum dicit *aque diuturne*, prosequitur intentum, ubi sic procedit: primo probat intentum per exemplum de humidis solis splendoribus commixtis. Secundo, cum dicit *et omnium veteres*, infert correlarium ex dictis. Dicit ergo quod aque diuturne – id est que diu fuerint stantes in aliquo loco – in principio quidem fiunt virides quando sunt mixte solis splendoribus. Paulatim vero nigrescentes iterum mixte viridi fiunt herbee. Et dat causam huius, dicens quod humidum, sicut dictum est, secundum se ipsum inveteratum et arefactum nigrescit, sicut in cisternis pluviositates, quare remanet semper ista nigredo quia istud humidum arefit. Econtrario est de hiis que semper sunt in aqua. Et hoc est quod subdit *et enim horum*, dicens et enim horum quecumque quidem semper sunt in aqua, hec quidem omnia sunt nigra. Et hoc quia secundum se ipsam non arefiunt humidum vero arefactum quantum haustum a sole subtrahitur. Herbeum quidem fit propter id quod rubeum – id est splendor solis – nigro commiscetur. Et quanto magis humidum fiunt denigratum, tanto magis fit herbeum. Et hoc est *aque autem diuturne*.

Deinde cum dicit *unde et omnium*, infert quoddam correlarium ex dictis, dicens unde – id est propter hoc – accidit quod omnium vinearum palmites veteres multo magis sunt nigri iuvenibus palmitibus – id est quam iuvenes palmites –. Rubei autem sunt propter id quod nondum humidum eorum nigrescit. Augmento

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3 aliquis] utique M **4** scilicet] est M **5** ubi] ut M **6** congregatur] congregatis M 7 omnino iterum] *inv.* M colore] coloris M herbea] herbei M **8** autem rationem] *inv.* S **9** primo proponit] *inv.* S **10** contingit] convenit S primum] quantum M **11** vegetabilibus–consistere] habent existere M **12** prosequitur–primo] *om.* S **13** per–de] in S splendoribus] *add.* enim S **13–14** Secundo] *praem.* et primo probat intentum in humidis commixtis S **14** et–veteres] unde et omnium rectores M infert] deinde infert quoddam M ex dictis] *om.* S **15** que] quam M **16** sunt mixte] commixte sunt M nigrescentes] nigressantes M **17** viridi] ac viride M herbee] herbei coloris S **18** inveteratum] incarceratum S **19** quare remanet] non tamen manet M ista] ibi M **20** semper sunt] *inv.* S aqua] aquis S **23** fit] *om.* M **27** quoddam–ex] correlarium quod S **28** accidit] *praem.* facit M **30** nondum] non M

enim ipsorum palmitum tardiore facto et humiditate multo tempore commorante propter palmitem fortiter infrigidatum humidum nigrescit, et postea fit prascitos – id est viridis – commixtum nigro inseparabili. Prassin enim, ut dicit Ysidorus XVII Ethymologiarum capitulo de coloribus, pictum est creta viridis.

Deinde cum dicit *in quibuscumque autem*, probat intentum in humidis solis splendoribus non commixtis. Et dicit quod in quibuscumque humidum non commiscetur solis radiis, horum permanet color albus, nisi ita sit quod propter humidum inveteratum et arefactum nigrescit prius.

Deinde cum dicit *propter quod viridia*, manifestat intentum, dicens quod propter hoc accidit quod ea que vegetabilia sunt super terram sunt viridia, quia iste color primus est habens omnium vegetabilium. Illa vero vegetabilia que sunt sub terra, sicut stipites et radices, sunt albi coloris. Et palmites etiam sub terra existentes sunt albi coloris. Terra autem circumablata, sicut a principio dictum est, omnes fiunt herbei coloris.

Deinde cum dicit *unde et humiditatem*, ex dictis infert quod propter hoc accidit humiditatem que est in istis et palmites in se ipsos impulsam huiusmodi coloris sunt herbei habere naturam. Et etiam accidit quod dicendum est ipsam humiditatem cito consumi in augmento fructuum. Quando autem fructus non amplius augentur, quia calidum utique non dominatur in eis, deferens alimentum tunc omnino econtrario resolvitur humidum a caliditate.

795a23 *Quando autem maturantur fructus*. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de mutatione colorum in plantis, consequenter hic determinat de mutatione colorum in fructibus, ubi sic procedit, quia primo agit de fructibus quorum colores transmutantur. Secundo, cum dicit *in quibuscumque autem*, agit de fructibus quorum colores non transmutantur vel manent. Adhuc primo agit de fructibus qui transmutantur ad colores uniusmodi. Secundo, cum dicit *quoniam autem plurimi*, agit de fructibus qui transmutantur ad colores mixtos. Circa primum sic procedit, quia primo ostendit a quo et per quid accipiunt fructus colores. Secundo, cum dicit

3–4 Prassin–viridis] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XIX, 17: “Prasin, id est creta viridis.”

1 facto] facta M commorante] conviolante M **2** et postea] *om.* M **2–3** prascitos–est] pressitas M **3** commixtum] commixto S **4** creta] extremum M **5** Deinde–dicit] *om.* S quibuscumque] quocumque M **6–7** humidum–commiscetur] humidis admiscetur M **7** radiis horum] radius eorum M **8** inveteratum] *om.* M nigrescit] nigrescant S **10** que vegetabilia] vegetabilis que M **11** omnium] donium M **12–13** Et–coloris] *om.* M **15** quod] *om.* M hoc] quod M **17** dicendum] dicenda S **19** augentur] augetur M **19–20** tunc omnino] circa omnis M **21** fructus] *om.* S **22** colorum[1]] coloris M **23** ubi–quia] et S colores] coloris, *tr. ante* quorum M **24** quibuscumque] quibus M **24–25** quorum colores] *inv.* M **25** transmutantur] transmutatur M **27** mixtos] permixtos S **28** quia] *om.* S colores] colorem, *tr. ante* fructus M

sicut et qui tinguntur, tangit modum per quem colorantur. Tertio, cum dicit *sic et colores*, agit de mutatione colorum.

Dicit ergo primo quod quando fructus omnes maturantur ita quod humiditas que est in ipsis sit decocta a sole et ab aeris caliditate, tunc singuli fructus plantarum accipiunt colores – id est propter has causas colorantur –, quasi dicens quod sol et caliditas aeris maturant fructus et dum fuerint in maturando colorantur.

Deinde cum dicit *sicut et qui tinguntur*, tangit modum per quem fructus colorantur, dicens quod sicut est in coloratione florum qui tinguntur, sic est in coloratione fructuum. Flores enim paulatim colorantur propter quod, etiam fructus paulatim colorantur, et maxime sicut fit ipsorum fructuum color qui quidem fructus conversi sunt ad solem et estum.

Deinde cum dicit *sic et colores*, agit de mutatione colorum in istis fructibus, dicens quod omnium ipsorum simul fructuum mutantur colores in temporibus diversis. Et deinde manifestat qualiter fiat ista mutatio, dicens quod hoc autem manifestum est, quia fructus qui sunt herbei coloris omnes in quantum isti, dum videntur maturari transmutantur in colorem qui est secundum naturam. Ut verbi gratia: et enim quia quidam ipsorum fiunt per naturam albi et quidam nigri et quidam fusci et quidam flavi et quidam in speciem nigri et umbrosi et punicei et vinosi et crocei coloris, et fere fiunt habentes omnes colorum differentias.

Quoniam autem plurimi fiunt colorum. Postquam Philosophus egit de transmutatione ad colores uniusmodi, consequenter hic determinat de transmutatione fructuum ad colores diversorum modorum simul, ubi sic procedit, quia primo tangit causam huius transmutationis. Secundo, cum dicit *et hii quidem velocius*, tangit diversitatem contingentem circa istos colores. Dicit ergo quod manifestum est quod fructus fiunt plurimi colorum pluribus coloribus mixtis ad invicem, id est quod manifestum est quod quidam fructus simul fiunt plurimum colorum. Cuius causam subdit, dicens quod hoc accidit quoniam colores qui sunt in plantis sunt in huiuscemodi que dicuntur habere humiditates crassas. Et propter hoc humidum impulsum per calidum secum sumens illud humidum omnes accipit colorum potentias. Et hoc humido decocto circa fructuum maturationes a solis et aeris cali- 795b2

1 sicut–dicit] *om.* M **3** ergo] *om.* S primo quod] *inv*. M **5–6** dicens–sol] different solis M **6** caliditas aeris] *inv.* M dum] de S **8** qui] que S **10** paulatim[1]] paulative M **10–11** paulatim[2] (*scr.*)] paulative MS **11** color] coloratio M **12** solem] calorem M **14** simul] *om.* M **15** deinde–ista] diu maturam quomodo fit hec M dicens quod] et M **16** quia] *om.* M **18** quidam ipsorum] quidem eorum M albi] *tr. ante* per S **21** colorum] *om.* S **23** colores] colorem M ubi–quia] et S **24** quidem] *om.* S **25** ergo] igitur S **26** pluribus] *om.* M **27** simul] *om.* M **29** humiditates] *add.* grossas M propter hoc] ideo M **31** potentias] fantasias M solis] sole M

ditate singuli colorum secundum se ipsos consistunt distincte. Et sic sunt fructus plurimum colorum simul.

Deinde cum dicit *et hii quidem velocius*, tangit diversitatem contingentem circa istos colores, ubi sic procedit, quia primo dicit quod istorum colorum quidam fiunt velocius et quidam tardius. Secundo, cum dicit *qui vero posterius fiunt*, ostendit quid accidit de coloribus posterius factis. Circa primum sic procedit, quia primo proponit quod intendit. Secundo, cum dicit *sicut accidit*, manifestat propositum per exemplum. Tertio, cum dicit *hoc autem idem*, ostendit idem accidere in fructibus. Dicit ergo quod hii quidem colores fiunt in fructibus velocius, alii vero tardius. Et hoc est *et hii quidem*.

Deinde cum dicit *sicut accidit*, manifestat propositum per exemplum, dicens quod ita accidit in productione istorum colorum, sicut accidit circa tincturam que est purpure, id est que fit ex purpura. Et enim quando aliqui secantes sunt hanc – scilicet purpuram – colabunt ex ipsa omnem humiditatem, et hanc infundentes decoquunt in ollis pluribus coloribus subiectis. Tunc enim primum – id est in principio – nullus omnium colorum manifestus est in tinctura, sed paulatim postea unusquisque ipsorum colorum transit per humidum magis decoctum et adhuc coloribus existentibus in ipsis mixtis ad invicem istud decoctum multas et varias accipit colorum differentias. Et enim tunc apparet color niger et albus et acer et aereus, et sic fit omnis color manifestus hiis omnibus decoctis. Ex quo concludit quare supple sequitur in principio sequitur propter mixtionem, non amplius secundum se ipsum, nullum aliorum colorum manifestum esse.

Deinde cum dicit *hoc autem idem*, ostendit idem accidere in fructibus, quia primo dicit hoc autem idem accidit in fructibus, supple quod accidit in tinctura que fit ex purpura. Deinde manifestat hoc, dicens quod in multis fructibus accidit diversitas colorum propter id quod non omnium fructuum simul fiunt maturationes, sed quidam ipsorum consistunt prius, alii vero posterius. Unde accidit quod in diversis terris ex alteris in alteros colores mutantur, sicut botri vinearum et dactili. Et enim horum alii quidem primum fiunt punicei coloris, nigro autem colore in se ipso consistente transmutantur iterum in colorem vinosum. Ultimo

1 secundum–distincte] circa se ipsas existunt distincti M sunt] est M **4** sic–quia] *om.* S colorum quidam] quidem M **5** et] *om.* M fiunt] *om.* S **6** sic–quia] *om.* S 7 proponit] ponit M **9** ergo] igitur S colores] colorum S vero] *om.* S **10** et] *om.* M **11** per exemplum] *om.* S **13** purpure] purpura M enim] *add.* quia S **14** ipsa] ista M **15** ollis] *add.* quod intellige S **16** nullus] nullis M **17** ipsorum colorum] *inv.* M adhuc] addit M **19** acer] aqui M **20** fit] *om.* S **21** sequitur[2]] *tr. ante* in S amplius] autem M **22** aliorum] alium M **23** idem[2]] *iter.* M **23–24** quia–dicit] quod proponit et hoc est S **25** ex] in M **26** non] omnino S **27** ipsorum consistunt] eorum concipiunt M alii] quidam M **29** alii–fiunt] quidam fiunt primo M **30** consistente] existente M

vero fiunt colores kyanoydes, quando scilicet puniceum multo et extremo nigro miscetur.

Qui vero posterius fiunt colorum. Postquam Philosophus egit de transmutatione fructuum ad diversos colores et ostendit quod istorum colorum quidam fiunt velocius et quidam tardius, consequenter hic ostendit quid faciunt colores posterius facti, ubi sic procedit, quia primo dicit quod colores posterius facti, quando continent primos colores, permutant. Et hoc est *qui vero posterius*, quando continent complementum et optinent. Secundo, cum dicit *maxime autem hoc*, manifestat hoc dupliciter. Primo uno modo, secundo, cum dicit *quoniam autem coloribus*, manifestat hoc alio modo. Adhuc primo manifestat hoc in coloribus nigris. Secundo, cum dicit *quoniam propter quid fructuum*, ostendit quare fructus nigri participant duos colores. Dicit ergo quod colores qui posterius fiunt permutant primos colores. Maxime manifestum est in fructibus nigris, quoniam plurimi fere ipsorum, ut supra dictum est, in principio quidem ex herbeo colore permutati parum rubescunt et fiunt rubei. Et cito transmutantur iterum ex rubeo colore in hoc dominante nigro in huiusmodi fructibus existente. Declarant autem hoc plura et enim hoc declarant vites et lane et frondes. Omnium enim istorum est bonum nigrum, quia huiusmodi color plurimum existit in ipsis. 795b30

Deinde cum dicit *quoniam propter quid fructuum*, ostendit quoniam fructus nigri participant utriusque coloris, scilicet duorum colorum. Et dicit quoniam propter quid – id est propter quam causam – nigri fructuum – id est fructus nigri – utrisque coloribus participant, manifestum est. Et hoc est *quoniam propter quid*.

Deinde ponit causam huius, et dicit quod hoc est causa, quia omnis succus horum fructuum qui nigri sunt fit vinosus. Colores autem punicei humidiores sunt coloribus nigris, et ideo participant utrumque colorem. Et hoc est *omnis enim succus*.

Deinde hoc demonstrat, dicens quod hoc declarat ubicumque contingit fieri illud quod sequitur, et enim terra que est sub guttis aquarum. Hoc declarat

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1 colores] coloris S et] *om.* S **3** egit] agit M **4** fructuum–colores] colorum in fructibus M fiunt] *add.* in eis S **5** hic] *om.* M quid] quidem M **5–6** posterius] *praem.* in S **6** sic–quia] *om.* S facti[2]] sive S **8** et] vel S hoc] *om.* M **9** Primo–dicit] secundo modo ibi S **10** manifestat[1]–modo] *om.* S **11** quoniam–quid] propter quidem M quare] qualiter S **12** Dicit ergo] dicens igitur S fiunt] fiant M permutant] permutent S **12–13** primos colores] *inv.* M **13** nigris] *om.* M **14** supra] *om.* M colore] *om.* M **15** in] et M **16** autem] enim M **17** hoc] *om.* S lane et] *om.* S bonum] *add.* et M **18** plurimum] multum M ipsis] illis M **19** quoniam[1]–fructuum] propter quidem fructuum nigri M **21** propter quid] id est propter quidem S quam] quoniam M **22** utrisque coloribus] utriusque coloris M est[2]] *om.* M quid] quidem M **23** hoc–causa] huius causa est S **23–24** succus horum] fructus quorum M **25–26** omnis–succus] omnes enim fructus M **27** demonstrat–fieri] declarat S **28** enim] *add.* quia S declarat] *add.* et omnino hoc declarat S

ubicumque contingit fieri aquarum defluxio in locis umbrosis, omnia enim hoc primo mutantur ex herbeo colore in puniceum colorem et fit terra sicut utique in sanguine recenter effuso secundum hunc locum secundum quem utique accipiat herbeus colorum digestionem. Ultimo vero et hic color niger fit et acer, quod similiter contingit et in fructibus.

Deinde cum dicit *quoniam autem coloribus*, ostendit iterum alio modo quam prius quod colores posterius facti quando dominantur priorem colorem, colorem fructuum mutant, ubi primo dicit quod coloribus posterius factis quando dominantur, inquit isti colores mutant priorem colorem fructuum. Per huiusmodi que dicta sunt facile est videre. Et hoc est *quoniam autem coloribus.*

Deinde hic ostendit, dicens et enim quia fructus granati et folia rosarum in principio quidem fiunt alba, ultimo autem coloratis in se ipsis factis – id est arefactis – a digestione discolorantur et mutantur iterum in colorem muriceum et puniceum. Alia autem plures colores habent sub ipsis, ut patet in papaveris lacte et amurca olive. Omnium enim horum prior color fit albus, sicut et fructus granati prius sunt albi. Dealbati autem iterum transmutantur in puniceum colorem. Ultimo autem multo nigro commixtis fiunt colores kyanoides. Ex quibus concludit, dicens quod ideo accidit quod papaveris folia superiora habent punicea vel punicei coloris, propter id quod velox fit eorum digestio. Et addit quod ista que sunt in principio nigra, hoc colore in ipsis dominante, sicut accidit in quibusdam fructuum, ultimo fiunt magis nigri.

796b2 *In quibuscumque autem existit*. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de fructibus quorum colores transmutantur, consequenter hic determinat de fructibus quorum colores non transmutantur. Et dicit quod in quibuscumque plantarum existit unus solus color ut niger aut albus aut puniceus aut muriceus, harum omnium fructus manent semper eandem habentes coloris naturam, quando semel ex herbeo colore in alium colorem mutantur.

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2 primo] *om.* M colorem] *om.* M fit ... in] sic ... ibi S **3** quem] quod M **4** herbeus colorum] color M hic] hoc M niger] nigri S et acer] *om.* M **5** et] *om.* S **6** autem] *add.* et M iterum] *tr. post* modo M **7** prius] *om.* M colores] color M dominantur] *add.* super M colorem[2]] *om.* S **9** inquit] quod in quidem M mutant] mutent S Per ... dicta] quod ... dicenda M **12** fiunt ... autem] sunt ... quidem M factis] satis S **13** a] et M **14** autem] etiam M habent] *om.* S **15** et[1]] *add.* in M granati] generati M **17** colores] coloris S **18** vel] *add.* sunt M **19** propter id] et propter idem M Et] *add.* quod M ista] illa M **22** In] *om.* M existit] existente M **23** hic] *om.* M **24** transmutantur] mutantur S in quibuscumque] quicumque M **25** ut–aut[1]] nec magis sit M **26** eandem habentes] *inv.* M semel] solum M **27** colorem mutantur] colorem mutatur M : mutantur S

Flores autem fructibus in quibusdam. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de 796b7
transmutatione colorum in plantis et fructibus, hic consequenter determinat de transmutatione colorum in floribus, ubi sic procedit: primo determinat de transmutatione colorum in floribus. Secundo, cum dicit *fructus vero maturati*, quia colores florum in multis assimulantur coloribus fructuum, agit iterum de mutatione colorum in fructibus. Tertio, cum dicit *flores quidem igitur et fructus*, recapitulat.

Adhuc primo ostendit quod flores et fructus in quibusdam quantum ad colores conveniunt. Secundo, cum dicit *in quibusdam autem multum*, ostendit quod in quibusdam quantum ad colores multum differunt. Dicit ergo primo quod in quibusdam contingit flores fructibus fieri similium colorum. Sic enim se habet in fructu granato, quia fructus eius fit puniceus et similiter flos fit puniceus.

Deinde cum dicit *in quibusdam autem multum*, ostendit quod in quibusdam quantum ad colorem multum differunt flores et fructus, unde sic procedit, quia primo hoc dicit et exempla ponit. Secundo, cum dicit *propter id quod fiunt*, huius causam reddit. Tertio, cum dicit *facile autem est hoc*, manifestat quod dixit. Dicit ergo primo quod in quibusdam flores et fructus multum differunt in colore, sicut patet in lauro et in edera, quia flos est in ipsis omnino rubeus. Fructus autem harum quidem est niger, harum vero rubeus. Et pomi similiter accidit diversitas: et enim huius quidem flos est albus subpurpurizans, fructus autem rubeus. Papaveris autem flos quidem est rubeus, fructus autem hic quidem est niger, alius vero albus.

Deinde cum dicit *propter id quod fiunt*, dat causam huius diversitatis, dicens quod hec diversitas colorum accidit propter id quod fiunt digestiones succorum qui in ipsis floribus et fructibus existunt secundum alia et alia tempora, id est propter diversitatem digestionis succorum secundum velocius et tardius.

Deinde cum dicit *facile autem*, manifestat quod dixit et hic tripliciter: primam manifestationem ponit cum *facile autem*, secundam cum dicit *amplius autem magis*, tertiam cum dicit *non minus autem*. Hic dicit ergo quod hoc – scilicet quod est in floribus et fructibus – propter diversitatem digestionis succorum accidit di-

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1 in quibusdam] *om.* S **2** hic] *om.* M **3–4** ubi–floribus] *om.* M **4** vero] *om.* S **6** et fructus] *om.* S **8** Adhuc–ostendit] de utrisque simul adhuc ostendit primo M **8–9** colores] colorem S **9** quibusdam] quibus M **10** multum differunt] *inv.* M ergo] igitur S **11** similium] consimilium M **12** granato] generati M **14** colorem] *om.* M **14–15** unde–dicit[1]] ubi primo proponit hic S **15** huius ... reddit] *inv.* S **17** ergo] *om.* S flores ... fructus] *inv.* S **18** edera] hedra S **19** quidem] quidam M vero] *add.* est S **20** flos] *add.* quidam M **21** autem[1]–quidem[1]] quidam flos M alius vero] hic autem S **23** cum ... id quod] autem ... idem autem M dicens] et dicit M **25** floribus–fructibus] fructibus et in ipsis fieri soliis M tempora] ipsa S **26** diversitatem] *tr. post* succorum S **27** facile] *add.* est M et] secundum M **28** cum[1]] hic S cum dicit] ibi S **29** Hic–ergo] dicit igitur S scilicet] *om.* M **30** est] *om.* S succorum] fructuum S

versitas colorum. Facile est videre ex multis, quia, sicut dictum est, quidam fructuum simul accipiunt multas differentias. Propter quod contingit et odores et succos multum differentes floribus et fructibus consequi. Et hoc est *facile autem.*

Deinde cum dicit *amplius autem magis*, ponit secundam manifestationem, dicens quod amplius autem – id est certe – hoc quod dictum est magis est manifestum in floribus ipsis. Eiusdem enim folii hoc quidem est nigrum, hoc vero rubeum; quorundam foliorum hoc quidem album, hoc vero purpureum.

Deinde cum dicit *non minus autem*, ponit tertiam manifestationem, dicens quod hoc quod dictum est non minus manifestum est in iride, ubi propter differentem redditum radiorum solis ad vaporem contrarium vel oppositum nubibus simul generantur plures colores.

Deinde cum dicit *multas autem habet*, repetit causam superius dictam de varietate colorum in floribus, dicens quod hic flos habet in se ipso varietates colorum multas propter multas differentias digestionis, sicut apparet in botris vinearum quando maturati sunt. Et addit quod denique omnium florum extremitates maxime contingit maturari, ita quod flores qui sunt a principio sine colore finaliter fiunt in multo colore. Fere enim quorundam florum sic monstratur humidum se habere, priusquam accipiat propriam digestionem, propter quam flores manent in colore.

Deinde cum dicit *fructus vero maturati*, agit iterum de mutatione colorum in fructibus, ubi sic procedit: primo ostendit quod fructus maturati in coloribus transmutantur et diversitatem ex hoc provenientem tangit. Secundo, cum dicit *manifestum autem hoc est*, manifestat per exemplum quod dixit. Tertio, cum dicit *quare necesse est*, intentum concludit. Dicit ergo primo quod fructus maturati – id est per maturationem – transmutantur in colorem. Et tangit diversitatem circa hoc, dicens quod quidem fructus propter parvitatem alimenti cito maturantur. Fructus autem propter multitudinem humiditatis quam habent simul transmutantur simul maturatione – id est secundum maturationem – in omnes colores qui sunt secundum naturam.

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum autem*, manifestat per simile, dicens quod hoc quod dictum est manifestum est ex modo quo dictum est prius in floribus tinctis –

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3 succos] fructus M hoc] *add.* facile et hoc M **4** secundam] aliam S **5** id–certe] per S **6** Eiusdem] eiusdam S **7** quorundam] quorum quidem M quidem] *add.* est S **9** manifestum est] est unum M **10** contrarium–oppositum] vel omnium M **11** simul] sic M **12** multas] multis M **13** varietates ... multas] varietatem ... multam M **14** apparet] patet S **15** maturati] maturi M **16** maxime contingit] *inv.* M **17** monstratur] monstrantur S **18** priusquam] prius quod M **21** sic procedit] *om.* S **24** necesse] manifestum M intentum concludit] *inv.* S Dicit ergo] dicens S **25** colorem] colore S **27** Fructus] *add.* quidam S multitudinem humiditatis] *inv.* M **28** secundum] per S **30** manifestum] *add.* est M per simile] quod dixerat per similem M **31** ex] eo M

id est in tinctura florum – quoniam illi qui ex principio sunt tingentes purpuram – id est per purpuram – ponunt sanguinitates – id est colores sanguineos – et tunc fiunt colores obscuri et nigri et aerei. Flore autem sufficienter decocto fit color muriceus et bene floridus et splendidus. Et sic accidit in fructibus qui habent multam humiditatem.

Deinde cum dicit *quare neccese est*, concludit intentum, dicens quare – id est propter quod – sequitur ex iam dictis quod necesse est florum et fructuum semper permutari – id est per mutationem fieri – secundum plures colores, et hos quidem flores et fructus superare – id est dominum habere – in coloribus, hos vero deficere a coloribus qui sunt secundum naturam. Cuius causam subdit, dicens quod causa huius est quia horum quidem non est facta finalis digestio, aliorum vero facta est finalis digestio.

Deinde cum dicit *flores igitur*, recapitulat de floribus et fructibus, dicens quod flores quidem igitur et fructus propter has causas que dicte sunt contingit differe ad se invicem coloribus.

Multe autem plurimarum arborum. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de transmutatione colorum circa plantas, flores et fructus, consequenter hic determinat de transmutatione colorum frondium circa arbores, ubi sic procedit, quia primo determinat de transmutatione colorum in arboribus. Secundo, cum dicit *amplius autem frumentum*, occasione huiusmodi determinat de mutatione colorum circa frumentum et generaliter circa omnia vegetabilia. Tertio, cum dicit *quoniam autem apii folia*, determinat de mutatione colorum circa speciales plantas. Circa primum sic procedit: primo dicit quod multe frondes plurimarum arborum fiunt ultimo rubee. 797a14

Deinde cum dicit *quia deficiente*, dat causam huius, dicens quod deficiente alimento accidit ipsas frondes arescere priusquam mutari in colorem qui est secundum naturam.

Deinde cum dicit *quoniam et defluentium*, addit quod propter eandem causam quidam fructuum defluentium – id est quidam fructus decidentes vel defluentes – fiunt colore flavi, scilicet propter id quod in eorum digestione prius alimentum deficit.

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3 fiunt] sunt S **6** neccese] necesso M 7 quod[1]] hoc M fructuum] fructus M **9** et] vel S dominum] donium M **10–11** quod–quidem] quia florum quidam M **13** flores] florum M recapitulat] *add.* sive epylogat M **15** ad se (*scr.*)] ad M : a se S coloribus] *praem.* in M **16** Philosophus] *om.* S **17** flores ... fructus] *inv.* S **18** ubi–quia] et S **19** transmutatione] mutatione M Secundo] *add.* autem M **20** frumentum] fructuum M **21** omnia] *add.* talia M **22** folia] *om.* S speciales] *praem.* quasdam S **23** Circa–dicit] primo proponit S frondes] frondium M **24** ultimo] multum S **25** cum dicit] contingit S quia deficiente] quod difficiente M dicens quod] quod est quia S **28–92,1** addit–agit] determinat M

Deinde cum dicit *amplius autem frumentum*, agit de colore frumenti, dicens quod frumentum et omnia huiusmodi vegetabilia ultimo fiunt flava – id est flavi coloris –. Et dat causam huius, dicens quod causa huius est quia humidum in ipsis non est adhuc humidum denigratum, quia arefiunt cito faciunt coloris mutationem. Humidum enim denigratum et viridi mixtum, sicut dictum est, fit herbeum. Nigro autem debiliore facto semper iterum in viridem mutatur colorem et ultimo fit flavus color.

Deinde cum dicit *quoniam autem apii*, determinat de colore foliorum apii et portulace, dicens quod folium apii et portulace et folia quorundam aliorum, quando fiunt digesta, fiunt habentia colorem puniceum, ubi quecumque horum cito arefiunt. Aliquando fiunt flavi coloris propter deficere alimentum ante digestionem. Est autem apium herba latiora et maiora habens folia quam petrosillum, et est multorum generum. Aliud enim est montanum, et aliud silvestre, et aliud domesticum, et aliud est cuius concavum declinat ad albedinem. Est autem calidum et siccum. Portulaca est herba que crura sua expandit super terram, habens folia valde spissa similia in figuris foliis herbe perforate.

Deinde cum dicit *plantarum quidem igitur*, recapitulat, dicens quod plantarum differentias in coloribus rationabile est contingere propter predictas causas.

797a33 *Fiunt autem et pilositates*. Postquam Philosophus determinavit de variatione colorum in plantis, consequenter hic determinat de varietate colorum in animalibus, ubi sic procedit: primo dicit quod pilositates et pennositates animalium et pelles animalium fiunt diversorum colorum propter eandem causam propter quam plante fiunt diversorum colorum. Secundo, cum dicit *propter quod et omnia*, dicit quod omnium istorum colores consequuntur pellibus. Tertio, cum dicit *procedente autem etate*, agit de multiplicitate istorum colorum. Primo sic procedit et

12–15 Est–siccum] Albertus Magnus, *De vegetabilibus et plantis* VI, 2, 2: “Apium est herba latiora habens folia et maiora quam petroselinum, et est multorum generum. Aliud enim est montanum, et aliud silvestre, et aliud aquaticum. Et quoddam est cuius crus est concavum declinans ad albedinem. Est autem siccum et calidum.” **15–16** Portulaca–perforate] Albertus Magnus, *De vegetabilibus et plantis* VI, 2, 15: “Portulaca est herba quae crura sua expandit super terram, habens folia valde spissa similia in figuris foliis perforatae, et succus eius est viscosus.”

2 frumentum–omnia] fructuum et M **3** quod–quia] quia M **4** est] et S coloris] colorum M **7** color] colorum M **8** autem] folia, *tr. post* apii M **9** portulace[1]] porositate M portulace[2]] porositates M **10** horum] eorum M **11** coloris] colores M **12** apium] *add.* et apium S maiora] manifestiora S **13** enim est] *inv.* M **14** ad albedinem] *om.* M **15** Portulaca ... que] portistata ... in M expandit] extendit S super] supra M folia] *add.* sua M **16** foliis] *om.* M **19–20** variatione colorum] coloribus mutationem M **21** ubi–dicit] primo proponit S pilositates–animalium] panositates M **25** multiplicitate–colorum] multiplici colore istorum S Primo] circa primum S

primo dicit quod pilositates et pennositates et pelles equorum et bovum et ovium et hominum et aliorum animalium omnium fiunt albe et fusce et rubee et nigre propter eandem causam propter quam supple et plante fiunt diversorum colorum. Et hoc est *fiunt autem et pilositates*.

Deinde cum dicit *albe quidem*, reddit causam huius diversitatis et primo quare fiunt albe. Secundo, cum dicit *nigre autem*, dat causam quare fiunt nigre. Tertio, cum dicit *fusca autem*, dat causam quare fiunt fusca et rubea et flava et alios habentia colores. Quarto, cum dicit *quibuscumque autem*, dat causam quare fiunt variorum colorum. Dicit ergo primo quod pilositates et pennositates fiunt albe quando adhuc digestione non completa humidum secundum proprium calorem arefit. Et hoc est *albe quidem.*

Deinde cum dicit *nigre autem*, dat causam quare fiunt nigre, dicens quod econtrario fiunt nigre et propter contrariam causam quam scilicet secundum ipsam in generatione superfluus calor digerens accedit. Humidum enim, sicut in aliis omnibus accidit inveteratum et antiquatum propter multitudinem caloris, nigrescit. Propter quod omnium horum corpus et pelles fiunt nigra. Et hoc est *nigre autem.*

Deinde cum dicit *fusca autem et rubea*, dat causam quare fiunt fusca et rubea et flava et alios habentia colores, dicens quod fusca, rubea et flava et alios habentia colores fiunt quecumque contingunt esse arefacta prius aut quando quibuscumque contingit omnino transmutari humidum et nigrum colorem. Et hoc est *fusca autem.*

Deinde cum dicit *quibuscumque autem*, dat causam quare fiunt variorum colorum, dicens quod quibuscumque hec arefactio – id est humidi transmutatio – inequaliter contingit, colores huiusmodi et fiunt varii colores.

Propter et quod omnia pellibus. Postquam Philosophus ostendit quare pilositates et pennositates et pelles animalium fiunt diversorum colorum et qualiter, consequenter hic ostendit quod huiusmodi colores consequuntur pellibus, ut si pellis sic nigra et pili erunt nigri, ubi sic procedit: primo ostendit quod pilositatum colores in hominibus pellibus eorum consequuntur. Secundo, cum dicit *similiter autem et in hiis*, ostendit quod similiter in animalibus pes et ungule et cornua in coloribus se consequuntur. Tertio, cum dicit *propter id et in hiis*, dat causam huius. 797b11

1 et[3]] *om.* M ovium] canes S **3** eandem] eam S et] *om.* M **5** albe] albi M diversitatis–primo] diversitam M **6** dat causam] *om.* S **7** cum dicit] *om.* S fusca[2]] fusce M rubea ... flava] *inv.* M alios] alia fiunt M **9** ergo] *om.* S **10** digestione] digestio est adhuc M proprium] *om.* M **12** autem] *add.* et econtro M **13** econtrario] econtro M **14** superfluus] superfluvus M **16** quod] *om.* S **17** autem] *add.* et econtrario M **19–20** dicens–colores] *om.* S **20–21** aut–quibuscumque] et post quibus M **23** quibuscumque] *praem.* et M **24** arefactio–est] arefacta vel M **26–94,5** Propter–colores] *parum clare* S **26** Philosophus ostendit] *inv.* S **30** Secundo] primo M

Et quarto, cum dicit *quod autem hec est causa*, manifestat illam causam. Circa primum sic procedit: primo ostendit quod pilositates hominum consequuntur pellibus secundum totum. Secundo, cum dicit *et si secundum aliam partem*, dicit ergo primo quod propter hoc quod dictum est accidit quod omnia animalia pellibus et coloribus consequuntur – id est quod colores in eis pellibus consequuntur – quoniam videmus quod hominum alborum et rubeorum pilositates sunt albe et rubee, nigrorum autem nigre, et hoc secundum totum.

Deinde cum dicit *et si secundum aliquam partem*, ostendit quod et consequuntur se secundum partem, ut si homo habeat pro maiori parte pellem nigram et secundum aliquam partem corporis eius extrafloreat morphea, tunc secundum hunc locum homo habebit omnes crines vel pilos albos et erit homo ille variorum colorum, sicut patet in equis variis. Ex quo concludit quod sic omnes pilositates et pennositates pellibus consequuntur et secundum partem corporis et secundum corpus totum. Et nota quod morphea est macula in cute veniens ex corruptione nutrimenti. Quod enim est morphea in cute, hec est lepra in carne. Et est morphea triplicis coloris: alia enim alba, alia rubea, alia nigra. Alba est ex flegmate que difficile curatur et de hac loquitur hic Philosophus, nigra vero est ex melancolia, rubea ex sanguine vel ex colera. Et secundum quamlibet istarum variantur pili, ut si homo pro maiori parte sic habens pellem albam et in parte aliqua sic morphea nigra, tunc in parte ista erunt pili nigri.

Deinde cum dicit *similiter autem*, ostendit quod similiter in animalibus pes et ungule et solee et cornua consequuntur se in coloribus, dicens quod similiter hiis – id est quod sicut in pellibus hominum pilositatum colores consequuntur pellibus – sic et in animalibus pes et ungule et grunni – id est solee – et cornua se conse-

14–18 morphea–colera] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De genuinis rerum coelestium, terrestrium et inferarum proprietatibus* VII, 65: “Morphea est macula in cute, veniens ex nutrimenti corruptione, quod enim lepra est in carne, hoc morphea est in cute. Morphea autem alia est alba ex phlegmate, alia nigra ex melancholica, alia ruffa ex cholera sive sanguine. Ista autem quae est ex melancholia et phlegmate difficilis est ad curandum, sed ista que ex sanguine facilior est ad curandum.”

2 primo] *praem.* quod M **3** secundum totum] *om.* S **6** hominum] *praem.* boum et M **10** aliquam] *add.* eius S extrafloreat] extrafloreant M **11** hunc ... homo] illum ... non M vel] et M homo[2]] *praem.* tunc M **14** corpus totum] *inv.* S veniens] proveniens M **16** enim] *add.* est M Alba] *add.* que M **17** de hac] hoc M hic] *om.* M **18** ut] et M **19** sic[1]] *tr. ante* permutari S aliqua] aliquam, *tr. ante* parte M **21** autem] *add.* et in hiis M **21–22** ostendit–hiis] *om.* M **23** consequuntur] sequuntur S **24** et[1]] etiam S pes] pelles M id est] et M

quuntur, quia nigrorum sunt nigra et alborum alba, sicut dicit Aristotilis tertio De animalibus. Unde si solea est nigra, et cornu erit nigrum.

Deinde cum dicit *propter id quod in hiis*, dat causam huius, dicens quod causa huius est quod ista sic se consequuntur. Est propter id quod in hiis omnibus alimentum per pellem ad exteriorem continentiam expellitur.

Quod autem hec est causa. Postquam Philosophus ostendit causas quare pilositates et pennositates et pelles fiunt diversorum colorum et quod colores consequuntur pellibus, consequenter hic verificat predictas causas, ubi sic procedit quia primo verificat eas ex transmutatione que fit in colorem nigrum. Secundo, cum dicit *et universaliter quecumque*, verificat eas ex transmutatione que fit in colorem album. Tertio, cum dicit *et quidam opinantur*, tangit quandam falsam operationem de transmutatione in colorem nigrum. Quarto, cum dicit *universaliter autem dicere*, ostendit universaliter quod omnes pilositates et pennositates accipiunt colorum mutationes. Quinto, cum dicit *considerationem igitur*, recapitulat. Circa primum sic procedit: primo proponit quod ex multis non est difficile videre quod hec sic causa variationis colorum in pilositatibus et pennositatibus que superius dicta est. Et hoc est *quod hec autem est causa.* 797b23

Deinde cum dicit *puerorum namque*, hic verificat primo in mutatione colorum pilorum que est in colorem nigrum. Circa quod ponit septem signa: primum est quod capita omnium puerorum in principio quidem fiunt rubea propter paucitatem nutrimenti. Manifestum est etiam quod omnibus pueris primo generantur crines debiles et rari et breves. Procedente autem tempore vel etate nigrescunt iterum et hoc ipsis pilis coloratis propter multitudinem superfluentis nutrimenti.

Deinde cum dicit *similiter autem*, dat secundum signum, dicens quod in iuvenibus circa iuventutem et circa hoc quod habent barbam vel quando incipiunt primo iuvenescere et barbescere, fiunt ipsi crines vel pili in principio quidem flavi velociter propter paucitatem humiditatis in ipsis arefacte. Nutrimento autem amplius in locum superiorem superlato nigrescunt crines vel pili iterum.

1–2 quia–animalibus] Aristoteles, *De historia animalium* III, 9 (517a14–16): “Nigrarum enim pellium nigra cornua et ople et chele, quecumque chelas habent, et albarum alba, intermedia autem que intermediorum.”

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1 alba sicut] sunt alba quod S tertio] *add.* 10° M **2** est] *om.* M **3** huius] *om.* M **8** sic–quia] *om.* S **9** transmutatione] mutatione M **12** universaliter] *add.* est M **13** universaliter quod] *inv.* S **15** proponit quod] dicit M **17** hec–est^{3}] autem hec S **18** puerorum] parvorum M verificat] *add.* et S colorum] *om.* M **21** etiam] *om.* M **22** debiles–rari] debili et pauci M tempore vel] *om.* M **23** ipsis] *praem.* ex M **26** primo] *om.* M ipsi] ipse S **27** arefacte] arefacto M **27–28** autem amplius] ante sed M **28** superlato] sublato M nigrescunt] *tr. post* pili S

Deinde cum dicit *rubei vero in corpore*, dat tertium signum, dicens quod rubei crines vel rubei pili plurimo tempore remanent in corpore propter indigentiam nutrimenti. Et tamen secundum quod tempus est augmentatum, similiter et hos contingit nigrescere, sicut et accidit in iuventute quandoque quo ad barbam et in capite quo ad crines.

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum est autem*, dat quartum signum, dicens quod hoc etiam aliter est manifestum: quia in illis quecumque habent longitudinem pilositatum sicut frequenter contingit quecumque pilositates sunt propinquum ad corpus, ille sunt magis nigre, que vero sunt in extremitatibus sunt flave.

Deinde cum dicit *et qui sunt ovium*, dat quintum signum, dicens quod pili qui sunt ovium et equorum et hominum propter id quod nutrimentum minimum ab hiis fertur in hec loco arefiunt velociter.

Deinde cum dicit *fiunt autem et pennositates*, dat sextum signum, dicens quod pennositates nigrarum avium que sunt iuxta corpus sunt nigriores omnibus que sunt in extremitatibus. In extremitatibus autem sunt flaviores.

Deinde cum dicit *eodem autem modo*, dat septimum signum, dicens quod eodem modo accidit in pennositatibus que sunt circa collum, scilicet quod pennositates sunt nigriores propinque collo.

798a12 *Et universaliter quecumque accipiunt nutrimentum*. Postquam Philosophus verificavit dictum suum ex mutatione pilositatum et pennositatum in colorem nigrum, consequenter hic verificat dictum suum ex mutatione earum in colorem album, ubi sic procedit quia primo verificat dictum suum in hiis que fiunt alba ex defectu vel brevitate nutrimenti. Secundo, cum dicit *quecumque autem fiunt alba*, verificat dictum suum in hiis que fiunt alba ex bonitate nutrimenti. Circa primum sic procedit, quia primo proponit quod intendit, dicens quod universaliter quecumque pilositates vel pennositates accipiunt breve nutrimentum supple cito albescunt. Et hoc est *et universaliter*.

Deinde manifestat hoc et ponit 10 signa. Adhuc dicit ergo quod hoc manifestum est quod secundum etatem omnes pilositates mutantur et fiunt pilositates rubee, propter id quod nutrimentum deficiens arefit cito. Ultimo contingit eas albescere priusquam contingit humidum niger fieri nutrimento in ipsis digesto. Et hoc est *nutrimento in ipsis digesto.*

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2 vel] et M remanent] manent, *tr*. *post* nutrimenti M **6** est autem] *inv.* S **7** aliter est] *inv*. S quia–illis] quod in hiis S **9** ille] illi M **10** ovium] hominum MS^{ac} **11** minimum] unus, *tr. ante* nutrimentum S **14** sunt nigriores] *inv*. S omnibus] hiis S **15** autem] vero S **18** sunt nigriores] nigre nigriores sunt S **19** accipiunt] *add.* bene M Postquam] cum S **22** ubi–quia] et S dictum suum] *inv.* S fiunt] sunt M **24** alba] albi M bonitate] brevitate M **24–25** Circa–intendit] adhuc primo proponit intentum S **26** pilositates ... pennositates] *inv*. M **27** est et] *om.* M **28** 10] 4or S signa] signum M dicit ergo] primo dicens S **32** digesto] *om.* M

Deinde cum dicit *maxime autem*, hic ponit secundum signum, dicens quod hoc maxime accidit in subiugalibus. Omnium enim subiugalium pilositates fiunt albe in locis non potentibus attrahere nutrimentum propter debilitatem calidi; humidum enim velociter arefactum fit album.

Deinde cum dicit *et que sunt circa tempora*, ponit tertium signum, dicens quod propter eandem causam ea que sunt circa tempora cito canescunt, et idem dicit tertio De animalibus.

Deinde cum dicit *et universaliter*, ponit quartum signum, dicens quod universaliter propter eandam causam infirma et dolentia locorum in animalibus fiunt alba. Ex quo infertur quoddam correlarium, dicens propter quod quidem accidit quod omnia tunc maxime in hunc colorem – scilicet album – transmutantur, quando permutant propriam naturam sui coloris.

Deinde cum dicit *et enim lepus*, ponit quintum signum, dicens quod similiter videmus qui primo factus niger et rubeus propter eandem causam fit albus.

Deinde ponit sextum signum, dicens quod cervus et ursa ex eadem causa permutantur in colorem album.

Deinde cum dicit *similiter hiis*, ponit septimum signum, dicens quod similiter hiis et orix et perdix et irundo ex eadem causa fiunt albi coloris. Est enim orix aliter quoddam in herenio simile capre cuius pili sunt replexi versus caput secundum naturam omnium aliorum animalium. Quidam tamen dicunt quod est aliter simile muri qui dicuntur glires, de quo loquitur Ysidorus XII Ethymologiarum capitulo de animantibus.

Deinde subdit huius causam, dicens *quando enim infirmabuntur*, dicens quod quando ista animalia infirmabuntur generatione – id est ita fiunt infirma quod

7 tertio–animalibus] Aristoteles, *De historia animalium* III, 12 (519a7–9): "Et secundum tempora autem permutant multe avium colores, ut lateat utique non consuetum." **18–21** Est–glires] Cf. MS Montpellier H236 (Glossaire Latin-Français): "Hec orix est animal immundum de quo quidam dicunt quod est animal ⟨in⟩ heronie simile capre cuius pili sunt reversi versus caput contra naturam aliorum animalium, alii quod mus aquaticus, alii quod simile muri, quod nos diciumus esse glirem." **21–22** glires–animantibus] Isidorus, *Etymologiae* XII, 3: "Glires dicti sunt quia pingues eos efficit somnus; nam gliscere dicimus crescere. Hieme enim tota dormiunt et immobiles quasi mortui iacent, tempore aestivo revivescunt."

3 calidi] *add.* et S **6** tempora] *add.* omnia M **6–7** et–animalibus] *om.* S **8** et] quod M quartum] tertium M quod] *add.* hoc similiter videmus quod lepus qui primo factus est nigri et rubeus propter eandem causam fit albus. Deinde ponit 5um signum dicens quod S **9** dolentia] calentia M **10** Ex–quoddam] et ex hoc infert S **11** album] albetudinem M **13–14** Deinde–albus] *om.* S **13** quintum] 4m M **15** sextum] 5m M quod cervus] et cercius M **17** similiter[1]] et in M **18** et[1]] *om.* M enim] autem S **19** cuius pili] *iter.* M **20** aliorum] *om.* M aliter] *om.* M **22** animantibus] minutis animalibus M **23** huius causam] *inv.* S dicens[1]] cum dicit S

non poterunt generare – tunc omnia ante tempus digesta propter paucitatem nutrimenti fiunt alba.

Deinde cum dicit *sic et que sunt*, ponit octavum signum, dicens quod sic accidit circa eas que sunt puerorum. Habent enim mox quidem capita alba et palpebras albas propter paucitatem nutrimenti, sicut unicuique aliorum hominum in senectute omnibus manifeste propter debilitatem calidi et paucitatem nutrimenti contingit hec passio.

Deinde cum dicit *unde et plurima*, ex premisso concludit quoddam correlarium, dicens quod unde – id est propter hoc – accidit quod plurima animalium alba debiliora sunt animalibus nigris; prius enim contingit augmentum ipsorum perfici quam requirat tempus et ideo propter parvitatem nutrimenti ipsa digesta fiunt alba.

Deinde cum dicit *sicut et fructuum*, ponit nonum signum, dicens quod sic etiam in quibusdam fructibus accidit. Fructuum enim quecumque sunt morbidi, propter debilitatem multo citius maturantur.

798b6 *Quecumque autem fiunt alba.* Postquam Philosophus verificavit dictum suum in hiis que fiunt alba ex defectu vel brevitate nutrimenti, consequenter verificat hic dictum suum in hiis que fiunt alba ex bonitate nutrimenti, ubi sic procedit: primo dicit quod quecumque de aliis animalibus fiunt alba, multum sunt differentia a predictis, ut equi albi et canes albi. Et hoc est *quecumque autem.*

Deinde cum dicit *hec enim omnia*, dat causam huius, dicens quod hec omnia mutantur ex colore qui est secundum naturam ad album propter bonum nutrimentum, quia humidum in talibus non est antiquatum nec consumptum, per augmentum fit nigrum. Et ideo plurima horum sunt humida et bene fructificantia propter bonum nutrimentum.

Deinde cum dicit *propter quod neque*, ex hoc infert correlarium, dicens quod propter hoc accidit quod non transmutantur albe pilositates – id est pilositates sic

1 omnia] *add.* ista S **2–5** fiunt–nutrimenti] *om.* M **6** omnibus] contingit S **6–7** contingit] *tr. post* passio S **8** cum dicit] contingit S premisso] premissis S quoddam] *om.* M **9** plurima] plurimum M **10** enim] *om.* M ipsorum] istorum M **11** ideo] non M **14** in] *om.* M accidit] *tr. ante* in S quecumque] quibuscumque S **16** Postquam Philosophus] cum M **17** in–fiunt] que sunt M **18** hiis] eis S **18–19** sic–dicit] primo proponit S **19** aliis] *om.* S **20** ut] *add.* sunt M **21** enim omnia] est que M dicens] *praem.* dicere M **21–22** omnia mutantur] natura mutatur M **23** nec] *add.* est S **26** infert] concludit M **27** accidit] contingit S pilositates[1]–pilositates[2]] pilositatum id est pilotes S

existentes albe – et idem dicit Aristoteles tertio De animalibus. Dicit enim sic: aliquando fiunt eorum que unius coloris ex nigris et nigrioribus alba, puta corvus et passer. Ex albis autem generibus non est visum in nigrum permutatum.

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum autem hoc est*, quarto et ultimo manifestat quod dixit, dicens quod hoc quod dictum est manifestum est, quia ea que sunt nigra ante canitiem fiunt flava alimento iam in ipsis deficiente et minus digesto, ultimo vero fiunt alba.

Et quidam opinantur. Postquam Philosophus manifestavit dictum suum ex mutatione pilositatum in colorem nigrum et album, consequenter hic tangit quandam falsam opinionem circa mutationem pilositatum in colorem nigrum et album, ubi sic procedit: primo ponit opinionem. Secundo, cum dicit *quedam enim animalium*, improbat eam. Tertio, cum dicit *manifestum hoc est*, manifestat propositum. 798b16

Dicit ergo quod quidam opinantur omnes pilositates nigras fieri propter id quod in ipsis uritur nutrimentum a calido, quemadmodum et sanguis et aliorum unumquodque uritur a calido et ideo nigrescunt. Sed in hoc sunt peccantes.

Deinde cum dicit *quidam enim animalium*, improbat hanc opinionem, dicens quod hoc non oportet quia quedam animalium mox a principio fiunt nigra, ut canes et capre et boves, et ita non fit hoc a calido adurente.

Deinde cum dicit *et universaliter quecumque pelles*, hic ostendit generaliter, dicens quod universaliter quorumcumque pelles et pilositates habent nutrimentum secundum principia – id est a principio –. Similiter fiunt nigre procedente autem etate minus. Et enim non oportuit hoc esse, omnium oportet pilositates alterari – id est mutari – secundum iuventutem, secundum quod tempus maxime ipsorum habuerat calidum et magis contingit dolere omnia secundum principia – id est a principio –. Multum enim omnino a principio infirmus fit calidum aut secundum quod tempus incipiunt pilositates ipsorum albescere. Et sic patet quia calidum a

1–3 Aristoteles–permutatum] Aristoteles, *De historia animalium* III, 12 (519a4–7): “Aliquando fiunt eorum que unius coloris ex nigris et nigrioribus alba, puta corvus et passer et yrundines; ex albis autem generibus non est visum in nigrum permutatum.”

1 idem] id S tertio] *praem.* in S sic] fit M **2** que] *add.* sunt M **3** permutatum] permutatus M **4** est] *tr. ante* autem M **8** Postquam–manifestavit] cum verificavit S **9** hic tangit] removet hic M **10** et album] *om.* M **12** hoc est] est hic M **13** ergo] igitur S propter] *add.* quod M **14** ipsis] eis M et[1]] *om.* M **16** Deinde–animalium] quidam enim S **17** quia] quod M fiunt] sunt S **18** adurente] non urente M **20** quorumcumque] quecumque S et] *add.* pennositates S **22** Et] unius, *tr. ante* minus S enim non] *inv.* S alterari] *om.* S **24** dolere omnia (*scr.*)] dolore omnia M : dolere S **25** Multum] multo M infirmus] infirmis M **26** quod] *om.* M albescere] albefacta M

principio in multis est infirmum, et in fine fit minus, et facit pilositates canescere. Non ergo fit nigredo in pilositatibus a calido adurente.

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum hoc est et in albis*, manifestat propositum per simile in animalibus albis. Secundo, cum dicit *accidit autem hoc in plantis*, manifestat propositum per simile in plantis. Tertio, cum dicit *maxime autem hoc in granato*, manifestat propositum in granato specialiter.

Dicit ergo quod sicut in animalibus quedam in principio mox fiunt nigra, ut supra dictum est, sic etiam est hoc manifestum in animalibus albis. Quedam enim animalia in principio mox habent colorem albissimum et ita sunt quecumque horum animalium in principio habent plurimum nutrimentum et ante tempus in ipsis non arefit humidum. Procedente autem etate fit aliter rubicundum minore alimento superfluente in ipsis posterius.

Deinde cum dicit *alia autem in principio*, tangit aliam diversitatem alborum animalium, dicens quod alia quidem animalia in principio fiunt rubea secundum iuventutem, tamen fiunt albissima, sicut et avium transmutatur color nutrimento iterum in ipsis deficiente.

Deinde cum dicit *declarat autem hoc*, declarat prius dictum, dicens quod declarat iam dictum hoc quod omnes pilositates hee fiunt rubee circa collum et universaliter quecumque rara sunt. Transmutantur nutrimento quod est in ipsis deficiente.

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum sic*, concludit intentum tamquam manifestum, dicens quod sic manifestum est quod illud quod est ante vel prius alterius coloris in rubeum et nigrum mutatur, et nigrum iterum in rubeum mutatur, et sic etiam album in flavum mutatur.

Deinde cum dicit *accidit autem hoc in plantis*, manifestat propositum per simile in plantis, dicens quod quedam plante ex secunda digestione propter scilicet defectum nutrimenti recurrunt iterum ad priorem digestionem, id est ad colorem quem habuerunt ex prima digestione.

Deinde cum dicit *maxime autem et hoc in granato*, manifestat propositum specialiter in granato. Est aliter malum granatum fructus et est neutri generis. Malus

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1 multis] istis M minus–facit] infirmus quare scilicet M canescere] canescunt M **2** ergo] igitur S a calido] *tr*. *ante* in M **3** et–albis] *om.* S per] primo M **4** albis] *add.* et S accidit–hoc] accederit autem S **5–6** autem–specialiter] accidit autem M 7 ergo] primo S **9** in principio] *om.* M albissimum] album M **10** plurimum] multum M **11** minore] cum minori S **13** alborum] aliorum M **15** et avium] acervi M **16** deficiente] defluente M **17** cum dicit] contingit S **19** nutrimento] *praem.* in S **21** dicit] *om.* M **22** alterius coloris] albus color M **23** in[1]] et S mutatur[1]] *tr. ante* in S **24** mutatur] *tr. ante* in S **25** accidit–plantis] acciderit hoc in S **26** simile] similem M **28** quem] quoniam M digestione] *add.* deinde cum dicit *maxime autem*, et iterum ad priorem digestionem, id est ad colorem quem habuerunt M **29** et–granato] hec S **30** granato Est] male granato autem M

autem est arbor cuius iste est fructus. Dicit igitur quod illud quod dictum est de transmutatione colorum maxime manifestum est in malo granato. A principio enim fiunt in eo quedam corone rubee – id est quidam circuli rubei – et frondes propter paucitatem alimenti digesti. Posterius autem iterum transmutatur in herbeum colorem multo alimento superfluente et digestione non similiter potente vincere. Ultimo vero iterum digesto iam alimento fit color rubeus.

Universaliter autem dicere et de aliis. Postquam Philosophus verificavit dictum suum de pilositatum et pennositatum mutatione in colorem nigrum et album, consequenter hic ostendit generaliter quod omnes pilositates et pennositates accipiunt colorum mutationes, ubi sic procedit: primo ostendit quod omnes pilositates et pennositates accipiunt colorum mutationes. Secundo, cum dicit *quoniam autem et corvorum*, ostendit hic in pennositatibus corvorum. Tertio, cum dicit *pilositatum enim nulla*, ostendit quod nulla pilositatum habent colorem qui fit ex commixtione radiorum solarium, sed solum qui fit ex mutatione carnis. Quarto, cum dicit *manifestum autem*, hic manifestat. 799a15

Dicit ergo primo quod universaliter contingit dicere et de aliis pilositatibus et pennositatibus quod omnes accipiunt colorum mutationem. Et subdit duas causas, dicens quod hoc accidit quibusdam pilositatibus et pennositatibus, sicut dictum est, nutrimento in ipsis deficiente, quibusdam vero accidit mutatio nutrimento in eis superhabundante. Propter quod alie pilositatum secundum alia tempora etatis fiunt albissime et alie fiunt nigerrime.

Deinde cum dicit *quoniam autem et corvorum pennositates*, ostendit hic in pennositatibus corvorum, dicens quoniam autem corvorum pennositates ultimo in flavum colorem transmutantur, manifestum est et hoc nutrimento in eis deficiente.

Deinde cum dicit *pilositatum enim nulla*, ostendit quod nulla pilositatum habent colorem qui fit ex commixtione radiorum solarium, dicens quod nulla pilositatum neque puniceum neque muriceum neque viridem neque alium neque unum huiusmodi videtur habere colorem, quia omnes huiusmodi colores fiunt mixtis eisdem radiis solaribus. Pilositatum autem humidarum fit mutatio in eo quod est carnis accidere mutationem, et neque contingit ipsas unam accipere mixturam.

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1 iste est] *inv.* S igitur] *add.* ille M de] in M **3** id est] et M **4** iterum] *om.* M **5** multo] *add.* autem S **6** vincere] *om.* S iam] *om.* S rubeus] albus M **7** dicere–aliis] *om.* S **11** mutationes] mutationem S **13** enim] autem M **13–14** commixtione–ex] *om.* S **16** ergo] *om.* S **18** quod] et M pilositatibus ... pennositatibus] *inv.* S **19** in ipsis] autem M vero] *om.* M **22** pennositates] *om.* S **24** transmutantur] mutantur M in eis] *tr. ante* et M **25** enim nulla] vero nullam M **27** neque[1]] vel M **28** colorem] *tr. ante* videtur M **29** mixtis eisdem] *inv.* M **30** est] in S

Deinde cum dicit *manifestum autem est*, manifestat hoc, et primo in animalibus. Secundo, cum dicit *quare et accidit*, manifestat per simile in plantis. Tertio, cum dicit *propter quod et reliqua animalium*, ex premissis infert quoddam correlarium. Circa primum tangit duplicem differentiam in pennositatibus avium, quam ponit cum dicit *alterum autem*. Dicit ergo quod hoc quod dictum est manifestum est in pennositatibus avium, quia pennositatum quorundam non fit ultimo color talis qualis fiunt in principio, sed fiunt varie pennositates avium in fine. Omnes enim a principio nigrescunt, ut patet in hiis avibus que sunt pavo et columba et irundo.

Deinde cum dicit *alterum autem*, ponit alteram differentiam pennositatum, dicens quod alterum genus pennositatum accipit omnes huiusmodi varietates digestione earum extra corpus facta, scilicet in pennositatibus et collis avium.

Deinde cum dicit *quare accidit*, manifestat hoc in plantis, concludendo dicens quare – id est propter quod – accidit in hiis sicut accidit in plantis quod extra corpus earum fit colorum digestio.

Deinde cum dicit *propter quod et reliqua*, ex premissis infert quoddam correlarium, dicens quod propter hoc accidit quod reliqua animalium aquatica et reptilia et conche, accidit in quantum quod omnia omnes habent colorum formas et multa digestione in eis facta.

Deinde cum dicit *considerationem igitur que quidem*, ponit epilogum huius totius libri, dicens quod considerationem que est ex hiis que sunt circa colores maxime ex hiis que dicta sunt potest aliquis videre.

Explicit, Deo gratias, expositio libri Aristotilis de coloribus per Bertandum episcopum Aurelianensem edita.

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1 autem est] *inv.* M **2** quare et] qualiter autem hoc S **3** reliqua] reliquo M **4** quam] secundum M **5** cum–alterum] contingit alteratum S autem] *add.* accidit M ergo] igitur S **7** fiunt in] sint ex S pennositates] pennositatum M **8** et[1]] *om.* M **10** alteram] aliam S **11** accipit] accidit M **12** et collis] *om.* M **13** dicens] *om.* S **15** fit] accidit M colorum] foliorum S **17** quod[1]–hoc] propter quod M **18** colorum] colores M multa] multas S **20** igitur–quidem] quidem igitur S **22** que–aliquis] aliquis potest M **23–24** Deo–edita] expositio libri de coloribus M

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Silvia Negri

Lesen durch Schreiben

Marginalien in der Bibliothek des Gottfried von Fontaines

Abstract: In this paper, I investigate the collection of books owned by the Parisian Master of Theology Godfrey of Fontaines and bequeathed to the library of the Sorbonne after his death (likely in 1309). Godfrey left traces of himself in many of these codices: autograph transcriptions, extended marginal passages, symbols, words, indexes, schemata, lines, *tabulae quaestionum*, and registers. In the margins, he corrected readings, excerpted works by others, edited summaries and tables of contents, composed his own annotations, and highlighted textual connections. By examining his interventions in selected codices, often complementary to those of the scribes who produced the books for him, I shed light on late medieval academic practices of reading and writing, shaped by a dynamic interplay between individual tastes, needs, and competences, and shared customs and trends, as well as between individual working methods and collaborative practices.

1 Gottfried von Fontaines und seine Buchsammlung

„Am 29. Oktober starb Meister Gottfried von Fontaines, Theologiemagister, der dem Hause alle seine schulischen Bücher vererbte …“: So vermerkt es das Nekrologium der Bibliothek des Collège de Sorbonne.[1] Gottfried von Fontaines (gest. um das Jahr

1 „Die 29 octobris obiit magister Gaudefridus ma (sic) de Fontibus, magister in theologia, qui legavit domui omnes libros suos scolasticos usque ad valorem *“, zitiert nach Jeanne Vielliard und Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, *Le registre de prêt de la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne (1402–1536): Diarium Bibliothecae Sorbonae: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 3323*, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2000, 563, mit der Anmerkung: „La valeur n’a pas été notée, et le scribe a placé un gros astérisque ✠ à la place.“

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1309) studierte an der Artes-Fakultät der Universität Paris vermutlich ab dem Jahr 1270. Vier Jahre später war er an der theologischen Fakultät derselben Universität, wo er auch als *magister regens* zwischen den Jahren 1285 und 1303–1304, mit einer Unterbrechung zwischen den Jahren 1298 und 1299, wirkte.[2] Die Historiographie porträtiert Gottfried als philosophen- und philosophiefreundlichen Theologen. Seine akademische Laufbahn fiel in eine Zeit heftiger Kontroversen an der Universität Paris: einerseits aufgrund einiger prominenter Mitglieder der Artes-Fakultät, die in ihr den Habitus und die Autonomie von Philosophen beanspruchten; andererseits wegen Magister der theologischen Fakultät, die der philosophischen Disziplin zumindest teilweise die Unabhängigkeit absprachen. Gottfried war Zeuge der Debatten, die zur berühmten Verurteilung von 219 „aristotelisch-inspirierten" Thesen durch den Pariser Bischof Étienne Tempier am 7. März 1277 führten, und er äusserte sich vermehrt zu den Kompetenzbereichen und Ansprüchen seiner Kollegen.[3] Wir kennen die Positionen von Gottfried von Fontaines vor allem aus seinen erhaltenen Werken: fünfzehn *Quodlibeta* sowie einige *Quaestiones ordinariae*, die eng mit seiner Tätigkeit als Theologieprofessor und Lehrer verbunden sind.[4] Gelegentliche Spuren seiner, in der Rolle des Experten, ausgeführten Begutachtungen, die er allein oder mit Kollegen vorlegte, sind vorhanden.[5] In diesem Beitrag steht

2 Catherine König-Pralong, Godfrey of Fontaines, in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500*, Henrik Lagerlund (Hrsg.), 426–431, Dordrecht: Springer, 2011; Andrea Aiello und Robert Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines aspirante baccelliere sentenziario: Le autografe „Notvle de scientia theologie" e la cronologia del Ms. Paris BnF Lat. 16297*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, 67–70; John Francis Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Godfrey of Fontaines: A Study in Late Thirteenth-Century Philosophy*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1981.

3 John Francis Wippel, Godfrey of Fontaines at the University of Paris in the Last Quarter of the Thirteenth Century, in: *Nach der Verurteilung von 1277: Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität von Paris im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts: Studien und Texte*, Jan A. Aertsen, Kent Emery Jr. und Andreas Speer (Hrsg.), 359–389, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001.

4 Godefroid de Fontaines, *Quodlibeta*, Maurice De Wulf, Auguste Pelzer und Jean Hoffmans (Hrsg.), Löwen: Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1904–1937; Godefroid de Fontaines, *Le Quodlibet XV et trois Questions ordinaires*, Odon Lottin (Hrsg.), Löwen: Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1937; Paul Tihon, Le sermon de Godefroid de Fontaines pour le deuxième dimanche après l'Épiphanie, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 32 (1965): 45–53; Jean Céleyrette und Jean-Luc Solère, Edition de la question ordinaire n° 18, „De intensione virtutum", de Godefroid de Fontaines, in: *Florilegium Medievale: Études offertes à Jacqueline Hamesse à l'occasion de son éméritat*, José Meirinhos und Olga Weijers (Hrsg.), 83–107, Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Mediévales, 2009. Für die Chronologie der Werke siehe Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought*, xxvii–xxviii.

5 Siehe in Bezug auf Gottfrieds Begutachtung des Werkes von Marguerite Porète: Sean L. Field, The Master and Marguerite: Godfrey of Fontaines' Praise of the „Mirror of the Simple Souls", *Journal of Medieval History* 2 (2009): 136–149.

Gottfried von Fontaines' Tätigkeit als Buchsammler und Buchbenutzer im Vordergrund.

Als Weltkleriker war Gottfried von Fontaines dem Collège der Sorbonne angeschlossen, das Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts von Robert de Sorbon im Pariser Quartier Latin gegründet wurde. Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts zählte das Kolleg zwischen 16 und 36 Mitglieder, einige mit Stipendium, andere ohne Stipendium.[6] Vermutlich hat uns Gottfrieds persönliche Buchsammlung oder zumindest ein Teil davon erreicht, gerade weil er ein Mitglied jenes Collèges war, dessen Bibliothek eine entscheidende Rolle in der akademischen Landschaft von Paris spielte.[7] Wie wir dem im Jahr 1338 verfassten Katalog der Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne entnehmen, besass Gottfried von Fontaines eine beachtliche, wenn auch überschaubare Anzahl an Handschriften, die er dem Collège vererbte. Léopold Victor Delisle wies erstmals auf die Sammlung Gottfrieds in seiner Bestandsaufnahme der Kodizes der Bibliothèque nationale de France hin und identifizierte 38 Manuskripte.[8] Weitere Forschungen haben den Befund von Delisle nur geringfügig korrigiert.[9]

6 Thierry Kouamé, La Sorbonne médiéval dans l'univers des collèges parisiens, in: *Les livres des maîtres de Sorbonne: Histoire et rayonnement du collège et de ses bibliothèques du XIIIe siècle à la Renaissance*, Claire Angotti, Gilbert Fournier und Donatella Nebbiai (Hrsg.), 33–59, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017, 51.

7 Siehe die bahnbrechende Studie von Palémon Glorieux, *Aux origines de la Sorbonne*, Bd. 1: *Robert de Sorbon: L'homme, le collège, les documents*, Bd. 2: *Le cartulaire*, Paris: J. Vrin, 1965–1966 und neulich Claire Angotti, Bonum commune divinius est quam bonum unius: Le Collège de la Sorbonne et sa bibliothèque, place et role dans l'Université de Paris au XIVe siècle, in: *Die universitären Kollegien im Europa des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Andreas Sohn und Jacques Verger (Hrsg.), 91–116, Bochum: Winkler, 2011 sowie die gesammelten Studien mit kommentierter Bibliographie in Claire Angotti, Gilbert Fournier und Donatella Nebbiai (Hrsg.), *Les livres des maîtres de Sorbonne: Histoire et rayonnement du collège et de ses bibliothèques du XIIIe siècle à la Renaissance*, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017.

8 Léopold Victor Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Bd. 2, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874, 149–150.

9 Jean Joseph Duin, La bibliothèque philosophique de Godefroid de Fontaines, *Estudios Lulianos* 3 (1959): 21–36 und 137–160; Vielliard und Jullien de Pommerol, *Le Registre de prêt*; Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*; Claire Angotti, Les manuscrits du collège de Sorbonne: Une enquête codicologique, in: *Les livres des maîtres de Sorbonne: Histoire et rayonnement du collège et de ses bibliothèques du XIIIe siècle à la Renaissance*, Claire Angotti, Gilbert Fournier und Donatella Nebbiai (Hrsg.), 245–341, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017. Die folgenden Kodizes sind (meines Wissens) auf Gottfried von Fontaines als Besitzer zurückgeführt worden: Paris, BnF, lat. 15241, 15249, 15278, 15283, 15294, 15297, 15309, 15350, 15355, 15405, 15449, 15477, 15500, 15527, 15537, 15589, 15607, 15650, 15682, 15698, 15791, 15795, 15811, 15819, 15841, 15842, 15848, 16080, 16096, 16098, 16297, 16470, 16476, 16488, 16507, 16515, 16530, 16563, 16583, 16607 und 17832. Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15841, mit *Quodlibeta* von Gottfried von Fontaines und Wilhelm von Auvergne, die Léopold Victor Delisle dem Besitz Gottfrieds zuwies, gehörte nach Duin, *La bibliothèque philosophique*, nicht dem Meister. Neu-

Die Provenienz der Handschriften Gottfrieds wurde von den Bibliothekaren der Sorbonne normalerweise sorgfältig notiert. In den meisten Exemplaren, die ihm gehörten, liest man Besitzervermerke wie: „Iste liber est Collegii pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona studentium in theologica facultate, ex legato magistri Godefridi de Fontibus.“[10] Es gibt einige Bücher, die nicht das typische Ex-Libris „ex legato magistri Godefridi de Fontibus“ tragen, bei denen es jedoch möglich ist, die Zugehörigkeit zu Gottfrieds Privatbibliothek anhand mindestens zweier Indizien festzustellen: der Anwesenheit von Gottfrieds Hand selbst, oft am Rand, und die der beiden Kopisten, die eng mit ihm zusammengearbeitet haben.[11]

Gottfried von Fontaines war nicht der erste weltliche Meister, der als Mitglied des Collège seinen Besitz an Büchern der Sorbonne übergab. Am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts war diese Praxis üblich. Vor ihm übergaben Gerard von Abbeville und Pierre de Limoges der Sorbonne einen beachtlichen Nachlass – mehr als zweihundert Bücher im Fall von Gerard von Abbeville.[12]

Die Bibliothek von Gottfried umfasste sowohl Bücher, die Gottfried kaufte, als auch solche – wahrscheinlich die Mehrheit –, die er selbst verfassen liess oder zum Teil selbst niederschrieb. Neben Gottfrieds Hand rekurrieren zwei Hände von erfahrenen Kopisten in seinen Handschriften, sodass die Forschung vorgeschlagen hat, Gottfried habe mit einem kleinen Team von Schreibern gearbeitet.[13] Seine Bücher waren, wie Andrea Aiello und Robert Wielockx anmerken, „weder Luxushandschriften (wie sie in den persönlichen Bibliotheken der Meister an

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lich haben Aiello und Wielockx erneut vorgeschlagen, die Handschrift zum Besitz von Gottfried zu zählen, siehe Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 74. Nach Aiello und Wielockx gehörten auch die Handschriften Paris, BnF, lat. 15589, 15607 und 17832 (wobei es hier nicht klar ist, ob die Handschrift der Sorbonne vererbt wurde), die Delisle nicht miteinbezogen hatte, zu der Sammlung von Gottfried von Fontaines. Diese drei letztgenannten Handschriften weisen Marginalnotizen von der Hand Gottfrieds auf.

10 Vgl. z. B. Paris, BnF, lat. 15355, hinteres Schutzblatt. Siehe Charles Samaran und Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine: Portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, Bd. 3, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1974, Verzeichnis S. 794.

11 Zu der Hand Gottfrieds siehe Louis-Jacques Bataillon, Graphie et ponctuation chez quelques maîtres universitaires du XIIIe siècle, in: *Grafia e interpunzione del latino nel Medioevo*, Alfonso Maierù (Hrsg.), 153–165, Rom: Olschki, 1987, 157–158; Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 3.1: *Opera theologica: Apologia*, Robert Wielockx (Hrsg.), Florenz: Olschki, 1985, 3–4.

12 Glorieux Palémon, Bibliothèques de Maîtres parisiens: Gérard d'Abbeville, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 35 (1968): 148–183; Claire Angotti, Les bibliothèques des couvents mendiants, un modèle pour les séculiers? L'exemple des deux premiers bienfaiteurs de la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne (Robert de Sorbon, Gérard d'Abbeville), in: *Entre stabilité et itinérance: Livres et culture des ordres mendiants, XIIIe–XVe siècle*, Donatella Nebbiai, Nicole Bériou und Martin Morard (Hrsg.), 31–72, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

13 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 80–81.

der Rechtsfakultät zu finden sind) noch günstige Bücher (wie sie Theologen aus den Mendikantenorden besassen), sondern wertvolle Bücher mit erheblichem Handelswert".[14] In fast allen seinen Büchern, und insbesondere an den Rändern, hinterliess Gottfried autographe Zeichen.

Die Geschichtsschreibung über Gottfried und seine Bibliothek hat sich hauptsächlich mit Kodizes befasst, die zur akademischen Gegenwart von Gottfried gehören, und andererseits mit philosophischen, damals viel umstrittenen Quellen. Bereits Jean Joseph Duin, der am Ende der 1950er Jahre einen ausführlichen Aufsatz zum philosophischen Inhalt der Bücher Gottfrieds schrieb, hob die Präsenz folgender Autoren und Texte hervor:[15] Boethius von Dacien – Gottfried selbst kopierte am Rand des Kodex Paris, BnF, lat. 15819 das *De mundi aeternitate* und Teile des *De summo bono* und des *De somniis* sowie Auszüge aus dem *De modis significandi* – und Siger von Brabant; anonyme Kommentare zum *Liber de causis* und zu *De anima*; strittige philosophische und theologische Fragen; Werke von Alexander von Aphrodisias, Avicenna, Al-Ghazāli, Al-Farabi, Maimonides; Schriften und Exzerpte von Albert dem Grossen; zahlreiche Werke des Thomas von Aquin; Heinrich von Gent, mit welchem er im engsten Kontakt an der theologischen Fakultät in Paris war, und schliesslich Aegidius Romanus. Die Bibliothek in der Bibliothek: Die Gottfried'sche Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 16297 – Palémon Glorieux nannte sie „recueil scolaire" – hat die Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung besonders auf sich gezogen. Sie enthält nämlich mehrere philosophische und theologische Texte, oft in Form von Auszügen und Abkürzungen, geschrieben von Gottfried selbst oder seinen Kollaboratoren vor den 1280er-Jahren.[16]

Zahlenmässig gesehen nehmen die Kodizes, die die gegenwärtigen *philosophischen* Debatten an der Artes-Fakultät und der theologischen Fakultät bezeugen, nur

14 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 67, meine Übersetzung.

15 Duin, *La bibliothèque philosophique*.

16 Palémon Glorieux, Un recueil scolaire de Godefroid de Fontaines (Paris, Nat. lat. 16297), *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 3 (1931): 37–53. Glorieux zufolge zeugt die Sammlung von Gottfrieds philosophischen Interessen als Student der Philosophischen Fakultät an der Schwelle zum Theologiestudium und muss „au jour le jour" zwischen 1270 und 1272, während des zweiten Aufenthalts von Thomas von Aquin in Paris, entstanden sein. Glorieux, *Un recueil scolaire*, 47. Siehe auch Jean Joseph Duin, *La doctrine de la providence dans les écrits de Siger de Brabant*, Löwen: Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1954, 130–135. Diese Datierung wurde von Andrea Aiello und Robert Wielockx in Frage gestellt. Auf der Grundlage kodikologischer und philologischer Überprüfungen schlugen die beiden Wissenschaftler vor, den Zeitraum der Zusammenstellung der Sammlung auf die Jahre 1276/1277–1278 zu verlegen, also in die Zeit der Verurteilung Tempiers und in die Zeit, in der sich Gottfried gemäss dem *cursus studiorum* der theologischen Fakultät darauf vorbereitete, die Sentenzen des Lombards zu lesen. Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*. Siehe auch Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*.

einen relativ kleinen Raum in der Bibliothek des Meisters ein.[17] Von den 41 Handschriften, die nach aktuellem Stand der Forschung Gottfried gehörten,[18] enthalten zehn Kodizes Schriften theologischen Inhalts von Gottfried, seinen Zeitgenossen wie Thomas von Aquin und Heinrich von Gent oder Theologen des 13. Jahrhunderts;[19] sieben Kodizes enthalten Predigten;[20] sieben Kodizes Schriften von Philosophen oder philosophischen Inhalts;[21] ferner befinden sich darin sechs Handschriften mit Werken der Kirchenväter;[22] vier Kodizes mit exegetischen Schriften;[23] vier Manuskripte mit biblischen Büchern;[24] ein Buch des kanonischen Rechtes;[25] ein enzyklopädisches Werk;[26] ein Exemplar der *Legenda aurea*.[27]

Gottfried besass also Texte für die Erbauung, das Studium und die Lehre, für die Seelsorge als auch die Auseinandersetzung mit theologischen und rechtlichen Fragen. Wie in den Kodizes mit Texten zeitgenössischer Autoren hat Gottfried auch in vielen der weiteren Kodizes Spuren seiner selbst hinterlassen: eigenhändige Abschriften, längere Passagen am Rand, Zeichen, Wörter, Register, Schemata, Linien, *tabulae quaestionum* und Register. Am Rand korrigierte Gottfried Lesarten, exzerpierte Werke anderer, redigierte Zusammenfassungen und Inhaltsangaben, verfasste eigene Anmerkungen und zeigte Textverknüpfungen auf. Durch sie und dank ihnen konnte Gottfried seine Positionen gestalten und verfeinern, seine persönlichen Interessen als Philosoph und Theologe zum Ausdruck bringen, Material für seine eigenen Werke sammeln und damit sogar zur Überlieferung sowohl „problematischer“ als auch noch nicht veröffentlichter Werke beitragen.[28]

Ich werde hier eine allgemeine Bestandsaufnahme der Interventionen Gottfrieds in seinen *libri scolastici*, wie sie im *Obituarium* der Sorbonne genannt wurden, anbieten und sie im Rahmen der damals gängigen Lese- und Schreibgewohnheiten kontextualisieren. Dabei erhoffe ich mir, einen Beitrag zur Konzeptu-

17 Bei der Auswertung meiner Aufzählung und Klassifizierung muss man in Betracht ziehen, dass viele der Handschriften nicht nur einen, sondern mehrere Texte und/oder Exzerpte enthalten.
18 Vgl. Fn. 9.
19 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15278, 15350, 15355, 15791, 15795, 15811, 15819, 15841, 15842 und 15848.
20 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15698, 16470, 16476, 16488, 16507 und 16515.
21 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15449, 16080, 16096, 16297, 16583, 16607 und 17832.
22 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15283, 15294, 15297, 15309, 15650 und 15682 (diese Handschrift enthält zahlreiche Schriften von Autoren des 12. Jahrhunderts wie Hugo von Sankt Viktor).
23 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15241, 15249, 15589 und 15607.
24 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15477, 15500, 15527 und 15537.
25 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 15405.
26 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 16098.
27 Es handelt sich um Paris, BnF, lat. 16563.
28 Z. B. die *Apologia* des Aegidius Romanus/Heinrich von Gent.

alisierung und Nutzung der Ränder als Lese- und Schreibraum zwischen persönlichem und personalisiertem Gebrauch sowie geteilten und anerkannten Praktiken zu leisten.

2 Das Buchwissen organisieren: *tabulae*

Die Notwendigkeit, mit immer reichhaltigerem Wissen – hinsichtlich produzierter und weitergegebener Bücher – und vielfältigerem Wissen – in Anbetracht der Disziplinen, Funktionen und des Publikums – umzugehen, wird von Historikerinnen und Historikern als eine der grossen Herausforderungen für die Gelehrten ab dem 12. Jahrhundert dargestellt.

In dem Kapitel über das „Schulmodell des Lesens“ in Roger Chartiers und Guglielmo Cavallos berühmter Sammlung zur Geschichte des Lesens in der westlichen Welt bezeichnete Jacqueline Hamesse das „Schullesen“ als eine Leseübung, die zur „Schulübung“ wurde.[29] Organisation, Benutzerfreundlichkeit und schnelle Lesbarkeit sind die Schlüsselbegriffe, die die Bedürfnisse der Schulleser beschreiben. Als in europäischen Schulen und Universitäten das Lesen zielgerichtet und funktional wurde – für den Unterricht, die Vorbereitung von Aufgaben, das Studium für Prüfungen, die Universitätspredigt und die breite Öffentlichkeit –, wurde das Buch zu einem spezifischen und organisierten Nachschlagewerk.[30] Gleichzeitig erfolgte das Informationsmanagement nicht mehr hauptsächlich über das Gedächtnis, sondern es wurde an die Seite und den Kodex delegiert, insbesondere an Instrumente zur Organisation des Wissens. Es florierten Indexierungsinstrumente und Datenklassifikationen wie *tabulae*, Verzeichnisse, Texteinteilungen, Titel und Untertitel.[31] Im 13. Jahrhundert waren diese Werkzeuge des Wissensma-

29 Jacqueline Hamesse, Le modèle scolastique de la lecture, in: *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*, Guglielmo Cavallo und Roger Chartier (Hrsg.), 125–145, Paris: Seuil, 1997.

30 Richard H. Rouse und Mary A. Rouse, „Statim invenire“: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page, in: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Richard H. Rouse und Mary A. Rouse (Hrsg.), 191–219, Notre Dame (IN): University of Notre Dame Press, 1991 und Richard H. Rouse und Mary A. Rouse, The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century, in: *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Richard H. Rouse und Mary A. Rouse (Hrsg.), 221–225, Notre Dame (IN): University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.

31 Hamesse, *Le modèle scolastique de la lecture*, 125–126: „Il faut que le lecteur puisse trouver facilement ce qu’il cherche dans un livre, sans avoir à feuilleter les pages. Pour répondre à cette exigence, on commence donc à établir des divisions, à marquer les paragraphes, à donner des titres aux différents chapitres, à créer des concordances, des tables et des index alphabétiques qui facilitent la consultation rapide d’une œuvre et le repérage de la documentation nécessaire.“

nagements auf Buch und Buchseite weit verbreitet. Gottfried von Fontaines' akademische Tätigkeit fand in einer Zeit statt, in der der Übergang vom „klösterlichen" zum „schulischen" Lese- und Schreibmodell, das im 12. Jahrhundert begann, vollendet war. In diesem Übergang wurde das Buch neu funktionalisiert: Wie es Gian Carlo Garfagnini zum Ausdruck brachte, wurde das Buch nicht mehr als Produkt einer frommen, zu Gott hinführenden Arbeit betrachtet, die auf den Erhalt des darin enthaltenen Werks ausgerichtet war. Das Buch wurde zu etwas Nützlichem für alle, die es verwendeten.[32]

Immer mehr Veröffentlichungen (via *exemplar* und *pecia*) kamen auf den akademischen Markt. Nicht nur die Klassiker, sondern auch die vielen Neuheiten sollten sich auf dem Tisch des Lehrers finden. Die Magister, besonders jene, die sich wie Gottfried bei den öffentlichen Debatten beteiligten, sollten sich mit der neusten Literatur speisen.

Die Bibliothek von Gottfried zeugt von diesem Hunger. Denn anhand seiner Bücher, insbesondere ihrer Ränder, lassen sich die Praktiken eines bewanderten, öffentlich tätigen Meisters zumindest ansatzweise rekonstruieren. Gottfried liess die Bücher der ihm gegenwärtigen Autoren schnell besorgen und kopieren – oder er setzte sich selbst daran. Weitere Klassiker kaufte er oder liess sie abschreiben. Die grosse Menge an Informationen, die er verarbeitete, erforderte eine gewisse Ordnung. Gleichzeitig musste die Zusammenarbeit verschiedener Mitarbeitender, die zu den unterschiedlichen Phasen der Bücherherstellung beitrugen, koordiniert werden. Viele der Handschriften seiner Bibliothek enthalten *tabulae*, die als detaillierte Inhaltsverzeichnisse oder Bücherregister, manchmal auch als alphabetische Register dienten, die von Gottfried, den Kopisten oder von beiden erstellt wurden.[33] Kodikologische Merkmale lassen vermuten, dass die *tabulae quaestionum* und Werkverzeichnisse vor dem Einbinden der Bücher angefertigt wurden.

Die Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15297 weist z. B. ein solches Register auf. Auf dem hinteren Schutzblatt (fol. 30r, in welchem auch eine spätere Notiz zur Auf-

32 Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Fare indici e storiografia, in: *Fabula in tabula: Una storia degli indici dal manoscritto al testo elettronico: Atti del Convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia, Certosa del Galluzzo, 21–22 ottobre 1994*, Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli und Francesco Santi (Hrsg.), 301–314, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995, 302–303.

33 Zu den verschiedenen Typen von Verzeichnissen siehe Olga Weijers, Les index au Moyen Âge sont-ils un genre littéraire? in: *Fabula in tabula: Una storia degli indici dal manoscritto al testo elettronico: Atti del Convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia, Certosa del Galluzzo, 21–22 ottobre 1994*, Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli und Francesco Santi (Hrsg.), 11–21, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995 und Olga Weijers, *A Scholar's Paradise: Teaching and Debating in Medieval Paris*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 180–183.

stellung in der Bibliothek „inter originalia Augustini xxvii[us]“, ein Ex-libris und eine Preisanmerkung zu lesen sind) notierte Gottfried von Fontaines 25 Werktitel. Diese entsprechen tatsächlich den Schriften, die in der Handschrift heute noch enthalten sind, ausgenommen der beiden letzten.[34] Vermutlich wurden die Hefte, die Gottfried vorlagen, in einer leicht geänderten Form von den Bibliothekaren der Sorbonne zusammengestellt. In der Handschrift operiert Gottfried gelegentlich an den Rändern, ohne[35] oder mit[36] Tinte; manchmal nummeriert er Textabschnitte marginal.[37]

Nicht selten weisen Gottfrieds Bücher eine von ihm eigenhändig angefertigte, durchgehende Seitennummerierung und eine Markierung von Titel und Texteinteilung von Gottfried und/oder seinen Mitarbeitenden auf.[38] Vermutlich wurde diese Indexierung parallel zur Aufstellung der *tabulae* und Verzeichnisse unternommen.

In der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, verschiedene *Quaestiones*-Sammlungen von Thomas von Aquin enthaltend – ich werde die Handschrift später näher betrachten –, führte Gottfried eine sorgfältige Indexierung der gesamten Handschrift durch.[39] Er trug Notizen mit rotem Stift ein und markierte die Kapiteleinteilungen. Bei jedem neuen Artikel der verschiedenen Sammlungen der *Quaestiones* fügte er eine Nummerierung mit römischen Ziffern im oberen Rand ein. Er

34 Paris, BnF, lat. 15297, 530: *De fide ad Petrum* (entspricht 1a–16a); *Retractationum* (entspricht 16a–50b); *De vera religione* (entspricht 50b–76a); *Soliloquiorum* (entspricht 76a–95a); *De libero arbitrio* (entspricht 95a–143a); *De achademicis* (entspricht 144a–171b); *De immortalitate animae* (mit Einfügungszeichen) (entspricht 171b–178a); *De moribus ecclesiae* (entspricht 178a–213a); *Quaestiones Orosii ad Augustinum* (entspricht 213a–225a); *De bono coniugali* (entspricht 225a–236a); *De virginitate* (entspricht 236a–251b); *De baptismo parvulorum* und *De patientia* (entspricht 251b–301a); *De perfectione iustitiae* (entspricht 301a–312b); *De natura et gratia* (entspricht 312b–332b); *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (entspricht 332b–347b); *De correptione et gratia libera* (entspricht 347b–362b); *Ad Volusianum* (entspricht 362b–369a); *De quattuor virtutibus caritatis* (entspricht 369a–372b); *De spiritu et littera* (entspricht 372b–394b); *De cathechizandis rudibus* (entspricht 394b–413b); *De praedestinatione* (entspricht 413b–425b); *De disciplina christiana*; *Hugo super angelicam Iararchiam*. Anstelle der letzten zwei von Gottfried vermerkten Titel befinden sich in der Handschrift, in einer neuen kodikologischen Einheit, in welcher die Hand von Gottfried nicht vorkommt (zwischen S. 425 und 427 gibt es ein nicht nummeriertes, liniiertes leeres *folio*), Hugo von Sankt Viktors *Super Dionysium de celesti Ierarchia* (426a–527b) sowie eine unvollständige *Chronica* von Hugo von Sankt Viktor (528a–529b).

35 Z. B. auf S. 164 der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15297.

36 Z. B. auf S. 227 der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15297.

37 Z. B. auf S. 227 der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15297.

38 In Bezug auf die Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 16096 und die Anmerkungen und Inhaltsangaben von Gottfried zum Text der Metaphysik von Avicenna siehe Simone van Riet (Hrsg.), *Avicenna Latinus: Liber de philosophia sive scientia divina, V–X*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 86*–114*.

39 Paris, BnF, lat. 15811.

betrachtete die verschiedenen *Quaestiones*-Werke als eine einzige Sammlung und nummerierte sie kontinuierlich (mit einigen Fehlern, siehe fols. 38–39) von i bis clxvii. Dieser Eindruck wird bestätigt, wenn man die *tabula quaestionum* betrachtet, die er erstellte. Die kontinuierliche Nummerierung wurde in der *tabula* aufgenommen.

Die *tabula* beginnt auf fol. 205v und enthält die Kapiteltitel von I bis cxxiiii, deren entsprechender Text sich auf fols. 162r–165r befindet. Dann setzt die *tabula* auf fol. 205r fort, unterhalb des Haupttextes (zum Teil am Rand, zum Teil im Seitenkorpus). Gottfried liess den Titel von Kap. cxxxvi aus, fügte ihn aber im äusseren Rand und am Ende hinzu. Er gruppierte auch die Artikel mit rot unterstrichenen Überschriften (zum Teil auch an den Rändern der Handschrift vorhanden) und am äusseren Rand markierte er sie mit einem Paragraphenzeichen bei jeder neuen Sinneinheit. Die von Gottfried gewählten, übergreifenden Überschriften decken sich nur teilweise mit der Einteilung der Werke von Thomas. Innerhalb eines Werkes identifizierte Gottfried kleinere Sinneinheiten. Im Manuskript Paris, BnF, lat. 15811 dienten die Überschriften am Rand sowie der Index nicht zur Identifikation einzelner Werke von Thomas, sondern zur Unterteilung des gesamten Materials, und zwar nach inhaltlichen Kriterien.[40] Die *tabulae* unterstützten Gottfried nicht nur dabei, den Inhalt zu strukturieren und wiederzufinden. Anscheinend dienten sie ihm auch als Werkzeug des Verstehens und der Einprägung. Auf wenigem Platz zusammengestellt, scheinen sie ein Hilfsmittel, sowohl für das Studium als auch um Werke im Kodex wiederzufinden, sodass Strukturierung und Memorierung des Lehrinhalts zusammenfallen.[41]

3 Die Marginalien: Die Multifunktionalität der Ränder

Die Indexierung ist nicht die einzige Schreibtätigkeit, die Gottfried von Fontaines an seinen Büchern durchführte. Korrekturen und Randnotierungen verschiedener Art sind in fast allen Handschriften seiner Bibliothek zu finden.[42]

40 *De anima* | *De virtutibus in communi* | *De virtutibus theologicis* | *De virtutibus cardinalibus* | *De unione verbi incarnati* | *De substantiis spiritualibus* | *De daemonibus* | *De malo* | *De peccatis* | *De causa peccati* | *De peccato originale* | *De electione humana* | *De vitiis capitalibus*.

41 Alphabetische *tabulae* aus der Hand Gottfrieds befinden sich z. B. in der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 16470, mit Predigten, fols. 184r–185v und 223r–v.

42 Kaum von Gottfried marginal notiert wurden folgende Handschriften: Paris, BnF, lat. 15249, mit Bibelkonkordanzen: Die Handschrift weist die typische Besitznote auf, die auf die Zugehörigkeit

Die Schrift von Gottfried an den Rändern ist gut erkennbar. Gelegentlich variiert sie zwischen zwei Formen. Gottfrieds gewöhnliche, ausgewogene gotische Kursivschrift, die unter anderem von Louis-Jacques Bataillon identifiziert wurde,[43] weicht manchmal einer schnelleren und schwieriger lesbaren Kursivschrift.[44] Aiello und Wielockx haben dafür argumentiert, dass Gottfried mit diesem schnelleren Schreiben beispielsweise in den Handschriften Paris, BnF, lat. 15355 und 16297 propädeutische Notizen über den Status der Theologie als Wissenschaft niederschrieb, die dann in seinen (nicht erhaltenen) Sentenzenkommentar eingeflossen sein sollten.[45] Man kann spekulieren, dass die schnellen und sehr kursiven, in sehr persönlicher Handschrift verfassten Marginalien dazu dienten, Minutentexte lediglich für den Eigengebrauch zu notieren. In den Manuskripten gibt es auch Notizen, nicht wie üblich mit Tinte, die mir aus der Hand des Autors zu stammen scheinen und die fast unlesbar sind.[46]

Nicht nur Gottfried war an den Rändern seiner Bücher tätig. Die Ränder weisen sowohl Interventionen der Kopisten und Korrektoren als auch Gebrauchsspuren in der Form von Marginalnotizen von späteren Händen auf.[47] Die Bücher von Gottfried in der Bibliothek des Collège de Sorbonne wurden gelesen und gegebenenfalls ausgeliehen.[48]

Was die Typologie der marginalen Notizen gemäss ihrer Funktion betrifft, so muss man zunächst die Textkorrekturen von den übrigen Anmerkungen unterscheiden. Die Textkorrekturen wurden sowohl von Gottfried als auch von den

zum Nachlass von Gottfried hinweist; sie enthält seltene Randnoten, die aber nicht von Gottfried zu stammen scheinen (abgesehen von zwei Noten in fols. 269v und 274v); Paris, BnF, lat. 15698, mit Briefen und Predigten des Bernhard von Clairvaux: Die Handschrift weist die typische Besitznotiz auf, die auf die Zugehörigkeit zum Nachlass von Gottfried hinweist; sie ist vollständig von Hand S kopiert und mit Rubriken versehen. An den unteren Rändern werden Notizen für den Rubrikator von einer weiteren Hand eingetragen. Es gibt ein paar *maniculae* mit späteren Noten, 27v–28r. Eine weitere mittelalterliche Note befindet sich auf fol. 102r marg. sup.; Paris, BnF, lat. 16563, mit der *Legenda aurea*, abgeschrieben von Hand S auf einer Kolumne.

43 Siehe Fn. 11.

44 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 71–73.

45 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, Tabellen.

46 Siehe z. B. Paris, BnF, lat. 16470, mit Predigten, fols. 31v und 32r, oder Paris, BnF, lat. 15795, fols. 122r–v, 219r und 221v.

47 Zur Vielfalt der Marginalien in vormodernen Handschriften und ihren Funktionen siehe – über die Aufsätze im vorliegenden Band hinaus – z. B. die Beiträge in Mariken Teeuwen und Irene van Renswoude (Hrsg.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017 und Patrizia Carmassi und Christina Heitzmann (Hrsg.), *Marginalien in Bild und Text: Essays zu mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.

48 Vielliard und Jullien de Pommerol, *Le Registre de prêt*.

jeweiligen Schreibern vorgenommen. Andere Arten von Anmerkungen, die hauptsächlich von Gottfried stammen, sind: kurze Zusammenfassungen von Texten, erläuternde/kritische Anmerkungen (diese stammen immer von Gottfried), mehr oder weniger lange Zitate von anderen Autoren, zeitgenössischer oder vergangener Autoren, *abbreviationes* anderer Texte zeitgenössischer oder vergangener Autoren.[49] Die Ränder funktionieren oft wie die heutigen Fussnoten.[50] In einigen Fällen kopierte oder liess Gottfried die Texte seiner Kollegen in verschiedenen Notizheften kopieren, zusammenfassen und kommentieren, die dann in unterschiedlichen Kodizes eingebunden wurden.[51]

Für die Handschriften (insgesamt 35), die die Hände von zwei Personen (in der Forschung oft als Hand S und Hand O bezeichnet) rekurrierend und systematisch entweder einzeln oder zusammen aufweisen, ist es angenommen worden, dass sie unter der Leitung von und in enger Zusammenarbeit mit Gottfried von Fontaines vorbereitet wurden.[52] Für diese Bücher ist eine Systematik in den Symbolen zu den Randtexten erkennbar, die unterschiedliche Urheber und Funktionen der Randnoten suggerieren. Gottfried gebrauchte in seinen Büchern ein Korrektur- und Einfügungszeichen, das in der Regel von seinen Mitarbeitern nicht verwendet wurde, oder zumindest nicht, wenn sie zusammen am selben Kodex arbeiteten. Es handelt sich um einen kleinen Strich mit einem darunter stehenden kleinen Punkt.[53] Darüber hinaus werden in der Regel für Korrekturen des jeweiligen Haupttextes

49 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 78–81.

50 Ich habe die Marginalnotizen der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15355 mit einem Teil der Summa des Heinrich von Gent tiefgehend untersucht in Silvia Negri, Historisch-kritische Untersuchung, in: *Henrici de Gandavo: Summa (Quaestiones ordinariae), art. XXV–XXVII*, Silvia Negri (Hrsg.), XIII–CXXXIX, Löwen: Leuven University Press, 2020, LIX–CI.

51 Dies ist beispielsweise der Fall bei der *abbreviatio* der Aegidius-Romanus-Kommentare zu Aristoteles' *De generatione* und der *Physica*, die sowohl in Paris, BnF, lat. 16297 und in Paris, BnF, lat. 16096 vorkommen, vgl. Robert Wielockx, Le ms. Paris Nat. lat. 16096 et la condamnation du 7 mars 1277, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 48 (1981): 227–237 oder bei den Auszügen aus der *Summa theologiae* Albert des Grossen, die von Gottfried an den Rändern von Paris, BnF, lat. 15355, Paris, BnF, lat. 15848 und Paris, BnF, lat. 16096 eingebracht wurden: Robert Wielockx, Gottfried von Fontaines als Zeuge der Echtheit der theologischen Summe des Albertus Magnus, in: *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geistesgeschichte und ihren Quellen*, Albert Zimmermann (Hrsg.), 209–225, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982.

52 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 78–81. Die Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15795, die ähnliche Eigenschaften wie die Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15791 aufweist – beide enthalten Teile der *Summa theologiae* des Thomas von Aquin –, nennt im Kolophon den Kopisten Henricus de Bavenchien (fol. 268r): „Explicit Summa de virtutibus et vitiis edita a sanctum Thoma De Aquino scripta sumptibus magistri Godefridi canonici leodensis labore Henrici de bavenchien." Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass er mit der Hand O identifiziert werden könnte.

53 Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, LXIX.

und Anmerkungen, die einen direkten Bezug zum Haupttext vorweisen, andere diakritische Zeichen verwendet als diejenigen, die zum Beispiel eine Intertextualität signalisieren oder die eigenen Kommentare des Autors einführen.[54] Ein differenzierter Umgang mit den Randnoten in Gottfrieds Handschrift wurde nicht nur praktiziert, sondern auch bewusst geplant. Insbesondere die Korrektur der Haupttexte wurde im Rahmen eines gemeinsamen Unternehmens konzipiert und durchgeführt. In den Handschriften mit der *Summa* des Heinrich von Gent waren zum Beispiel immer zwei Personen (ein Schreiber und Gottfried) an der Überarbeitung des Haupttextes beteiligt, oft in unterschiedlichen Zeitabschnitten und nach unterschiedlichen Mustern.[55]

Wie bei den *tabulae* bearbeitete Gottfried die Seiten seiner Bücher sehr frei und flexibel, im Gegensatz zu den Kopisten: In einigen Büchern ist seine Hand an allen verfügbaren Rändern zu beobachten.[56] Er zeichnete keine Linien, und selbst wenn Randlinien vorhanden waren, hielt er sich nicht an sie.[57] Die Bücher waren für den Besitzer Gottfried nicht nur Textträger: Sie waren auch vorhandenes Papier, Arbeitsplatz und Ort des Niederschreibens.

So, wie es mit den *tabulae* der Fall gewesen sein sollte, wurden die Randnotizen von Gottfried und den weiteren Schreibern vor der Einbindung der Manuskripte als Kodizes angebracht. Die Korrekturen, Annotationen und Indexierungen wurden an Heften vorgenommen, die noch nicht endgültig gebunden waren. Im Prozess der Bücheranfertigung wurden die Marginalien oft abgeschnitten, wie es noch deutlich zu bemerken ist.[58]

Es gibt Unterschiede in der Intensität und Häufigkeit der Anbringung von Randbemerkungen. In einigen Kodizes notierte Gottfried auf den Rändern sehr sporadisch. In Paris, BnF, lat. 15283, mit Johannes Chrisostomus' *Homilia super Mattheum* nach der Übersetzung von Burgundius Pisanus,[59] korrigierte Gottfried ein Verb auf fol. 6v und verwendete dabei sein typisches Einfügungszeichen;[60] alternative Textvarianten wurden regelmässig von anderen Händen eingebracht, die nicht den engsten Mitarbeitenden von Gottfried entsprechen,[61] dasselbe gilt für kurze Text-

54 Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, LXIX–LXVIII.
55 Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, LXIX–LXVIII.
56 Siehe z. B. Paris, BnF, lat. 16080, fol. 2r.
57 Siehe z. B. Paris, BnF, lat. 15811.
58 Siehe z. B. Paris, BnF, lat. 15811.
59 Giovanna Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 593, Fn. 595. Die Handschrift trägt Petien-Angaben.
60 In Paris, BnF, lat. 15283, fol. 6v, am inneren Rand, notierte Gottfried *verecundari* als Ersetzung für *occultari* im Haupttext.
61 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 79.

zusammenfassungen und Notizen für die Rubrizierung (z. B. an den fols. 3v, 5v und 53v). Wenige Randnotizen scheinen aus Gottfrieds kursiver Hand zu stammen (z. B. fol. 22r), sowie die Notizen auf dem ganzen fol. 187v. Im Kodex Paris, BnF, lat. 16098, mit dem *De proprietatibus rebus* von Bartolomaeus Anglicus,[62] abgeschrieben und sämtlich notiert von der Hand S, die die behandelten Themen marginal anmerkt, befinden sich nur wenige Interventionen von Gottfried. Hier vermerkt der Meister die korrekte Reihenfolge einiger *folia* derselben Lage (fols. 53r, 54r, 57r und 58r).[63]

Manchmal taucht Gottfrieds Hand nur in den ersten Lagen eines Manuskripts auf. Das ist zum Beispiel der Fall bei der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15527, mit dem Mattheus-Evangelium (fols. 3r–743) und dem Marcus-Evangelium (fols. 75r–123r) mit Glossen.[64] Hier ist Gottfrieds Hand besonders in den fols. 3r–6v, also in der zweiten Lage,[65] an allen Rändern tätig.

Manchmal korrigierte und notierte er selektiv innerhalb eines Kodex. In der Sammelhandschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15405, mit glossierten *Decretales* von Gregorius IX (fols. 1–271, englischer Provenienz) und mit den *Decretales* von Innozenz IV (fols. 271–301, kopiert von der Hand S),[66] fügte Gottfried eigenhändig längere Notizen (oft eingeführt mit *ita* und *ita notandum*) auf den unteren Rändern der fols. 128v–133v ein (in Korrespondenz zum dritten Buch *De vita et honestate clericorum*), und dann auf fol. 271r, also im ersten *folio* des zweiten kodikologischen Teiles des heutigen Buches. Im Kodex Paris, BnF, lat. 15500, einem Psalter mit Glossen von Petrus Lombardus, ist Gottfried nur an den Rändern der fols. 147v–178r intensiv tätig.[67]

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62 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 296, Fn. 211. Die Handschrift trägt Petien-Angaben.

63 In der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15537, mit dem Lukas-Evangelium (fols. 1r–81vb) und dem Johannes-Evangelium (fols. 82r–134v) mit Glossen, und einigen *Sermones* an den fols. 81v und 135r–v, erkenne ich die Hand von Gottfried am fol. 49r, äusseren Rand („ergo omni …“, „quoniam ad …“) und fol. 49v, äusseren Rand („et fides …“). Nach Aiello und Wielockx wurden die Evangelien von Hand O abgeschrieben, siehe Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 79. Wenige handschriftliche Marginalien der Hand Gottfrieds befinden sich auch z. B. in Paris, BnF, lat. 15650, mit Augustinus, *De civitate Dei* (Buch XXII) und dem *Liber Confessionum* des Augustinus. Gottfrieds Hand ist auch im ganzen fol. 2v zu finden.

64 Die Handschrift wurde vermutlich zusammen mit Paris, BnF, lat. 15537 vorbereitet, mit welcher sie auch dieselbe Kopistenhand teilt, vgl. Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 79. Auf fols. 1r und 2v befinden sich einige *Sermones* einer anderen Hand.

65 Paris, BnF, lat. 15527, Lage 2: IV^{10}.

66 Paris, BnF, Manuscrits, lat. 15405, in: *Bibale*, <https://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr/30052>, abgerufen am 29. September 2024. François Avril und Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe–XXe siècle*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987, 85, Fn. 133; Martin Bertram, *Kanonisten und ihre Texte (1234 bis Mitte 14. Jh.): 18 Aufsätze und 14 Exkurse*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 174.

67 Paris, BnF, lat. 15500, Lagen 19: IV^{152}, 20: IV^{160}, 21: IV^{168}, 22: IV^{176}, 23: IV^{184}.

In mehreren Fällen ist Gottfried im gesamten Buch vorhanden, mit verschiedenen Arten von Marginalnotizen. Einige *abbreviationes* von Werken anderer Autoren an den Rändern seiner Bücher sind der Forschung gut bekannt.[68]

Marginalien befinden sich zum Beispiel in der gesamten Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, wenn auch mit unterschiedlicher Häufigkeit.[69] Das Manuskript wurde in seinen Hauptkolumnen von Gottfrieds Mitarbeitenden (Hand S und Hand O) geschrieben. Es enthält verschiedene *Quaestiones* des Thomas von Aquin, die um die Zeit seines zweiten Aufenthalts in Paris zwischen 1268 und seinem Tod im Jahr 1272 disputiert wurden und in Paris für die weite öffentliche Verbreitung verfasst wurden: *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* (fols. 2r–36va), *Quaestiones disputatae de virtutibus* (fols. 36va–84va), *Quaestiones disputatae de unione verbi incarnati* (fols. 84va–90rb), *De spiritualibus creaturis*, art. 5–8 (fols. 90rb–95vb); *Quaestiones disputatae de malo*, q. 16 (fols. 96ra–114vb) und qq. 1–15 (fols. 114vb–205rb); gefolgt von der *tabula articulorum* aus der Hand Gottfrieds von Fontaines (fols. 205v–205r). Die beiden *socii* von Gottfried, Hand O und Hand S, wechselten sich bei der Abschrift der Texte von Thomas ab.[70]

Die Handschrift zeigt eine einheitliche Herstellung und scheint in einem kurzen, kompakten Zeitraum verfasst worden zu sein. Für die Textabschnitte in der Handschrift, die bereits in der Leonina-Edition kritisch ediert wurden, sowie dank des Inventars von Giovanna Murano, liegen Informationen über ihre Beziehung zu den jeweiligen offiziellen Universitätsexemplaren von Thomas' Werken vor.[71] Dabei zeigt sich, dass der Text der *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* von dem ent-

68 Siehe z. B. Paul Wilpert, Ein Compendium des 13. Jahrhunderts (Gottfried von Fontaines als Abbreviator), *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 2 (1965): 165–180; Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 3.2: *Reportatio Lecturae super Libros I–IV Sententiarum: Reportatio Monacensis, Excerpta Godefridi de Fontibus*, Concetta Luna (Hrsg.), Florenz: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003; Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*.

69 Die nachstehenden Erläuterungen zur Handschrift lassen sich am anschaulichsten im Abgleich mit den digitalen Reproduktionen nachvollziehen: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc76352q>, abgerufen am 17. April 2025.

70 Hand O hat die Seiten von fols. 1r–13v (*QuDeAnima*) und dann ab fol. 90rb (*De spirit. creat.*) bis zum Ende der Handschrift geschrieben, während Hand S die Seiten von fol. 14r (*QuDeAnima*) bis fol. 90rb (*QuDeVerbIncarn*) abgeschrieben hat. *Die quaestiones disputatae de anima* wurden somit von beiden Kopisten geschrieben, wobei Hand S in einer neuen Lage begann.

71 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 766, Fn. 880; Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 23: *Quaestiones disputatae de malo, cura et studio Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Rom: Commissione Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 1982, kritische Einleitung; Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 24.1: *Quaestiones disputatae de anima*, Bernardo Carlos Bazán (Hrsg.), Rom: Commissione Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 1996, kritische Einleitung; Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 24.2: *Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis*, J. Cos (Hrsg.), Rom: Commissione Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 2000, kritische Einleitung.

sprechenden Exemplar (in der ersten, ältesten Petien-Serie) abhängig war und dass er – zusammen mit einer weiteren Handschrift heute in Amiens, über die ich noch sprechen werde – das älteste Zeugnis dieser Gruppe ist.[72] Diese Vorlage der *Quaestiones disputatae de anima* zirkulierte zusammen mit dem *De virtutibus* und dem *De unione verbi incarnati* in derselben Petien-Reihe.[73] Aus derselben Exemplar-Vorlage stammen also auch die entsprechenden Texte in der Handschrift von Gottfried. Der Text von *De spiritualibus creaturis*, art. 5 bis 8 stammt aus der Familie des ersten Universitätsexemplars, weist jedoch zahlreiche Einzelfehler auf und zeigt keine Petienzeichen.[74] Die *Quaestiones disputatae de malo* wurden vom ersten Universitätsexemplar abgeschrieben.[75] Da diese Texte von Thomas (*Quaestiones disputatae de anima* / *de virtutibus* / *de unione verbi incarnati*) bereits in der *Exemplaria*-Liste der Universität Paris von 1275 auftauchen, kann man davon ausgehen, dass das Manuskript um dieses Datum herum verfasst wurde – also während der Zeit, in der Gottfried an der theologischen Fakultät studierte.[76] Die Handschrift wurde also vermutlich etwa zur selben Zeit verfasst wie Gottfrieds erste Büchersammlung. Aiello und Wielockx haben die Vermutung geäussert, dass die Kodizes Paris, BnF, lat. 15819, 16096 und 16607a, der „recueil scolaire" und Teile der Handschriften, die die Werke Heinrichs von Gent enthalten – d. h. Paris, BnF, lat. 15355 und 15848 – in derselben Karrierephase Gottfrieds verfasst wurden, d. h. an der Schwelle zu seinem Abschluss in Theologie und kurz vor den Verurteilungen von Tempier.[77] Gemäss dieser Hypothese gehörten diese Texte zum „ursprünglichen Kern", aus dem Gottfried von Fontaines seine Bibliothek aufbaute.

Auch bei den Werken von Heinrich von Gent in der Bibliothek von Gottfried wurde beobachtet, dass Gottfried Texte aus den offiziellen universitären Exemplar-Editionen abschreiben liess, wenn diese verfügbar waren. Interessanterweise lässt sich jedoch gerade aus dem Fall der *Quodlibeta* und der *Summa* von Heinrich von Gent schliessen, dass Gottfried gelegentlich bereits über Texte seiner Kollegen verfügte, bevor sie offiziell als Exemplare zirkulierten.[78] Im Fall der *Quaestiones disputatae de anima*, *De virtutibus* und *De unione verbi incarnati* in der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811 ist es anzunehmen, dass Gottfried Zugang zu dem Exemplar hatte, sobald die entsprechenden Petien im Umlauf waren.

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72 Thomas de Aquino, *De anima*, 31*.

73 Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 765, Fn. 880.

74 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, 18* und 27*.

75 Thomas de Aquino, *De malo*, 59*–62*.

76 Vgl. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, 765, Fn. 880.

77 Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 238. Siehe auch Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*, besonders 364–367.

78 Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*, CXXX.

In dieser Handschrift fügten die Mitarbeitenden O und S gelegentlich Textkorrekturen mit entsprechenden Verweiszeichen ein (normalerweise einen Punkt und einen Strich), wenn sie die Texte abschrieben. Auf fol. 26v vermerkt der Kopist am äussersten Rand, dass im Exemplar zwei Zeilen fehlen.[79] Gottfried fügt – über die bereits erwähnte Nummerierung und die Randüberschriften hinaus – nur wenige Textkorrekturen ein (wie zum Beispiel auf fol. 151r, Marginalbereich), jedoch oft längere Textpassagen. Diese weisen entweder keinen grafischen Bezug zum Haupttext auf oder tragen andere Zeichen als diejenigen, die auf eine Textkorrektur hinweisen (wie auf fol. 18r, wo diese drei Fälle auftreten).

Als Buchbesitzer zeigte Gottfried von Fontaines in Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, wie häufig bei anderen Büchern, eine grössere gestalterische Freiheit. Auf ästhetischer Ebene fällt dies beispielsweise bei der Positionierung der längeren Randnotizen auf. Bei der Hinzufügung von Texten am Rand orientiert sich Gottfried gelegentlich an der unteren und oberen Seitenlinie (wie beispielsweise auf fol. 110r mit einer externen Anmerkung); oft nutzt er jedoch den gesamten unteren Rand oder einen Teil davon, ohne auf die Linien Rücksicht zu nehmen, wie auf fol. 21r. Gerade auf diesem Blatt, das dichte Texte am Rand aufweist, lässt sich ein Phänomen beobachten, das in anderen Handschriften noch ausgeprägter vorkommt: In einzelnen Fällen füllte Gottfried die Ränder mit Texten aus, er strapazierte sie sogar.

An den Rändern der sechsten *Quaestio disputata de anima* trug Gottfried eigenhändig Passagen aus dem *De spiritualibus creaturis* ein und markierte sie mit roten, rechteckigen Rahmen.[80] Dabei handelt es sich um eine Auswahl von Abschnitten aus verschiedenen Artikeln, inklusive den Artikeln 1 bis 4, die in der Handschrift fehlen (denn es wurden nur Artikel 5 bis 8 kopiert). Laut den Herausgebern des *De spiritualibus creaturis* handelt es sich dabei um „blosse Exzerpte, mit vielen Auslassungen und Hinzufügungen, ein Patchwork ohne textkritische Relevanz".[81] Die einzige Ausnahme wären die Passagen, die von der Hand des Kopisten am unteren Rand „aus einem guten Text der Familie alfa" abgeschrieben wurden, auf fols. 6v und 7r.[82] Bei genauerem Hinsehen zeigt sich jedoch, dass Gottfried bestimmte

79 Thomas de Aquino, *De anima*, 31*: „Deficiunt iii linee in exemplari sr." Das wurde auch vom Editor Bernardo Carlos Bazán beobachtet.

80 Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. Disp. de anima*, 30*–31*. Siehe die Erwähnung in Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*, 367.

81 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, 27*, Fn. 1: „… mere extracts, with many omissions and additions; apparently copied from a bad Ms. of family alfa, they constitute a patchwork without any critical value", meine Übersetzung.

82 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, 27*, Fn. 1: „The only exception is the marginal addition on fols. 6v–7r, which corresponds exactly to art. 9, arg. 6 (ll. 41–50) and the corresponding response (ll. 378–472), made by a different, contemporary hand, and copied from a good text of family alfa."

Textpassagen getreu wiedergab, wenn auch mit erheblichen Auslassungen. Dieses Detail ist hier von einiger Bedeutung: Gottfried kopierte und exzerpierte gleichzeitig die Vorlage, die er vor sich hatte. Der professionelle Kopist hingegen tat dies nicht. Selbst wenn er selektiv vorging, schrieb er den Text vollständig ab und bereitete die Seite entsprechend mit zusätzlichen Linien vor.

Gottfried liess in den abgeschriebenen Passagen von Thomas alle Verweise auf die Aufzählung der Argumente weg. Die ursprünglichen Absätze wurden somit von ihrer eigenen Intertextualität gelöst und in ein neues Netzwerk von Referenzen eingefügt. Diese Tabelle veranschaulicht die Auslassungen (unterstrichen), die Gottfried an den Rändern von q. 6 *de anima* (fol. 10v) betätigte, indem er an zwei verschiedenen Stellen Passagen aus derselben ursprünglichen Texteinheit im *De spiritualibus creaturis* abschrieb:

Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, fol. 10v, Randbemerkungen am äusseren und oberen Rand:	**Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, a.1, ad 1, S. 14, 409–429:**
Ratio formae opponitur rationi subiecti: nam omnis forma inquantum huiusmodi est actus, omne autem subiectum comparatur ad id cuius est subiectum, ut potentia ad actum.	Ad primum ergo dicendum quod ratio formae opponitur rationi subiecti: nam omnis forma in quantum huiusmodi est actus, omne autem subiectum comparatur ad id cuius est subiectum ut potentia ad actum. Si qua ergo forma est que sit actus tantum, ut divina essentia, illa nullo modo potest esse subiectum, et de hac Boetius loquitur; si autem aliqua forma sit, que secundum aliquid sit in actu et secundum aliquid in potentia, secundum hoc tantum erit subiectum, secundum quod est in potentia. Substantie autem spirituales, licet sint forme subsistentes, sunt tamen in potentia in quantum habent esse finitum et limitatum. Et quia intellectus est cognoscitivus omnium secundum sui rationem, et voluntas est amativa universalis boni, remanet semper in intellectu et voluntate substantie create potentia ad aliquid quod est extra se: unde, si quis recte consideret, substantie spirituales non inveniuntur esse subiecte nisi accidentium que pertinent ad intellectum et voluntatem.
Quia enim intellectus est cognoscitivus omnium secundum sui rationem, et voluntas est amativa universalis boni, remanet semper in intellectu et voluntate substantie create potentia ad aliquid quod est extra se: unde, si quis recte consideret, substantie spirituales non inveniuntur esse (substantie *del.)* subiecte nisi accidentium que pertinent ad intellectum et voluntatem.	

Im folgenden Beispiel kann man darüber hinaus sehen, wie Gottfried auf die Referenz zur geistlichen Substanz verzichtet (unterstrichen), die im Zentrum der Argumentation in einer weiteren Passage aus Thomas' *De spiritualibus creaturis* steht

(fol. 10r).[83] Stattdessen wird das Prinzip der Zusammensetzung von Kreaturen, die einer allgemeinen Gattung angehören, aus dem Allgemeinen und dem, was dieses einschränkt, direkt auf die Zusammensetzung von Materie und Form konkret angewendet:

Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, fol. 10r, Randbemerkung:

In communitate universalis oportet quod id quo distinguuntur ea quae continentur sub communi sit aliud ab ipso commune. In omni ergo creato quod continetur sub aliquo genere communi necesse est esse compositionem eius quod commune est et eius per quod commune ipsum restringitur et coartatur. Haec autem videtur esse compositio formae et materiae.

Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, a.1, arg. 9[84]:

In communitate autem universalis oportet quod id quo distinguuntur ea quae continentur sub communi sit aliud ab ipso communi. In omni ergo creato quod continetur sub aliquo genere communi, necesse est esse compositionem eius quod commune est et eius per quod commune ipsum restringitur. Substantia autem spiritualis creata est in aliquo genere. Oportet ergo quod in substantia spirituali creata sit compositio naturae communis et eius per quod natura communis coartatur. Haec autem videtur esse compositio formae et materiae.

Auf fol. 10va fügte Gottfried – über explizite Textkorrekturen hinaus – eigenhändig sieben Passagen ein, die er zudem mit roter Farbe umrahmte.[85] Diese erstrecken sich über die seitlichen Seitenränder und den oberen Rand. Dabei exzerpierte er drei verschiedene Stellen aus Artikel 1 des *De spiritualibus creaturis* (*corpus*, ad 6 und ad 1). Darüber hinaus stellte er auch direkte Bezüge, mit entsprechenden Zeichen für textuelle Hinzufügungen, zwischen dem Haupttext (sechste *Quaestio disputata de anima*) und diesen Randpassagen aus dem *De spiritualibus creaturis* her.[86] Die folgende Tabelle zeigt einen Auszug aus dem „virtuellen" Text, der aus Gottfrieds Kombination der sechsten *Quaestio disputata de anima* und den Passagen aus dem *De spiritualibus creaturis* Artikel 1 resultierte:

83 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, art. 1, arg. 9, S. 5, 66–78.

84 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, art. 1, arg. 9, S. 5, 66–78.

85 In Bezug auf Gottfrieds Gewohnheit, Passagen aus anderen Werken an den Rändern zu umrahmen, siehe Aiello und Wielockx, *Goffredo di Fontaines*, 72, Fn. 70.

86 Siehe Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. Disp. de anima*, 30*.

Paris, BnF, lat. 15811, fol. 10v: Haupttext mit Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. disp. de anima*, q. 6 und zwei Randpassagen aus dem *De spirit. creat.*, art. 1.

Haupttext (vgl. Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. Disp. de anima*, q. 6, S. 50, 213–219):	Randpassage (vgl. Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, art. 1, co., S. 13, 331–346, 350–354):
… Dicunt enim animam uniri corpori mediante luce: vegetabilem quidem mediante luce celi siderei, sensibile vero mediante luce celi cristallini, rationabilem vero mediante luce celi empirei, que omnia fabulosa sunt. Oportet enim animam immediate *(corr. ex* mediate*)* uniri corpori sicut actum potentie, sicut patet in VIII Methapysice.	Sed etiam apparet siquis propriam operationem substantiarum spiritualium consideret. Omnes enim substantie spirituales intellectuales sunt. Talis autem est uniuscuiusque rei potentia qualis reperitur perfectio eius, nam proprius actus propriam potentiam requirit. Perfectio autem unuiuscuiusque intellectualis substantie in quantum huiusmodi est intelligibile prout est in intellectu; talem igitur potentiam oportet in substantiis spiritualibus requirere, que sit proportionata ad susceptionem forme intelligibilis. Huiusmodi autem non est potentia materie prime: nam materia prima recipit formam contrahendo ipsam ad esse individuale. Forma autem intelligibilis est in intellectu absque huiusmodi contractione. Nam forma intelligibilis est in intellectu secundum rationem suae communitatis. Non est ergo substantia intellectualis receptiva forme ex ratione materie prime, sed magis per oppositam quamdam rationem.
Haupttext (vgl. Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. Disp. de anima*, q. 6, S. 50, 219–251, 233):	Randpassage (vgl. Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, art. 1, co., S. 14, 389–395):
Unde manifestum fit quod anima non potest esse composita ex materia et forma. Non tamen excluditur quin in anima sit actus et potentia, nam potentia et actus non solum in rebus mutabilibus invenuntur, sed sunt communiora, sicut dicit philosophus in VIII Metaphysice. Cum tamen materia non sit nisi *(add. superl.)* in rebus mobilibus. Quomodo autem in anima actus et potentia inveniantur, ~~Sicut~~ considerandum est ex materialibus ad immaterialia procedendo. In substantiis enim ex materia et forma compositis tria invenimus, scilicet materiam et formam et tertium esse, cuius quidem principium est forma. Nam materia ex hoc quod recipit formam participat esse.	Unde in rebus compositis est considerare duplicem actum et duplicem potentiam: nam primo quidem materia est ut potentia respectu formae, et forma est actus eius; et iterum natura constituta ex materia et forma est ut potentia respectu ipsius esse in quantum est susceptibile eius.

Die redaktionellen Praktiken von Gottfried von Fontaines sind der Forschung bekannt. Concetta Luna hat sie beispielsweise in der Einleitung zur Edition der

Reportatio des Sentenzenkommentars von Aegidius Romanus ausführlich untersucht.[87] Im Gottfried-Kodex Paris, BnF, lat. 15819 befindet sich eine Abkürzung von Teilen der *Reportatio* (Bücher I und II), die von Gottfried eigenhändig verfasst wurde. Luna beschreibt die Hauptmerkmale von Gottfrieds Abkürzung wie folgt: Tilgung von Elementen, die für die Entwicklung der Argumentation nicht erforderlich sind; Weglassen der strukturellen Formeln, die typisch für die Gattung *quaestio* sind; Vereinfachung des Stils.[88] In den Randbemerkungen der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811 sind diese Merkmale, insbesondere die ersten beiden, ebenfalls zu beobachten, und zwar in verschärfter Form, da es sich um Rand-Exzerpte handelt und nicht um Abkürzungen im Haupttext. Luna hat betont, dass Gottfried den ursprünglichen Text von Aegidius Romanus dekonstruierte und neu zusammensetzte, indem er den Gesamtinhalt beibehielt und keine Fehler einführte. Dennoch wurde die ursprüngliche Textlogik und -struktur teilweise erheblich verändert. Diese Art der Dekonstruktion und Neugestaltung von Texten, die auch in der Handschrift 15811 für die Passagen aus Thomas' *Quaestiones* zu beobachten ist, betrachtet die Forscherin als die Praxis eines erfahrenen, geübten Lesers,[89] der jedoch ausschliesslich für seinen persönlichen Gebrauch die Abkürzung vorbereitete.[90]

4 Schlusswort: *Note-taking* zwischen individuellem Nutzen und breiter Relevanz

Nicht nur in den Kodizes mit Texten zeitgenössischer Autoren und philosophischen Inhalts, sondern in fast allen seinen Handschriften hinterliess Gottfried von Fontaines Spuren, mit Abschriften im Haupttext (in Einzelfällen), mit *tabulae quaesti-*

87 Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 3.2, 26 und Concetta Luna, Problemi di reportatio: Goffredo di Fontaines e la lettura di Egidio Romano sul Libro II delle Sentenze, in: *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, Jacqueline Hamesse (Hrsg.), 237–290, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'études médiévales, 1992.

88 Luna, *Problemi*. Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*, 369 beschrieb Gottfrieds Praktiken als *abbreviator* auf folgende Weise: „In his *abbreviationes* he likes to preserve as much of the original wording as possible, as well as the essential argumentation. Nevertheless, he exercises a considerable freedom in eliminating what he regards as nonessential text, and also at times some freedom even in reorganizing the text."

89 Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 3.2, 34.

90 Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 3.2, 50: „… il valore di P consiste, più che nella trasmissione del testo egidiano, nella testimonianza del metodo di lavoro e della tecnica di lettura di Goffredo, il cui scopo è stato non di tramandare fedelmente il testo egidiano, bensì di organizzarlo in modo razionale in vista di un uso esclusivamente personale."

onum und Registern (häufig), und mit Zahlen, Zeichen, Wörtern, Sätzen, längeren Passagen am Rand (systematisch). Gottfried benutzte die Ränder der Bücher seiner Bibliothek, um andere Texte, die er las, in abgekürzter Form zu notieren, um seine eigenen kritischen Anmerkungen anzubringen, um Verbindungen zwischen den Texten hervorzuheben, um Texte zu korrigieren und zu aktualisieren, die zuvor aus inoffiziellen Versionen kopiert und dann in offiziellen Ausgaben veröffentlicht worden waren. Die Ränder funktionierten für ihn als „editorialer Raum“,[91] als Speicherort, als Ort der Textbearbeitung und -verarbeitung, als Raum für das Studium und die aktive Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gelesenen.[92] Auch die Kopisten, die mit ihm arbeiteten, fügten am Rand Korrekturen und Inhaltsangaben an und kompilierten Verzeichnisse. Sie „lektorierten“ und bereiteten Lesehilfen in Absprache mit Gottfried und für ihn.

Gewiss liefern Marginalien nicht nur Informationen über die Arbeitsmethoden einzelner Autorinnen und Autoren, sondern sie spiegeln auch geteilte Praktiken des Lesens und des Schreibens.[93] Ann Blair reihte die Exzerpte und Notizen von Gottfried von Fontaines unter dem „Note-Taking“ ein,[94] eine Praktik, die sie folgenderweise – und vornehmlich in Anbetracht (früh)neuzeitlicher Beispiele – beschrieb: „Note-taking is a general term that covers various kinds of writing in response to listening, reading, or thinking, often in more or less direct preparation for the production of a composition or report (oral or written).“[95] Diese funktionsorientierte Definition von Ann Blair lässt sich meines Erachtens auch auf die Marginalien von Gottfried anwenden, die mehr als blosse Textkorrekturen enthalten. Blair machte ebenso auf eine grundlegende Spannung aufmerksam, der ich gerne weiter nachgehen möchte.

Notizen haben einen gewissen privaten und persönlichen Charakter, sie werden in erster Linie nicht für ein Publikum verfasst.[96] Dennoch sind sie nicht

91 Ich übernehme diese Bezeichnung aus Erik Kwakkel, The Margin as Editorial Space: Upgrading „Dioscorides alphabeticus“ in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino, in: *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, Mariken Teeuwen und Irene van Renswoude (Hrsg.), 323–341, Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

92 In Bezug auf die Verwendung der am Rand notierten, abgeschriebenen und überarbeiteten Texte in Gottfrieds eigenen Werken, siehe z. B. Wippel, *Godfrey of Fontaines*, 371–383.

93 Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2010.

94 Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 67: „For example, the scholastic theologian Godfrey of Fontaines … left a collection of excerpts and summaries from his reading that could readily be considered a collection of notes.“

95 Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 64.

96 Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 67: „From the Middle Ages, working papers on parchment could well have endured down to the present. But it is more difficult in a world of manuscripts than in the era

ausschliesslich privat, sondern besitzen verschiedene Grade von Öffentlichkeit oder intersubjektiver Valenz, besonders, wenn man sie in ihrem zeitlichen Verlauf berücksichtigt. Zum Teil dienten Notizen dem Verfassen von Schriften, die später breiteren Kreisen zugänglich wurden. Oder sie wurden von einer Gemeinschaft von Nutzerinnen und Nutzern verwendet; über die ursprüngliche Absicht der Autorinnen und Autoren hinaus. Allein die Tatsache, dass Notizen erhalten bleiben, hängt oft von der intersubjektiven Bedeutung ab, die ihnen zugeschrieben wurde oder immer noch wird. Ausserdem wurden Notizen häufig nicht nur von Einzelpersonen erstellt, sondern erforderten die Zusammenarbeit einer Gruppe.[97] Notizen trugen teilweise sogar zur Herausbildung von sozialen Gruppen bei.[98] Die Spannungen zwischen persönlichem Nutzen und breiterer Relevanz in der zeitgenössischen Leserschaft sowie zwischen individuellen Arbeitstechniken und Teamarbeit zeichnen auch, näher betrachtet, die Randbemerkungen von Gottfried von Fontaines aus.

Es ist wenig überraschend, dass Gottfried als Buchbesitzer, erfahrener Leser und Magister die Passagen an den Rändern der Bücher, die er kaufte, beschaffen liess oder selbst kopierte, hauptsächlich für seinen eigenen Gebrauch notierte. Es liegt aber auch nahe, dass er sich bewusst war, dass seine Bücher von anderen gelesen werden würden – die Praxis, Bücher dem Collège de Sorbonne zu vermachen, war, wie zuvor erwähnt, bereits im Gange. Gewiss wurden gelegentlich die Marginalnotizen von Gottfried in Handschriften anderer Besitzenden abgeschrieben. Ein Teil der Randnotizen, die Gottfried eigenhändig in der Handschrift 15355, mit dem ersten Teil der *Summa* des Heinrich von Gent, eintrug, wurde von einem Kopisten auf die Ränder der Handschrift Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat 854 abgeschrieben.[99] Zwar wurde die in Paris fertiggestellte, zunächst nach Bologna und später nach Rom gebrachte Handschrift systematisch aufgrund von Gottfrieds Exemplar der *Summa* des Heinrich von Gent korrigiert. An ihren Rändern wurden jedoch auch Sätze oder Verweise abgeschrieben, die eher

of printing to evaluate what constitutes a note – that is, a piece of writing not meant for circulation but for private use, say, as preparatory toward a finished work."

97 Frühneuzeitliche Beispiele bespricht Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 102–112.

98 Siehe dazu den Beitrag von Mario Meliadò in diesem Band: Mario Meliadò, An Eccentric View on the History of Philosophy – or: In Praise of the Margins, in: *Thinking in the Margins: Marginalia in Medieval and Renaissance Philosophy*, Mario Meliadò (ed.), 1–14, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2026.

99 Silvia Negri, Wege eines Textes: Die „Summa Quaestionum Ordinariarum" des Heinrich von Gent von Paris nach Rom, *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 57 (2015): 117–169 und Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*.

als Notizen Gottfrieds denn als Varianten oder Korrekturen des Textes des Heinrich von Gent fungierten.[100]

Auch zwei Marginalnotizen der Handschrift Paris, BnF, lat. 15811 mit den *Quaestiones* des Thomas von Aquin wurden in eine weitere Handschrift übertragen. Die Herausgeber von Thomas' *Quaestiones disputatae de anima, de spiritualibus creaturis* und *de malo* haben bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass die Texte in Gottfrieds Handschrift eine erhebliche Anzahl von Varianten mit der Handschrift Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 244 teilen.[101] Beide Handschriften bilden sogar eine textkritische Untergruppe innerhalb ihrer jeweiligen Exemplar-Gruppen. Noch genauer: Die Handschrift Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 244 ist, was ihren Haupttext betrifft, von Gottfrieds Handschrift abhängig. Allerdings diente Gottfrieds Handschrift nicht nur als Vorlage für den Haupttext von Amiens, sondern auch – zumindest teilweise – für die Randbemerkungen zweier *folia*.[102]

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100 Die Frage, ob die Notizen in Gottfrieds Handschrift von den Werken Heinrichs von Gent deshalb abgeschrieben wurden, weil es redaktionelle Bearbeitungen des Autors des Textes, nämlich Heinrichs von Gent, waren – also aufgrund des Wertes des Inhalts der Handschrift innerhalb der Texttradition der *Summa* –, oder weil es sich um Notizen von Gottfried handelte – also aufgrund der Autorität des Besitzers des Manuskripts und des Autors dieser Marginalien –, erwies sich als entscheidend für mich als Herausgeberin der *Summa* von Heinrich von Gent. Denn auch von der Beantwortung dieser Frage, selbst wenn nicht ausschliesslich, hingen Entscheidungen über den zu edierenden Text ab. Siehe Negri, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung*. Siehe ausserdem die bahnbrechenden Studien von Raymond Macken, Les corrections d'Henri de Gand à ses Quodlibets, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 (1973): 5–51 und Raymond Macken, Les corrections d'Henri de Gand à sa Somme, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 44 (1977): 55–100. Vgl. zudem die Einleitungen der Bände von Henricus de Gandavo, *Opera Omnia*, Raymond Macken (Hrsg.), Löwen: Leuven University Press; Leiden: Brill, 1979. Diese Frage kann verallgemeinert werden und betrifft den Wert und die Bedeutung von Marginalien für die Analyse von Phänomenen, die über persönliche Arbeitsmethoden und -stile hinausgehen. Denn Marginalien – wie auch von Ann Blair betont – betreffen nicht nur die Personen, die sie verfasst haben, sondern auch Texttraditionen, wie im Fall der Werke von Heinrich von Gent, sowie kulturelle Praktiken, soziale Konfigurationen und Interaktionen.

101 Thomas de Aquino, *De spirit. creat.*, 27*. Vater Pierre-Marie Gils, Editor der *Quaestiones disputatae de malo*, hat eine direkte Abhängigkeit von der Handschrift Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 244 aus unserem Manuskript, BnF, lat. 15811 (im korrigierten Zustand) festgestellt, sofern es die q. 16 angeht: Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. disp. de malo*, 6*, 30* und 56*. Eine digitale Reproduktion der Handschrift Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 244 ist hier einsehbar: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/71446/canvas/canvas-1590742/view>, abgerufen am 3. Januar 2025.

102 Die abgeschriebenen Marginalien befinden sich in Gottfrieds Handschrift auf fols. 110ra, am unteren Rand („Forte posset dici quod sicut demones possunt cognoscere speciem intelligibilem …"), und 111ra, im äusseren und unteren Rand („Unde continet in se virtualiter omnes formas …"; „Similiter formae materiales virtualiter continentur in corporibus celestibus …"). Diese Marginalien befinden sich bei der *Quaestio* 16 *de malo*, Artikel 8 („Utrum Daemones cognoscant cogitationes

Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass Gottfrieds Autorität eine Rolle beim Abschreiben seiner eigenhändigen Notizen an den Buchrändern spielte. Es wäre vielleicht übertrieben, zumindest beim heutigen Stand der Forschung, von einer Gemeinschaft von Lesenden der Notizen des Gottfried zu sprechen. Immerhin gingen seine Marginalinterventionen, zumindest in einigen Fällen, auch in seiner Gegenwart über den blossen privaten Gebrauch hinaus.

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cordium inferiorum" / ob die Dämonen die Gedanken des Herzens der niedrigeren Wesen kennen) und Artikel 9 („Nono utrum Daemones possint transmutare corpora transmutatione formali" / ob die Dämonen Körper durch formale Veränderung bewegen können). In der Handschrift Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 244 befinden sich diese Marginalien auf fols. 159v und 160v, an den unteren Rändern. Auffällig ist, dass die Marginalien, die Gottfried auf fol. 111r an zwei verschiedenen Stellen mit einer grafischen Verbindung platzierte, in der Handschrift von Amiens kontinuierlich abgeschrieben wurden. Es handelt sich hier angeblich nicht um Exzerpte aus Thomas' Text, sondern um überarbeitete Argumente. Vgl. Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. disp. de malo*, 6*, 12* mit Fn. 1, 60*: „Am^{2} a donc copié P^{7} après et avec les interventions de Godefroid de Fontaines"). In einer anderen Handschrift, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 241 befindet sich eine Marginalnotiz, die Gottfried in seiner Handschrift eintrug, während das Manuskript zusätzliche Randnotizen enthält, die Gottfrieds Handschrift nicht aufweist. Gemäss den Editoren hat Gottfried in diesem Fall einige der Glossen aus Amiens transkribiert (Thomas de Aquino, *Quaest. disp. de malo*, Fn. 1).

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Aurora Panzica

Typologie und Funktion der Marginalien am Beispiel der Aristoteles-Kommentare

Zu einer textuellen und intellektuellen Dynamik

Abstract: This study examines a layout model of medieval Aristotelian commentary in which both the central and marginal texts are themselves commentaries – rather than glosses on an authoritative (ancient) text – produced by medieval scholars and arranged hierarchically. Focusing on question-commentaries on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, it analyzes three cases spanning from the early fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century: Matteo da Gubbio's commentary supplemented with glosses drawn from Albert of Saxony's *Questions* (ms. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fesul. 161); Peter of Ailly's *Compilatio Meteororum* supplemented with glosses from the commentaries of Johannes Versoris and Nichole Oresme (mss. Kraków, Jagiellonian Library, 2069 and 2088); and an anonymous Viennese commentary supplemented with glosses from John Buridan's *Questions* (ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12257). While glossing is often associated with scholastic engagement with classical texts, this study highlights a more complex dynamic between commentaries themselves, revealing how medieval scholars read, annotated, and transmitted earlier interpretations. By exploring the textual relationships, intellectual motivations, and institutional contexts, it contributes to our understanding of how Aristotelian science was taught and transformed in European universities from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.

Einführung

In der lateinischen Welt wurden die *Meteorologica* des Aristoteles mit Marginalglossen versehen eingeführt. Die Handschrift Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 24 überliefert, auf den fols. 84r–109r, die *translatio vetus* mit den Marginal-

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und Interlinearglossen von Alfred von Sareshel, die aus dem späten 11. oder frühen 12. Jahrhundert stammen. Diese gelten als der erste lateinische Kommentar zum aristotelischen Text.[1] Die im Jahr 1433 kopierte Handschrift Prag, NK ČR, VII E 9, welche die Marginal- und Interlinearglossen des Prager Magisters Johannes de Borotin (1378–um 1458) zur *nova translatio* enthält, ist ein Zeugnis für die Kontinuität dieser Tradition.

In beiden Fällen sind die Glossen keine eigenständigen Werke, sondern bieten Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu einem autoritativen Text, der im Zentrum der Seite kopiert wird. Diese Konfiguration wurde im Hinblick auf die Evolution der Lehre an mittelalterlichen Universitäten analysiert.[2] In meinem Beitrag möchte ich die Aufmerksamkeit einem anderen Modell widmen, das meines Wissens noch nicht ausführlich thematisiert wurde. In diesem Modell sind sowohl der Haupttext als auch der Nebentext Kommentare. Beide stammen von mittelalterlichen Gelehrten, sind jedoch in der Seitenlage hierarchisiert nach Prinzipien und Zwecken, die

1 Alfred of Sareshel, *Commentary on the Metheora of Aristotle: Critical Edition, Introduction, and Notes*, James K. Otte (Hrsg.), Leiden: Brill, 1988. Die Ausgabe, die ziemlich fehlerhaft ist, was teilweise auf den Erhaltungszustand der Handschrift zurückzuführen ist, deckt nicht den gesamten Text ab: Er reicht nur bis zu der Stelle in *Meteor*., IV, 8, 385b5. Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem wies jedoch darauf hin, dass das von James K. Otte verfolgte Basismanuskript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 24, auch die Fortsetzung des Kommentars enthält: Aristoteles, *Meteorologica: Recensio et translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, Bd. 1, Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem (Hrsg.), Brüssel: Brepols, 2008, 8, Fn. 26. Die Ausgabe dieses Textabschnitts sowie der in Ottes Ausgabe ausgelassenen Interlinearglossen wurde vor kurzem ergänzt: Henryk Anzulewicz und Philipp A. C. Anzulewicz, Alfred von Sareshels Glossenkommentar zu den „Meteorologica" des Aristoteles, *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 27 (2021): 7–60.

2 Malcom Beckwith Parkes, The Influence of the Concepts of „Ordinatio" and „Compilatio" on the Development of the Book, in: *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, Jonathan James Graham Alexander und Margaret Templeton Gibson (Hrsg.), 115–141, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, insbesondere 116–119; John Marenbon, Medieval Latin Commentaries and Glosses on Aristotelian Logical Texts, Before c. 1150 AD, in: *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Tradition*, Charles S. F. Burnett (Hrsg.), 77–127, London: Warburg Institute, 1993, insbesondere 80–83; Sten Ebbesen, Medieval Latin Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, in: *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Tradition*, Charles S. F. Burnett (Hrsg.), 129–177, London: Warburg Institute, 1993, insbesondere 131–133; Jacqueline Hamesse, Les marginalia dans les textes philosophiques universitaires médiévaux, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, Bd. 1, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù und Silvia Rizzo (Hrsg.), 301–318, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002.

teilweise unterschiedlich sind zu denjenigen, die die Beziehung zwischen scholastischen Marginalien und alten Texten regeln.[3]

Um diese Konfiguration zu studieren, werde ich drei Beispiele erläutern, die sich über einen Zeitraum von etwa einem Jahrhundert erstrecken. Diese Beispiele betreffen Kommentare in Form von *questiones*, und zwar:

1. Die Marginalglossen der Handschrift Fesul. 161 in der Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florenz, in denen der Quästionen-Kommentar von Matteo da Gubbio mit den *Questiones* von Albert von Sachsen ergänzt wurde.
2. Die Marginalglossen der Handschriften 2069 und 2088 der Jagellonischen Bibliothek (BJ) in Krakau, in denen die *Compilatio Meteororum* des Peter von Ailly mit den *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris und der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme ergänzt wird.
3. Die Marginalglossen der Handschrift Clm 12257 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (BSB) in München, in denen dem Kommentar eines anonymen Wiener Magisters einige Passagen aus dem Quästionen-Kommentar des Johannes Buridan hinzugefügt wurden.

Ich werde diese drei Fälle nicht in einander ähnlicher Weise ausführlich erläutern. Da die Marginalien in der florentinischen Handschrift anderswo behandelt wurden, werde ich mich darauf beschränken, einige für unsere Analyse wichtige Punkte zu erwähnen. Anders verhält es sich mit den Marginalien in der Krakauer und in der Münchener Handschrift, denen meiner Kenntnis nach noch keine Studie gewidmet wurde. Angesichts der großen handschriftlichen und gedruckten Verbreitung der *Compilatio Meteororum* des Peter von Ailly werde ich meiner Analyse der Marginalien, die in zwei Krakauer Abschriften dieses Textes vorkommen, einige Bemerkungen zur Stelle der *Compilatio* in der wissenschaftlichen Produktion des Peter von Ailly und in der Tradition der aristotelischen Kommentare an der Pariser Artistenfakultät vorausschicken. Diese Bemerkungen werden uns helfen, die Funktion der Marginalien in den beiden Krakauer Abschriften in einem weiteren Zusammenhang zu verstehen.

Trotz dieser erforderlichen Differenzierungen habe ich versucht, dieser Untersuchung einen einheitlichen Charakter zu verleihen, indem ich jede dieser Fall-

3 In meiner Definition des Begriffs „Marginalglosse" beziehe ich mich auf einen Text, der am Rand einer Seite platziert ist und eine eigenständige Bedeutung hat, jedoch in thematischer Beziehung zum zentralen Text auf der Seite steht. Adolfo Tura bietet in seiner ausführlichen Studie über die verschiedenen Arten von Marginalglossen interessante Überlegungen zum Gebrauch der Begriffe „Text" und „Marginalien": Adolfo Tura, Essai sur les „marginalia" en tant que pratique et documents, in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Danielle Jacquart und Charles S. F. Burnett (Hrsg.), 261–380, Genf: Droz, 2005, insbesondere 267–273.

studien nach der Beantwortung einiger Leitfragen strukturiert habe. Diese Fragen betreffen die Beziehung zwischen den beiden Texten, nämlich dem Haupttext und den Glossen, sowie die Rolle des Glossators und den Kontext der Glossen. Was den ersten Punkt betrifft, werde ich die inhaltlichen und zeitlichen Verhältnisse der beiden Texte erforschen. Hinsichtlich der Rolle des Glossators werde ich sein Ziel, den Bezug zu seiner Quelle und die Verbreitung des Nebentexts am Ort der Kopie behandeln.

Eine derartige Analyse kann selbstverständlich nicht ausführlich sein, weder in dem Sinne, dass sie alle einzelnen Marginalien der betrachteten Handschriften erfassen wollte – ein eher pedantisches Unterfangen als wissenschaftlich gerechtfertigt –, noch natürlich in dem Sinne, dass sie den Anspruch erheben könnte, alle oder einen Großteil der glossierten Abschriften der *Meteorologica*-Kommentare auch nur summarisch zu erfassen. Meine Auswahl der Texte ist daher mit einem gewissen Grad an Willkür behaftet. Dennoch scheint mir diese Auswahl mehrere Vorteile zu haben, um die Typologie und Funktion der Marginalien in philosophischen Texten, insbesondere in den Kommentaren zu Aristoteles, genauer zu verstehen. Auf geographischer Ebene decken die ausgewählten Fallstudien ein weites Gebiet ab, das von Norditalien bis zu den Universitäten Mittel- und Osteuropas reicht – Orte, an denen die Tätigkeit der Glossatoren stattfand, einschließlich der Universität Paris, dem Zentrum der Entstehung der Quellen der Glossatoren. Chronologisch gesehen reicht die betrachtete Kasuistik von der ersten Hälfte des 14. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, eine Zeitspanne, die uns ermöglichen wird, die Entwicklung der Gattung des Universitätskommentars in Form und Inhalt zu erfassen.

1 Bologna: Matteo von Gubbio und Albert von Sachsen

Die Folien 73r–84v des Codex Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fesul. 161, überliefern den Quästionen-Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* des Bologneser Magisters Matteo von Gubbio († 1347).[4] Diesem Text ist am Rande ein anony-

4 Die Zuschreibung finden wir im Kolophon des ersten Buches: „Expliciunt questiones super primo Methaurorum secundum magistrum Matheum de Eugubio." Eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Handschrift bieten: Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 1: *Catalogo dei manoscritti (96–151), 1/2: Italia (Firenze, Padova, Venezia)*, Francesco Del Punta und Concetta Luna (Hrsg.), Florenz: Olschki, 1989, 37–49. Zum Kommentar siehe Aurora Panzica, Un testimone italiano della filosofia naturale di Alberto di Sassonia: I „marginalia" del codice Fesul. 161 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, *Medioevo* 45 (2020): 310–327; Aurora Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre: Les débats sur le premier*



Abbildung 1: Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fesul. 161, fol. 73r: Anfang des Kommentars des Matteo de Gubbio (Hauptseite) und anonyme *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* aus Albert von Sachsen (*marg. sup.*: *Utrum de elementibus*, etc. und *Utrum impressiones methaurologice fiant secundum naturam inordinatiorem quam sit natura celi*).

mer Quästionen-Kommentar zu den *Meteorologica* beigefügt (Abb. 1), der in keiner direkten Beziehung zu den *Questiones* von Matteo da Gubbio steht, von denen er sich sowohl in Form als auch inhaltlich unterscheidet.

Inhaltlich lassen die *Questiones* des Matteo von Gubbio den starken Einfluss von Albert dem Großen erkennen, obwohl Matteo im Gegensatz zu diesem die griechisch-lateinische Übersetzung der *Meteorologica* kommentiert.

Der anonyme Kommentator des Randtextes kennt zwar den Kommentar von Albert dem Großen, seine Hauptquelle ist aber der Quästionen-Kommentar Alberts von Sachsen, ein Werk, das stark von Nikolaus Oresme beeinflusst ist.[5] Die Entsprechung zwischen den Glossen und Alberts Text zeigt sich sowohl in der Quästionen-Liste (in einzelnen Blöcken) als auch im wörtlichen und inhaltlichen Textvergleich.[6] Der anonyme Kommentator der *marginalia* der florentinischen Handschrift gibt den Hauptteil der *responsio* wieder, manchmal wörtlich, wobei er Pro- und Contra-Argumente auslässt oder in die *solutio* einbaut.

Die Frage nach der direkten Quelle dieses Marginalkommentars bleibt offen. Die bekannten Kopien des Kommentars Alberts von Sachsen zu den *Meteorologica* befinden sich in Bibliotheken in Paris sowie in Mittel- oder Osteuropa, genauer gesagt in Erfurt, Berlin und Krakau.[7] Bis heute wurde keine italienische Handschrift identifiziert. Die Marginalien der Handschrift Fesul. 161 stellen somit ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die Verbreitung von Alberts von Sachsen *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* in Italien dar – das einzige, das meines Wissens bisher gefunden wurde.

Man kann sich zwar fragen, ob die Glossen in der florentinischen Handschrift direkt aus Alberts Kommentar abgekürzt und adaptiert wurden, oder ob sie aus einem von Albert beeinflussten Kommentar stammen. Die Tatsache, dass bis jetzt keine weitere Kopie dieses Kommentars identifiziert wurde, scheint die erste Hypothese zu untermauern. Auch wenn der Forschungsstand zu diesen Aristoteles-Kom-

livre des Météorologiques d'Aristote au Moyen Âge latin (La tradition parisienne: XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècles), Turnhout: Brepols, 2025, 700–701; Aurora Panzica, À la recherche des Questions perdues de Matteo de Gubbio sur la „Physique": Nouvelles sources pour l'étude de l'averroïsme bolonais, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 92, no. 1 (2025): 95–134.

5 Teilausgaben der *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* von Albert von Sachsen und der *ultima lectura* von Nikolaus Oresme wurden in den letzten Jahren veröffentlicht: Aurora Panzica, Albert of Saxony's „Questions on Meteorology": Introduction, Study of the Manuscript Tradition, and Edition of Book I–II.2, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 86 (2019): 231–356; Nicolaus Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura, recensio parisiensis: Study of the Manuscript Tradition and Critical Edition of Books I–II.10*, Aurora Panzica (Hrsg.), Leiden: Brill, 2021.

6 Panzica, *Un testimone italiano*, 311–317.

7 Diese Handschriften wurden in der Einleitung zur Textausgabe beschrieben: Panzica, *Albert of Saxony's „Questions on Meteorology"*, 248–257.

mentaren, die in jedem Sinne marginal und durchaus derivativ sind, noch nicht sehr fortgeschritten ist, muss man diesbezüglich vorsichtig bleiben.

Ein anderes Argument, das für eine direkte Überarbeitung von Alberts *Questiones* in der florentinischen Handschrift sprechen könnte, ist die Tatsache, dass die Marginalien sich nicht nur auf den Kommentar zu den *Meteorologica* erstrecken. Auch die anonymen Kommentare zu *De celo* (fols. 43ra–52vb), *De generatione et corruptione* (fols. 57ra–66vb) und *De sensu et sensato* (fols. 104ra–107rb)[8] werden, wenn auch diskontinuierlich, von Randtexten begleitet, die von derselben Hand geschrieben wurden, die auch den Randkommentar zu den *Meteorologica* abgeschrieben hat (Abb. 2).

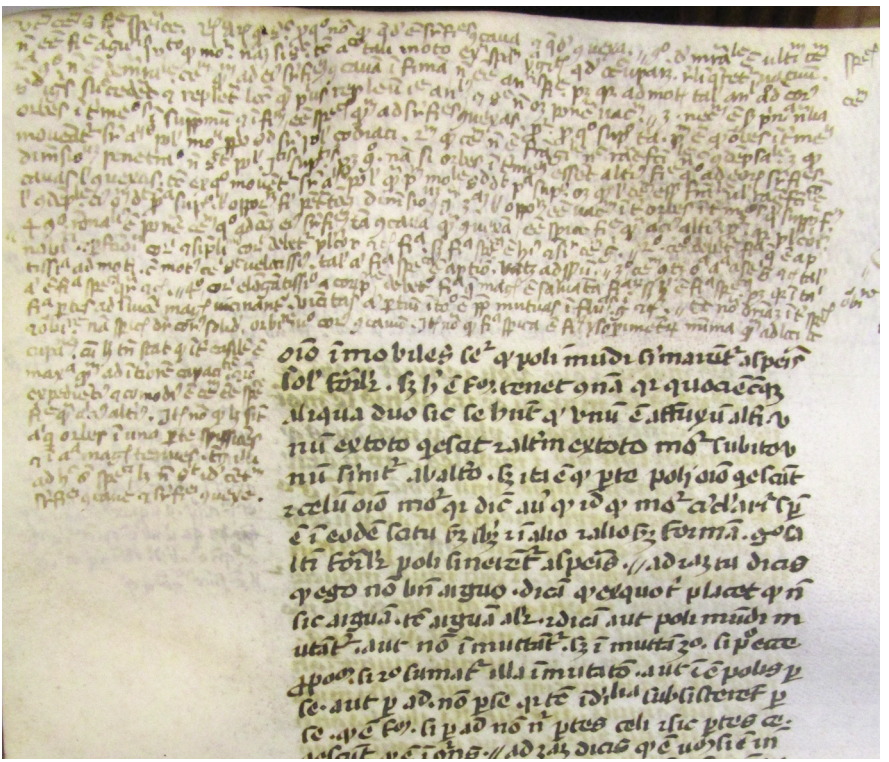


Abbildung 2: Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fesul. 161, fol. 144v: Anonyme *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *De celo* (Hauptseite) und anonyme *Questiones* zu *De celo* aus Albert von Sachsen *(marg. sup. et sin*.: *Utrum omnis motus naturalis sit velocior in fine quam in principio*).

8 Incipit und Explicit sowie die Quästionen-Liste wurden veröffentlicht in Aegidius Romanus, *Opera Omnia*, 40–42.

Ähnlich wie bei den *Meteorologica* weisen auch die Randkommentare zu *De celo* und *De generatione* starke Parallelen zu den Werken Alberts von Sachsen auf, angefangen bei der Liste der *questiones*. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Marginalien des Kommentars zu den *Meteorologica* keine Fragen zu den Problemen des Sehens und der Lichtbrechung enthalten, die traditionell in den Kommentaren zum dritten Buch des aristotelischen Textes behandelt werden. Diese Themen werden in den Marginalien des Kommentars zu *De sensu et sensato* behandelt, der die Sinneswahrnehmung untersucht. Die Quelle sind jedoch wiederum die *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* Alberts von Sachsen. In ähnlicher Weise diente das vierte Buch von Alberts Kommentar als Vorlage für die Marginalien der *Questiones* zu *De generatione et corruptione*. Auch hier ist der inhaltliche Übergang völlig folgerichtig, denn das vierte Buch der *Meteorologica* untersucht die Wechselwirkungen zwischen den elementaren Qualitäten, das Thema von *De generatione et corruptione*.[9]

Diese Überlegungen lassen darauf schließen, dass es sich bei den Randkommentaren im Codex Fesul. 161 um ein kleines naturphilosophisches Kompendium handelt, das in Anlehnung an die *Questiones* zu *De celo* und *Meteorologica* von Albert von Sachsen verfasst wurde. Der Glossator hat einen früheren Kommentar, nämlich die *Questiones* des Matteo von Gubbio, die im Verlauf der Zwanzigerjahre des 14. Jahrhunderts verfasst wurden, sowie weitere anonyme Kommentare zum aristotelischen Corpus der Naturphilosophie, durch zwei spätere, umfassendere und komplexere Kommentare aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts ergänzt, und zwar die *Questiones* zu *De celo* und *Meteorologica* von Albert von Sachsen.

Die italienische Verbreitung von Alberts *Questiones* zu *De celo* ist weithin belegt: Wahrscheinlich wurde dieser Text von Blasius von Parma, der einen Kommentar dazu schrieb, in den Unterricht eingeführt und ab etwa 1368 an der Universität von Bologna verwendet.[10] Ganz anders verhält es sich mit Alberts Kommentar zu den *Meteorologica*, von dem bisher keine Spuren in Italien gefunden worden sind. Die Marginalien in Codex Fesul. 161 der Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florenz stellen somit ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die italienische Verbreitung der Philosophie Alberts von Sachsen dar.

9 Panzica, *Un testimone italiano*, 319–326.

10 Graziella Federici-Vescovini, Note sur la circulation en Italie du commentaire d'Albert de Saxe sur le „De cœlo", in: *Itinéraires d'Albert de Saxe: Paris, Vienne au XIV^e siècle*, Joël Biard (Hrsg.), 235–251, Paris: J. Vrin, 1991, insbesondere 240–246.

2 Krakau: Peter von Ailly, Johannes Versoris und Nikolaus Oresme

Von Norditalien bis nach Polen: Das zweite Beispiel der Funktion der *Marginalien* in Kommentaren zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* betrifft zwei polnische Handschriften, in denen der Kommentar des Peter von Ailly durch die *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris und Nikolaus Oresme ergänzt wird.

2.1 Peter von Ailly als Aristoteles-Kommentator

Peter von Ailly hat auf vielfältige Weise die Aufmerksamkeit der Historiker auf sich gezogen – sei es als Theologe, Kosmograph oder Kanzler der Universität Paris.[11] Dennoch war er, wie viele mittelalterliche Gelehrte, auch ein Kommentator von Aristoteles – eine Rolle, die in der Historiographie bisher weitgehend vernachlässigt wurde. Zu dieser Tatsache hat sicherlich beigetragen, dass uns lediglich zwei Texte unter seinem Namen überliefert sind, die nur entfernt mit Kommentaren in Verbindung stehen. Es handelt sich um eine Abhandlung (*Tractatus*) über die Seele und eine Zusammenstellung (*Compilatio*) zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*.[12]

Da Peter von Ailly schon zu seinen Lebzeiten eine Autorität war, könnte man sich fragen, warum seine an der Artistenfakultät unterrichteten Kommentare nicht überliefert sind. Wenn wir seine Produktion mit denen seiner Vorgänger an der Pariser Artistenfakultät vergleichen, wie Nikolaus Oresme und Albert von Sachsen, die ebenfalls Theologen wurden und wichtige institutionelle Rollen innehatten, fällt der Unterschied auf.[13] Dieser ist jedoch weniger frappierend, wenn wir die

11 Ein umfassender Überblick über das Denken und die Werke von Peter von Ailly bietet der Sammelband: Jean-Patrice Boudet, Monica Brînzei, Fabrice Delivré, Jacques Verger und Michel Zink (Hrsg.), *Pierre d'Ailly: Un esprit universel à l'aube du XV^e^ siècle*, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2019.

12 Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.2: *Medieval Authors: M–Z*, Florenz: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010, 65; Olga Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: Textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500)*, Bd. 7: *Répertoire des noms commençant par P*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, 89.

13 Unter ausschließlicher Berücksichtigung der sicher zugeordneten Texte zeigen die neuesten Forschungsergebnisse, dass Nikolaus Oresme acht Kommentare zugeschrieben werden, die in 38 Kopien überliefert sind: Daniel A. Di Liscia und Aurora Panzica, The Works of Nicole Oresme: A Systematic Inventory, *Traditio* 77 (2022): 235–375, insbesondere 241–261. Albert von Sachsen werden dreizehn Kommentare zugeschrieben, die in zahlreichen Abschriften überliefert sind: Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.1: *Medieval Authors: A–L*, Florenz: Sismel – Edizioni del

Kommentarproduktion von Peter von Ailly mit der eines Pariser Magisters vergleichen, dessen Lehrtätigkeit zeitlich näher an Peter von Ailly liegt, nämlich Heinrichs von Langenstein, von dem uns nur ein einziger aristotelischer Kommentar – und dazu noch von sehr zweifelhafter Zuschreibung – überliefert ist. Auch in diesem Fall handelt es sich um einen Kommentar zu *De anima*.[14] Um ein weiteres Beispiel zu nennen: In den Katalogen sind keine Kommentare von Jean Gerson, seinem Schüler, verzeichnet. Es scheint also, dass Peter von Ailly kein Einzelfall ist, sondern dass sich an ihm vielmehr eine Tendenz in der Produktion der Pariser Magister ab der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts aufzeigen lässt. Nach den reichhaltigen Kommentaren der Magister der Buridan-Schule, in denen das aristotelische Corpus als Vorwand für die Entwicklung neuer wissenschaftlicher Theorien diente, die manchmal nur eine entfernte Verbindung zu den Textvorlagen hatten, scheint die spekulative Kreativität der scholastischen Denker andere, freiere und flexiblere Formen anzustreben. Zwar bleibt der Aristoteles-Kommentar die traditionelle Form der Lehre, aber der ist nicht mehr der Ort, um innovative Theorien zu entwickeln.

Peter von Ailly entwickelte sein Denken bekanntlich in Form des monographischen Traktats, eine Form, die er auch für die Darstellung seiner „philosophischen Psychologie" (*Tractatus de anima*) bevorzugte. Dieser Text, genauso wie seine *Compilatio* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*, bildet keine wörtliche Kommentierung im Stil der *Expositio* oder *Sententia*, wo eine aufeinander folgende Darstellung von Lemma zu Lemma des aristotelischen Textes geboten wird. Es handelt sich auch nicht um einen Quästionen-Kommentar oder eine Mischung aus beiden, eine *Expositio cum questionibus*, basierend auf dem Modell des Kommentars von Petrus von Alvernia, auf den ich zurückkommen werde. Diese Tatsache könnte ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass die zwei Texte des Peter von Ailly, die näher an Aristoteles-Kommentaren stehen, nicht aus seiner Lehrtätigkeit stammen, sondern spätere Verarbeitungen oder Zusammenstellungen, wie der Titel der *Compilatio* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* suggeriert, sind.[15]

Galluzzo, 2013, 35–45; Alexander Muñoz García, Albert of Saxony, Bibliography, *Bulletin de Philosophie médiévale* 32 (1990): 161–190, der jedoch revisionsbedürftig ist.

14 Puncta et notata super tribus libris *De anima*, Hs. Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA, 2° 339, fols. 73r–108r; vgl. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.1, 200. Diese Zuschreibung ist übrigens nicht gesichert: Justin Lang, *Die Christologie bei Heinrich von Langenstein: Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Freiburg: Herder, 1966, 38.

15 Der Titel „Compilatio Met(h)eororum", der in den Ausgaben des 15. Jahrhunderts übernommen wurde, findet sich bereits in den Handschriften, insbesondere am Anfang und Ende der Bücher, wie dies beispielsweise in der ältesten Handschrift dokumentiert ist. Paris, BnF, lat. 2831, fol. 68r: „*De mari autem*, etc. Hic incipit compilatio secundi libri Metheororum"; fol. 73v: „Explicit compilatio

2.2 Die *Compilatio Meteororum*: Merkmale, Quellen, Verbreitung

Der Traktat über die Seele ist der einzige, der die Aufmerksamkeit von Philosophiehistorikern erhalten hat: Er wurde kritisch herausgegeben und war Gegenstand mehrerer Studien.[16] Der Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* wurde hingegen völlig vernachlässigt.[17] Diese Tatsache lässt sich leicht anhand des Inhalts des

secundi libri Metheororum. *De coruscatione*, etc. hic incipit compilatio tertii libri"; fol. 79r: „Explicit compilatio tertii Metheororum. *Quecumque autem fiunt in ipsa terra*, etc. Hic secundum aliquos incipit compilatio quarti libri Metheororum"; fol. 83r: „Explicit compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum, edita a magistro Petro de Alliaco." Peter von Ailly präsentiert als eine Zusammenstellung (*compilatio*) auch seine Abhandlung über die Seele: Olaf Pluta, *Die philosophische Psychologie des Peter von Ailly*, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1987, 33, X, XXII–XXIX und XXXII. Der (mittelalterlichen) Gattung der *Compilatio* sollte meiner Meinung nach eine eigene Studie gewidmet werden. Die Bedeutung, die dieser Bezeichnung in den scholastischen Quellen zugeschrieben wurde, ist nämlich nicht eindeutig. So verwendet beispielweise Bonaventura dieses Wort im Sinne von Zusammenstellung, wenn er den *compilator* als jemand definiert, der die Werke anderer mit Ergänzungen, die ebenfalls aus anderen stammen, schreibt (siehe Proemium, q. 4 in Bonaventura, *Opera Omnia*, Bd. 1: *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum*, Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae (Hrsg.), Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882, 14–15). Das ist im Grunde genommen dieselbe Bedeutung, die wir bei Peter von Ailly finden. Diese Bedeutung wurde in Parkes, *The Influence of the Concepts of „Ordinatio" and „Compilatio" on the Development of the Book* studiert. Zwischen Bonaventura und Peter von Ailly lesen wir jedoch in einer Pariser Handschrift von 1346, dass die *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* des Nikolaus Oresme unter Oresmes Aufsicht kompiliert (*compilate*) wurden: „Expliciunt questiones primi Metheororum compilate ante magistrum Nicholaum de Oresme normannum", Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 2197, fol. 81rb. In diesem Fall bezeichnet das Wort *compilatio* eine Fassung des Textes, die vom Magister genehmigt wurde, und ist daher, meiner Meinung nach, mit *ordinatio* Synonym. In ihrer Studie *Terminologie des universités au XIII^e siècle*, Rom: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987, befasst sich Weijers nicht mit diesem Begriff.

16 Petrus de Ailliaco, Tractatus de anima, in: *Die philosophische Psychologie des Peter von Ailly*, Olaf Pluta (Hrsg.), 1–107, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1987. Ein Überblick über die Literatur wird auf den Seiten 11–32 geboten. Zu neuerer Literatur, siehe Olivier Ribordy, Destinée de l'âme: Cheminements philosophiques de Pierre d'Ailly dans son Traité de l'âme et son commentaire à la „Consolation de philosophie", in: *Pierre d'Ailly: Un esprit universel à l'aube du XV^e siècle*, Jean-Patrice Boudet, Monica Brînzei, Fabrice Delivré, Jacques Verger und Michel Zink (Hrsg.), 103–128, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2019. Obwohl Aristoteles' *De anima* und Buridans *Questiones super tres libros De anima* wichtige Bezugspunkte für Peter von Aillys *Tractatus* darstellen, gestaltet er seine Untersuchung in einer freieren, systematischeren Form. In diesem Sinne handelt es sich bei dem *Tractatus* nicht um einen Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *De anima*. Siehe dazu Plutas Einleitung in Pluta, *Die philosophische Psychologie des Peter von Ailly*, 8 und 34–35.

17 Dieser Text wird nicht einmal im Verzeichnis der philosophischen Texte des Peter von Ailly erwähnt: Marguerite Chappuis, Ludger Kaczmarek und Olaf Pluta, Die philosophischen Schriften des Peter von Ailly: Authentizität und Chronologie, *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 33 (1986): 593–615.

Textes erklären. Die *Compilatio* von Peter von Ailly ist nämlich knappgehalten und inhaltlich äußerst wenig originell, insbesondere wenn wir sie mit den Kommentaren der Pariser Magister der Buridan-Schule vergleichen.

Um eine genauere Vorstellung dieses Textes sowie von Peter von Aillys Ansatz als Kommentator des Aristoteles zu vermitteln, werde ich in der Folge den Prolog analysieren. Diese Analyse wird uns ermöglichen zu verstehen, wieso dieser Text einen so großen Erfolg hatte, und wieso seine Krakauer Leser das Bedürfnis verspürten, ihn mit Marginalglossen zu versehen.

Peter von Ailly eröffnet seinen Text rhetorisch mit dem Thema der Verwunderung, der *admiratio*, die nach dem von Aristoteles in der *Metaphysik* veranschaulichten Ansatz die Menschen, die ihre primären Bedürfnisse befriedigt hatten, dazu veranlasste, nach den Ursachen der Phänomene zu fragen.[18] Mit dieser Wahl reiht sich Peter von Ailly in die Tradition der scholastischen und insbesondere der Pariser Prologe zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* ein, eine Tradition, die unter anderem über Johannes Buridan läuft, und die sich, wie später auch Peter von Ailly, auf die Verwunderung als Prinzip der naturphilosophischen Forschung beruft, insbesondere wenn es um Phänomene geht, die jedermann erlebt, deren Ursache aber auch jedermann unbekannt ist, wie eben die Wetterphänomene.[19] Nach dieser rhetorischen Eröffnung macht Peter von Ailly eine wichtige Klarstellung zu seiner Quelle, nämlich der griechisch-lateinischen Übersetzung (*translatio nova*), die er als treuer

18 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 216r, korrigiert mit Paris, BnF, lat. 2831, fol. 63r: „Propter nostrum admirari inventum est philosophari, ut dicitur primo *Metaphysice* [982b12–17]. Et quia inter omnia que naturaliter producuntur maximam dubitationem nostris sensibus inferunt effectus de quibus in libro *Metheororum* tractatur (quorum quidam superius, quorum quidam infra terram generantur), nunc ad laudem Dei et utilitatem scolarium cause sunt ponende."

19 Anonymus parisinus, *Questiones super libros I–II Meteororum*, ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 14698, fols. 62va–82vb, Prolog, fol. 63rb: „Et magis admirabilia magis sciri desiderata, et propter hoc sic intitulatur. Et est intelligendum quod homines, sicut dicit Philosophus ⟨prohemio⟩ *Metaphisice*, propter admirari in primis ceperunt philosophari; primo enim ceperunt admirari de hiis dubitabilibus que sunt circa nos, deinde processerunt paulatiue et inceperunt admirari de passionibus Lune et Solis, ut de eclipsi, quantitate et etiam motu, et de mundi generatione, utrum generetur intellectu⟨i⟩ uel a casu. Sic etiam et nunc possunt mouere homines ad probandum: isti enim effectus et impressiones determinate in hac scientia admirabiles sunt et ideo propter admirationem eorum nititur homo inquirere causas; per hanc autem scientiam ostenduntur cause eorum. Et ideo terminus huius scientie est quod amplius non admirarentur homines de istis effectibus, et hoc cum causas eorum cognoscant per istam scientiam." Derzeit arbeitet Iacopo Costa an einer kritischen Ausgabe dieses Kommentars, aus der dieser Abschnitt zitiert wurde. Vgl. Sylvie Bages, *Les „Questiones super tres libros Metheororum Aristotelis" de Jean Buridan: Étude suivie de l'édition du livre I*, Bd. 2, Dissertation, École des Chartes, 1986, 1.

gegenüber der Absicht des Aristoteles ansieht.[20] Obwohl diese Bemerkung darauf hinzudeuten scheint, dass Peter von Ailly ein skrupulöser und aufmerksamer Leser des aristotelischen Textes ist, ist dies keineswegs der Fall, wie es sich zeigen wird.

Peter von Ailly geht dann zur Analyse der atmosphärischen Phänomene über, beginnend mit ihrem Entstehungsort, der Luftregion, für die er eine Dreiteilung vorstellt, die in den Kommentaren zu den *Meteorologica* sehr häufig vorkommt: Die obere Region, die aufgrund ihrer Nähe zur Feuersphäre warm ist, die untere Region, die aufgrund ihrer Nähe zur Erde ebenfalls warm ist, und die mittlere Region, die ihrerseits kalt ist und daher den Ort der Entstehung der meisten Niederschläge darstellt.[21]

Nachdem Peter von Ailly diese Verteilung vorgenommen und die Eigenschaften der Luftzonen veranschaulicht hat, fragt er nach den Ursachen dafür, dass die mittlere Region kalt ist. Er berichtet über die Meinung von Petrus de Alvernia, dass die Kälte durch die Wirkung der Gestirne verursacht wird, eine Meinung, von der sich Peter von Ailly distanziert. Peter von Ailly argumentiert, dass, wenn die Gestirne einen kühlenden Einfluss hätten, sie zuerst die Feuersphäre kühlen würden, die der Himmelssphäre näher sei als die Luftsphäre. Eine Feuersphäre, die lauwarm ist, sei jedoch schwer vorstellbar.[22]

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20 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 216r: „Et hoc iuxta modum procedendi et sententiam nove translationis, cum translatio antiqua in pluribus inveniatur defectuosa." Zu den scholastischen Debatten über die Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Übersetzungen, siehe Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, insbesondere Kap. 6.2–3, 17.3–6, 18.8.2 und 20.2.

21 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 216r: „Aer per tres partes dividitur, que ‚regiones' a philosophis appellantur, scilicet in supremam, mediam et infimam. Quarum suprema secundum Aristotelem est in continuo motu. Revolvitur enim continue circa mediam partem mundi residuam inferiorem … Sed cum motus sit causa caloris …, sequitur quod illa … est excellenter calida. Illius autem caliditatis causa assignatur, scilicet appropinquatio ad speram ignis, que caliditatis est causa effectiva … Infima vero regio est in continuo motu …, quoniam ipsa continue agitatur propter varios motus et oppositiones a rebus inferioribus et superioribus procedentes, propter quod illa efficitur calida. Cuius caliditas causa est inter alias notabilis ab Aristotele posita, scilicet refractio sive reflexio radiorum Solis a terra et aqua et aliis corporibus solidis in eadem regione existentibus. Media vero regio est que est inter supremam et infimam, et est in continua quiete seu tranquillitate, quoniam ei deficiunt cause motuum dicte communiter."

22 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 216v: „Sed tunc consurget questio que est causa quod illa media regio efficitur frigida, cum aer de sui natura sit calidus et humidus … Ad quam respondet Petrus de Alvernia, dicens istam regionem fieri frigidam a stellis. Quam causam non approbo, quia tunc ille stelle remitterent calorem ignis in sua spera, cum omne agens fortius et prius agit in propinquum quam in remotum … Et per consequens ignis in sua spera non esset summe calidus, sed remisse, quod non conceditur."

Aber hatte Petrus de Alvernia tatsächlich eine so alberne These aufgestellt? Die Ursachen für die Kälte in der Mitte der Luft waren in den Pariser Kommentaren zu den *Meteorologica* vor allem im 13. Jahrhundert ausführlich erörtert worden. Petrus de Alvernia und andere Pariser Kommentatoren wie Radulphus Brito und Siger von Brabant hatten tatsächlich behauptet, dass die Gestirne die Kälte der mittleren Region beeinflussen.[23]

Diese Kommentatoren halten mit Aristoteles daran fest, dass die Eigenschaften der sublunaren Region durch die Wirkung der Gestirne verursacht werden (*Meteor*. I, 3, 340b15–19). Sie erinnern dann daran, dass Ursachen mit gegensätzlichen Wirkungen einander ausschließen. Wenn also die Ursache, die eine Wirkung A hervorbringt, ihre Wirkung stärker auf ein bestimmtes Subjekt ausübt, ist die Ursache, die die gegenteilige Wirkung B hervorbringt, in Bezug auf dasselbe Subjekt weniger aktiv. Die Gestirne erzeugen nun auf zwei Arten Wärme: Durch ihre Bewegung und durch ihr Licht, das von der Erdoberfläche reflektiert wird. Im oberen Bereich der Luft wird die Wärme durch Bewegung erzeugt, während sie im unteren Bereich durch die Reflexion der Lichtstrahlen entsteht. In der mittleren Region der Luft können diese Ursachen nicht stark genug wirken, weshalb die kühlende Wirkung der Gestirne gegenüber ihrer wärmenden Wirkung überwiegt.[24]

Offensichtlich wird die Vereinfachung des Peter von Ailly dem Text von Petrus de Alvernia nicht gerecht. Peter von Aillys Einwand, dass die Wirkung der Gestirne die Feuersphäre abkühlen sollte, trifft nämlich nicht auf Petrus de Alvernias Erklärung zu, nach der die Feuersphäre heiß ist, weil sie von der kreisförmigen Bewegung der Himmelsphäre mitgerissen wird.

Laut Peter von Ailly kühlen die kalten Elemente Erde und Wasser die an sie angrenzende Luft nachts, wenn die Sonne unter dem Horizont steht, ab. Die Kälte überträgt sich dann auf die anderen Teile der Luft, bis sie die mittlere Region

23 Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, Kap. 16.2.

24 Petrus de Alvernia, *Sententia super I–IV libros Meteororum*, ms. Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2182, fol. 4rb: „Propter quod videtur aliter esse dicendum quod, sicut dixit Aristoteles prius et dicit etiam quod communiter causa materialis calidi et frigidi et causa[m] aliarum passionum corporum simplicium sunt corpora simplicia; causa autem activa, sive unde principium motus, est virtus corporum superiorum; et ideo, sicut calidum quod inest in elementis causatur ab aliqua virtute illorum, ita et frigidum; et ideo pars illa aeris frigida est ex virtute alicuius stelle vel aliquarum stellarum. Ibi enim minus viget virtus generativa alterius, si presens fuerit. In parte autem illa aeris removetur utraque causa generativa caliditatis, scilicet et illa que est per motum et illa que est per refractionem, et ideo virtus generativa frigiditatis diffusa a superiori infrigidat partem illam, et quantum ad hoc privatio cause caliditatis facit ad generationem frigidi removendo, scilicet prohibens. Pars autem illa infrigidata, infrigidat vapores illuc ascendentes, qui infrigidati amplius quam locus ille sit frigidum, propter inclinationem ad frigiditatem naturalem eius, possunt facere ad ampliorem infrigidationem illius.“

erreicht, in der sie sich aufgrund der fehlenden Wärme der Erde oder der Bewegung der Gestirne nicht auflösen kann.[25] Diese Erklärung ist keineswegs originell. Sie wird seit dem 13. Jahrhundert von den Kommentatoren der *Meteorologica* diskutiert. Innerhalb der Pariser Tradition lässt sie sich z. B. und wiederum bei Petrus de Alvernia, Siger von Brabant und Radulphus Brito, die sie jedoch ablehnen, finden.

Sie wenden nämlich ein, dass, wenn die Kälte in der mittleren Region der Luft diesen Ursprung hätte, sie unendlich zunehmen müsste, denn jede Nacht würde das Verschwinden der Sonne unter dem Horizont eine Zunahme der Kälte in der mittleren Region bewirken. Die Erklärung, die nächtliche Kälte werde tagsüber durch die Sonnenwärme aufgehoben, gilt den Kommentatoren als unbefriedigend. In diesem Fall müsste man annehmen, dass am Ende des Tages die gesamte Kälte in der mittleren Region abgebaut sei, was der Erfahrung widerspreche. Außerdem setzt eine solche Erklärung voraus, dass die mittlere Region an den Polen nicht kalt sei – also in Gebieten, in denen die Sonne nur für kurze Zeit untergeht. Aus demselben Grund müsste die mittlere Region im Sommer, wenn die Sonne lange über dem Horizont steht, weniger kalt werden. Doch genau das Gegenteil sei der Fall, wie man an der Fülle und Heftigkeit der Niederschläge am Ende des Sommers erkennen könne. Da die Kondensation des Dampfes durch Kälte verursacht wird, könne man die Gewitter und Hagelschläge, die zu dieser Jahreszeit auftreten, nicht erklären, ohne anzunehmen, dass die mittlere Region der Luft ziemlich kalt ist.[26]

Peter von Ailly berücksichtigt diese Einwände nicht. Es ist schwer zu glauben, dass er sie nicht kannte, denn sie finden sich eben bei Petrus de Alvernia, dem

25 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 216v, korrigiert mit Paris, BnF, lat. 2831, fol. 63r: „Est enim sciendum quod aqua et terra in suis locis existentes non modicum sunt effective frigiditatis, cum sunt multum frigide. Unde, Sole occidente usque ad eius ortum, possunt magnam partem aeris ad frigiditatem transmutare, que quidem frigiditas ascendere potest usque ad mediam regionem aeris inclusive. Deinde, oriente Sole, cuius radii a corporibus predictis reflectuntur usque ad occasum eius, dictam frigiditatem prius actam in infima regione aeris possunt remittere et eandem regionem aeris ducere ad calorem. Sed cum radii dicti reflexi non pertingant ad mediam regionem aeris …, illa necessario relinquitur frigidam."

26 Petrus de Alvernia, *Sententia super I–IV libros Meteororum*, ms. Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2182, fol. 4rb: „Sed hoc videtur esse insufficiens, quia quantum potest pars illa alterari frigiditate terre vel aque de nocte, tantum potest calefieri de die per motum Solis, maxime cum alteratio facta ab illis valde sit debilis cum pervenerit ad locum illum. Et iterum, si alteratio facta a terra vel aqua causa esset frigiditatis de nocte, tunc in tempore vel regione in qua parva aut nulla sit infrigidatio aeris a terra, scilicet in noctibus brevissimis et regionibus et temporibus calidissimis, ibi vel parva aut nulla esset frigiditas in loco nubium, et tunc parva aut nulla condensatio nubium, cuiusmodi contrarium apparet in multis."

Denker, auf den er sich im Laufe seines Kommentars am häufigsten bezieht. Peter von Ailly kümmert sich um sie jedoch nicht und kehrt damit de facto zu einer Lösung zurück, die durch die Entwicklung der philosophischen Debatte überholt worden war.

Nachdem Peter von Ailly die verschiedenen Regionen der Luft charakterisiert und erklärt hat, warum die mittlere Region kalt ist, legt er das Prinzip der doppelten Exhalation dar, das die Grundlage der aristotelischen Meteorologie bildet und alle Wetterphänomene auf die Erhebung der beiden Exhalationen, der kalten Exhalation und der warmen Exhalation, zurückführt. Mit diesem Ansatz übergeht Peter von Ailly alle Probleme im Zusammenhang mit dem einleitenden Teil der Meteorologie, d. h. den Kapiteln 1–3, die seit dem 13. Jahrhundert den scholastischen Lehrern einen Anlass boten, sich mit Bewegung, Wärme, Licht, den quantitativen Beziehungen zwischen den vier Elementen und der Fernwirkung auseinanderzusetzen.[27] All diese Entwicklungen fehlen im Kommentar von Peter von Ailly, der schnell zum eigentlichen meteorologischen Teil des aristotelischen Textes übergeht. Diese Reduzierung der Meteorologie des Aristoteles auf den Teil der atmosphärischen Phänomene passt eher zu der Rezeption dieses Textes in der Renaissance und der zweiten Scholastik als zu der scholastischen Tradition, insbesondere der Pariser Tradition, in der die Meteorologie des Aristoteles meist einen Vorwand für lange Ausführungen physikalischer und kosmologischer Natur bietet. Was aus diesem Beginn des Kommentars hervorgeht, ist also eine Tendenz zur Verdichtung, Zusammenfassung und Vereinfachung. Die Schlüsselwörter dafür sind „kurz und einfach“ (*breviter et faciliter*):[28]

Diese Tendenz führt manchmal zu Ungenauigkeiten, etwa wenn Peter von Ailly Aristoteles die These zuschreibt, Kometen würden Winde, Dürre, Kriege und den Tod von Prinzen ankündigen. Die politische und soziale Interpretation von Kometen ist in der arabischen Tradition verankert, während Aristoteles sich in den *Meteorologica* auf Naturphänomene wie Winde und Dürren beschränkt, die durch das Erscheinen der Kometen angekündigt (aber nicht verursacht) werden. Ihre schädliche politische Bedeutung wird jedoch in den Kommentaren zu den *Meteorologica* immer wieder angesprochen, insbesondere in der Pariser Tradition, der Peter von Ailly folgt und die er gewissermaßen über die aristotelische Abhandlung legt.[29]

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27 Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, Kap. 6–14.

28 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 218v: „Ista est alia pars, in qua breviter et faciliter restat videre …“

29 Aristoteles, *Meteorologica*, I, 7, 344b18–20; Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 219r: „Ulterius est sciendum, secundum Aristo-

In ähnlicher Weise schreibt Peter von Ailly die Idee, dass große Veränderungen auf der Erde, wie der Wechsel zwischen Meeren und Kontinentalgebieten, durch die Wirkung der Konstellationen verursacht werden, Aristoteles zu, während Letzterer sich darauf beschränkt hatte, die Wirkung der Sonne zu erwähnen. Die astrale Interpretation des Wechsels zwischen Meeren und Kontinenten wurde durch die arabische Version nahegelegt, die von Gerardo von Cremona ins Lateinische übersetzt wurde. Während Aristoteles sich darauf beschränkt hatte, die Wechsel zwischen Meeren und Kontinenten auf die Bewegung der Sonne zurückzuführen, wird im arabisch-lateinischen Text die Umdrehung des gesamten Himmelskörpers einbezogen.[30]

Diese Bemerkungen lassen den Schluss zu, dass Peter von Ailly kein aufmerksamer Leser des aristotelischen Textes ist, sondern ihn verzerrt, indem er ihm Thesen zuschreibt, die seiner Interpretationstradition eigen sind. Angesichts dieser Überlegungen könnte man sogar fragen, ob Peter von Ailly den aristotelischen Text tatsächlich las und erklärte, oder ob er einen der Kommentare seiner Kollegen vor Augen oder im Kopf hatte. Dieses Problem ist nicht so harmlos, wie es scheinen mag, denn es führt zu einer allgemeineren Überlegung über die Entwicklung der Lehrpraxis und den universitären Aristotelismus im 15. Jahrhundert, einen Aristotelismus ohne Aristoteles, wie dieser Fall zu zeigen scheint.[31]

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telem, quod huiusmodi stelle significant tempus ventosum, siccum, destructionem fructuum, iram et in gentibus rixas, prelia, mortem principum.“ Zu den Debatten über die Bedeutung der Kometen in lateinischen Kommentaren siehe Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, Kap. 17.2.3.

30 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 223r: „Causam huiusmodi transmutationis dicit Aristoteles perpetue fore ex constellationibus, que in infinito tempore variantur“; Aristoteles, *Meteorologica, translatio Gerardi*, siehe *Aristotle's Meteorology in the Arabico-Latin Tradition: A Critical Edition of the Texts, with Introduction and Indices*, Pieter L. Schoonheim (Hrsg.), Leiden: Brill, 2000., I, 8, S. 54, Z. 430–S. 56, Z. 43: „Et causa in hoc est sol cum revolutione orbis“; sed Aristoteles, *Meteorologica*, I, 14, 351a31–32; Näheres dazu in Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, Kap. 20.

31 Siehe zum Beispiel die folgende Bemerkung von Christoph Flüeler, die sich auf den Wiener Kontext bezieht, meiner Meinung nach jedoch auch auf die Lehre an anderen Universitäten ab dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts verallgemeinert werden kann: „Es muss deshalb gefragt werden, ob in Wien an der Artistenfakultät die ‚Nikomachische Ethik' von Aristoteles überhaupt noch in den Vorlesungen kommentiert wurde oder ob die Quaestionenliste von Buridans Ethikkommentar die wörtliche Auslegung anhand der lateinischen Übersetzung nicht vollständig verdrängt hatte“, Christoph Flüeler, „Ethica“ in Wien anno 1438: Die Kommentierung der aristotelischen „Ethik“ an der Wiener Artistenfakultät, in: *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400: Lateinische und volkssprachliche Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidelberg: Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, Fritz Peter Knapp, Jürgen Miethke und Manuela Niesner (Hrsg.), 92–138, Leiden: Brill, 2004, 122.

Wie dem auch sei, trotz dieser Ungenauigkeiten, die ein dunkles Licht auf seine Kenntnis des aristotelischen Textes werfen könnten, stellt sich Peter von Ailly als treuer Leser und zuverlässiger Interpret dar. So macht er beispielsweise keinen Hehl aus seiner Verachtung für diejenigen, die, anstatt die authentischen Bücher zu studieren, sich mit kleinen Büchlein und Faszikeln begnügen, aus denen sie falsche Ansichten ableiten, wie die, dass der Hagel durch die Kälte der mittleren Luftregion entstehe, eine Ansicht, die Anaxagoras eigen war und von Aristoteles widerlegt wurde.[32]

Es bleibt festzuhalten, dass Peter von Aillys Analyse des aristotelischen Textes auf der exegetischen Ebene oberflächlich und sogar ungenau ist. Auf der Ebene der philosophischen und wissenschaftlichen Entwicklungen ist sie armselig und steht im Schatten der Pariser Meister aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Und dennoch, wahrscheinlich dank des Rufs seines Autors und des handlichen Formats wird dieser Text in einer Vielzahl von Handschriften überliefert und hat mehrere Auflagen durchlaufen.

Handschriften[33]

1. Brüssel, Bibliothèque royale, 18977–81 (1695), fols. 2r–25r (Leipzig, 1412);
2. Berlin, SBPK, lat. qu. 183, fols. 216v–227r;
3. *Krakau, BJ, cod. 1850, fols. 14r–25v;
4. *Krakau, BJ, cod. 2069, fols. 67r–97v (Krakau, 1515);
5. *Krakau, BJ, cod. 2088, fols. 276r–296r (Krakau, 1488);
6. Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift, 158, fols. 365v–373r;
7. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, BN 6004, fols. 6r–29r;
8. Mailand, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N. 58. sup.;
9. *München, BSB, Clm 26929, fols. 264r–273r (Prag, ca. 1407);

32 Petrus de Alliaco, *Compilatio quatuor librorum Metheororum*, ms. Prag, Národní knihovna, III H 8, fol. 221v: „Sed multi, non instructi in libris autenticis, sed in cartulis et in parvis libris, dicunt grandinem generari in media aeris regione, a frigore circumstante congelari et ingrossari. Sed respiciant textum Aristotelis et ipsum intelligant, ipsi inveniant quod illa opinio fuit Anaxagore, et est ab Aristotele in multis locis reprobata“; vgl. *Meteor*., I, 12, 348b12–26.

33 Diese Liste entnehme ich aus Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.1, 65, ergänzt durch Monica Brînzei, Nouveau survol des écrits de Pierre d'Ailly: de la tradition manuscrite aux premiers imprimés, in: *Pierre d'Ailly: Un esprit universel à l'aube du XV^e siècle*, Jean-Patrice Boudet, Monica Brînzei, Fabrice Delivré, Jacques Verger und Michel Zink (Hrsg.), 275–300, Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2019. Ich habe die Handschriften, die durch einen Asterisk gekennzeichnet sind, eingesehen und dabei die Präsenz von Marginalien überprüft. In Klammern habe ich die Herkunft und das Entstehungsdatum der Kopie vermerkt, soweit mir diese Informationen bekannt sind.

10. *München, BSB, Clm 27105, fols. 1r–33r;
11. *Paris, BnF, lat. 2831, fols. 63r–83r (Paris, 1396);
12. *Prag, Národní knihovna České Republiky, III H 8, fols. 216r–242 (Prag, 1449);
13. Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. 72;
14. *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 16.1 Astron. 4° (1486);
15. *Breslau, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, IV Q 54, fols. 168r–186r (Prag, 1404);
16. *Breslau, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, IV Q 157, fols. 262v–286v (Krakau, 1419).

Drucke[34]

1. sine loco et anno: Leipzig, Konrad Kachelofen, um 1490/95 (Hain 846; GW M31968);[35]
2. Straßburg, Johann Prüs, 1504;
3. Leipzig, Jacob Thanner, 1506;
4. Krakau, Johann Haller, 1506;
5. Wien, Hieronymus Vietor und Johann Singriener, 1514;
6. Krakau, Johann Haller, 1515;
7. Krakau, Hieronymus Vietor, 1524.

Wie man aus dieser Liste entnehmen kann, stammen die meisten überlieferten Kopien aus Mittel- und Osteuropa.[36] Der Text zirkulierte viel in Krakau, wo er später

34 Diese Liste entnehme ich aus Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.1, 65, der jedoch die Namen der Drucker nicht nennt. Lohr erwähnt eine wienerische Ausgabe aus dem Jahr 1509 (vermittelt über Pierre Féret, La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres, in: *Moyen Âge*, Bd. 4, Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1897, 185, Fn. 2, seinerseits gestützt auf Jean de Launoy, *Regii Navarræ Gymnasii Parisiensis historia*, Parisiis: Apud Viduam Edmundi Martini), die ich jedoch trotz meiner Bemühungen nicht identifizieren konnte. Er verweist dabei auf Ferdinand Edward Cranz, *Aristotle: A Catalogue of Printed Editions*, Typoskript, 1965. Die gedruckte Fassung dieses Werkes (Ferdinand Edward Cranz, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions, 1501–1600*, Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1971) führt jedoch keine Krakauer Ausgabe aus dem Jahr 1507 auf. Ich möchte Joanna Jutrznia von der Abteilung für alte Drucke an der Jagiellonen-Universität danken, die mir bestätigt hat, dass diese Ausgabe nicht identifiziert werden konnte.

35 Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi, ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, vol. 1.1, Stuttgartiae: J. G. Cotta; Lutetiae Parisiorum: Jul. Renouard, 1826; Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke; Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Hrsg.), *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig: Anton Hiersemann, 1925.

36 Es handelt sich um eine Dynamik, die nicht nur die *Compilatio* betrifft, sondern auch andere Schriften von Peter von Ailly, wie Monica Brînzei gezeigt hat (siehe Brînzei, *Nouveau survol*). Diese weitreichende Verbreitung in den Gebieten des Deutschen Reiches ist generell keine Besonderheit der Werke von Peter von Ailly, sondern betrifft auch andere Pariser Magister sowohl aus dem

auch gedruckt wurde. Die Universität Krakau war eines der wichtigen Zentren des Buridanismus, einer philosophischen Richtung, die stark von Logik und Naturphilosophie geprägt war und sich besonders an den Schriften von Johannes Buridan, Nikolaus Oresme, Albert von Sachsen und Marsilius von Inghen orientierte.[37] Die Aristoteles-Kommentare dieser Magister zeichneten sich durch eine strukturelle und inhaltliche Komplexität aus, die in der *Compilatio* des Peter von Ailly nicht zu finden ist. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es daher nicht erstaunlich, dass die Benutzer zweier Krakauer Handschriften das Bedürfnis verspürten, die knappe Auslegung der *Compilatio* mit Erklärungen zu ergänzen, die aus Kommentaren der Buridan-Schule stammen. Diese Ergänzungen erscheinen in den Handschriften BJ 2069 und 2088 in Form von Marginalien.[38]

15. Jahrhundert, wie Jean Gerson, als auch aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, wie Albert von Sachsen und Nikolaus Oresme. Ein Blick auf die Handschriftenlisten dieser Philosophen, etwa im Katalog von Charles Lohr, genügt, um festzustellen, dass die Anzahl der Kopien in den Gebieten des Deutschen Reiches die Anzahl der französischen Kopien bei weitem übersteigt.

37 Über die Verbreitung des Buridanismus an den mitteleuropäischen Universitäten informiert: Mieczysław Markowski, L'influence de Jean Buridan sur les universités d'Europe centrale, in: *Preuve et raisons à l'Université de Paris: Logique, ontologie et théologie au XIV^e siècle: Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par le Laboratoire associé au CNRS n. 152 du 5 au 7 novembre 1981*, Zenon Kałuża und Paul Vignaux (Hrsg.), 149–163. Paris: J. Vrin, 1984; Mieczysław Markowski, Die Naturphilosophie des Buridanismus an den alten Universitäten in Europa, *Acta mediaevalia* 15 (2002): 131–152. Zum Buridanismus an der Krakauer Universität, siehe Mieczysław Markowski, Die neue Physik an der Krakauer Universität im XV. Jahrhundert, in: *„Antiqui" und „Moderni": Traditionsbewusstsein und Fortschrittbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter: 18. Mediävistentagung des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln, 30. August–2. September 1972*, Albert Zimmermann (Hrsg.), 501–508, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974; Mieczysław Markowski, *Burydanizm w Polsce w okresie przedkopernikańskim: Studium z historii filozofii nauk ścisłych na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku* [Der Burydanismus im vorkopernikanischen Polen: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Wissenschaftsphilosophie an der Universität Krakau im 15. Jahrhundert], Breslau: Ossolineum, 1971; Mieczysław Markowski, Der Buridanismus an der Krakauer Universität im Mittelalter, in: *Die Philosophie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: In memoriam Konstanty Michalski (1879–1947)*, Olaf Pluta (Hrsg.), 245–260, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1988.

38 In seiner umfassenden Studie über die Verbreitung des Buridanismus an der Universität Krakau behandelt Mieczysław Markowski die Randbemerkungen, die sich mit Theorien der neuen Physik befassen – insbesondere mit der Bewegung der Erde: Markowski, *Burydanizm w Polsce w okresie przedkopernikańskim*, 135–137.

2.3 Die Marginalien der Krakauer Handschriften 2069 und 2088

Die Handschrift 2088 stammt aus den Jahren 1486–1488.[39] Die Handschrift 2069 ist sogar noch später entstanden als die gedruckte Verbreitung der *Compilatio* in Krakau, denn sie wurde 1515 von einem Studenten der Artistenfakultät kopiert.[40]

Die Marginalien in der Kopie in der Handschrift BJ 2069 eröffnen mit einer ausführlichen Erläuterung zur Bedeutung des Begriffs *impressio*, wie er in den scholastischen Kommentaren zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* zur Beschreibung meteorologischer Phänomene verwendet wird (Abb. 3). Seit der *prima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme haben Kommentatoren mehrere (gewöhnlich drei) Bedeutungen des Begriffs *impressio* unterschieden: Eine allgemeinere, die jede qualitative Veränderung umfasst, sowie zwei spezifischere, die sich auf Veränderungen in den primären und sekundären Qualitäten während der Prozesse der Kondensation, Verdünnung, Verbrennung und Gefrierung beziehen und die die entstehenden Körper betreffen (wie z. B. Wolken, die durch die Kondensation von Wasser entstehen, oder Blitze, die durch das Verbrennen von Dämpfen hervorgerufen werden).[41] Interessanterweise wurde diese Entwicklung auch vom Verfasser der Marginalien der florentinischen Handschrift übernommen, der sich dabei auf den Kommentar Alberts von Sachsen stützt.[42] Genauso wie in den florentinischen Glossen wird die Quelle der Marginalien in der Krakauer Handschrift nicht erwähnt. Durch einen Textvergleich mit an der Universität Krakau verbreiteten Kommentaren zu Aristo-

39 Dieses Datum erscheint im Kolophon der *Questiones* zur Physik auf fol. 264r („finis anno Domini 1488 in bursa Alemanorum") und im Kolophon der *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* auf fol. 296 („finitum anno Domini m cccc lxxxviii"). Siehe dazu Mieczysław Markowski und Zofia Włodek, *Repertorium commentariorum medii aevi in Aristotelem Latinorum quae in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, Breslau: Ossolineum, 1974, 106–107 und Aurora Panzica, Commenter les „Météorologiques" à l'Université de Cracovie: De l'assimilation des modèles parisiens à la naissance d'une tradition polonaise, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 87, no. 1 (2020): 103–192, hier 113, Fn. 45.

40 Krakau, BJ, cod. 2069, fol. 36v: „Finis anno incarnationis 1515, per me, Valentinum de Rawa." Siehe dazu Markowski und Włodek, *Repertorium*, 98. Valentinus de Rawa erhielt 1533 den Grad eines Magisters artium und war 1541 Dekan an der Artistenfakultät: Józef Muczkowski (Hrsg.), *Statuta nec non liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in Universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849*, Cracoviae: Typis Universitatis, 1849, 98 und 198.

41 Zu den scholastischen Debatten über den Begriff *impressio* in *Meteora*-Kommentaren, siehe Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, Kap. 1.

42 Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fesul. 161, fol. 73r, Abbildung 1. Die Transkription und der Textvergleich mit Albert von Sachsen können konsultiert werden in Panzica, *Un testimone italiano*, 313.

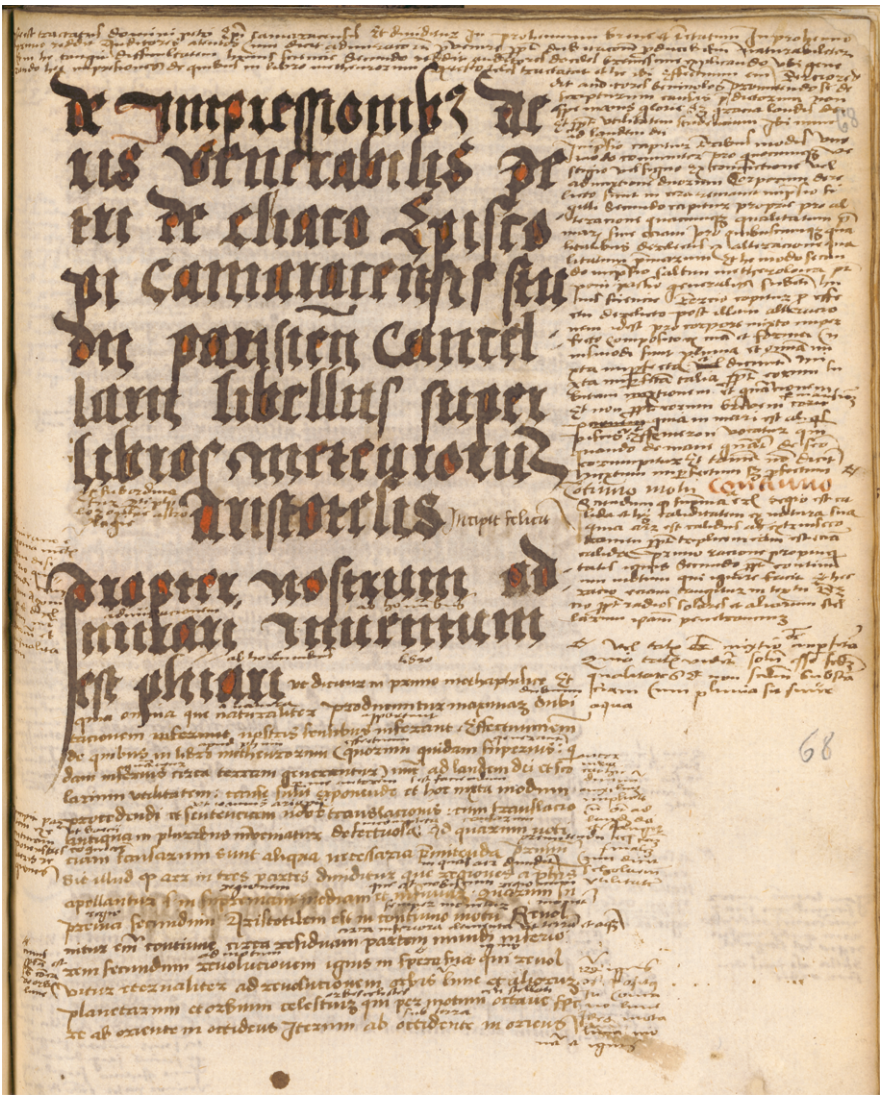


Abbildung 3: Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, cod. 2069, fol. 68r: Anfang (mit Überschrift und *incipit* in *littera textualis* geschrieben) der *Compilatio Meteororum* des Peter von Ailly mit Marginal- und Interlinearglossen, zwischen anderen aus Johannes Versoris's *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*.

teles' *Meteorologica* kann man jedoch feststellen, dass es sich um die *Questiones* des Johannes Versoris handelt, wie in dieser Synopsis ersichtlich wird:[43]

Johannes Versoris, *Q. in Meteor.*, I.1, Köln, Konrad Welker, 1488, fol. 1rb.	**Krakau, BJ, cod. 2069, fol. 68r, *marg. dext.***
Sciendum quinto quod ‚*impressio*' multis *modis* accipitur …	‚*Impressio*' capitur tribus *modis*.
Uno modo accipitur ‚impressio' *pro vestigio derelicto* in aliquo molli corpore facto a corpore duro, *ut impressio sigilli in cera*.	*Uno modo* communiter *pro* quocumque *vestigio* vel signo ex commistione vel admixtione duorum corporum *derelicto*, sic*ut in cira* remanet *impressio sigilli*.
Alio modo accipitur ‚impressio' *pro alteratione* facta per *qualitat*es *prim*as.	Secundo capitur proprie *pro alteratione* quacumque *qualitat*um *prima*rum sive etiam pro quibuscumque qualitatibus derelictis et *alteratione qualitat*um primarum …
Tertio modo accipitur ‚impressio' *pro effectu derelicto* per huiusmodi qualitates et *alteration*es. Et sic accipitur ‚impressio' cum cometa, nix, grando, etc., vocantur ‚impressiones', etiam cum dicitur quod iste liber est de impressionibus metheorologicis.	*Tertio* capitur *pro effectu derelicto* post illam *alteration*em, id est pro corpore mixto imperfecto composito ex materia et forma, cuiusmodi sunt pluvia et omnia mixta imperfecta.

Zwar sind in diesem Fall die wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen nicht gravierend. Zudem wurde diese Unterteilung auch von anderen (Pariser) Gelehrten behandelt, manchmal in ähnlicher Weise, wie z. B. von Nikolaus de Orbellis,[44] dessen Werke aber – zumindest soweit mir bekannt ist – nicht in Krakau verbreitet waren. Andere textliche Vergleiche legen aber nahe, dass die *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris als Hauptquelle vieler Marginalien bestätigt werden können, wie diese Beispiele zu den Ursachen feuriger Meteore und den Anzeichen von Regen zeigen (Abb. 4):

43 Um dem Leser einen raschen Überblick über die direkten Übereinstimmungen zwischen den Marginalien der Krakauer Handschrift und ihrer Quelle zu ermöglichen, habe ich wörtliche Parallelen hervorgehoben.

44 Nicolaus de Orbellis, Questiones in Meteorologica, in: *Cursus librorum philosophiae naturalis secundum viam Scoti*, Basiliae: Michael Furter, 1494, Kap. 1, fol. 51ra: „Sciendum est quod ‚impressio' potest sumi dupliciter: uno modo proprie; alio modo similitudinarie. Sumitur autem ‚impressio' proprie pro vestigio relicto in aliquo corpore molli facto ab aliquo duro, sicut impressio sigilli in cera. Similitudinarie autem sumitur pro aliquo effecto facto et derelicto in elementis ex alteratione qualitatum primarum. Et sic sumitur in proposito."

Johannes Versoris, *Q. in Meteor.*, I.7, Köln, Konrad Welker, 1488, fol. 4rb.	**Krakau, BJ, cod. 2069, fol. 69r, *marg. dext.***
Sciendum secundo quod *causa materialis impressionum ignitarum* est duplex, scilicet *remota*, que est *corpus* siccum *terrestre* aliquid habens *de humido aereo pingui* et de facili inflammabili; et materia propinqua est *exalatio calida et sicca* siccitate opposita humiditate aquose.	De causis impressionum est dicendum, et primo de *causa* propinqua *materiali* omnium *impressionum ignitarum*, *que exalatio est calida et sicca*; sed materia *remota* est *corpus terrestre* participans *de humid*itate *pingui aere*a.
Similiter *causa efficiens est duplex*, scilicet *propinqua et remota. Remota est Sol et celum* quod [1va] motu suo, lumine et influentia alterat *terram* et cetera corpora exalabilia. Et *propinqua est* corpus subtilians et elevans exalationes, vel *cal*idum exuriens et inflammans exalationem iam elevatam in suprema regione aeris, vel etiam frigidum fortificans calidum exalatum per anthiparistasim.	*Causa efficiens est duplex*: *remota et propinqua. Remota est celum* calefaciens *terram*, faciens eam exalare et fumare ut *Sol* et astra; sed causa efficiens *propinqua est cal*or a quo immediate inflammatur talis exalatio.
Similiter *fin*is illarum impressionum est duplex, scilicet propinquus et remotus. *Propinqu*us est *generatio ignis*, et remotus *est salus animantium* viventium in aere et supra terram.	Causa autem *fin*alis *remot*a est *generatio ignis*, sed propinqua *est salus animantium*.[45]

Johannes Versoris, *Q. in Meteor.*, I.7, Köln, Konrad Welker, 1488, fol. 7vb.	**Krakau, BJ, cod. 2069, fol. 73r, *marg. sin.***
Dubitatur primo de *sign*is *pluvie* per que scitur eius generatio. Respondetur quod multa sunt.	Sciendum quod secundum astrologos assignantur octo *sign*a *pluvie*.
Primum est ascensum vaporis sursum.	*Primum* signum *est* apparitio nubis et *ascensio vaporis sursum.*
*Secundum est diminutio ror*is *et fontium.*	*Secundum est diminutio* fluviorum, *fontium* et *ror*um. Quando enim predicta diminuuntur, tunc vapores elevantur ex quibus generatur pluvia.

45 In diesem Fall weicht der Glossator merkwürdigerweise von seiner Quelle ab, indem er die unmittelbaren und entfernten Endursachen für die feurigen Meteore vertauscht. Man kann sich fragen, ob dieser Unterschied auf das ihm zur Verfügung stehende Manuskript der *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris, auf eine bewusste Auswahl oder auf eine Unachtsamkeit seinerseits zurückzuführen ist.

Tertium est humectatio parietum et lapidum, quia pluvia nedum generatur ex vapore, sed etiam ex aere converso in aquam, et ideo, quia tempore generationis pluvie *viget* virtus potens *converte*re vaporem *in aquam*, et aer tangens lapidos frigidos convertitur in aquam.	*Tertium est humectatio parietum et lapidum, quia* tunc *viget* constellatio *converte*ns aerem *in aquam*.
Quartum est quod *lampades ardentes scintillant*, quia *aer circumdans oleum convertitur in aquam* manantem in superficie olei quando oleum male ardet.	*Quartum est* cum *lampades ardentes scintilant* [*sic*] et fere extinguuntur, tunc enim *aer circumdans oleum convertitur in aquam* vel est saltem plenus vaporibus humidis.
Quintum est rubedo matutina Solis, que *signum est* quod *multi sunt vapores* inter nos et Solem qui nocte precedente non fuerunt conversi in rorem; sed rubedo Solis serotina non est signum pluvie …	*Quintum est rubedo matutina Solis*. *Signum* enim *est* quia tunc *sunt multi vapores* per quos faciliter nunc pertranseunt radii solares.
Sextum signum est quod tempore generationis pluvie *non videntur* multa *astra*.	*Sextum*, quando *non videntur astra*, quia tunc impeditur visus propter vapores qui sunt in aere.
Septimum est cantus ranarum.	*Septimum est cantus ranarum* et avium.
Octavum est quod *musce et pulices fortius pungunt, oves avidius* comedunt et aves *nutrimentum diligen*tius querunt.	*Octavum est* quando *musce et pulices fortius pungunt et oves avidius* pascunt et *diligen*s *nutrimentum querunt*, quia tunc corpora eorum sunt alligata, et sic ex instinctu nature moventur ad previdendum sibi.

Das Thema der effizienten, materiellen und finalen Ursache feuriger Meteore wird zwar in den scholastischen Kommentaren traditionell behandelt, doch das Besondere an der Analyse von Johannes Versoris liegt darin, dass er für jede Art von Kausalität zwischen nahen (*propinque*) und fernen (*remote*) Ursachen unterscheidet. Ebenso werden die Zeichen, die das Eintreffen von Regen vorhersagen, häufig ausführlich besprochen, jedoch habe ich in den Kommentaren, die ich studiert habe, nur bei Johannes Versoris eine Liste von acht Zeichen gefunden – eine Liste, die der Glossator der Krakauer Handschrift in derselben Reihenfolge und in ähnlichen Worten übernimmt.

Die Tatsache, dass diesen Auszügen in den Marginalien kein bestimmter Magister zugeschrieben wird, lässt sich leicht durch die Textüberlieferung der *Questiones* des Johannes Versoris erklären, die in den meisten Kopien anonym zirkulierten.[46] Mir sind zurzeit vier Handschriften Krakauer Ursprungs bekannt, die alle

46 Zur anonymen Überlieferung der Kommentare von Johannes Versoris siehe Christoph Flüeler, Die verschiedenen literarischen Gattungen der Aristoteles-Kommentare: Zur Terminologie der

diesen Kommentar anonym überliefern: Krakau BJ, cod. 2007, fols. 163r–192r; BJ 2024, cod. fols. 340r–375r; BJ, cod. 2072, fols. 114r–139v; München BSB, Clm 520, fols. 222v–255r.[47] Weitere Forschung sollte es ermöglichen, zu bestimmen, welche dieser Kopien als Vorlage für die Verfasser der Marginalien diente oder zumindest, welcher Abschrift die Glossen am nächsten stehen. Dabei sollten auch die Kölner Drucke berücksichtigt werden (1486–1488), da – wie im Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke bezeugt – sie auch in Krakau zirkulierten und die Handschrift BJ 2069 im Jahr 1515 entstand.

Johannes Versoris ist jedoch nicht die einzige Quelle der Marginalien, die die *Compilatio* des Peter von Ailly in der Handschrift BJ 2069 begleiten. Unmittelbar nach der zitierten Glosse zu den Anzeichen des Regens bezieht sich der Glossator ausdrücklich auf Nikolaus Oresme bezüglich der Arten von Regen:

> Nicolaus Horem, super *Metheororum*, dicit: pluvie diversificantur secundum diversitatem materie, nam contingit aliquando elevari vaporem venenosum ad mediam regionem aeris admixta exalatione viscosa per virtutem Solis et aliorum astrorum, et inde generantur rane, pisciculi et quidam vermes. Aliquando vapor versus supremam regionem aeris aduritur et sic inde generatur rubea pluvia ad modum sanguinis.

In diesem Fall – anders als bei Johannes Versoris, der, das muss betont werden, nie vom Glossator ausdrücklich zitiert wird – konnte ich keine wörtliche Übereinstimmung mit Oresmes Text feststellen. Es sind uns zwei chronologisch und inhaltlich klar unterschiedene Fassungen von *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* überliefert.[48] Beide Fassungen zirkulierten in Krakau: die *ultima lectura*, in vier Nikolaus Oresme zugeschriebenen Abschriften (cod. 749, fols. 59v–110v; cod. 751, fols. 3r–53r; cod. 2095, fols. 245r–307r; cod. 2117, fols. 195r–322r); die *prima lectura*, in drei anonymen Kopien, wo sie abgekürzt und mit Alberts von Sachsen Kommentar kontaminiert wurde (cod. 753, fols. 51ra–83vb; cod. 635, pp. 194a–209a, nur

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Überschriften und Kolophone, in: *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales: actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 9–11 septembre 1993*, Jacqueline Hamesse (Hrsg.), 75–116, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1994, 82–84 und Aurora Panzica, Fifteenth-Century Textbooks: John Versoris's Commentaries, Their Dissemination and Reworking in Central and Eastern Europe, in: *Studying the Arts in Late Medieval Bohemia: Production, Reception and Transmission of Knowledge*, Bd. 2, Ota Pavlíček (Hrsg.), Turnhout: Brepols, 2025, im Druck.

47 Panzica, *Commenter les „Météorologiques" à l'Université de Cracovie*, 120–130.

48 Über diese zwei Fassungen informiert Aurora Panzica, Une nouvelle rédaction des „Questions sur les Météorologiques" de Nicole Oresme, *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 57 (2015): 257–264; Aurora Panzica, Nicole Oresme à la Faculté des Arts de Paris: Les „Questions sur les Météorologiques", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 84 (2017): 7–89.

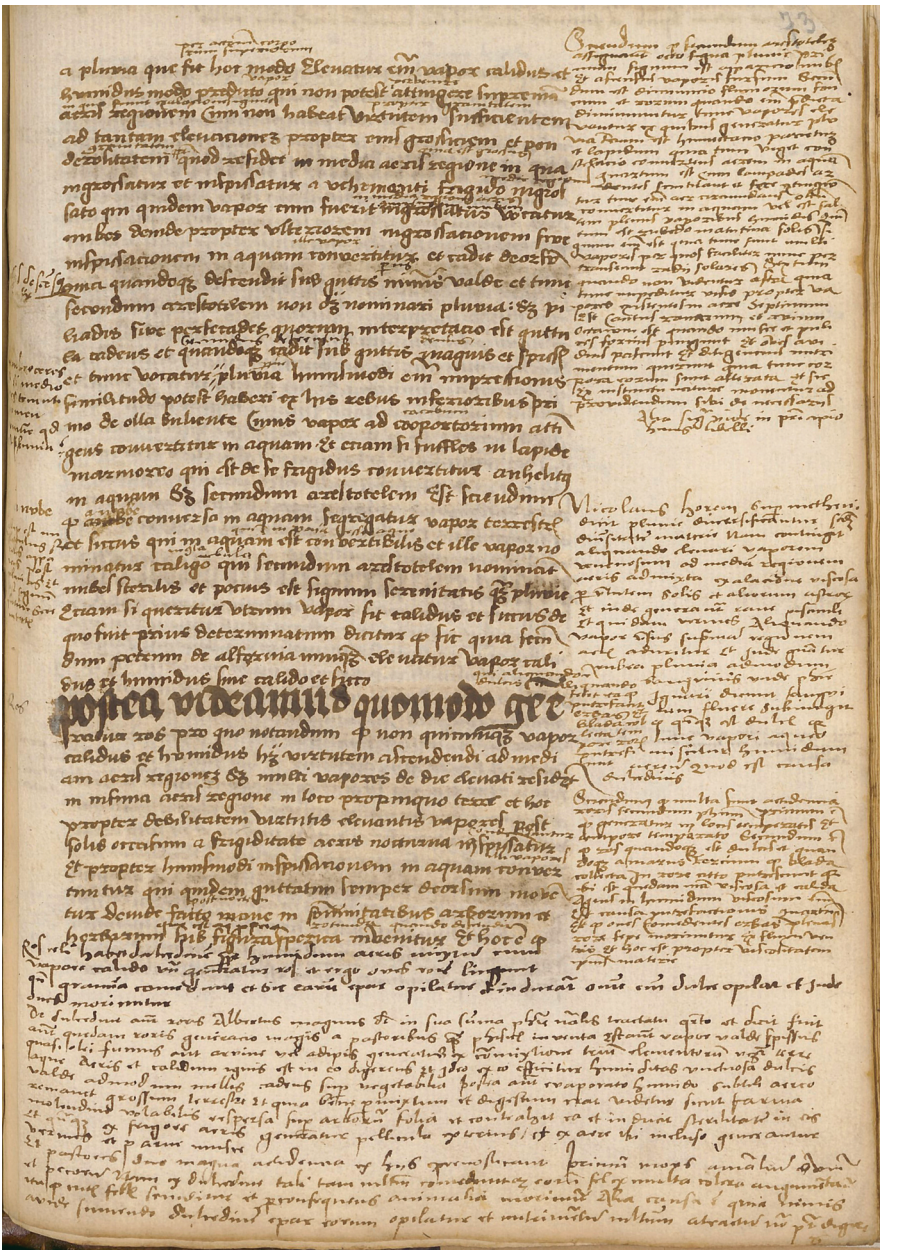


Abbildung 4: Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, cod. 2069, fol. 73r: Peter von Ailly's *Compilatio Meteororum* mit Marginal- und Interlinearglossen, zwischen anderen aus Johannes Versoris' *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* und aus der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme.

qq. I.19–31; cod. 686, fols. 110vb–120ra, nur qq. I.3; I.12–32 und I.19–31 in zwei verschiedenen Kopien).[49]

Die weite Verbreitung und der Einfluss der zweiten Fassung der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme an der Universität Krakau werden auch indirekt durch den Gebrauch dieses Textes in den Werken der polnischen Kommentatoren zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* belegt, insbesondere des Peter von Sienno, des Paul von Worczyn und des Benedikt Hesse von Krakau.[50] Die unterschiedliche Textüberlieferung und der Einfluss der zwei Fassungen der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme legen also nahe, dass der Glossator sich auf die *ultima lectura* bezieht – eine Beobachtung, die den Textvergleich zu bestätigen scheint, obwohl in diesem Fall, anders als bei Johannes Versoris, die Textparallelen schwächer sind.[51]

Oresmes *Questiones* scheinen die Hauptquelle für die Glossen in der Handschrift BJ 2088 zu sein. Ähnlich wie der Verfasser der Randnotizen in der Handschrift BJ 2069 bezieht sich auch der Schreiber der Marginalien in der Handschrift 2088 ausdrücklich auf Oresmes Werk, ohne die zwei Fassungen zu unterscheiden. Auch hier ist die Quelle die zweite Redaktion, was nicht nur durch die oben erwähnten Elemente aus der Überlieferungsgeschichte des Textes, sondern auch durch die Verweise auf oresmische Passagen über Niederschläge bestätigt wird. Diese Passagen werden nämlich in den Glossen der Handschrift BJ 2088 als aus dem zweiten Buch stammende zitiert. In der ersten Fassung seiner *Questiones* behandelt Oresme im ersten Buch die Phänomene, die sich aus der Dampfkondensation ergeben, und folgt dabei der Aufteilung der griechisch-lateinischen Übersetzung von Moerbeke. In der zweiten Fassung jedoch, die in dieser Hinsicht näher am Kommentar von Albert dem Großen liegt, behandelt er diese Phänomene im zweiten Buch.

Ein Beispiel hierfür bietet die Glosse zu den Anzeichen für Regen, ein häufig behandeltes Thema in den Kommentaren zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*, das Peter von Ailly in seiner *Compilatio* nicht anspricht und das der Glossator der Handschrift 2088, genauso wie sein Kollege in der Handschrift 2069, aus anderen Pariser Kommentaren ergänzt. Anders als in den Marginalien der Handschrift 2069 werden aber in der Handschrift 2088 siebzehn Zeichen aufgelistet, von denen einige am

49 Die Beschreibungen der Krakauer Abschriften der *ultima lectura* können konsultiert werden in Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura,* 29–38; für die Beschreibungen der Krakauer Abschriften der *prima lectura*, siehe Nicolaus Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de prima lectura: Study of the Manuscript Tradition and Critical Edition*, Aurora Panzica (Hrsg.), Leiden: Brill, 2025, 37–42.

50 Panzica, *Commenter les „Météorologiques" à l'Université de Cracovie*, 134–166.

51 Die Textstelle über die verschiedenen Regenarten und ihre Auswirkungen in der *ultima lectura* ist Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura,* II.1, 225, l. 1–18. Die entsprechende Textstelle in der *prima lectura* ist Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de prima lectura*, I.25, Abschn. 12.

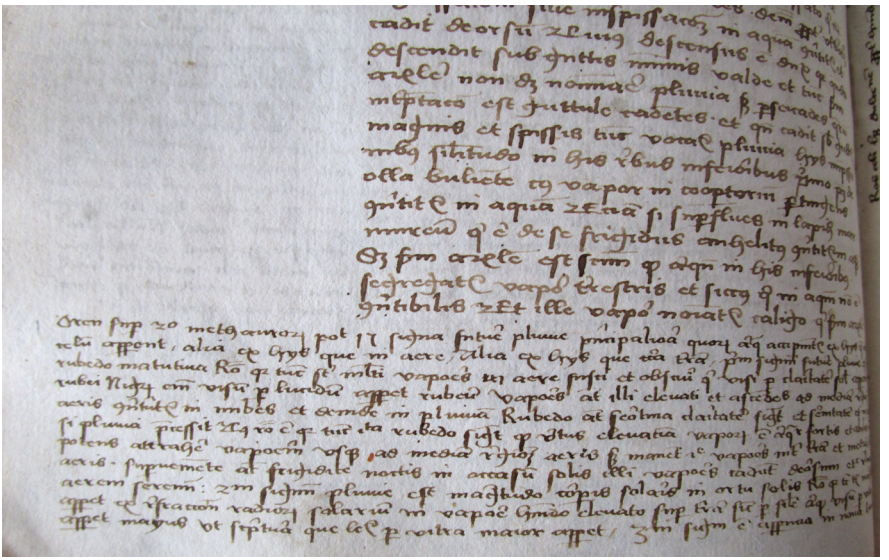


Abbildung 5: Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, cod. 2088, fol. 279v, *marg. inf.*: Peter von Aillys *Compilatio* mit Marginalglossen aus der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* von Nikolaus Oresme.

Himmel, andere in der Atmosphäre und andere auf der Erdoberfläche erscheinen (Abb. 5):

> Orem, super secundo Methaurorum, ponit 17 signa future pluvie principaliora, quorum aliqua accipiuntur ex hys que in celo apparent, alia ex hys que in aere, alia ex hys que circa terram. Primum signum future pluvie est rubedo matutina. Ratio, quia tunc sunt multi vapores ex aere fusci et obtusi, qui visi per claritatem Solis apparent rubei. Nigrum enim visum per lucidum apparet rubeum. Vapores autem illi elevati et ascendentes ad mediam regionem aeris convertuntur in nubes et deinde in pluviam. Rubedo autem serotina claritatem significat et serenitatem, et maxime si pluvia precessit. Cuius ratio est quia tunc ista rubedo significat quod virtus elevativa vaporum est aliqualiter fortis et abilis, non tamen potens attrahere vaporem usque ad mediam regionem aeris, sed manent isti [*ms.*: iste] vapores inter terram et mediam regionem aeris. Superveniente autem frigiditate noctis in occasu Solis illi vapores cadunt deorsum et sic relinquunt aerem serenum. Secundo signum pluvie est magnitudo corporis solaris in ortu Solis. Ratio est quia tunc talis magnitudo apparet ex refractione radiorum solarium in vapore humido elevato super terram, sicut per simile aliquid visum per vitrum apparet mayus [*sic ms.*], ut scriptura que legitur per vitra maior apparet. Tertium signum est apparentia in nova luna.

Oresme unterscheidet in beiden Fassungen seiner *Questiones* zwischen himmlischen, atmosphärischen und irdischen Anzeichen für Regen. Die einleitende Unter-

teilung und die Liste der Anzeichen ähneln jedoch der *ultima lectura* viel mehr, sowohl in der Reihenfolge der Anzeichen als auch in den entsprechenden Erklärungen.[52]

Der Name Oresmes kommt in der Handschrift 2088 viel öfter als in den Glossen der Handschrift 2069 vor. Er wird nahezu auf jeder Seite zitiert, mitunter sogar mehrmals. Dennoch lassen sich nicht alle Zitate in Oresmes Kommentar finden. Ein Vergleich mit den *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris enthüllt eine überraschende und faszinierende Erkenntnis: Trotz der Zuschreibung dieser Textabschnitte zu Nikolaus Oresme findet sich manchmal die eigentliche Quelle bei Johannes Versoris. Obwohl die in den Glossen wiedergegebenen Ansichten von zahlreichen anderen Magistern vertreten wurden, lassen sich nämlich in einigen Fällen bemerkenswerte Textparallelen eher bei Johannes Versoris als bei Nikolaus Oresme feststellen. Dies wird besonders deutlich anhand der folgenden Beispiele bezüglich der Zeit der Kometenerscheinungen und der Natur der Milchstraße (Abb. 6):

Johannes Versoris, *Q. in Meteor.*, I.7, Köln, Konrad Welker, 1488, fol. 6va–b.

Respondetur quod *raro generatur in hyeme propter nimiam frigiditatem*, raro etiam *in estate propter nimiam caliditatem consumentem* exalationem. *Sed* communiter generatur *in vere et autumno*, et adhuc *magis in autumno* quam in vere, eo quod *autumnus est* magis *calid*us *et sicc*us quam *ver*.

Krakau, cod. BJ 2088, fol. 279r, *marg. dext.*

Item Orem, primo Methaurorum: *raro generatur* cometa *in hyeme propter nimiam frigiditatem*, similiter *in estate, propter caliditatem nimiam consumentem. Sed in vere et autumpno*, sed *magis in autumpno*. *Autumpnus* enim *est calid*ior *et sicc*ior *ver*e. Hoc ille.

Johannes Versoris, *Q. in Meteor.*, I.7, Köln, Konrad Welker, 1488, fol. 7rb.

Ad videndum autem modum generationis galaxie quem ponitur in nova translatione, sciendum est quod *ab istis inferioribus corporibus per calorem Solis* et aliorum astrorum *elevantur multe exalationies calide et sicce*, que per virtutem stellarum … elevantur *usque ad supre-*

Krakau, cod. BJ 2088, fol. 279, *marg. dext.*

Orem primo Methaurorum: de galaxia diversimode sensisse philosophos constat.

Aliqui enim galaxiam de natura elementi crediderunt, *ab istis inferioribus corporibus per calorem Solis et* stellarum *multe elevantur exalationes calide et sicce usque ad supremam regionem aeris*, quibus vaporibus incorporant lumen stellarum, *et* sic ibi *apparet albedo et*

52 Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura*, II.6, 241–243. Die entsprechende Textstelle in der *prima lectura* ist Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de prima lectura*, I.27, Abschn. 5–14.

mam regionem aeris sub illis astris sperativis in quibus quidem exalationibus existentibus recipitur lumen illorum astrorum *et apparet claritas* magna nova *et albedo quam* vocatur *gallaxia* [*sic ut semper ms.*] sive *via lactea.*

...

Sed secundum *Phtolomeu*m, *Avicenna* et dominum Albertum ... dicendum quod *gallaxia non est de natura elementari, sed de natura celesti.*

... Sciendum secundo quod *gallaxia est quidam circulus albus sive lacteus apparens* in celo ...

*claritas, quam galaxia*m quasi albam et *lactea*m *via*m dicebant.

Aly tamen, ut *Ptholomeu*s, *Avicenna* et generaliter hy qui in scientys stellarum sunt docti, alium modum loquendi habent, qui dicunt *galaxia*m *esse de natura celesti et non elementali,* quod et ego teneo, ut probabo inferius.

Galaxia ergo *est quidam circulus albus vel lacteus apparens,* non de natura elementali et exalatione calida et sicca causatus, sed potius ex resplendentia et radys stellarum.

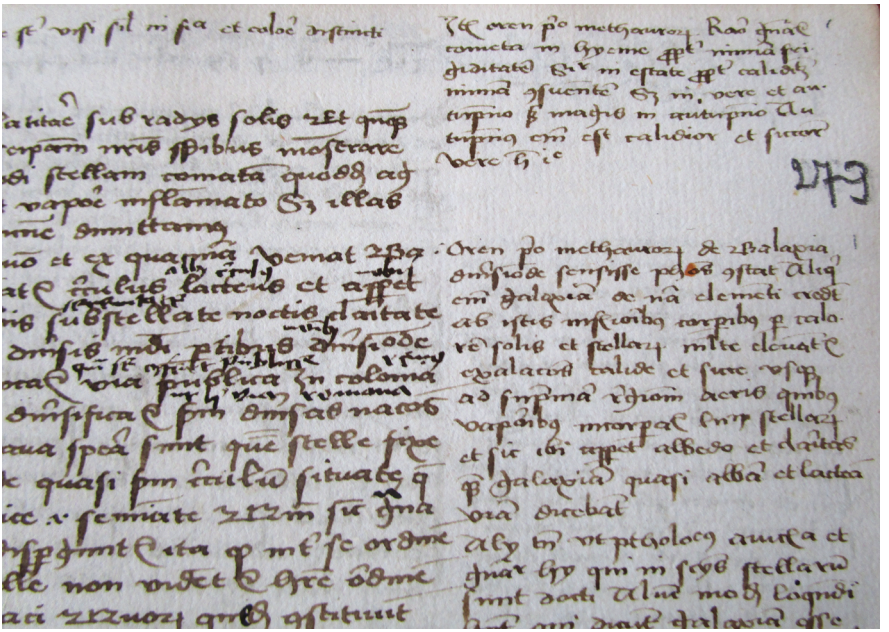


Abbildung 6: Krakau, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, cod. 2088, fol. 279r, *marg. dext.*: Peter von Aillys *Compilatio* mit Interlinear- und Marginalglossen aus Johannes Versoris' *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* und aus der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme.

Wie lässt sich diese Anomalie erklären? Hatte der Glossator möglicherweise Zugang zu einer kontaminierten Quelle, die unter Oresmes Namen auch Texte von Versoris überlieferte, vielleicht in Form von Glossen? Dies kann derzeit nicht aus-

geschlossen werden, obwohl mir keine solche Textquelle bekannt ist. Viel wahrscheinlicher und im Einklang mit dem aktuellen Stand der Forschung scheint mir jedoch, dass der Glossator beide Kommentare konsultierte, da sie, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, in Krakau gleichermaßen verbreitet waren: Oresmes *Questiones*, deren Autorschaft ihm bekannt war, und Versoris' *Questiones*, die er in seiner Vorlage anonym vorfand. Die anonyme Überlieferung des Kommentars von Versoris erklärt daher, warum den Glossen der Handschrift 2069 kein Autor zugeordnet wurde, während die Glossen der Handschrift 2088 Oresme zugeschrieben wurden.

Wenn diese Hypothese zutrifft, eröffnen uns die Marginalien der Handschrift 2088 einen unerwarteten und wertvollen Einblick in die Mittel und Methoden mittelalterlicher Leser universitärer Texte. Bei der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Inhalt von Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* scheint der Glossator nämlich drei verschiedene scholastische Kommentare genutzt zu haben: Die *Compilatio* von Peter von Ailly, die einen kurzen Überblick über den Text lieferte; die *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme, welcher zusammen mit Buridans' *Questiones* den tiefsten, umfangreichsten und einflussreichsten Kommentar zu diesem aristotelischen Text in der Tradition der *via moderna* darstellt, und schließlich die ausführlichen, aber nicht allzu komplizierten *Questiones* des Johannes Versoris, welche bei weitem der am meisten verbreitete Kommentar zu diesem aristotelischen Text in der Tradition der *via antiqua* waren.

3 Wien: Ein anonymer Magister und Johannes Buridan

Von Albert von Sachsen zu Nikolaus Oresme und von Oresme zu Johannes Buridan: Ein besonders interessanter Fall, dem ich meine Aufmerksamkeit anschließend widmen möchte, betrifft die Glossen eines anonymen Quästionen-Kommentars in der Münchener Handschrift Clm 12257. Mieczysław Markowski betrachtet in seinem Verzeichnis der Aristoteles-Kommentare, die in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aufbewahrt werden, die Inhalte auf den fols. 106r–135v als einen zusammenhängenden Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*.[53] In der Tat handelt es sich jedoch um zwei Texte. Der erste (fols. 106ra–107vb) enthält eine Einleitung und sechs *Questiones*. Die Einleitung, die sich ausdrücklich auf Buridans *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* bezieht, erklärt die Stelle dieses Werkes im System der

53 Mieczysław Markowski, *Buridanica quae in codicibus manu scriptis bibliothecarum Monacensium asservantur*, Breslau: Ossolineum, 1981, 138.

aristotelischen Naturphilosophie, erläutert die Etymologie des Wortes Met(h)eor* und den Gegenstand der meteorologischen Wissenschaft.[54] Die *Questiones* sind sehr kurz gehalten, enthalten keine Pro- und Contra-Argumente und fassen lediglich die Schlussfolgerungen der Magister der Buridan-Schule zusammen.[55] Der zweite Text, der von derselben Hand geschrieben ist, ist viel länger. Er beginnt auf fol. 107ra und besteht aus einer Reihe von *questiones* zu den vier Büchern der *Meteorologica*.

Im Verlauf meiner Untersuchungen habe ich drei weitere Kopien dieses Werkes ausfindig gemacht. Die erste, die ebenfalls an der BSB aufbewahrt ist, überliefert nur die *Questiones* I.1–9: Clm 8942, fols. 175r–182v.[56] Die anderen Kopien sind

54 Dem Verfasser dieses Textes zufolge leitet sich die Etymologie des Begriffs Met(h)eor* von den griechischen Wörtern *metha* und *thes* ab, die den lateinischen Begriffen *supra* und *visio* entsprechen. Die Meteorologie ist daher die Wissenschaft, die sich mit den Körpern und den Vorgängen im oberen Teil der Atmosphäre befasst. Da die antike Meteorologie jedoch nicht nur atmosphärische Phänomene behandelt, sondern auch die Vorgänge, die an der Oberfläche und in der Tiefe der Erde stattfinden, könnte man sich fragen, warum die etymologische Definition der Meteorologie Letztere nicht mit einbezieht. Der Kommentator erklärt, dass die Meteorologie ihren Namen von den Phänomenen hat, die die einfachen Gemüter am meisten verblüffen: „Biridonus [*sic*] circa libros *Metheororum* Aristotelis et circa alios libros Aristotelis, ut *Ethicorum*, *Physicorum*, super quos fecit questiones, facit unam recommandationem satis pulchra, quam potes videre in questionibus, si habueris eas. Et iste liber fuit quartus in ordine quem fecit Aristoteles in philosophia naturali, quia primo fecit *Physicorum*, postea *De celo et mundo*, tertio *De generatione et corruptione*, quarto presentem librum, quinto libros *De anima* in generali, postea *De animalibus* magis in speciali. Postea dicit quod in hiis fere habeatur totalis philosophie consideratio. Et dicitur *Metheororum* a *metha*, quod est *supra*, et *thes*, *visio*, quasi *supra visio*, id est considerans de mirabilibus superioribus. Sed diceres: quare potius de supra visis quam inferioribus, cum tamen etiam sit de inferioribus, scilicet de salsedine maris et de fontibus? Respondetur quod nominatur a parte vulgo mirabiliori, quia vulgares de superioribus plus admirantur quam de generatione fontium“, fol. 106ra. Sowohl die Etymologie als auch diese Erklärung stammen aus Buridans *Questiones*: „Vocatur autem *metheororum* a *metha*, quod est *trans* vel *supra*, et *theororum*, quod est *videre* vel *speculari*, quasi de hiis que supra in alto videntur, ut de cometis, de stellis cadentibus, de nubibus, de tonitruis et coruscationibus, de grandinibus, pluviis et nivibus, de iride, de halo etc. Et non debet credi quod solum de hiis sit hec scientia, ymmo etiam de hiis que hic inferius fiunt etiam in terra, ut de motu terre, de generatione fontium et fluviorum … Sed tamen hec scientia vocata est *Metheororum* ab eius parte vulgaribus mirabiliori, que est de visis in alto prius enarratis“ (Bages, *Les Questiones*, Bd. 2, 10–11).

55 Die Titel der *Questiones* lauten wie folgt: „Utrum de istis methauroloicis sit specialis scientia; an stelle comate sint de natura celesti; Utrum ex necessitate sic est quod mundus iste inferior sit contiguus aut continuus superiori et gubernetur ab eodem et a lationibus eius; utrum motus celi sit calefactivus; Utrum omne lumen sit calefactivum; Utrum media regio aeris sit frigida.“ Die Titel und die Reihenfolge entsprechen den *Questiones* 1–6 von Buridan, mit Ausnahme der zweiten *Questio* in der Münchener Handschrift, die der *Questio* 12 bei Buridan entspricht.

56 Näheres zur Handschrift in Karl Felix Halm und Georg von Laubmann, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Bd. 2.1: *Codices num. 8101–10930 complectens*, Monaci: Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis, 1874, 65 und Markowski, *Buridanica*, 92, 94, 95, 123 und 137.

in den Codices 801, fols. 444r–493r, und 958, S. 1–127 der Benediktiner Abtei Melk enthalten. Die Handschrift 958 überliefert einige *questiones de quolibet*, die an der Universität Wien vorgetragen wurden. Der Kolophon enthält einige Informationen über die Umstände der Kopie des Kommentars zu den *Meteorologica*, die im Januar 1426 von Petrus Newsidler, einem Studenten an der Wiener Artistenfakultät, angefertigt wurde.[57] Dieses Datum stellt den *terminus ante quem* für die Fertigstellung des Kommentars dar. Wenn wir hypothetisch annehmen, dass das Datum der Kopie nahe an der Entstehung des Kommentars liegt, und uns auf die Vorlesungsverteilung im Wiener Artistenregister stützen, kommen wir auf zwei Namen: Stephanus de Ezzlinga,[58] dem Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* im September 1425 zugeteilt wurden, und Johannes Stedler,[59] der diesen Text im folgenden Jahr unterrichtete. Im ersten Fall wäre die überlieferte Kopie die Verschriftlichung einer kürzlich gehaltenen Vorlesung; im zweiten Fall wäre sie die Vorbereitung für einen Kurs, der im folgenden Semester stattfinden sollte. Es ist wichtig zu betonen, dass die Frage der Zuschreibung dieses Kommentars nicht allein anhand des Artistenregisters entschieden werden kann. Erstens geht aus dieser Quelle nicht klar hervor, ob die Magister selbst entscheiden konnten, welche Bücher sie vorlesen wollten, und daher ist es unklar, ob es überhaupt möglich war, dass ein Magister seine Vorlesung

57 Melk, Benediktinerstift, cod. 958, 127: „Expliciunt concepta Metheororum scripta per Petrum Newsidler, artium liberalium baccalarium, anno domini 1426, feria sexta ante Epiphanie octavam Domini." Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* werden als obligatorische Lektüre für den Erhalt des Bachelorgrades in Wien vorgeschrieben: „Item baccallarius presentandus pro licentia in artibus ad temptamen debet audivisse omnes libros spectantes ad gradum baccallariatus in artibus …: De celo et mundo, De generatione et corrupcione, Meteora, Parva naturalia communiter legi consueta, Theoricas planetarum, quinque libros Euclidis, Perspectivam communem, aliquem tractatum de proportionibus et aliquem de latitudinibus formarum, aliquem librum de musica et aliquem in arithmetica. Sex libros Ethicorum, Metaphysicam et Topicorum" (Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365–1417: Festgabe der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zur 600-Jahrfeier der Universität Wien*, Wien: Böhlau, 1965, 243).

58 Thomas Maisel und Ingrid Matschinegg (Hrsg.), *Wiener Artistenregister 1416 bis 1447: Acta Facultatis Artium II (UAW Cod. Ph 7): Personen-Nennungen im Zusammenhang mit Prüfung, Graduierung und Verteilung der Vorlesungsthemen (1416 bis 1447)*, Wien: Archiv der Universität Wien, 2007, 48: 1.9.1425. Regenz. Die Magister der Fakultät erhalten die Titel ihrer Vorlesung zugewiesen, Nr. 4801, AFA 2, fol. 73v, fol. 74r; vgl. Paul Uiblein (Hrsg.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385–1416*, Wien: Böhlau, 1968, 387–388 und 417 (als *baccalarius* genannt); Maisel und Matschinegg, *Wiener Artistenregister 1416 bis 1447*, 1418 II, 4.3.1419 Inceptio. 15 Lizentiaten werden zur Inceptio zugelassen, Nr. 3740, AFA 2, fol. 28v.

59 Maisel und Matschinegg, *Wiener Artistenregister 1416 bis 1447*, 1426 I, 1.9.1426. Regenz. Die Magister der Fakultät erhalten die Titel ihrer Vorlesung zugewiesen, Nr. 4988, AFA 2, fol. 81r; vgl. Nr. 3384, 4541, 4653, 4814, 4837, 4883, 4988, 5084, 5147, 5355, 5381, 5541, 5758, 5930, 6090, 6342, 6513, 6580, 6633 und 6687.

für das kommende Semester vorbereitete.[60] Zweitens erfassen die Aufzeichnungen im Artistenregister nicht die gesamte Lehrtätigkeit an der Wiener Artistenfakultät. Einige dieser Vorlesungen wurden nämlich bereits nach wenigen Wochen beendet. Daher durften die Magister danach nach eigenem Ermessen Vorlesungen anbieten, ohne jedoch den anderen ordentlichen lehrenden Magistern Konkurrenz zu machen.[61] Schließlich ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass weitere Forschung frühere Abschriften als die Melker Kopie identifiziert, die den *terminus ante quem* des Kommentars auf eine frühere Zeit verlegen könnten.

Der anonyme Wiener Kommentar in den Münchener und Melker Handschriften ist stark von Buridans *Questiones* und von der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Oresme beeinflusst – eine Tatsache, die im Einklang mit einer Phase der Lehre an der Universität Wien steht, die maßgeblich vom Pariser Nominalismus geprägt wurde, wie wir oben bereits für Krakau festgestellt haben. In der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts erstreckte sich dieses Phänomen auf alle Bereiche der Philosophie und auf alle Lehrbücher.[62] Was die Kommentare zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* betrifft, stützten sich mehrere Wiener Magister auf die *Questiones* von Johannes Buridan, von denen sie die Quästionen-Liste und auch den Inhalt übernahmen, manchmal sogar wörtlich, zu anderen Zeiten freier formuliert.[63] Der erste Fall trifft zum Beispiel auf den Kommentar zum ersten Buch der *Meteorologica* zu, der in der Handschrift Clm 19818 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aufbewahrt ist. Der zweite Fall betrifft die *Questiones* des Magisters Martinus Hämerl de Novo Foro[64] sowie unseren anonymen Kommentar.

Genauso wie der Kommentar, der diesem Text vorausgeht, enthalten die *Questiones* keine Argumente *pro* und *contra*. Die Antwort ist in einer Reihe von *notabilia* gegliedert, ein Format, das in mitteleuropäischen Kommentaren dieser Zeit oft vorkommt. Der anonyme Meister gibt den Inhalt der *Questiones* von Oresme und Buridan in gekürzter Form wieder. Die Hauptquelle für diesen Kommentar ist

60 Paul Uiblein, *Mittelalterliches Studium an der Wiener Artistenfakultät: Kommentar zu den Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385–1416*, Wien: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 1995, 110–115

61 Ich bin Thomas Maisel, dem Bibliothekar der Universität Wien, für seine Expertise bei der Interpretation der Wiener Artistenregister dankbar.

62 Der Fall von Aristoteles' *Nikomachischer Ethik* wurde beispielweise von Christoph Flüeler anhand einiger Vorlesungsmitschriften studiert in Flüeler, *„Ethica" in Wien anno 1438*, 92–138.

63 Zwei Kopien der *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* des Johannes Buridan sind heute in der Wienerischen Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt: cod. 3976, aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, und cod. 5321, aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (siehe Bages, *Les Questiones*, Bd. 1, 155–159 und 170–171).

64 Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, 701–704.

Buridan, auf den im Text ausdrücklich verwiesen wird, wie zum Beispiel in den folgenden Abschnitten:[65]

1. fol. 114ra:

> Respondet Biridanus [*sic ut semper*] quod *caro mortua* et *rosa mortua* non sunt proprie *rosa* nec *caro*, sed solum *equivoce, propter similitudinem*.
>
> Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.11, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 159, 22: „Respondeo *quod caro mortua* non est caro nisi equivoce … et ita *rosa mortua* ex qua fit aqua rosata est rosa. Dicitur tamen hec caro et hec rosa *equivoce propter similitudinem* …"

2. fol. 114va:

> Correlarium: *quod regio ignis* vel illa *in qua est stella* [fol. 114vb] *movetur circulariter*. Probatur, cum iam probatum sit quod in regione quiescente non potest ita velociter moveri … Et dicit Biridanus quod ista sit fortior ratio quare ponitur speram ignis et supremam regionem aeris *moveri circulariter* per influentiam a celo influxam.
>
> Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.13, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 172, 6: „Tertia conclusio incidentalis est *quod regio* sive *ignis* sive aeris *in qua est stella* comata *movetur circulariter* motu diurno vel quasi, quia aliter non posset salvari quomodo stella comata sic moveretur … Unde puto quod numquam alio argumento posuissemus ignem *moveri circulariter* in spera nisi iste motus comete nobis apparuisset."

3. fol. 115rb:

> Notandum quod licet sint multe opiniones de galaxia, tamen Biridanus assignat unam et est ista: quod *quelibet pars celi lucida*, vel est lucida a *se* vel capit lucem *a Sole*, lumen reflectendo, *et quedam sunt densiores*, quedam rariores, et secundum quod una pars est densior, secundum hoc plus reflectit de lumine vel intensius lucet. Stelle autem sunt *partes densissime*, et ideo multum de lumine reflectunt et intense *lucent*. *Partes autem intermedie inter stellas sunt* magis *rare* et *ideo non possunt* tantum reflectere de lumine ut appareat ibi *albed*o, *sed* forte solum *apparentia* lazurii.
>
> Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.14, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 197, 21: „*quelibet pars celi est lucida*, sive lucem habeat *a sole* sive ex *se*, vel saltem est luminis solis reflexiva, *et sunt in celo* partes *densiores* et partes minus dense. Densiores autem magis possunt lucere et *intensius* vel lumen *reflectere* stelle. Ergo inter ceteras partes sperarum sunt *partes densissime*, ideo notabiliter et multum *lucent*. *Partes autem intermedie* alie

65 Auch in den folgenden Zitaten habe ich wörtliche Parallelen kursiv hervorgehoben, um dem Leser einen schnellen Überblick über die direkten Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Wiener Kommentar und Buridans *Questiones* zu ermöglichen.

inter stellas sunt multum *rare*, *ideo* parum lucent. Et alie a galaxia ita sunt rare quod lucendo vel lumen reflectendo *non possunt* facere apparentiam *albed*inis, *sed* solum possunt facere *apparentia*m alurgi seu blavi aut *asurei*, quocumque nomine vocatur."

4. I.21, fol. 119rb:

Notandum quod in hac questione Biridanus vult loqui *at si mundus fuisset* ab eterno et erit perpetuus.

Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.21, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 304, 1: „Sed dicamus: *ac si* semper *fuisset mundus* modo quo visus est opinari Aristoteles, et ac si Deus, de cetero, vellet mundum semper durare et modo naturali procedere sine miraculo …, quid ergo accideret de predictis?"

Dieses Vorgehen ist charakteristisch für mehrere Kommentare aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, die sich auf scholastische Autoritäten stützen, anstatt direkt auf den aristotelischen Text zurückzugreifen.[66] Wie festgestellt wurde, hatte der Bezug zum aristotelischen Text bereits bei Peter von Ailly an Direktheit eingebüßt. Dennoch nutzte er den Kommentar seines Vorgängers Petrus de Alvernia weder konsequent noch systematisch, trotz seiner häufigen Zitate. Im Gegensatz dazu offenbaren die mitteleuropäischen Texte des 15. Jahrhunderts, wie unser anonymer Wiener Kommentar, eine enge Bindung an die Werke berühmter Magister.

Für unsere Untersuchung ist relevant, dass in der Münchner Handschrift Clm 12257 die Theorien – und, wie wir im Folgenden sehen werden, auch der Name – von Buridan nicht nur im Text selbst auftauchen, sondern auch in einigen Marginalien einer zeitgenössischen Hand. Auf diese Notizen wird im Text durch rote Zeichen oder Randbemerkungen wie *nota bene ibi* verwiesen. Der Inhalt dieser Randnotizen zeigt, dass der Schreiber die exegetische Tradition der *Meteorologica* kennt, insbesondere Albert den Großen und Johannes Buridan. An den meisten

66 Diese Tendenz wurde von mehreren Gelehrten hervorgehoben und untersucht. In seinen Verzeichnissen scholastischer Kommentare verwendet beispielsweise Mieczysław Markowski die Bezeichnung *secundum aliquem*, um klarzustellen, dass der Text in Anlehnung an einen anderen Kommentar verfasst wurde. Christoph Flüeler hat für diese Texte den Begriff „Sekundärkommentare" eingeführt, weil sie sich auf andere Texte stützen: Christoph Flüeler, Die stemmatischen Verhältnisse der Aristoteles-Kommentare, dargelegt anhand der Kommentare zur „Yconomica", *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 48 (2001): 182–190. Harald Berger benutzt seinerseits den Begriff „Metakommentare", um zu betonen, dass die Texte Kommentare von Kommentaren darstellen. Ich bedanke mich bei Harald Berger, der mir Einblick in seinen Vortrag *Typen von Lehrveranstaltungen und Schriften an der spätmittelalterlichen Artistenfakultät (vornehmlich der Universität Wien)* gewährt hat, der am 12. Juli 2022 im Oberseminar von Prof. Martin Wagendorfer an der LMU München stattfand.

Stellen fehlt eine spezifische Zuordnung zu einem bestimmten Kommentator. Ein Vergleich mit Buridans *Questiones* verdeutlicht jedoch, dass der Glossator aus dieser Quelle schöpft:

Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.16, S. 218–219, 18–20.	**Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 116vb.**
De hoc autem quod *frigiditas remittitur* hic inferius ante casum nivis, causa una ponitur *quia nix* iam congelata et *cade*ns re*pellit* ad terram ex sua frigiditate *per antiparistasim aliquas* partes calidiores vel minus frigidas, si sint in aere, per quas *frigiditas* hic inferius *remittitur*.	Et quando precise incipit nigere, tunc *frigiditas* circa nos *remittitur* aliqualiter, et *quia nix* in *cade*ndo pro*pellit* exalationes *aliquas* que sunt in aere ante se ad nos *per antiparistasim*, et tunc *remittitur frigiditas* circa nos.
*Ni*ves autem sic frumenta *profi*ciunt *quia* non descendunt in terram *ad radices* frumentorum *nec* aerem exteriorem frigidum et magis penetrativum *permitt*unt descendere in terram.	Item *ni*x in hyeme *proficit* bladiis, *quia* frigus eius intrat *ad radices* earum *nec permittit* aerem intrare.
Et *ideo* cum durat longum gelu et acutum, *terra* multo fortius et *profundius congelatur* si non sit *nive* cooperta quam si sit cooperta. Maxime autem *nocet* frumentis in hieme si multoties vicissim fiant congelationes post *plu*viam vel nivium liquefactionem, quia acqua descendens ad radices *congelatur* circa eas et corrumpit in eis calorem naturalem.	*Ideo* non existente nive intenso frigore *terra profundius congelatur* quam existente *nive*. Sed tamen aliquando *nocet* bladiis, scilicet quando pluries *plu*it et postea *congelatur*.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass diese Randnotizen konkrete Anmerkungen zu beobachtbaren Phänomenen enthalten, wie im vorherigen Abschnitt über die Auswirkungen von Schneefall auf die Temperatur und die Ernten sowie an folgender Stelle über die Anzeichen für bevorstehenden Regen – ein Thema, das, wie wir mit den Krakauer Handschriften festgestellt haben, die Schreiber der Randnotizen besonders interessierte:

Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.17, 229, 6; 232–233, 12.	**Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 117rb, *marg. inf.***
Quintum etiam *signum* est … quod manus fiunt *aspe*re et arescunt plus *soli*to et etiam lapides et *pari*es …	Aliud *signum* quando murus seu *pari*etes aut aliqua *asper*antur seu exsiccantur ultra *soli*tum morem, etiam est signum pluvie.

Sed *sextum* signum videtur huic *conversum*, scilicet *quod* lapides et *parietes* in suis superficiebus exterioribus humectantur vehementer et videntur *suda*re ..., et hoc fit ita ex *conver*sione *aer*is *in aquam*.	Aliud est *signum conversum* huius *quod parietes* et muri *suda*nt, etiam est signum quod *aer* est humidus et *conver*titur *in aquam*.
Et alia signa consimilia ponit Virgilius, Plinius et multi alii poete, ut quando in novilunio *cornua lune apparent obtusa* et fusca ...	fol. 117vb: Aliud signum quando *cornua Lune apparent obtusa*, non acuta.[67]
Undecimum signum est si *sol* oriens apparet *maior solito* ...	Aliud, quando *Sol* apparet in occasu multum *maior* more *solito*.
Duodecimum signum est quod *sol cit*ius solito *oritur post crepusculum*.	Aliud signum, quando *Sol post crepusculum cit*ius *oritur* ultra solitum morem.

An anderen Stellen versucht der Verfasser der Randbemerkungen in der Münchener Handschrift, Transliterationen von technischen Begriffen zu erklären, die in Moerbekes Übersetzung vorkommen, indem er lateinische Synonyme oder sogar Begriffe aus der Volkssprache einführt:

1. fol. 114vb, *marg. sup.*:

> Dicit Aristoteles in textu: si autem ad longitudinem, vocatur pogonias ‚ypporceuma', id est exalatio.
>
> Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.13 Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 177, 15: „De diversitate autem et causa comarum vel caudarum dicit Aristoteles quod aliquando talis stella habet undiquaque suos radios dispersos et vocator cometes, id est stella comata; aliquando autem habet radios suos ex uno latere tantum, et vocatur pogonias, id est stella barbata vel caudata."
>
> Vgl. Aristoteles, *Meteorologica, translatio Guillelmi*, Vuillemin-Diem (Hrsg.), I, 4, 341b19, 24, 25, 29; I, 6, 344a29, 31, b14.

2. fol. 115r, *marg. sup.*:

> Et Aristoteles nominat ‚galaxiam' *lac*, eo quod est alba sicut lac.

67 Zu dieser Stelle fügt der Glossator den mittellateinischen Spruch hinzu: „pallida luna pluit, rubea flat, alba serenat", München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 117vb, *marg. inf.* Vgl. Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis Medii Aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, Bd. 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965, Nr. 20577, 695.

Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.14, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, S. 186, 1: „Et Aristoteles vocat eam *lac* vel *viam lacteam* eo quod apparet alba sicut lac est album. *Galaxia* autem est nomen grecum significans synonime predicta."

Vgl. Aristoteles, *Meteorologica, translatio Guillelmi*, Vuillemin-Diem (Hrsg.), I, 8, 345a11.

3. fol. 116va, *marg. sup.*:

Item Aristoteles in textu vocat ‚persecadas' pluvias parvarum guttularum. Alio modo dicitur ‚rosillare', vulgariter tamen. ‚Labroceras' vocat Aristoteles illas magnas pluvias seu inundationes, vulgariter ‚wolkempruch'.

Quelle: Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.14, Bages (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, I.16, S. 213, 9: „Item tertio notandum est quod multe sunt differentie pluviarum: quedam minutarum guttarum ita quod non dicunt vulgares ‚pluit', sed ‚rosillat'; et has pluvias vocat Aristoteles ‚persicades', id est minutas pluvias. Alie sunt grossarum guttarum et alie mediocrum. Iterum grossarum guttarum alie sunt spisse, id est multe et propinque, alie pauce et rare … Et iterum pluvie quedam sunt cadentes tote simul, licet gutte grosse, quas Aristoteles vocat ‚labroteras' …"

Vgl. Aristoteles, *Meteorologica, translatio Guillelmi*, Vuillemin-Diem (Hrsg.), I, 12, 348a8 (*persecades*);[68] 348b10 (*labrotere*).

Die dritte Passage verdient besondere Beachtung, da der Verfasser der Randnotizen nicht nur Buridans Hinweis auf die pikardische Volkssprache aufgreift, sondern auch einen Begriff aus seiner eigenen Volkssprache einführt. Aristoteles unterscheidet zwischen zwei Arten von Regen: Einem leichten, den er als *persecades* bezeichnet und für den Buridan die latinisierte Form seiner Volkssprache *rosillatio* verwendet,[69] sowie einem heftigen, kurzzeitigen Regen, den Aristoteles *labrotere* nennt und für den Buridan keinen Begriff aus der Volkssprache findet. Dies wird durch den Verfasser der Randnotizen in der Münchener Handschrift verdeutlicht, der einen Begriff aus seiner eigenen Volkssprache schöpft (Abb. 7).

68 In der kritischen Ausgabe von Moerbekes Übersetzung bevorzugte Gudrun Vuillemin-Diem die Form *psecades*. Jedoch zeigen alle von mir konsultierten scholastischen Kommentare die Form *persecades*, welche gemäß dem kritischen Apparat (Vuillemin-Diem, *Aristoteles, Meteorologica*, S. 31, Z. 604) in mehreren Handschriften des Textus Parisiacus überliefert ist. Einige Beispiele aus der Kommentartradition können gefunden werden in Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, 546.
69 Das Verb *roseillier*, das von dem lateinischen Namen *ros* stammt, bezeichnet das Fallen von Tautropfen. Siehe dazu Frédéric Godefroy, *Lexique de l'ancien français*, Paris: H. Welter, 1901, 467b.

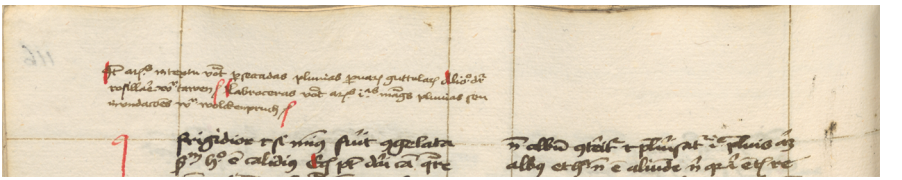


Abbildung 7: München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 116va, *marg. sup.*: Anonymer Wiener Quästionen-Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* mit Marginalglossen, hauptsächlich aus Johannes Buridans *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*.

Das Wort *Wolkenbruch*, das einen meist kurzen, heftigen Niederschlag beschreibt, entspricht im Deutschen dem lateinischen Ausdruck *scissura nubis*. Die Schreibweisen *-prust*, *-bruch* und *-pruch* (wie in der Münchener Handschrift) setzen sich im Laufe des 15. Jahrhunderts anstelle der zuvor gebräuchlichen Formen *-brust*, *-brost*, *-borst* und *-brunst* durch.[70] Lorenz Diefenbachs *Glossarium latino-germanicum* präsentiert dieses Wort als deutsche Entsprechung des lateinischen *labrocera*, *-tera*, welches, wie wir festgestellt haben, aus der moerbekischen Übersetzung stammt.[71] Diese kurze Randnotiz stellt somit ein bemerkenswertes Zusammenfassen von Begriffen aus zwei gelehrten Sprachen und zwei Volkssprachen dar. Sie verdeutlicht, dass der Glossator nicht einfach die Quelle passiv wiedergibt, sondern sich aktiv darum bemüht, den aristotelischen Text aus seiner eigenen Erfahrung heraus zu interpretieren.

Diese Haltung wird besonders in anderen Marginalien deutlich, in denen der Glossator sich auf Buridans Erfahrungen bezieht und ihn namentlich zitiert. Buridan bestätigt die aristotelische These, dass der Hagel in der niedrigsten Schicht der Luft kondensiert; er erzählt, dass er während einer Reise nach Avignon mit seinen Begleitern auf einem Berggipfel stand: Der Himmel dort war rein, ebenso wie auf den anderen Bergen in der Umgebung. Dennoch, dichte Wolken mit lautem Donnerschlag bedeckten die Stadt, die in einem Tal namens „Laval" stand. Als Buridan und seine Begleiter hinunterkamen, fanden sie heraus, dass die Stadt von einem heftigen Hagelschlag getroffen worden war. Ein anderes Mal, als er von Avignon nach Paris zurückkehrte, musste er seine Reise von Carpentras nach Pont-Saint-Esprit unterbrechen, da über der Stadt bedrohliche und donnerrasselnde

70 Wolkenbruch, in: *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, Erstbearbeitung (1854–1960), digitalisierte Version im Digitalen Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, <https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/wolkenbruch>, abgerufen am 28. April 2024.

71 Lorenz Diefenbach, *Glossarium latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis e codicibus manuscriptis et libris impressis*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Joseph Baer, 1857, 314b.

Wolken hingen. Ein heftiger Hagelsturm prasselte auf die Stadt nieder, während die Sonne über dem Mont Ventoux schien (Abb. 8).[72] Während der anonyme Kommentator die Substanz der buridanischen Berichte und die Hauptidee, dass Hagel in der niedrigsten Luftregion kondensiert, treu wiedergibt, werden die geografischen Bestimmungen stark verändert: Die meisten Details (die Namen der Berge, Täler und Städte zwischen Paris und Avignon) verschwinden. Avignon wird das erste Mal durch Rom ersetzt, und das zweite Mal wird es mit einer Stadt namens „Anian" (vielleicht Anaunia, heute Valdinon) verbunden, die Buridan nicht erwähnt. Eine solche Verwirrung ist nicht erstaunlich seitens eines Wiener Schreibers, der wahrscheinlich nicht mit der Geographie Frankreichs vertraut war:

Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, I.18, Bd. 2, S. 240–241, 8.

Et ego hiis dictis credidi et credo quia bis expertus sum hec manifestissime, primo semel eundo ad Avinionem, ultra *montem* Pesatium in Ricordania, supra alteram *villa*m sittam in valle *profund*issima que vocatur Leval: nos enim plures existentes in monte alto supra eramus in aere sereno et claro et etiam ultra illam villam videbamus montes illustratos sole, et tamen in fundo, supra illam villam, videbamus *horribiles nubes* et *aud*iebamus magna tonitrua; et *cum* descendissemus in vallem, invenimus copiosam multitudinem grandinum nondum liquefactarum et gentes adhuc ex tempestate stupentes et aquas per rivos insolitos fluentes ita quod *cum difficultate trans*iremus eas.

Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 117vb, *marg. inf.*

Ibi dicit Biridanus unam experientiam: cum transivit a Parisius versus Romam, venit ad *montem* multum altum, circa quem sita fuit *villa in valle* multum profunda, in quo monte fuit serenus, et vidit *horribiles nubes* supra villam, et *aud*ivit magnos sonos.

Cum venit ad villam, cecidit magna grando, et iacebant adhuc ibi grandines copiosissime, et fluebant rivi magni quod *cum difficultate trans*ivit villam.

72 Für Einblicke in persönliche Beobachtungen in mittelalterlichen naturphilosophischen Texten, siehe Thomas Bénatouïl und Isabelle Draelants (Hrsg.), *Expertus sum: L'expérience par les sens dans la philosophie naturelle médiévale*, Florenz: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011. Für einen Einblick, wie die Ränder als Geburtsstätte persönlicher Erfahrungen dienen können, siehe Marilyn Nicoud, Les „marginalia" dans les manuscrits latins des Diètes d'Isaac Israëli conservés à Paris, in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Danielle Jacquart und Charles S. F. Burnett (Hrsg.), 192–209, Genf: Droz, 2005, insbesondere 205–209.

Alia vice, ego, revertens de Avinione Parisius, veni per Carpentoratum et volebam venire de Carpentorato ad Pontem Sancti Spiritus; et cum exirem civitatem, vidi nubem horribilissimam cum auditu tonitruorum maximorum, et tamen supra nubem videbam solem clare lucere super cacumen montis Ventosi; et ex timore reversus sum in civitatem super quam ceciderunt grandines magne ex illis nubibus et in abundantia copiosa.[73]

Adhuc unam recitat experientiam cum transivit de Avinione a Parisius, quasi consimilem de civitate Aniarum [*lect. dub.*]. Et per istas vult probare quod grandines fiant in infima regione aeris.

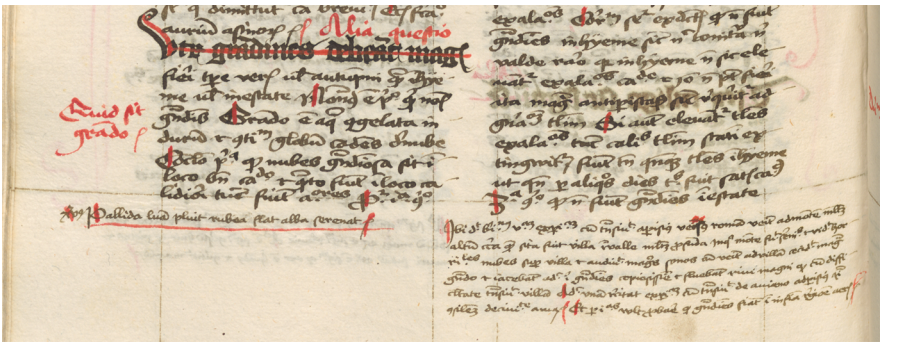


Abbildung 8: München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 117vb, *marg. inf.*: Anonymer Wiener Quästionen-Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* mit Marginalglossen, hauptsächlich aus Johannes Buridans *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*.

An einer anderen Stelle hebt Buridan die gefährlichen und manchmal schwer zu erklärenden Auswirkungen der Ausdünstungen hervor, indem er erzählt, dass ein Mädchen mit anderen Frauen auf einem Feld Gras mähte. Plötzlich traf sie eine von den Winden getragene Ausdünstung, während die anderen Frauen unberührt blieben. Sie verharrte einen Monat lang regungslos im Bett, und selbst nach ihrer Genesung konnte sie lange Zeit nicht auf den Beinen stehen (Abb. 9). Der Schreiber der Marginalien in der Handschrift Clm 12257 fasst diese Erzählung zusammen und formuliert sie frei:

73 Für einen Kommentar vgl. Bages, *Les Questiones*, Bd. 1, 18–19.

Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*.[74]

Clm 17226, III.2, fol. 91va: Sic ego vidi unam iuvenculam circa festum Sancti Iohannis sedentem cum multis aliis mulieribus herbam in prato ad fenandi, super quam venit parvus ventus, qui per nullam aliarum transivit, et satis cito post illa cecidit velud mortua, et non habebat faciem ad ventum, sed intravit ventus per vestes eius, et ita portata ad domum sua mansit in loco per mensem internata secundum iuncturas crurium et tibiarum, quod non poterat se sustinere super pedes. Tandem sanata fuit, et ideo non debent expectari tales venti vel turbines si percipiantur venire.

Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 127ra, *marg. inf.*

Dicit Biridanus se vidisse experigentiam [*sic*] quod quedam puella sedens cum aliis vetulis in campo, flabat ventus subtilis, et quedam exalatio subtilis tetigit illam puellam solum, et nullam aliam, ita quod iacuit ut si esset mortua. Postea iacuit paralitica per mensem. Ideo bonum est nos inducere bene proprie tales exalationes.

74 Diesen und die folgenden Abschnitte aus Buridans *Questiones*, die nicht in Bages Ausgabe enthalten sind, habe ich aus der Handschrift München, BSB, Clm 17226 transkribiert und anhand der Handschriften Paris, BnF, lat. 14723, fol. 224r und Vatikanstadt, BAV, Vat. lat. 2161, fol. 92r, korrigiert. Die Liste der Handschriften der *Questiones* zu den *Meteorologica* des Buridans kann konsultiert werden bei Edmond Faral, Jean Buridan: Notes sur les manuscrits, les éditions et le contenu de ses ouvrages, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 21 (1946): 22–24, Bages, *Les Questiones*, Bd. 1, 147 und Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, Bd. 1.1, 257. Einige Ergänzungen zu dieser Liste bietet Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, 696–698. Zur besonderen Stellung der Hs. Clm 17226, siehe Panzica, *Nicole Oresme à la Faculté des Arts de Paris*, 35 und Anhang IV (Quästionen-Liste mit Quellen) sowie Oresme, *Questiones in Meteorologica de ultima lectura*, 46–49.

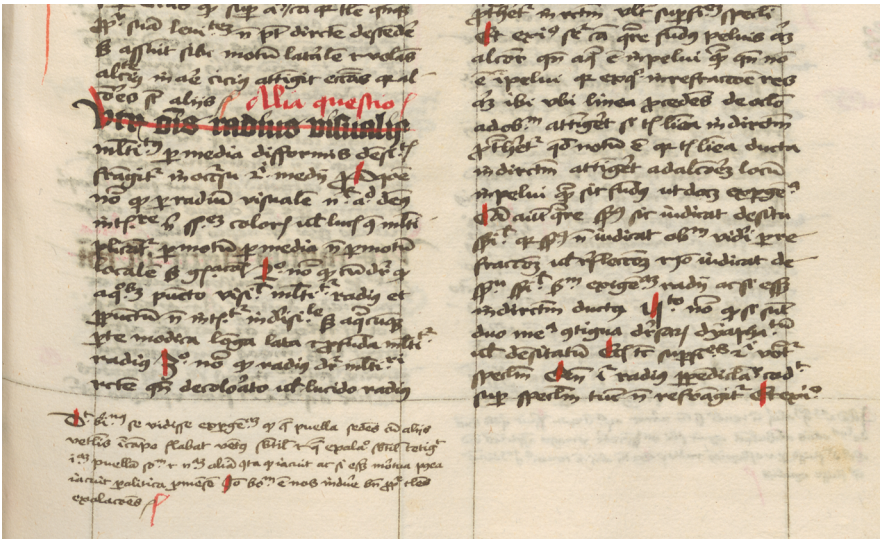


Abbildung 9: München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 127ra, *marg. inf.*: Anonymer Wiener Quästionen-Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* mit Marginalglossen, hauptsächlich aus Johannes Buridans *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*.

Die gleiche Tendenz zur Kürzung und Neufassung, die wir bereits in den Krakauer Marginalien beobachten konnten, zeigt sich auch an der dritten Stelle, an der der Kommentator der Münchener Handschrift Buridans persönliche Beobachtungen wiedergibt. Es handelt sich erneut um die gewaltigen Auswirkungen der trockenen Ausdünstungen. Buridan berichtet von einem bemerkenswerten Ereignis: An einem klaren Tag tauchte plötzlich ein Wirbelsturm auf, der ein Bündel Getreide emporhob und über eine große Entfernung trug. Ebenso wurde ein Soldat namens Hugo de Sombinis, den Buridan persönlich kannte, da er aus einer benachbarten Stadt stammte, von einem Wirbelsturm über die Felder getrieben. Dabei drehte er sich mit seinem Pferd drei oder vier Mal im Kreis. Überraschenderweise blieb der Soldat unverletzt, doch das Pferd erlitt einen Schienbeinbruch.

Johannes Buridan, *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*, III.1, ms. Clm 17226, fol. 89vb.

Sic ego vidi in augusto aere existente sereno et tranquillo turbinem assumentem sibi unam *garbam* frumenti ac alte portantem eam et cecidit longe ad magnum tractum *balist*e.

Sic etiam quidam *mil*es de villa propinqua ville in qui fui natus, nominatus *Hugo* de Sombrinis, quem novi, comprehensus fuit turbine in campis, et cum equo suo circumvolutus *tr*ibus *vel quat*uor *circul*ationibus, et non fuit lesus, sed *equus* suus rupit *tibiam*. Et erant plures cum illo milite, sed nullus fuit comprehensus nisi ille. Sed dixerunt illi nobis quod non erat tunc tempus serenum, sed erat unda grosse pluvie super eos.

Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 126rb, *marg. inf.*

Biridanus dicit se vidisse *garbam* fuisse elevatam per typhonem ad tantam altitudinem sicut quis cum *balist*a sagitare posset.

Similiter dicit de *mil*ite uno nomine *Hugo*ne qui etiam fuit detentus per typhonem et ter aut quater circulariter motus. Adhuc tamen nichil accidit ei preterquam *equus* lesit *tybiam* unam, sed tunc erat tempus fulminosum.

Was lässt sich aus diesen Stellen über die Haltung und Interessen des Verfassers der Randnotizen schließen? Vielleicht zeigt sich hier, dass die sklavische Abhängigkeit scholastischer Gelehrter von ihren Quellen so weit geht, dass sogar persönliche Beobachtungen auf das Autoritätsprinzip (*sicut dicit Buridanus*…) zurückgeführt werden? Ich tendiere eher dazu zu glauben, dass der Glossator bestrebt ist, die ziemlich abstrakte aristotelische Analyse an konkrete Phänomene zu knüpfen und so verständlicher – und auch lebendiger – zu machen.

Das Interesse des Glossators an direkten Beobachtungen und konkreten Phänomenen zeigt sich besonders deutlich an einer bemerkenswerten Stelle, an der er auf seine eigene Erfahrung zurückgreift. Er verwendet eine Analogie, um zu verdeutlichen, dass die trockene Ausdünstung in den Wolken, wenn sie mit Feuchtigkeit in Kontakt gerät, einen lauten Klang erzeugt. Dabei zieht er Parallelen zu zwei Phänomenen, die an der Erdoberfläche beobachtet werden können, wenn Feuchtigkeit und Wärme aufeinandertreffen. Als Beispiel für feuchte Materie wählt er Speichel (*sputum*), der auf heißes Eisen auf einem Schmiedeamboss oder auf erhitzte Steine an einem Sommertag trifft und dadurch einen Klang erzeugt, vergleichbar dem einer Schachtel Birnen (Abb. 10):

> Quod autem exalatio possit facere talem sonum per hoc quod tangit latera nubium patet in simili experigentia, ponendo sputum super incutem fabri, percutiendo ferrum ignitum de supra. Similiter patet circa festum Iohannis Baptiste cum igne⟨m⟩ de sero frequenter feci ponendo carbonem bene ignitum in circulum positum supra lapidem unum, in cuius circulo sputum est, percutiendo cum alio lapide fiebat sonus sicut cum pira pixide.
>
> Anonymus, Glosse der Hs. München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 126ra, *marg. inf.*

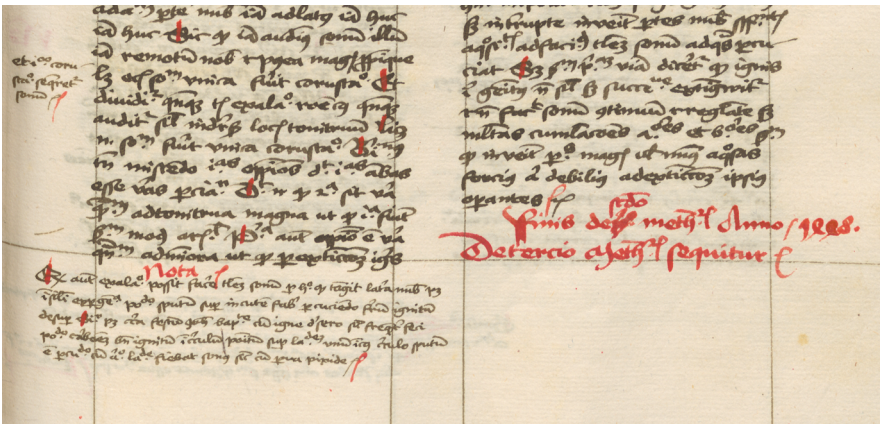


Abbildung 10: München, BSB, Clm 12257, fol. 126ra, *marg. inf.*: Anonymer Wiener Quästionen-Kommentar zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* mit Marginalglossen, hauptsächlich aus Johannes Buridans *Questiones super I–III libros Meteororum*.

Die Termini, wie sie in den zuvor erwähnten Passagen bei Buridan auftauchen, zum Beispiel *experientia,* sind in diesem Zusammenhang von entscheidender Bedeutung. Entgegen der weit verbreiteten Annahme verdeutlicht der Verfasser dieser Randnotizen eindrucksvoll, dass der aristotelische Text (sowie seine exegetische Tradition) als Werkzeug diente, um die Vielfalt der Phänomene zu begreifen und zu klassifizieren. Zu diesem Zweck scheute er nicht davor zurück, sich auf die Autorität renommierter Magister wie Buridan zu stützen, oder aber – und dies erscheint in diesem Kontext besonders interessant – auf seine eigenen Erfahrungen zu verweisen (*frequenter feci*).[75] Diese Herangehensweise geht über eine rein buchstäbliche Interpretation hinaus; ihr Fokus liegt auf den realen Gegebenheiten. Dies zeigt

75 Edward Grant hat beispielsweise die Ansicht vertreten, dass die in den scholastischen Kommentaren zum naturphilosophischen Corpus des Aristoteles erwähnten Erfahrungen (*experientie*) nicht aus der direkten Beobachtung der Verfasser stammten, sondern vielmehr aus anderen literarischen Quellen übernommen wurden: „Empirical elements and observations appear in numerous examples and illustrations, but the examples were not observed by those who report them" (Edward Grant, Medieval Natural Philosophy: Empiricism without Observation, in: *The Dynamics of Aristotelian Natural Philosophy from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, Cees Leijenhorst, Christoph Lüthy und Johannes M. M. H. Thijssen (Hrsg.), 141–168, Leiden: Brill, 2021, 166). Dabei stützte sich Grant auf Kommentare zu Aristoteles' *Physik* und *De celo*. Hätte er Kommentare zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* oder zu anderen, konkreter ausgerichteten Werken konsultiert, wäre er möglicherweise zu einem nuancierteren Schluss gelangt.

sich in der Sprache, die sich von der üblichen Allgemeinheit und Abstraktheit von Universitätskommentaren löst und sich den konkreten Realitäten annähert.

4 Fazit: Die *marginalia* als Materialisierung einer konzeptuellen Evolution

Diese Untersuchung am Rand der scholastischen *Meteora*-Kommentare verdeutlicht die enge Verbindung zwischen Denken und Raum, Philosophie und Überlieferungsgeschichte. Die scholastische Kultur ist eine Kultur des Textes, und bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde der Text in handschriftlicher Form überliefert. Somit ist die scholastische Kultur eine Kultur der Handschrift. In diesem Sinne darf der Historiker der mittelalterlichen Philosophie bei der materiellen Untersuchung seiner Quellen nicht nachlässig sein. Um Schärfe und Tiefe in seiner Studie zu gewährleisten, sollte er alle Aspekte der scholastischen Codices berücksichtigen, von denen, die traditionell als zentral betrachtet wurden, bis hin zu denen, die als untergeordnet angesehen wurden, wie die Randnotizen.

Wie verändert sich nun unser Verständnis, wenn wir einen dezentralen Blick auf die scholastische Naturphilosophie werfen? Stimmt das Bild mit dem überein, was sich aus der Analyse der Haupttexte ergibt?

Um diese Fragen zu beantworten habe ich drei Beispiele betrachtet, bei denen scholastische Kommentare zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* von Marginalien begleitet wurden. Diese drei Texte erstrecken sich über einen Zeitraum von etwa einem Jahrhundert. Der älteste wurde im zweiten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts von dem Bologneser Magister Matteo da Gubbio verfasst. In seiner vollständigen Form wird dieser Kommentar in einer einzigen Handschrift überliefert, parallel dazu enthält dieselbe auch Marginalglossen, die eine verkürzte Fassung der *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* von Albert von Sachsen darstellen. Das zweite Beispiel betrifft zwei polnische Kopien der *Compilatio Meteororum* des Pariser Magisters Peter von Ailly, die zwischen Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts kopiert wurden. Beide Handschriften enthalten Marginalien, welche die Erklärungen der knappen *Compilatio* durch Entwicklungen aus den Pariser Quästionen-Kommentaren von Mitte des 14. bis Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts ergänzen. Das dritte und letzte Beispiel betrifft die von Buridan beeinflussten Marginalien in einer Handschrift, die an der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aufbewahrt wird und einen anonymen Wiener Kommentar aus dem ersten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts überliefert.

Jede dieser Fallstudien trägt etwas Neues oder zumindest Bemerkenswertes zur Textüberlieferung und Nutzung scholastischer Texte bei. Während einige bekannte Fakten bestätigt wurden – wie die Verbreitung der Kommentare der Buri-

dan-Schule in den mitteleuropäischen Universitäten –, tauchen einige Neuigkeiten dank der Analyse von Marginalien auf. So bezeugen die Randkommentare, die in der florentinischen Handschrift Fesul. 161 die *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* von Matteo da Gubbio begleiten, die erste Spur der italienischen Verbreitung der *Questiones* zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica* Alberts von Sachsen. Was die Verwendung naturphilosophischer Texte in universitären Milieus betrifft, ermöglichte uns die Analyse der Marginalien in den Krakauer Kopien der *Compilatio Meteororum* des Peter von Ailly die Feststellung, dass die Benutzer scholastischer Kommentare nicht immer mit der Ausführlichkeit ihrer Lehrbücher zufrieden waren, auch wenn sie unter autoritativen Namen wie dem des Peter von Ailly zirkulierten. Wenn sie ihre Lehrbücher als zu knapp empfanden, ergänzten sie diese mit anderen in ihrer Umgebung verfügbaren Texten, wie zum Beispiel der Glossator der Handschrift 2088, der sogar zwei in Krakau verbreitete Quästionen-Kommentare benutzte: Die *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus von Oresme, die er seinem Autor zuschreibt, und die *Questiones* von Johannes Versoris, die er ebenfalls unter Oresmes Namen zitiert. Ziel dieser Operation war nicht nur, Aristoteles' Text zu verstehen, sondern vielmehr die darin behandelten Phänomene so detailliert wie möglich zu erforschen. Dies zeigt sich besonders deutlich in den Glossen, die in der Münchner Handschrift Clm 12257 einen anonymen Wiener Kommentar begleiten und ein starkes Interesse an der Vielfalt der meteorologischen Phänomene bezeugen. Einige dieser Glossen zielen darauf ab, die Transliterationen technischer griechischer Begriffe der aristotelischen Meteorologie zu erläutern. Andere geben direkte Beobachtungen von meteorologischen Phänomenen wieder, die Buridan in seinem Kommentar beschreibt. Noch interessanter ist, dass der Schreiber der Randnotizen manchmal die im aristotelischen Text vermittelten Theorien anhand seiner eigenen Erfahrung prüft. Diese empirische Haltung, die zwar von den Texten genährt wird, aber nicht ohne Beobachtung auskommt, wird in den auf zentralen Autoren fundierten Rekonstruktionen des scholastischen Denkens oft vernachlässigt. Es ist daher eine fruchtbare und gesunde Übung, diesen zentralisierten Blick manchmal zugunsten einer exzentrischeren Perspektive zu verlassen. Wie diese Bemerkungen am Rand der scholastischen Tradition der *Meteora*-Kommentare gezeigt haben, kann uns eine solche methodologische Verschiebung ermöglichen, unsere Hypothesen zu verfeinern, zu ergänzen oder zu korrigieren, um besser zu verstehen, wie (mit welchen Haltungen, Interessen und Hintergründen) autoritative Texte gelesen wurden.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich im Anschluss die Ergebnisse meiner Studie mit denen von Jacqueline Hamesse vergleichen, welche die Funktion der Marginalien analysiert hat, wenn ein autoritativer antiker Text von scholastischen Glossen begleitet wird. Hamesse hat gezeigt, dass die Glossen in diesem Fall dazu dienten, das wörtliche und begriffliche Verständnis des Haupttextes zu fördern.

Das war besonders bei aristotelischen Texten notwendig, da sie mehrere Unklarheiten und Schwierigkeiten enthalten, die durch die Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen und Arabischen oft verstärkt wurden. Die Glossen, die sich anfangs auf einzelne Begriffe beschränkten und ziemlich knappgehalten waren, ermöglichten einen leichteren Zugang zu einem ansonsten schwierigen oder rätselhaften Haupttext. Diese Glossen wurden allmählich ausführlicher, bis sie eine konzeptuelle und räumliche Unabhängigkeit vom Haupttext erreichten. Auf diese Weise erlangten sie eine Würde, die sie als eigenständige Texte auszeichnete, und rückten somit in den Mittelpunkt der Seite.[76]

Diese Entwicklung stellt die erste Phase und die notwendige philosophische und historische Prämisse des Prozesses dar, den ich auf diesen Seiten geschildert habe. Nachdem die Glossen zu Kommentaren und die Marginalien zum Haupttext wurden, erlangten sie ihrerseits den Status autoritativer Texte. In dieser neuen Rolle wurden sie wiederum glossiert. Diese Entwicklung beleuchtet mindestens zwei wesentliche Aspekte des scholastischen Denkens.

Erstens die Freiheit der mittelalterlichen Handschrift, die allzu oft als starr hierarchisiert beschrieben wird. Die Evolution der *mise en page* philosophischer Handschriften zeigt deutlich, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Rand und Hauptseite einem stetigen Wandel unterliegen und dass Seitenränder und Hauptseite durchlässig und offen sind. Die Beziehungen zwischen Rand und Hauptseite in philosophischen Handschriften lassen sich nicht einfach in Begriffen von Unterordnung beschreiben. Vielmehr spiegeln sie eine Zentripetaldynamik wider, in der der Seitenrand tendenziell aufbricht und sich in Richtung des Zentrums bewegt.

Dieser Prozess ist keineswegs unidirektional. Vorherige Studien haben gezeigt, dass zwischen dem 12. und dem 13. Jahrhundert mittelalterliche Auslegungen in den Abschriften lateinischer Übersetzungen aristotelischer Texte vom Rand zum Zentrum wandern. Aus meiner eigenen Untersuchung geht jedoch hervor, dass später, mindestens ab der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, diese Bewegung *auch* in entgegengesetzter Richtung stattfindet. In den hier untersuchten Beispielen werden die *Questiones* von Albert von Sachsen, Nikolaus Oresme, Johannes Buridan und Johannes Versoris zu Randkommentaren, die dazu dienen, die Erläuterungen anderer mittelalterlicher Kommentare zu ergänzen. Die Beziehungen zwischen Hauptseite und Rand sind daher nicht starr und abgeschlossen, sondern sie zeichnen sich durch eine reversible Bewegung aus – eine Bewegung, die nicht nur ein rein textuelles Spiel darstellt, sondern vielmehr die Materialisierung einer konzeptuellen Evolution offenbart.

76 Hamesse, *Les marginalia dans les textes philosophiques universitaires*.

Zweitens führt diese Evolution von der (wortwörtlichen) Exegese zur (philosophischen) Spekulation, von der Aneignung zur Transzendenz. In den von Jacqueline Hamesse analysierten Beispielen stehen die Texte von Aristoteles im Mittelpunkt der Seite und somit im Fokus der Bemühungen scholastischer Denker. Diese Bemühungen, die sich zunächst in der Übersetzung und wörtlichen Exegese äußerten, waren anfangs vorwiegend philologischer Natur. Der Fokus verlagert sich allmählich mit der Aneignung des aristotelischen Denkens und der Entwicklung des Lehrplans an mittelalterlichen Universitäten. Im Übergang von Glossen zu literarischen Kommentaren, vom literarischen Kommentar zu Quästionen-Kommentaren lassen die aristotelischen Texte den Platz für ihre mittelalterlichen Auslegungen frei. Die ungenaue Kenntnis des aristotelischen Textes seitens Peter von Aillys oder die ständige Bezugnahme auf Buridans Kommentar in der Münchener Handschrift Clm 12257 lassen sich nicht anders erklären. Es ist zugleich wichtig zu betonen, dass dieser Abbruch direkter Bezüge zu Aristoteles' Texten keineswegs eine Abwertung seiner Autorität mit sich brachte. Der aristotelische Text blieb weiterhin der Ausgangspunkt der philosophischen Forschung, allerdings wurde er ab diesem Zeitpunkt als gegeben betrachtet. Die räumliche, textuelle und konzeptuelle Emanzipation der Marginalien markiert den Wendepunkt, an dem das aristotelische Denken vollständig assimiliert und dadurch von der mittelalterlichen Reflexion transzendiert wird. Von diesem Zeitpunkt an wird der Rand zum Zentrum, die Glossa zum Text und die textuelle Exegese zur Erforschung der Natur.

5 Anhang

Diese Tabelle präsentiert das Quästionen-Verzeichnis des anonymen Wiener Kommentars zu Aristoteles' *Meteorologica*, der in den Handschriften München, BSB, Clm 12257, fols. 107ra–135va, Clm 8942, fols. 175r–182v, Melk, Benediktinerstift, cod. 801, fols. 444r–493r und 958, S. 1–127 überliefert ist. Die Veröffentlichung dieser Liste verfolgt drei Zwecke: 1. Die Bestätigung der Identität dieses unveröffentlichten Kommentars in den vier Kopien; 2. Die Erleichterung der Auffindung einzelner Fragestellungen und Textstellen; 3. Die Unterstützung bei der Identifizierung weiterer Abschriften.

Die letzte Spalte der Tabelle verweist für jede Frage auf die Hauptquelle in Buridans *Questiones* und in der *ultima lectura* der *Questiones* von Nikolaus Oresme. Der letzte Hinweis sollte nicht als eine Zuschreibung betrachtet werden, sondern vielmehr als eine Identifizierung. Einige *Questiones* im Buch III der *ultima lectura* stammen nämlich nicht aus Oresme, sondern aus Themo Iudaeus.[77]

77 Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Études d'histoire des sciences en Pologne*, Breslau: Ossolineum, 1972, 181–198; Panzica, *De la Lune à la Terre*, 705–707.

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
107ra	175r	1	—	I.1	Circa librum *Metheororum* queritur primo utrum de impressionibus *Metheorologicis* sit tradenda scientia naturalis distincta a scientia de celo et mundo, de generatione et corruptione, de mineralibus et de anima et de animatis.	Buridan, I.1
107va	177r	3	—	I.2	Utrum impressiones methaurologice fiant secundum naturam inordinatiorem quam sit natura corporum celestium.	Oresme, I.1
107va	177r	3	—	I.3	Utrum ille mundus inferior sit continuus lationibus superioribus ut inde tota virtus eius gubernetur.	Oresme, I.2
108ra	178r	5	—	I.4	Utrum aqua est maior terra et aer maior aqua et ignis maior aere.	Buridan, I.3
108vb	179v	8	444v	I.5	Utrum quatuor elementa semper et immutabiliter habeant eandem proportionem in raritate et densitate, caliditate et frigiditate et magnitudine.	Oresme, I.7
109ra	180r	9	445r	I.6	Utrum eedem opiniones infinities reiterentur.	Oresme, I.5
109rb	180v	10	445v	I.7	Utrum motus celi sit causa calefactionis ignis in spera sua et aeris superioris.	Oresme, I.8
109vb	181v	12	447r	I.8	Utrum omne lumen sit productivum caloris.	Oresme, I.9
110rb	182r	14	447v	I.9	Utrum media regio aeris sit semper frigida.	Buridan, I.6
111ra	—	17	448v	I.10	Utrum calor potest frigefacere et frigus calefacere per antiparistasim.	Buridan, I.7
111va	—	18	449v	I.11	Utrum sydera cadentia vel flamme et fulgura et huiusmodi fiant et descendant naturaliter.	Buridan, I.8
111vb	—	19	449v	I.12	Utrum omnes methaurologice impressiones sint eiusdem speciei.	Buridan, I.9

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
113ra	—	25	452r	I.13	Utrum quandoque serenitate existente debeant apparere in celo hyatus et voragines et sanguinei colores.	Buridan, I.10
113va	—	27	453r	I.14	Utrum exalatio et vapor, scilicet unumquodque, sit de specie specialissima elementi a quo elevatur, ut vapor elevatus ab aqua sit eiusdem speciei specialissime cum aqua, et exalatio terrestris cum terra.	Buridan, I.11
114va	—	30	454r	I.15	Utrum stella comata sit de natura celesti vel elementari.	Buridan, I.12–13
115rb	—	33	455v	I.16	Utrum galaxia sit de natura celesti vel de natura elementari.	Buridan, I.14
115va	—	34	455v	I.17	Utrum ros generetur in media regione aeris vel superiori vel inferiori.	Buridan, I.15
116ra	—	36	457r	I.18	Utrum consimiliter generentur pruina et nix.	Buridan, I.16
117ra	—	41	458v	I.19	Utrum caligo sit signum serenitatis.	Buridan, I.17
117va	—	43	459v	I.20	Utrum grandines debeant magis fieri tempore veris vel autumni quam in hyeme vel in estate.	Buridan, I.18
118rb	—	45	460v	I.21	Utrum aque fontium et fluviorum generentur in terra.	Buridan, I.19
118vb	—	48	461v	I.22	Utrum ubi nunc est mare fuit arida et erit, et e contrario ubi nunc est arida ibi fuit mare et erit.	Buridan, I.20
119ra	—	49	462r	I.23	Utrum possibile est naturaliter tantos montes quanti nobis apparent maximi destrui et revertere terram ad planitiem.	Buridan, I.21
120ra	—	53	463v	II.1	Utrum mare sit perpetuum vel aliquando factum.	Buridan, II.1
120rb	—	54	464r	II.2	Utrum aliqua maria debeant in alia fluere quamdiu durant.	Buridan, II.2
120va	—	56	464v	II.3	Utrum mare debat fluere et refluere.	Buridan, II.3

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
121ra	—	58	465v	II.4	Utrum locus quem mare accipiat sit locus naturalis aque secundum quod aqua et non maris secundum quod mare.	Buridan, II.4
121va	—	60	466v	II.5	Utrum mare debeat esse salsum.	Buridan, II.5
122rb	—	63	467v	II.6	Utrum aliqui fontes debant esse salsi.	Buridan, II.6
122va	—	65	468r	II.7	Utrum ventus sit exalatio calida et sicca.	Buridan, II.7
123ra	—	66	468v	II.8	Utrum, adveniente pluvia, debeant cessare venti.	Buridan, II.8
123ra	—	67	469r	II.9	Utrum Sol movet et facit cessare ventos.	Buridan, II.9
123va	—	69	469v	II.10	Utrum Boreas flat nobis a polo artico et Auster a polo antartico vel ab aliquibus aliis locis.	Buridan, II.10
124ra	—	71	470v	II.11	Utrum venti precise debeant distingui secundum duodecim.	Buridan, II.11
124rb	—	72	470v	II.12	Utrum debeant nobis flare venti plures boreales et australes quam aliis, et plures boreales quam australes.	Buridan, II.12
124va	—	74	471v	II.13	Utrum boreas qui vocatur abarchyas debeat esse serenus.	Buridan, II.13
125ra	—	77	472v	II.14	Utrum exalatio similis exalationi ventose sit causa terremotus.	Buridan, II.14
125rb	—	78	473r	II.15	Utrum secundum modum predictum possint salvari omnia circa terremotum apparentia.	Buridan, II.15
125va	—	79	473r	II.16	Utrum coruscatio sit inflammatio exalationis calide et sicce.	Buridan, II.16
125vb	—	80	473v	II.17	Utrum diffinitio tonitrui sit bona, scilicet: ‚tonitruum est sonus in loco nubium facto ex percussura violenta exalationis sicce ad continentes nubes‘.	Buridan, II.17

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
124va	—	83	475r	III.1	Utrum ecnephie et thiphones descendant ad terram ex nubibus.	Buridan, III.1
124vb	—	84	475v	III.2	Utrum fulmina fiunt propter potentias demonum vel per naturas inanimatas.	Buridan, III.2
127ra	—	86	476r	III.3	Utrum omnis radius visualis multiplicatus per media difformis densitatis frangitur in occursu secundi medii.	Buridan, III.3
127vb	—	89	477r	III.4	Utrum radius flectitur vel frangitur per medium uniforme absque occursu medii densioris.	Buridan, III.4
128va	—	92	478r	III.5	Utrum sint specula contra que vel in quibus apparent colores solum et non figure, accipiendo ‚colorem' prout extendit se ad lucem et colorem proprie dictum.	Buridan, III.5
128vb	—	94	479r	III.6	Utrum halo semper appareat propter nubem mediam vel vaporem medium inter astrum et visum.	Buridan, III.6
129rb	—	95	479v	III.7	Utrum caligo vel nubes in qua apparet halo sit unum corpus continuum.	Buridan, III.7
129rb	—	96	479v	III.8	Utrum halo debeat apparere circularis figure.	Buridan, III.8
129va	—	97	480r	III.9	Utrum halo debeat apparere alba vel nigra vel alterius coloris.	Buridan, III.9
129vb	—	98	481v	III.10	Circa tractatum de yride queritur primo utrum videns yridem videat veros colores, scilicet puniceum, viridem et alurgum.	Buridan, III.11
130ra	—	100	482r	III.11	Utrum yris debeat apparere tricolor et non plurium colorum.	Buridan, III.12
130vb	—	104	483v	III.12	Utrum yris sit forma realis impressa nubi aut sit solum forma ymaginaria.	Oresme, III.21

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
			484r		Utrum yris sit forma diaphanalis vel specularis, vel utrum fiat per reflexionem.	
131ra	—	105	484v	III.13	Utrum, supposito quod yris fiat per reflexionem, utrum tunc fiat in nube vel super guttulas roridas seu stillicidio.	Oresme, III.23
131rb	—	106	484v	III.14	Utrum yris debeat esse tricolor.	Oresme, III.24
131va	—	108	485v	III.15	Utrum yris sit solum duplex et non multiplicior.	Oresme, III.25
131vb	—	109	486r	III.16	Utrum semper, apparentibus duobus yridibus, superior yris debeat habere colores conversim positos.	Oresme, III.26
132ra	—	110	486r	III.17	Utrum superior yris vel secundaria debet appare et esse remissior in coloribus quam principali yris.	Oresme, III.27
132rb	—	111	484v	III.18	Utrum yris debeat apparere secundum circuli periferiam si non sit impedimentum.	Oresme, III.28
132rb	—	112	487r	III.19	Utrum semper, tempore apparitionis yridis, necesset sit centrum Solis et centrum horizontis et yridis et polos esse in eadem linea recta.	Oresme, III.29
132va	—	113	487v	III.20	Utrum semper, tempore apparitionis yridis et halonis, dyameter yridis sit precise dupla ad dyametrum halonis.	Oresme, III.30
132vb	—	114	487v	III.21	Utrum omni hora diei artificialis, oculo existente in superficie orizontis, possit aliqua portio yridis apparere ubicumque fuerit oculus videntis.	Oresme, III.31
133ra	—	114	488r	III.22	Utrum yris Lune potest apparere pluries quam bis in 50 annis consimilibus coloribus et proprietatibus sicut yris Solis.	Oresme, III.32

Clm 12257	Clm 8942	Melk 958	Melk 801		Quästionen-Liste	Hauptquelle
133ra	—	115	488r	III.23	Utrum, visa yride et Sole vel astro elevato notabiliter super orizontem, appareat minor portio circuli maioris quam appareat Sole existente in fine orizontis.	Oresme, III.33
133rb	—	117	488v	III.24	Utrum parelii et virge fiant ex reflexione radiorum sicut yris vel halo.	Oresme, III.34
133va	—	118	489r	III.25	Utrum per iuvamen artis possent fieri metalla.	Oresme, III.35
133vb	—	119	489v	IV.1	Circa quartum Metheororum queritur utrum tantum sint qualitates prime.	Oresme, IV.1
134ra	—	120	490r	IV.2	Utrum quatuor qualitates prime, scilicet caliditas, frigiditas, etc., sint principia activa in generatione mixti.	Oresme, IV.2
134rb	—	121	490v	IV.3	Utrum putrefactio causetur a calido extrinseco.	Oresme, IV.3
134va	—	122	491r	IV.4	Utrum frigiditas preservet a putrefactione.	Oresme, IV.4
134vb	—	123	491r	IV.5	Utrum aliqua animalia possunt generari per putrefactionem.	Oresme, IV.5
134vb	—	124	494v	IV.6	Utrum diffinitio digestionis sit bona in qua dicitur: ‚digestio est perfectio a naturali et proprio calido ex oppositis passivis‘.	Oresme, IV.6
135ra	—	125	492r	IV.7	Utrum balnea naturaliter conferant ad digestionem.	Oresme, IV.7
135rb	—	126	492v	IV.8	Utrum tantum tres sint digestiones.	Oresme, IV.8

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Giovanna Murano

Readers' Marks in Renaissance Manuscripts

Introduction

Reading is the prelude to literary, philosophical or theological reflection on a text. From the second half of the fourteenth century, the *Glossae* on the Roman and Canon Law, the Bible and the Aristotelian Corpus were no longer copied in the margins. With the disappearance of glosses and marginal commentaries, Renaissance manuscripts adopted a full-page layout derived from eleventh- and twelfth-century models. Meanwhile, the reader would transform the space around the text, and the margins become firstly the site of philological activity, of appropriating the text by understanding it in its entirety.

In this essay, I present the first results of my research on readers' marks in fifteenth-century manuscripts, mainly but not exclusively Florentine. I have divided it into three sections, each devoted to a different type of intervention: textual intervention, index of names and places, and "memory signs". To illustrate reading strategies and different ways of interacting with written texts, I have looked at some of the most famous Renaissance intellectuals, especially Florentines (Salutati, Poggio, Bruni, etc.).

Renaissance scholars produced hundreds of autographs (manuscripts thought to have been written by the author in his own hand), idiographs (manuscripts or editions thought to have been written or arranged under the supervision of the author) and dedicatory copies. A closer analysis of these materials provides a unique perspective on scholarly reading.

Catalogues or descriptions of humanist manuscripts usually mention the presence of *marginalia*. Frequently, however, the entries in the margins have a different origin. While the critical or philological examination of a text is evidenced by notes, commonly called *marginalia*, reading leaves other traces in the margins of Renaissance manuscripts and incunabula.

The distinction I propose in these pages is based on the action from which the marginal intervention arises or its purpose, not on the presence or absence of verbal elements. *Marginalia* are notes, comments, personal reflections on the text transmitted in a manuscript. These notes could be used by the author later on and become "text" themselves. The typology of intervention that I will discuss in these pages does not fall into the category of commentary and does not produce "new texts". The interventions I will examine do not arise from literary intentions, but are instead the outcome of various actions and interactions with the transmitted text. They may be the result of collation, indexing or simple reading. These dif-

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ferent actions interact with the text in different ways and, as we shall see in the following pages, leave distinctive marks.[1]

1 Textual Intervention (*Correctio* and *Emendatio*)

Silvia Rizzo distinguishes three different types of textual intervention in Renaissance manuscripts. The first is the revision of a work by the author himself or by others, with the aim of improving the text or correcting errors. The second is the revision of the copy after transcription, by comparing it with its model. The third type is a much broader activity. It is not concerned with checking the accuracy of a particular copy or its fidelity to the model, but with reconstructing as far as possible the author's original text, freeing it from errors and omissions.[2]

There are several distinctive signs that indicate textual intervention in Renaissance manuscripts. The most common, used to indicate an insertion in the text, is the caret (Λ) (or capital lambda, or inverted "v"). Its origin is ancient (it appears in both Latin and Greek manuscripts)[3] and it is still one of the basic signs of typography. Other signs are the triad of dots ∴ (in mathematics: "therefore sign"), the obelus with a superscript dot ⸗ ("dot minus") or, more commonly, with a subscript dot.

The choice of one sign over another is often the result of the scribal training of the reader; at the same time, a sign can have different meanings, with the exception of the caret (Λ), the use of which as insertion mark is unambiguous. The symbol of supplementation written in the margin is usually keyed into the text with the same symbol. Their presence indicates that the manuscript has been revised, either by the author himself or by one or more readers.

The work *De fato et fortuna* of the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) includes a famous passage on *collatio* ('collation'):

> qui libros diligentissima collatione revideant et omnem varietatum discordiam recte diffinitionis iudicio noverint removere (II, 6). (to revise books with the most careful collation and

1 *Marginalia* have been the subject of my research for many years. The invitation of Mario Meliadò, whom I thank, to the Siegen conference was an opportunity to focus and share the initial results of my research on the reader's marks. I would like to thank Elissa Weaver for reading a version of this text, and Michael D. Reeve for his reading, suggestions, and improvements.

2 Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984, 243–245.

3 For example, in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (hereafter: Laur.), Plut. 59.9 (Demosthenes, tenth century). All the manuscripts preserved in the Plutei are available in digital form.

know how to remove all discord among the variations by the judgement of correct definition).[4]

There are fifteen known witnesses to *De fato et fortuna*, and in two of them there are authorial interventions.[5] Vat. lat. 2928 has been identified with the manuscript that Salutati had made for Tommaso della Spina, *magister registri supplicationum* in the Roman Curia.[6] It contains numerous notes (especially short summaries) by a sixteenth-century hand, probably from Bembo's scholarly circle in Rome, but not many textual interventions. The first, on fol. 1v, is preceded by the obelus with an over-written dot (÷), keyed in to the text with the repetition of the same sign as well as a Λ placed under the line (see Figure 1):



Figure 1: Salutati's interventions in Vat. lat. 2928, fol. 1v.

Text: l(icet) cu(n)ctis [÷ / Λ] g(ra)tissi(m)a *in the margin*: ÷ tamen

"licet cunctis tamen gratissima"

A long addition at fol. 11r is marked by the same symbols.

By using distinctive signs, the author ensures the visibility of his interventions. Furthermore, the use of a sign or symbol whose meaning is well known to the reader or to the copyist is a guarantee of the authenticity of the intervention.

4 Coluccio Salutati, *De fato et fortuna*, Concetta Bianca (ed.), Florence: Olschki, 1985.

5 Salutati, *De fato et fortuna*, LXXXI–CXXX.

6 The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/search?k_f=0&k_v=vat.lat.2928>, accessed 1 March 2024. On the manuscript, see Michelangiola Marchiaro, Il "De fato et fortuna" con correzioni d'autore, in: *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'Umanesimo*, Teresa De Robertis, Giuliano Tanturli, and Stefano Zamponi (eds.), Florence: Mandragora, 2008, 146–147. The second manuscript, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, lat. VI, 109 (2852), belonged to Pietro da Montagnana (d. 1478), professor of grammar in Padua.

Although Poggio's handwriting is one of the most studied of the Quattrocento, there are still aspects that require further investigation.[7] At least eighteen manuscripts are known to have been written by him, dating from the period between 1400 and 1425.[8] Some are dated or can be dated with reasonable certainty: Laur., Strozzi 96 (1402 or 1403); Berlin, Hamilton 166 (1408); Vat. lat. 11458 (1417); Laur., Plut. 48.22 (1425); Laur., Plut. 50.31 (1425); Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 499 (c. 1425). Poggio's handwriting is characterised by a remarkable morphological evolution, which is not surprising for the "inventor" of the new script. According to Albinia de la Mare, Laur., San Marco 635 is "one of Poggio's earliest" manuscripts, dated around 1400 "or even earlier".[9] It includes *Contra Academicos* and other works of Saint Augustine. As the space for the title has been left blank, all the texts, except the first one, are anepigraphic. The space intended for decoration is also left blank. The handwriting is "experimental", not in the form of the individual letters, but in its breadth and overall appearance.

In the twelfth-century Vatican manuscript Barb. lat. 65, Marco Cursi discovered a copy of the *Ars poetica* in the hand of Poggio (fols. 86r–92r).[10] In this fragment, some variants are marked by two dots in the text and in the margin. The same sign is also found in other Poggio manuscripts.

Vat. lat. 11458, identified by Augusto Campana in the 1950s, contains the copy of the eight orations of Cicero discovered by Poggio in 1417.[11] The text was written,

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7 For studies of Poggio's handwriting, see Berthold Louis Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960, 21–57; Arthur John Dunston, The Hand of Poggio, *Scriptorium* 19 (1965): 63–70; Albinia Catherine de la Mare and Douglas Ferguson Scott Thomson, Poggio's Earliest Manuscript? *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973): 179–195; Albinia Catherine de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists*, vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, 62–84; Albinia Catherine de la Mare, Humanistic Script: The First Ten Years, in: *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Fritz Krafft and Dieter Wuttke (eds.), 89–108, Bonn: Boldt, 1977; Teresa De Robertis, I percorsi dell'imitazione: Esperimenti di "littera antiqua" in codici fiorentini del primo Quattrocento, in: *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell'età moderna*, Caterina Tristano, Marta Calleri, and Leonardo Magionami (eds.), 109–134, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2006, 126–127 and 133–134.

8 They are now listed in Giovanna Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscripts: Revised and Enlarged List from Albinia C. de la Mare, "New Research" (1985)*, Florence: Olschki, 2024.

9 De la Mare, *Humanistic Script*, 94; De Robertis, *I percorsi dell'imitazione*, 69, note 33 (1400–1403).

10 Marco Cursi, Un nuovo manoscritto autografo di Poggio Bracciolini, in: *Per Enzo: Studi in memoria di Vincenzo Matera*, Lidia Capo and Antonio Ciaralli (eds.), 77–86, Florence: Firenze University Press, 2015: <https://books.fupress.com/catalogue/per-enzo-studi-in-memoria-di-vincenzo-matera/3087>, accessed 1 March 2024.

11 Augusto Campana, La copia autografa delle otto orazioni ciceroniane scoperte da Poggio nel 1417, *Ciceroniana: Rivista di studi ciceroniani* 1 (1973): 65–68; see also Silvia Rizzo, Per una tipologia delle tradizioni manoscritte di classici latini in età umanistica, in: *Formative Stages of Classical*

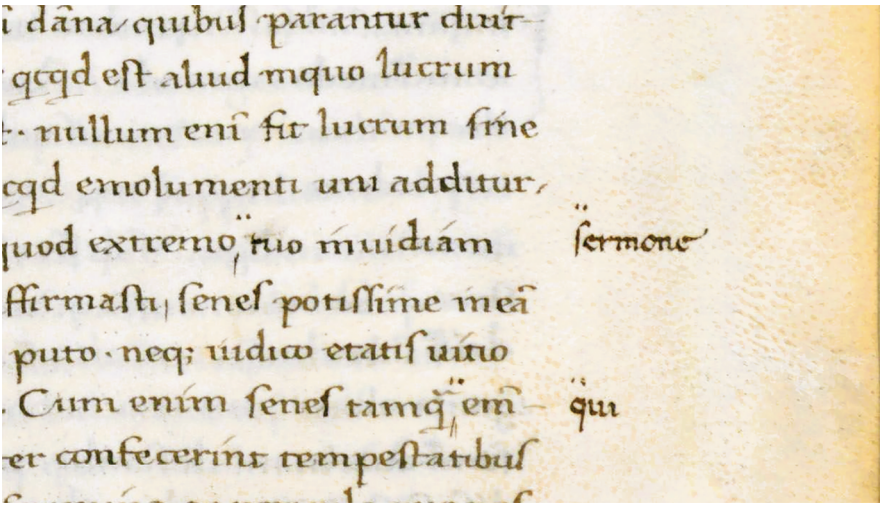


Figure 2: Poggio's interventions in Laur., Plut. 47.19, fol. 14r.

revised and corrected by Poggio, and the margins provide valuable evidence of his philological activity.[12] The first intervention marked by two dots is in the second line of the text (between "constitutas" and "potest") and in the corresponding margin, but it is followed by a textual variant that was later erased.

Laur., Plut. 47.19 contains Poggio's speeches and corresponds to volume no. 85 in the inventory of his possessions drawn up after his death.[13] The manuscript was copied by two scribes in his service, but the corrections were by Poggio himself. Some are only in the text (e.g. "ex" inserted between "agmen" and "infimo", fol. 3v, or "meliores" corrected to "nobiliores", fol. 40r), while others are in the margins, usually marked by Poggio with two dots (see Figure 2).

Urb. lat. 309 is identifiable as no. 26 in the inventory of Poggio's library.[14] The history of this manuscript is intertwined with that of the text it contains. Poggio received a copy of Gellius from Niccoli in October 1428 (Florence, Bibl. Naz., Conv.

Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 16–22 October 1993, Oronzo Pecere and Michael David Reeve (eds.), 371–407, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995, 380 and 394.

12 The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.11458>, accessed 1 March 2024.

13 Ernst Walser, *Poggius Florentinus: Leben und Werke*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1914, 423, note 85: "De avaritia, de nobilitate, de infelicitate principum, an (seni) sit uxor ducenda, Contra ypotricas (!), in uno volumine".

14 Walser, *Poggius Florentinus*, 420: "Agellius in pergameno copertum corio rubeo".

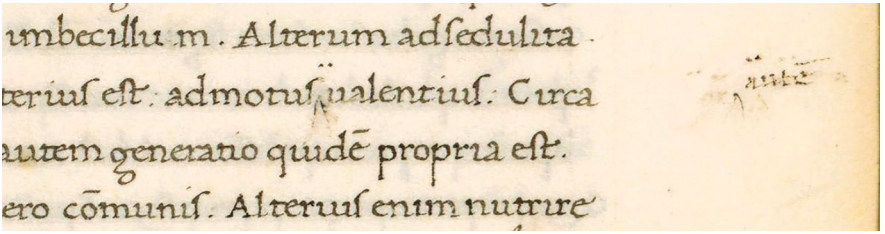


Figure 3: Bruni's interventions in Laur., Plut. 79.19, fol. 5r.

Soppr. J IV 26?), and the transcription was made between December 1428 and 3 April 1429, but by one of Poggio's scribes, unfortunately still anonymous, whom Albinia de la Mare calls his "good French scribe".[15] The manuscript was then carefully corrected by Poggio.[16] The *Graeca* originally omitted from the text were marked by the copyist with the letter "G". Poggio is credited with copying them, and the attribution seems to be confirmed by the presence, in most cases, of the usual two dots noted in the text and before the addition.

The use of two dots is not an innovation of Poggio. It also appears in twelfth-century manuscripts, such as Conv. Soppr. J II 25, which contains treatises by Bernard of Clairvaux and belonged to Niccoli. The correct reading and two dots appear on various pages (fols. 9rb, 19rb, 23rb, etc.). Like other innovations introduced into humanist manuscripts, the recovery of the symbol was probably due to Niccoli and was later adopted by other members of the Florentine literary circle.

In Laur., Plut. 79.19, a dedicatory copy of Ps.-Aristotle's *Economics* written by Antonio di Mario in 1420, James Hankins identified the humanist hand of Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444).[17] In the first correction at fol. 5r Bruni associates the Λ with two

15 Albinia Catherine de la Mare, A Livy Copied by Giacomo Curlo Dismembered by Otto Ege, in: *Interpreting and Collecting Fragments of Medieval Books*, Linda L. Brownrigg and Margaret M. Smith (eds.), 57–88, Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace Publishers; London: The Red Gull Press, 2000, 63, note 30. In the same note, De la Mare listed all the manuscripts that could be traced back to the hand of this interesting copyist. The Urb. lat. 309 is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.309>, accessed 1 March 2024.

16 Silvia Rizzo, Gli umanisti, i testi classici e le scritture maiuscole, in: *Il libro e il testo: Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982*, Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (eds.), 225–241, Urbino: Università degli studi di Urbino, 1984, 239–241.

17 James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, Leiden: Brill, 1990, 376; James Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum: A Critical Guide to the Writing of Leonardo Bruni: Handlist of Manuscripts*, vol. 1, Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1997, 44, note 556 (pl. 6). The manuscript is digitised: <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/959229/rec/1>, accessed 1 March 2024.

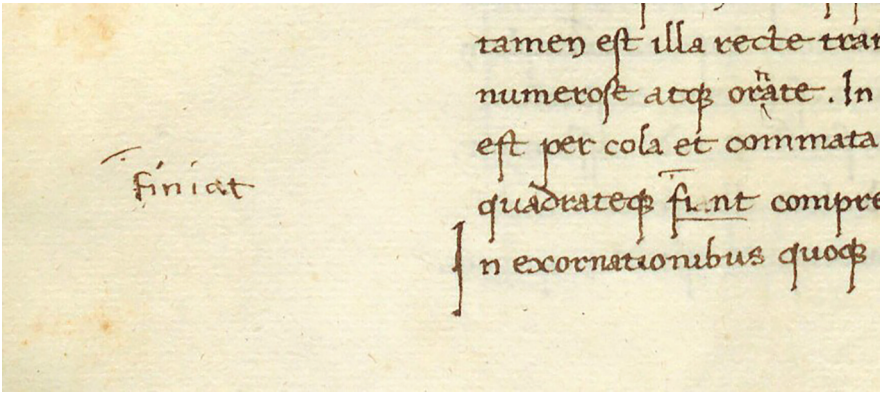


Figure 4: Bruni's interventions in Ricc. 1030, fol. 175v.

overwritten dots and uses the same combination in the text and in the margin (see Figure 3), but in the marginal supplement at fol. 10v he only uses two overwritten dots.

Paolo Viti discovered a copy of Bruni's *De interpretatione recta* (fols. 173r–183r) corrected by the author in Ricc. 1030.[18] The copyist seems to be the notary Niccolò Berti Martini de' Gentiluzzi of San Gimignano (c. 1389–1468). He was one of his collaborators. Bruni's first intervention is the addition to the title of the name of the dedicatee, "ad bertu(m) sene(n)sem". On fol. 175v he intervenes three times. First, he corrects "transfert" to "transferet", emphasising the supplement with the Λ; then he corrects "orate" to "orante", again using a Λ to indicate the added letter. In both cases, Bruni fails to indicate the correction in the margin.[19] Finally, the third correction concerns "fiant", which is corrected to "finiat". In this case, he highlights the intervention in the text and in the margin with an obelus (see Figure 4).

What emerges from Bruni's sporadic textual interventions so far is a general lack of systematicity and coherence. But his handwriting also raises doubts. After various and contradictory hypotheses, the hand of Bruni was identified by Claudio Griggio and Paolo Viti, and its peculiarities shed light on his use of amanuenses and secretaries for writing works of his own and texts related to the offices he held.[20]

18 Paolo Viti, Un nuovo codice con postille di Leonardo Bruni, *Lettere italiane* 36 (1994): 420–424. The manuscript is digitised.

19 These first two corrections on fol. 175v are not reported by Viti, *Un nuovo codice*, 423.

20 Claudio Griggio, Due lettere inedite del Bruni al Salutati e a Francesco Barbaro, *Rinascimento*, 2nd series, 26 (1986): 27–50; Paolo Viti, Inediti e autografi di Leonardo Bruni: le lettere pubbliche del primo cancellierato fiorentino (1411), *Archivio Storico Italiano* 147 (1989): 3–29; Paolo Viti, Epistola-

The investigation of the hand of Bruni began with an additional subscription in Laur., Strozzi 44, fol. 104v (previously noted by Remigio Sabbadini) and the note of ownership on Paris, BnF, lat. 6798, fol. 182v (previously reported by Berthold Ullman). On 7 October 1407, Bruni from Siena asked Niccoli to copy Cicero's orations against Verres in full.[21] The manuscript is the result of transcription by at least eight copyists.[22] On fol. 104v, at the end of the text, there is an inscription that a later hand, from the second half of the fifteenth century, attributes to the hand of Bruni ("manus Leonardi Arretini"). The subscription raised doubts as to its authorship due to the "obvious uncertainties in the formulation of the period, which are rather surprising if they come from Bruni's pen".[23]

Bruni's handwriting maintains constant characteristics but appears disorganised in its graphic forms and spaces. It lacks fluency and appears insecure, at times even shaky and unstable, often within the same word. The writing in question seems to have been produced by someone with dysgraphia. This disorder may also be indicated by the anomalies previously noted by Griggio in Strozzi 44 and by Paolo Viti.[24] Another possible symptom is the "oversight" identified by Alessandro Daneloni in Laur., Plut. 49.18, fol. 115r, where Bruni mistakenly wrote "actionem" instead of "auctionem".[25] Dysgraphia would also explain why the corrections made to Bruni's own texts, as well as those of others, were severely limited, generally not going beyond a single word or letter.[26]

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rio e grafia di Leonardo Bruni: indagine preliminare, in: *Per il censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, Lucia Gualdo Rosa and Paolo Viti (eds.), 169–178, Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Borromini, 1991; Paolo Viti, Preliminari per uno studio sulla grafia di Leonardo Bruni, in: *Leonardo Bruni e Firenze: Studi sulle lettere pubbliche e private*, Paolo Viti (ed.), 223–253, Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1992; Paolo Viti, Un'antologia di opere di Leonardo Bruni: il manoscritto Laurenziano 52.5, *Rinascimento*, 2nd series, 33 (1993): 157–162.

21 For a detailed examination of the manuscript and its history, see Michael David Reeve, The Medieval Tradition of Cicero's "Verrines", *Exemplaria classica: Journal of Classical Philology* 20 (2016): 19–90, at 50–52.

22 Griggio, *Due lettere inedite*, 37–38.

23 Griggio, *Due lettere inedite*, 39.

24 Viti, *Preliminari*, 266.

25 Alessandro Daneloni, La seconda raccolta di epistole di Cicerone inviata da Milano nel 1393 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 49.18), in: *Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'Umanesimo*, Teresa De Robertis, Giuliano Tanturli, and Stefano Zamponi (eds.), 255–258, Florence: Mandragora, 2008.

26 The examples that have been found are mostly in dedication copies and in manuscripts that Bruni read or owned; see James Hankins, Leonardo Bruni (Arezzo 1370–Firenze 1444), in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, and James Hankins (eds.), 83–99, Rome: Salerno, 2014.

In Strozzi 44 there are sporadic interventions in Bruni's hand, but a second hand predominates in number and extent. This hand, belonging to Ambrogio Traversari, corrects spellings and abbreviations and adds subscriptions at the end of each book. Traversari aimed to correct the text, but according to Bruni, he corrupted it. The relationship between the two was anything but cordial. Traversari is not included in Bruni's list of correspondents, and he attacks Traversari in the *Oratio in hypocritas* (1417) and in two letters. In one, addressed to Poggio, he defines Traversari as "levissimus quidam homo, professione hypocrita, patria sodomites".[27]

Because of arthritis, as Hankins suggests (but arthritis does not explain spelling mistakes), because of motor difficulties, or rather because of dysgraphia, Bruni did not write his own texts and letters but dictated them to amanuenses and secretaries (a practice not unusual even in the fifteenth century).

Before turning to other humanists, I would like to focus briefly on Laur., Plut. 49.18. This manuscript on paper, was copied in Milan in 1393 by seven notaries and collaborators of Pasquino Capelli, who was the chancellor of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Philologists have called this manuscript M, and it is one of the most important witnesses of the collection of Cicero's *Epistles* that it contains.[28] It was in the hands of a number of fifteenth-century Italian writers and philologists, and the margins bear witness to their assiduous work of emendation, correction, interpretation, and reading. Thanks to the identification of the hands that have intervened in the text and margins, its history is undoubtedly clearer today than it was a few decades ago. It belonged to Coluccio Salutati and was in the hand of Niccoli, who corrected some readings (two dots precede the corrections) and recorded variants indicated by *al.* or *vel* and two dots. Niccoli also added the current titles, which mark the beginning of the sixteen books of *ad Atticum*. The text contains misspelled quotations in Greek, and Salutati entrusted Manuel Crisolora with the task of correcting and restoring the Greek passages. After Salutati's death, Bruni bought the manuscript. Unlike Niccoli, he did not use a different manuscript for the collation and his interventions are conjectural. Later it passed into the hands of Donato Acciaiuoli (1429–1478). However, his *notabilia* are of a different type from those of Niccoli and Bruni.

Antonio Beccadelli Il Panormita (1394–1471) is the author of the collection of epigrams *The Hermaphrodite*. The work is dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici in Laur., Plut. 34.54 pt. 1 (fols. 1–34). This manuscript was completed in Bologna in 1425 and

27 Viti, *Bruni e Firenze*, 332–333. On Bruni and Traversari's difficult relationship, see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, Leonardo Bruni: L'"Oratio in hypocritas" e i suoi difficili rapporti con Ambrogio Traversari, *Vita monastica* 41 (1987): 89–111.

28 For an excellent description of the manuscript and its *marginalia*, see Daneloni, *La seconda raccolta di epistole di Cicerone*, 255–259.

was probably sent to Cosimo in either 1426 or 1427, when Panormita was in Florence. Copied in a fine early humanist hand, identifiable as that of Giacomo Curlo of Genoa, it bears no authorial intervention.[29] Vat. lat. 3371 is a copy on paper of three canonical collections of Beccadelli's letters (*Ep. Familiares*, *Ep. Campanae* and *Quintum epistolarum volumen*).[30] This manuscript is in the author's handwriting, as is also indicated by a note on the inside of the front cover.[31] For his corrections and interventions, Panormita uses different signs. On fol. 2ra he employs two dots (both in the text and in the margin). On fol. 5va two small bars are used. On fol. 23rb, he introduces extensive supplementation in darker ink using a symbol consisting of two vertical bars crossed by a horizontal line, which is repeated in the text. The vine-stem initial on fol. 2r indicates that this copy was probably intended as a gift, but it was never sent and remained on the writer's desk. Finally, it appears to have been used in a printing press, possibly for the *editio princeps*, as evidenced by the traces of ink in the margins.

Francesco Griffolini (ca. 1420–1490) from Arezzo translated numerous works, including the collection of *Epistles* of the Pseudo Phalaris, which had a wide circulation. At the request of the Bishop of Arras, Jean Jouffroy, he also translated the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom on the first letter of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. He then wrote in his own hand the dedication copy, which is currently Vat. lat. 392.[32] It bears annotations written by Jean Jouffroy and his coat of arms accompanied by a cartouche with the inscription ".IO FRE".[33] Griffolini's handwriting is not elegant and cannot be compared to that of other Renaissance writers. On the first page, after a few lines, a textual addition, introduced in the space between the lines, is marked by Λ. In the margins there is another sign that requires attention. It is a tiny comma, a curved hyphen; in some cases it is doubled. This sign has ancient origins

29 Albinia Catherine de la Mare, Cosimo and His Books, in: *Cosimo "il Vecchio" de' Medici, 1389–1464: Essays in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's Birth*, Francis Ames-Lewis (ed.), 115–156, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, 145, note 32.

30 The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3371>, accessed 1 March 2024.

31 "Liber Bibliothecae Fulvi Ursini. Scriptus manu Antoni Panhormitae". See also Donatella Coppini, Antonio Panormita (Antonio Beccadelli) (Palermo 1394–Napoli 1471), in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, and James Hankins (eds.), 277–293, Rome: Salerno, 2014, 280, note 3.

32 It is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.392>, accessed 1 March 2024.

33 On the library of Jouffroy, see also Angela Lanconelli, La biblioteca romana di Jean Jouffroy, in: *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: Aspetti e problemi: Atti del Seminario 1–2 giugno 1979*, Concetta Bianca, Paola Farenga, Giuseppe Lombardi, Antonio G. Luciani, and Massimo Miglio (eds.), 275–294, Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1980 and Matthieu Desachy, *Deux bibliophiles humanistes: Bibliothèques et manuscrits de Jean Jouffroy et d'Hélion Jouffroy*, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2012.

and indicates the presence of a biblical quotation. Originally, it had the shape of a double "s", and it would be revived by the first printers to indicate quotation marks.[34]

Cristoforo Landino (1425–1498) frequently used the lemniscus (a vertical bar between two dots), as evidenced by the manuscript Ricc. 501 (Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares*), which is entirely in his hand.[35]

Two manuscripts of *Roma instaurata* by Flavio Biondo bear the author's coat of arms and are considered to be his "personal copies".[36] In Reg. lat. 827 there are a few interventions by a hand other than the copyist preceded by Λ and dots (fols. 5r, 6v, 9r, 46r). Given the origin of the manuscript, it is plausible to assume that the interventions were made by the author.

Vat. lat. 5984 is an apograph of the *Commentationes in Ptolomaeum* by Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503).[37] Fol. IIv reads: "Commentationes in Ptolemaum bona manu scriptae, cum emendationibus passim Pontani ipsius manu scriptis" ('Well-written commentaries on Ptolemy, with corrections made in part by Pontano himself'). Despite the content, a full-page layout was used, but the copyist adopted two different scripts, a broad gothic for Ptolemy's text and a humanistic script for the commentary. Not satisfied with this, he added the words "textus" and "commentum" at the beginning of each section. The manuscript was corrected several times before it was used for printing. Some interventions are confined to the text and are not referred to in the margins, e.g. on fol. 1r, l. 3 "possent" has been corrected to "possunt" and the correction is highlighted with two dots below the erroneous letter; on fol. 6v, "consultationes" is inserted between the lines, emphasised by two Λ (see Figure 5). Other, more extensive additions are written in the margins marked

34 Patrick McGurk, Citation Marks in Early Latin Manuscripts (with a List of Citation Marks in Manuscripts Earlier than A.D. 800 in English and Irish Libraries), *Scriptorium* 15 (1961): 3–13, pl. 1–4; Arrigo Castellani, Le virgolette di Aldo Manuzio, *Studi linguistici italiani* 22 (1996): 106–109; Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Aldershot: Routledge, 1992, 57–59; Giordano Castellani, Francesco Filelfo's "Orationes et Opuscula" (1483/1484): The First Example of Quotation Marks in Print? *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (2008): 52–80.

35 Valerio Sanzotta, Cristoforo Landino (Firenze 1425–Borgo alla Collina [Arezzo] 1498), in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, and James Hankins (eds.), 221–235, Rome: Salerno, 2014, 226, note 16 and pl. 3. Ricc. 501 is available in digital format.

36 Fabio Della Schiava and Marc Laureys, La "Roma instaurata" di Biondo Flavio: Censimento dei manoscritti, *Aevum* 87 (2013): 643–665, at 645.

37 Michele Rinaldi, Giovanni Pontano (Cerreto di Spoleto [Perugia] 1429–Napoli 1503), in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, and James Hankins (eds.), 331–349, Rome: Salerno, 2014, 333, note 13 and pl. 1 (fol. 207v). The manuscript is now digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5984>, accessed 1 March 2024.

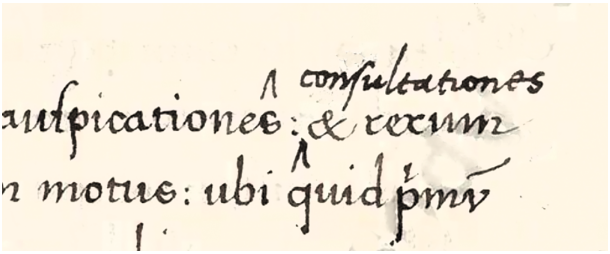


Figure 5: Pontano's interventions in Vat. lat. 5984, fol. 6v.

by various symbols (on fols. 7v, 8r, 15v, etc.) and also by instructions (e.g. "In fine capituli huius addatur").

Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) used a wide range of symbols. The notebook and *codex unicus* Florence, Bibl. Naz., Magl. XX 58 with the unfinished *Disputatio contra iudicium astrologorum* was copied by Luca Fabiani and Sebastiano Salvini.[38] Ficino's additions are sometimes particularly long. They are preceded by Λ crowned by one or three circles or by an asterisk. Luca Fabiani also uses different symbols. Laur., Plut. 83.11 contains Ficino's *Platonic Theology*. Here Fabiani uses the Λ (fol. 9r) and the Λ with two dots (fol. 15r) and at the same time marks the marginal supplement with some more or less broad attention marks.

Before moving on to the indexes, one last example. Paris, BnF, ital. 823 is a copy of the Commentary of the *Life* of Giannozzo Manetti by Vespasiano da Bisticci.[39] It was written by "Sinibaldus C." (probably Ser Sinibaldo di Ser Sozzo Cacciaconti).[40]

38 Sebastiano Gentile, Marsilio Ficino (Figline Valdarno [Firenze] 1433–Firenze 1499], in: *Autografi dei letterati italiani: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, and James Hankins (eds.), 139–168, Rome: Salerno, 2014, 147, note 28; Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscript*, 134.

39 On Vespasiano "author", see Riccardo Fubini and Wi-Seon Kim, Giannozzo Manetti nei resoconti biografici di Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Humanistica* 5 (2010): 35–49; Wi-Seon Kim, Vespasiano da Bisticci: un cartolaio dissenziente nella Firenze del Quattrocento, in: *Palaeography, Manuscripts Illumination and Humanism in Renaissance Italy: Studies in Memory of A. C. de la Mare*, Robert Black, Jill Kraye, and Laura Nuvoloni (eds.), 39–52, London: Warburg Institute, 2016; Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Commentario della vita di messere Giannozo Manetti*, Wi-Seon Kim (ed.), Florence: Edifir, 2019.

40 Albinia Catherine de la Mare, New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence, in: *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento (1440–1525): Un primo censimento*, vol. 1, Annarosa Garzelli (ed.), 395–600, Scandicci: Giunta regionale Toscana; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1985, 537, note 17; Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscripts*, 197. De la Mare had no proof of this identification, but Lorenz Böninger found in the Cambini account books a payment from Vespasiano to Ser Sinibaldo di Ser Sozzo "per ischritura de l'abreviazione di Livio", see Lorenz Böninger, I molti mercati del libro: Vespasiano da Bisticci nei registri contabili della compagnia dei Cambini (1447–1480), *Medioevo*

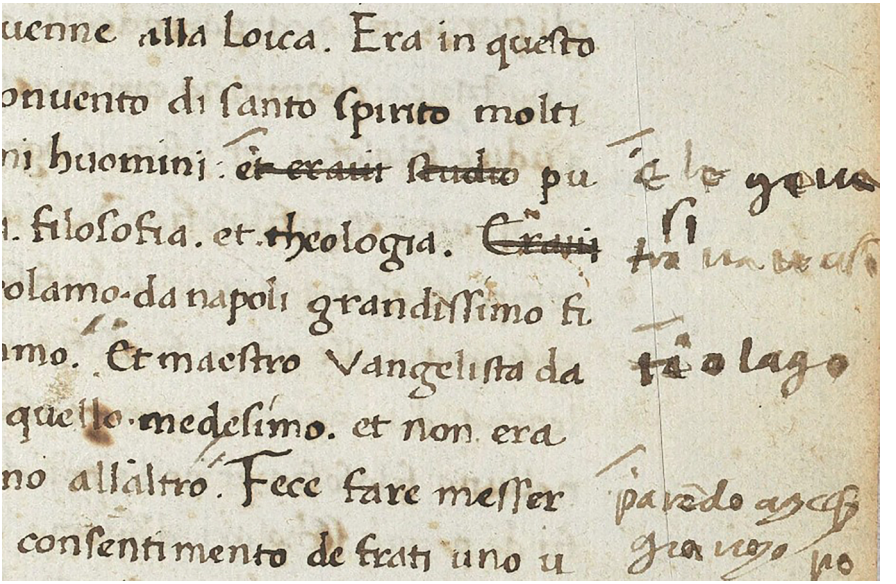


Figure 6: Vespasiano's interventions in Paris BnF, ital. 823, fol. 2r.

At fol. 2r there are insertions in the hand of Vespasiano da Bisticci (1422/23–1498), introduced by the obelus (see Figure 6). Other corrections are introduced by Λ.

In the Paris manuscript, Vespasiano intervenes as an author (not as librarian) and he therefore uses his usual rushed and inelegant handwriting. The copyists who worked for him produced luxury manuscripts for wealthy patrons, using the humanist script as a kind of "trademark". Vespasiano's handwriting would appear as a decidedly discordant note in the refined (and expensive) products of his workshop, which explains why his hand never appears.

e Rinascimento 36 (2022): 211–229, at 221. Their long collaboration is evidenced by the copies of Vespasiano's works made by Ser Sinibaldo, who also wrote Laur., Plut. 90, sup. 30, a witness of the bookseller's collected correspondence that was intended for Francesco Pandolfini, see Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscripts*, 102–103.

2 *Index nominum et locorum* / Index of Names and Places

Humanists had the habit of creating indexes of names, places and noteworthy terms in the margins of manuscripts, and this section is devoted to these marginal notes.

In Laur., Plut. 49.18, which we have already encountered, Cicero's text has been indexed. This means that, while reading, names, places and short summaries were extracted from the text. The index notes written on the verso of the first folio are "Antonius Brutus", "Dolabella", "Plautus in Trinummo", "Senati", "Cesar puer". The index is mainly by the hand of Salutati, to whom the manuscript belonged, but there is also the hand of Donato Acciaiuoli. The purpose of the selection is clear. A proper name read in a text may be forgotten, but extracted and transcribed into the nominative case in the margin, it becomes a "memory image". Indexes are useful not only for memorising, but also for improving language skills. They can also be used to identify authors and works that have not yet come to light. In addition, the index can be used to find the exact "textual place" in the manuscript where a name is found.

Laur., Plut. 48.22 corresponds to no. 4 in the Poggio inventory.[41] It was written by Poggio in Rome in the last two months of 1425. Later, before 5 June 1428, he corrected the text from a ninth-century manuscript, now Basil. S. Petri H 25 (V), discovered in Germany in 1426 by Cardinal Giordano Orsini.[42] According to Silvia Rizzo, Poggio's collation did not aim to record all the differences between the two manuscripts, but only to improve his own copy. Even in Laur., Plut. 48.22 we can observe the reminder signs used by Poggio for the collation, such as two dots above the correct variant in the margin and a tiny Λ in the text, while the incorrect reading is expunged. However, to indicate the more extensive gaps, he uses different symbols. Additionally, an index created by Poggio himself can be found. Proper names are listed at the edge of the margin, while the index of noteworthy terms is placed in the centre. Indexed nouns are often highlighted with a half-height dot placed before and after the word (see Figure 7).[43] Finally, the manuscript contains a third type of attention mark in the margins, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

41 Walser, *Poggius Florentinus*, 418, note 4: "Liber Filippicarum et orationum contra Catellinam (!) in pergamento copertum coreo rubeo".

42 Ullman, *The Origin*, 33; Rizzo, *Lessico filologico*, 327–338.

43 Giuseppina Magnaldi, Poggio Bracciolini e le Filippiche di Cicerone, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 32 (2002): 183–224, at 184.

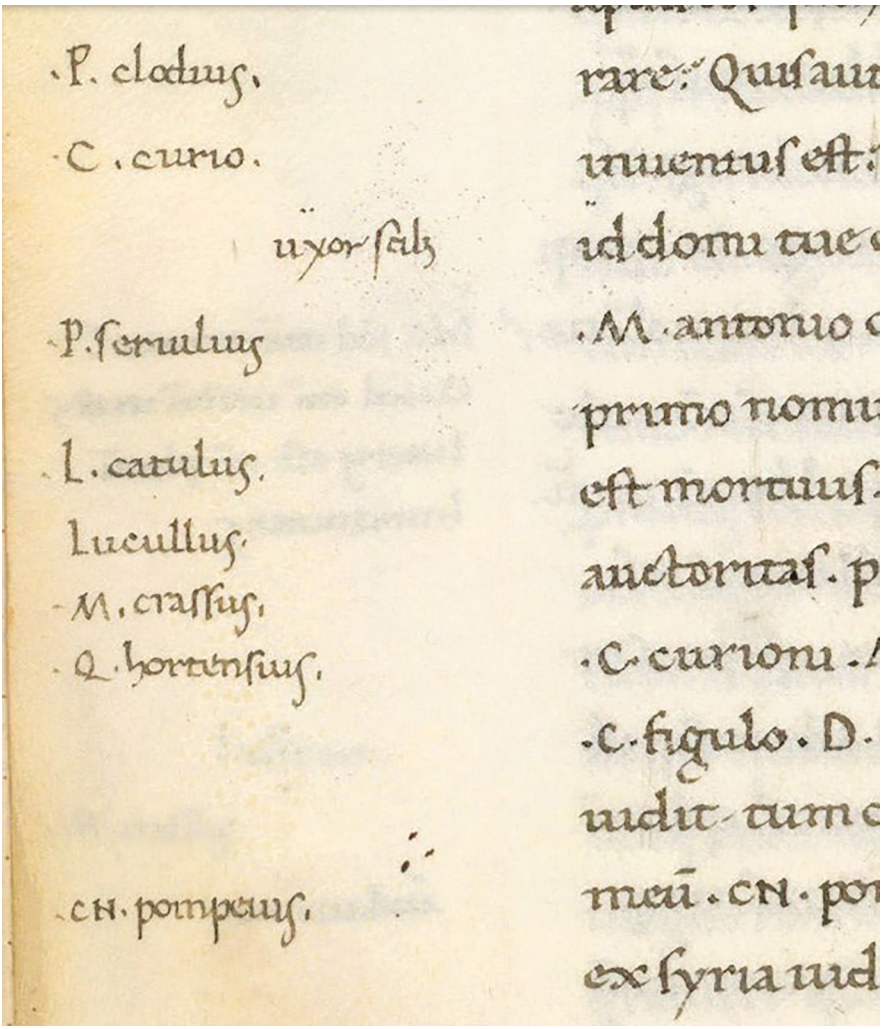


Figure 7: Poggio's marginal index and interventions in Laur., Plut. 48.22, fol. 9v.

Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T 1 27 and Paris, BnF, lat. 6798 are two parts of a manuscript of Pliny, *Natural History*, containing books vi to xv and xvi to xxxvii.[44] It was written in France in the twelfth century and after being partially supplemented in

44 Paris, BnF, lat. 6798 is digitised.

the fourteenth century, it was owned by Salutati.[45] After Salutati's death, Leonardo Bruni bought it. During this period, and before they ended their relationship in 1420, Niccoli carefully corrected it and inserted two small leaves (fol. 110bis–ter) to fill a gap in Bk. xxvii 12.[46] We have already seen that Bruni's interventions are rare, but the one on fol. 110v seems to be in his own hand. He writes "impet" in the margin to correct "inpet", but the corrected reading "petit" is recorded between the lines. After the death of Bruni, the manuscript was sold by his son to Panormita, who added a note of ownership and an *ex-libris* ("Nunc vero est Antonii Panhormitae, quem emi a Leonardi filio" and "Antonii Pahnormitae liber" at fol. 182v). The revision by Panormita seems to have been systematic, as evidenced by the numerous and sometimes very extensive interventions. After his death in Naples in 1471, the manuscript was transferred to the Aragonese library. Later it was acquired by Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen.[47] As in Laur., Plut. 49.18, so also in the margins and text of Paris, BnF, lat. 6798, the owners and other readers carried out a very intensive philological operation, resulting in a complex revision and the elaboration of a marginal index by several hands (see Figure 8).

Pal. lat. 1516, containing philosophical works of Cicero, is dated 10 May 1426 (fol. 114v). The decoration, probably by Bartolomeo Varnucci (b. 1410), includes what may be the earliest appearance of putti in a humanistic book. The *marginalia* that enrich this manuscript were written by the humanist Pietro da Montagnana (d. 1478), a parish priest who taught Latin grammar in Padua from at least 1423.[48] The interventions in Pal. lat. 1516 are of various types. In the text of the *Tusculanae* Montagnana fills in the *lacunae*, corrects erroneous words and adds or corrects punctuation. In the margins he wrote indexes and running headings. To these he adds quotations of parallel passages from Quintilian (fols. 3r, 4r), Virgil (fols. 23r, 154v, 159v), Servius (fols. 32r, 35r, 103r, 110r), Ovid (fol. 34v) and other, and *notabilia* and lexical notes, in which he also uses Greek (fol. 5r).[49]

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45 Berthold Louis Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1963, note 100 (on the second); Richard William Hunt, A Manuscript from the Library of Coluccio Salutati, in: *Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank on his 70th Birthday*, Arthur Sidney Osley (ed.), 75–79, New York: October House, 1965 proved that the two volumes belonged to one set.

46 De la Mare, *The Handwriting*, 58, note 14.

47 François Lehoux, Un manuscrit des rois aragonais de Naples et des archevêques de Rouen, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 101 (1940): 229–233; Michael David Reeve, *The Transmission of Pliny's "Natural History"*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2021, 112–114, 251, 328–329, 331, and 373.

48 De la Mare, *New Research*, 398, note 17; Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscripts*, 35.

49 See, for instance, at fol. 8rb a note on *entelechia* (Gr. ἐντελέχεια).

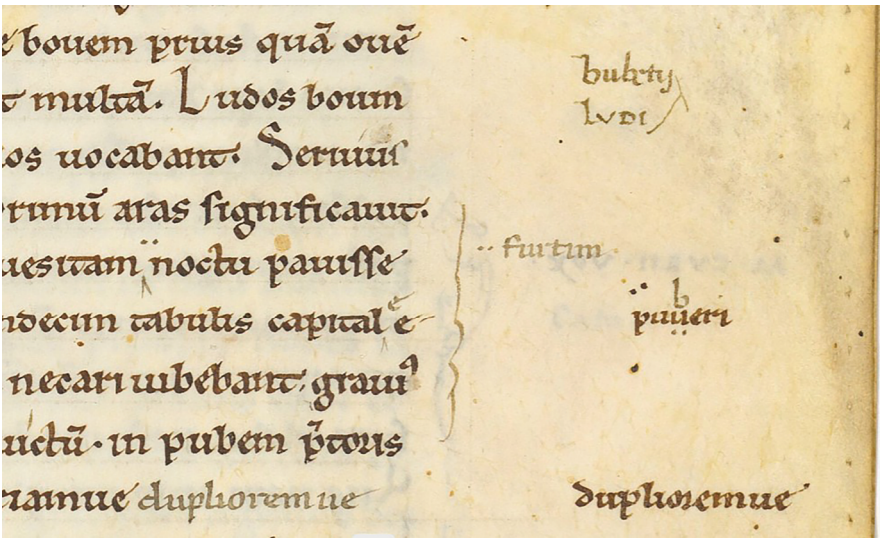


Figure 8: Interventions and marginal index in Paris, BnF, lat. 6798, fol. 23r.

Urb. lat. 508 is a dedicatory copy of the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, probably in the hand of the scribe Gabriele da Pistoia.[50] This manuscript is known for the frontispiece by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, which depicts Federico da Montefeltro holding a book and a second man, probably the author of the *Disputationes*, Cristoforo Landino. In this manuscript, not only names but also short summaries, "notable passages", have been transcribed in the margins. Red ink was used as a further aid to memory as these visual memory techniques help readers to retain information.

In some cases, indexes and running headings are included in the work and were therefore copied with it. Vat. lat. 1969 contains the *Chronicon* of Sozomeno, and text, indexes and running headings are in the same hand, that of the copyist Antonio di Mario.[51] To emphasise their presence, headings and abstracts are preceded by the paragraph sign.

50 De la Mare, *New Research*, 496, note 3; Albinia Catherine de la Mare, Un "Marziale" corretto dal Poliziano, in: *Agnolo Poliziano poeta scrittore filologo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi: Montepulciano 3–6 novembre 1994*, Vincenzo Fera and Mario Martelli (eds.), 295–321, Florence: Le Lettere, 1998, 302, note 31; Murano, *Florentine Humanistic Manuscripts*, 50.

51 The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1969>, accessed 1 March 2024. The colophon reads: "Antonius Marii filius transcripsit Florentie IIII Idus Octoris [*sic*] MCCCLVI [*12 October 1456*]. Valeas qui legis" (fol. 622v). Some corrections are by Sozomeno himself.

Budapest, University Library, Cod. Lat. 13 (Suetonius, *Vitae Caesarum*) was written by Ser Piero di Bernardo Cennini. It also includes a comprehensive index of names and summaries in red ink in the margins. Some variants, preceded by a triad of dots, are written in dark ink by the same scribe.[52]

Vat. lat. 3335 is an elegant manuscript of Suetonius from the library of Niccolò Perotti (1429/30–1480), curial official and secretary of Cardinal Bessarion.[53] In addition to the corrections and collations discussed in detail by Campanelli,[54] it bears a dense apparatus of marginal notes written in different inks (green, red, violet). These notes have been described as "marginal glosses",[55] but taken as a whole they are an index of names and contents, a kind of textual map of Suetonius' work.

Renaissance writers did not limit themselves to working on humanistic manuscripts. Occasionally, their handwriting can be found on much older manuscripts. Laur., Plut. 45.3, dating from the late tenth to early eleventh century, contains Servius's *Commentarii in Vergilium*. To distinguish Virgil's text from Servius's commentary, the scribe had used a symbol we have already seen: the double "s", the ancestor of the modern inverted comma. Salutati intervened in this manuscript at various times (as the variations in ink colour suggest). His entries are mainly indexes (names of persons, authors, places), but he also highlights and underlines Virgil's text. The underlining of the text changes the appearance of the manuscript and may have occurred before the index was created.

Laur., San Marco 554, from the eleventh century, contains the *Letters* of Sidonius. Before being used as a model, the manuscript was read and annotated by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Pico's interventions mainly consist of indices.[56]

Bartolomeo Fonzio's hand is found in the corrections of volumes written by others. According to Albinia de la Mare, he intervened in three different series of volumes of Livy, written by Giovanfrancesco Marzi for Francesco Sassetti (Laur., Plut. 63.7–9), by the same Marzi for Domenico de' Domenichi (Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 2233, 2241, and 2245) and by Pietro Strozzi for Janoz Vitéz (Munich, BSB,

52 On the philological activity of this copyist and scholar, see Giovanna Murano, Ser Piero Cennini, copista ed editore, *La Bibliofilia* 123 (2021): 209–236.

53 The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3335>, accessed 1 March 2024.

54 Maurizio Campanelli, Nota sulle correzioni di Perotti a Suetonio nel Vat. lat. 3335, *Roma nel Rinascimento* (1996): 25–35.

55 Elisabeth Pellegrin, François Dolbeau, Jeannine Fohlen, Yves-François Riou, and Jean-Yves Tilliette, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: Fonds Vatican latin, 2901–14740*, vol. 3.2, Vatican City: Bibliothèque apostolique vaticane; Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010, 271.

56 Michaelangiola Marchiaro, Un manoscritto di Sidonio Apollinaire postillato da Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e da Pietro Crinito, *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, new series, 20 (2009): 279–290.

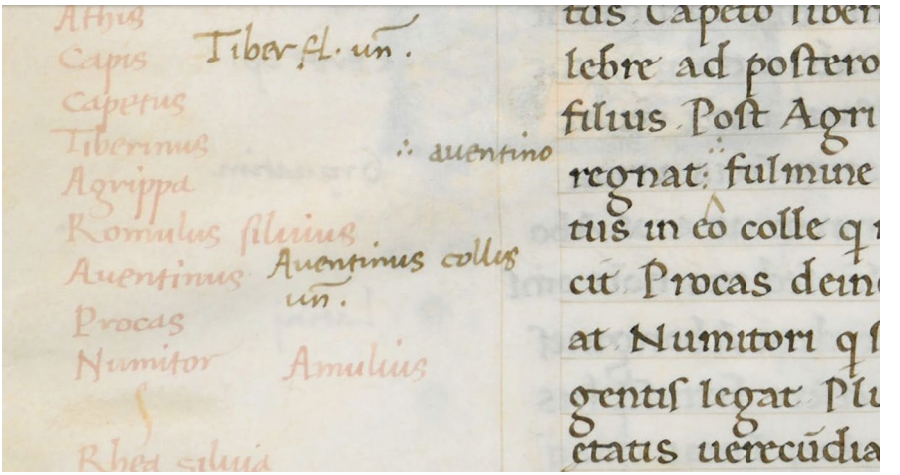


Figure 9: Marginal index and interventions in Laur., Plut. 63.7, fol. 2v.

Clm 15731–3).[57] The *notabilia*, in red ink, are essentially an index extrapolated from Livy's text, while the corrections, in dark ink close to that of the text, are preceded by the triad of dots with ∴. Subsequent interventions in different colours show the particular attention paid to the index (see Figure 9).

A printed edition sometimes reproduces an index already present in the autograph or idiograph. Urb. lat. 301 is the only manuscript, probably made between 1477 and 1480, in which Perotti's *Cornu copiae*, an edition of Martial accompanied by a commentary, has survived.[58] Written by a still anonymous copyist, it contains corrections and additions in Perotti's hand.[59]

The *editio princeps* of Perotti's *Cornu copiae* appeared in 1489, after the author died.[60] The entire content of the work was made accessible by two indexes: a five-column alphabetical index, inserted between the preface and the beginning of the text ($a2^{r}$–$b8^{v}$) and a second one in the margins. To facilitate searching, the

57 De la Mare, *New Research*, 488.

58 Marianne Pade, The Urbinas Latinus 301 and the Early Editions of Niccolò Perotti's "Cornu copiae", in: *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato*, Outi Merisalo and Caterina Tristano (eds.), 91–108 and pl. I–II, Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM, 2011. The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Urb.lat.301>, accessed 1 March 2024.

59 To indicate an insertion, Perotti uses a symbol consisting of two vertical dots followed by two slashes, or a slash with a line on the top.

60 Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae linguae latinae*, Pyrrhus Perottus and Ludovicus Odaxius (eds.), Venetiae: Paganinus de Paganinis, 14 May 1489 (ISTC ip00288000).

volume is paginated in Arabic numerals in the centre of the upper margin. The marginal index reproduces that of Urb. lat. 301.

The *editio princeps* of Giovanni Pico's *Heptaplus* has large margins to accommodate an index of authors and works cited in the text, as well as brief summaries of the contents, e.g. "In Moseos genesi totius naturae esse mysteria"; "Doctissimus Moses omnium testimonio" (a2r).[61] In the witnesses that I have examined, there are corrections probably due to the editor, Roberto Salviati, or another member of Pico's circle. Corrections appear both in the text and in the marginal index, which means that the latter was considered to be an integral part of the work.[62] Eugenio Garin's edition omits indexes and abstracts.[63]

3 Memory Signs

In 1990, Regula Meyenberg and Gilbert Ouy coined the definition "notes signalétiques" to refer to signs that "ont en commun d'attirer l'attention en faisant ressortir un passage ou un vers précis par un signal. Celui-ci, placé en marge du texte, prend la forme d'un signe graphique non-verbal, d'un sigle ou d'un mot".[64] The use of the word "note" suggests a verbal form rather than a graphic sign, and in order to define non-verbal graphic signs made by an annotator while reading a text, I have adopted the definition "memory signs".

This category includes signs and drawings of various kinds such as *maniculae* (pointing hands), faces, notabene, curly brackets, etc. However, *maniculae* and faces are uncommon in humanist manuscripts, perhaps because they are considered a medieval legacy. Renaissance readers, on the other hand, sometimes used a sign resembling a stylised flower: a short wavy line representing the stem and two or three dots representing the petals. Meyenberg and Ouy called this sign

61 Iohannes Picus de Mirandula, *Heptaplus de septiformi sex dierum Geneseos enarratione*, Robertus Salviati (ed.) [Florentiae: Bartolommeo de' Libri, not after 27 August 1489] (ISTC ip00641000). In a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici dated 27 August 1489, Pico mentions his work.

62 Giovanna Murano, Copisti e collaboratori di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: prime indagini, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 28 (2023): 333–415, at 373.

63 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno e scritti vari*, Eugenio Garin (ed.), Florentiae: Vallecchi, 1942.

64 Regula Meyenberg and Gilbert Ouy, Alain Chartier lecteur d'Ovide (Ms. Paris, B.N. lat. 8009), *Scrittura e civiltà* 14 (1990): 75–103, at 83. This definition has also been adopted by Adolfo Tura, Essai sur les "marginalia" en tant que pratique et documents, in: *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Danielle Jacquart and Charles S. F. Burnett (eds.), 261–380, Geneva: Droz, 2005.

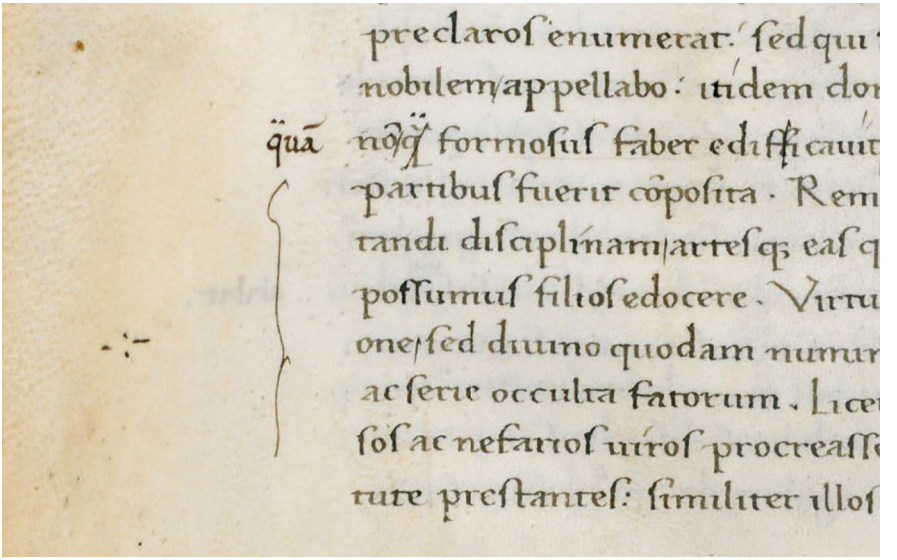


Figure 10: Poggio's memory signs and interventions in Plut. 47.19, fol. 37v.

"trèfle" ('trefoil') and they correctly pointed out that "l'usage et la diffusion de ce signe mériteraient une petite étude".[65] The memory sign is usually placed near the text that is considered particularly interesting. Occasionally it will be found by a passage quoted in one of the annotator's works, but it is also used to draw attention to a note or a brief comment.

Poggio's memory sign appears in many of his manuscripts. The text is highlighted by a thin, curved frieze with no distinctive features. In the margins, a stylised flower (or trefoil if we prefer the definition given by Meyenberg and Ouy) is drawn with a horizontal stem (see Figure 10).

On the first leaf of the aforementioned Laur., Plut. 49.18, in addition to indexes and textual interventions, two memory marks are visible. In the inner margin, there is a tiny, stylised trefoil; the second is a bracket with four small mountains (see Figure 11). These marks could have been made by the readers mentioned above, or by other Florentine humanists who have not yet been identified. Also in Paris, lat. 6798, there are memory marks, especially wavy brackets with small bumps and stylised flowers.

65 Meyenberg and Ouy, *Alain Chartier lecteur d'Ovide*, 84 and note 11.

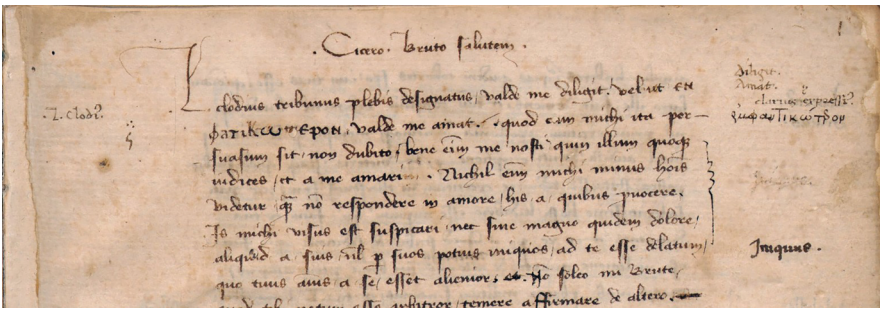


Figure 11: Memory signs in Laur., Plut. 49.18, fol. 1r.

The presence of notes next to the sign could be crucial, as it is the basis for identifying the annotator, but where more or less text is missing only the shape and graphics of the signs itself can help to identify the hand. Albinia de la Mare has described the signs used by the authors she studied, from Petrarch to Giorgio Antonio Vespucci.[66] Recently, these marks have been included in the analysis of Pietro Bembo's graphic profile,[67] however this element of the paragraphematic system has received little attention.

Isotta Nogarola (ca. 1418–1466) was one of the leading scholars of the European Renaissance. The first modern edition of her work was published in 1886, and much of this two-volume edition was translated into English and printed in 2004.[68] The first letter in her collection is addressed to Ermolao Barbaro and has a mention of Petronius at the beginning. Vat. Barb. lat. 4, an imperfect copy of the *Excerpta uulgaria* (or O-text), probably belonged to Isotta.[69] In the lower margin of the first folio there is her coat of arms, and in the Ferrarese style vine-stem border there

66 De la Mare, *The Handwriting*.

67 See Fabio Massimo Bertolo, Marco Cursi, and Carlo Pulsoni, *Bembo ritrovato: Il postillato autografo delle Prose*, Rome: Viella, 2018, 159–176.

68 Isotta Nogarola, *Opera quae supersunt omnia; accedunt Angelae et Zeneverae Nogarolae epistolae et carmina, collegit Alexander Comes Apponyi*, vol. 2, Eugenius Abel (ed.), Vindobonae: Gerold et Socios, 1886. This edition is partly translated; see Isotta Nogarola, *Complete Writings: Letterbook, Dialogue on Adam and Eve, Orations*, Margaret L. King and Diana Robin (eds. and trans.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

69 Adriana Marucchi, Stemmi di possessori di manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana, in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 7, 29–95, Vatican City: Bibliothèque Vaticane, 1964, 30, note 1, pl. 2, note 7; Elisabeth Pellegrin, Jeannine Fohlen, Colette Jeudy, and Yves-François Riou, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane: Fonds Archivio San Pietro à Ottoboni*, vol 1, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1975, 61; Albinia Catherine de la Mare, The Return of Petronius to Italy, in: *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, Jonathan James Graham Alexander

is a sketch of what appears to be a woman's profile. According to De la Mare, the decoration dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and the text seems to me to have been written at the same time. In her two letters of 1434 and 1438 to 1439, Isotta quotes part of *Sat*. 118.1, a passage included in the *Florilegium gallicum*, and she "may not have known the 'complete' Petronius at this time".[70] If the Vatican manuscript belonged to her, she may have acquired it in the last years of her life. It contains various notes and signs, such as *maniculae* (fols. 6r, 14v), and long brackets in red ink (fols. 6v, 7r, 15r) and in dark ink (fols. 20v, 21r), which suggest that Petronius' work was read with great attention. Attributing some of these entries to Isotta is difficult because of the lack of clear evidence for her hand. However, some additions are noteworthy. On folios 4v and 5r, different hands filled in some *lacunae*. One of the missing passages, added later, was the salacious encounter between Pannychis and Giton (*Sat*. 25). If the copy was specially made for Isotta, the omission may have been intentional rather than derived from the model.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) did not usually mark his books with *ex-libris* or other owner's notes, and it was also for this reason that his library was long said to be lost. However, some of the manuscripts and printed books that he owned or read can be identified thanks to the memory or attention marks he left in the margins, his *postille*, or the shelf marks and *ex-libris* of the Venetian Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who bought his library in 1498.[71]

Pico began collecting books at a very young age. He read pen in hand and, like many other humanists, left written notes (*postille*) in the margins and a special sign, which he had used since his youth, to highlight relevant words, passages or names. A vertical wavy line, topped by two or often three dots, is the commonest of his marks. Pico received the magnificent parchment copy of the *Expositio in Somnium Scipionis* and of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, printed in Venice in 1472, now in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, around 1473 when he became Apostolic Protonotary, and his coat of arms, depicted in the lower margin of the first folio, is wearing a clerical hat.[72] His mother, Giulia Boiardo, who wanted her youngest son

and Margaret Templeton Gibson (eds.), 220–254, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, 225. The manuscript is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.4>, accessed 1 March 2024.

70 De la Mare, *The Return of Petronius*, 225.

71 Giovanna Murano, Inspecting Inventories: Miscellanies and Composite Volumes in Pico's Library, in: *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europe*, Sabrina Corbellini, Giovanna Murano, and Giacomo Signore (eds.), 163–176, Turnhout: Brepols, 2018; Giovanna Murano, La biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Un primo censimento, *Scriptorium* 72 (2018): 213–250.

72 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Trin. VI.18.52: Macrobius, In Somnium Scipionis expositio [a4r]: Saturnalia [f5r], Venetiae: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472 (ISTC im00008000). The volume is digitised.

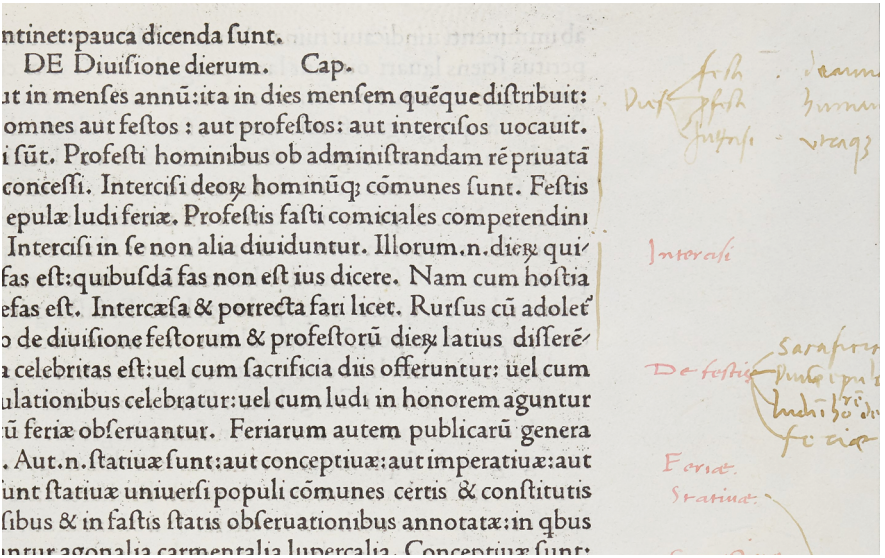


Figure 12: Pico's memory signs, index (in red) and *marginalia* in Cambridge, Trinity College, VI.18.52, fol. 68r.

to have an ecclesiastical career, had it illuminated by an artist known as the Master of the Pico Pliny.[73]

Pico must have been particularly attached to this book, as he returned to it time and again, as evidenced by the variations in the colour of the ink and his handwriting. In addition to some corrections (also in Greek), the volume has an index, in red ink, and some later memory marks (see Figure 12).

In 1600, the Macrobius was still kept in the library of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice. There is also a folio and vellum volume of Macrobius' work in the 1650 catalogue, but there is no indication whether or not this is the printed edition. Grimani's *ex-libris* on the front flyleaf of the Cambridge incunable has been erased but is still visible. Giovanni Pico must have read the volume as soon as he received it, as the firm but youthful hand of the notabilia shows. Apart from the notes in the Macrobius, there are very few examples of Pico's humanistic cursive. In Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Ms. theol. 67, a copy of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*, Pico

Giovanna Murano, Per la biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Ricerche sugli incunaboli, *La Bibliofilia* 121 (2019): 5–45, at 8–11 and pl. 2–4.

73 Lilian Armstrong, *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, vol. 1, London: Pindar Press, 2003, 214 and 317–318, note 15.

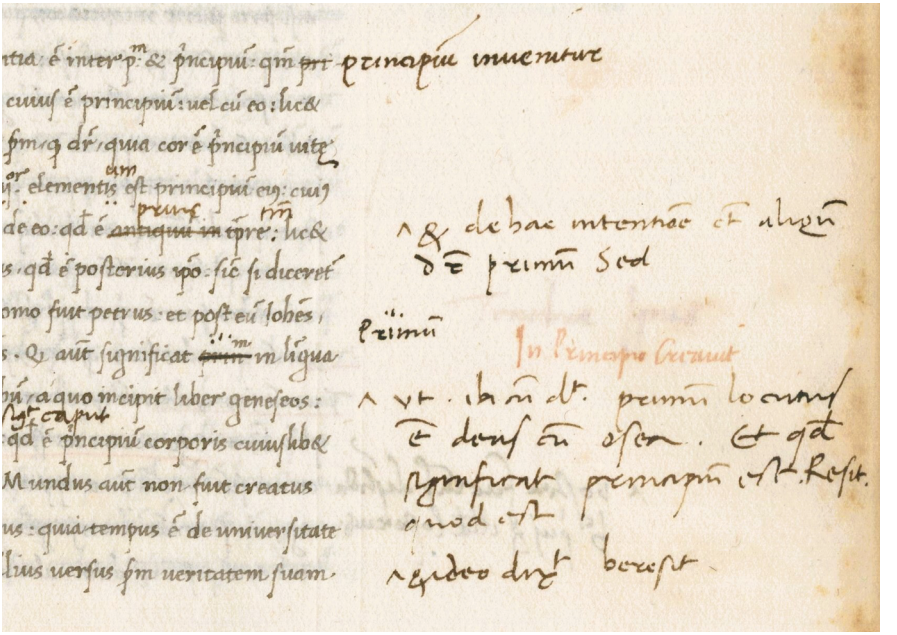


Figure 13: Pico's interventions in Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° Ms. theol. 67, fol. 140r.

personally revised the Latin translation, using both his elegant humanistic script and a minute cursive script (Figure 13).[74]

Although the Neapolitan *Destructio destructionum* by Averroes does not contain any mention of ownership, this manuscript certainly belonged to Pico, as evidenced by the numerous notes in his own hand and the memory marks placed in the margins. Its provenance from Pico's library cannot be doubted, since this rare work is listed in his inventories.[75]

74 Diana Di Segni, Note autografe di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola a un esemplare della "Guida dei perplessi", *Noctua* 7 (2020): 133–157; Diana Di Segni, Pico della Mirandola, Maimonides, and Magic, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 87 (2020): 193–209; Giovanna Murano, La "Guida dei perplessi" di Maimonide nella biblioteca di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 63, 2021 (2022): 365–382; Giovanna Murano, *La biblioteca arabo-ebraica di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2022, 57 and 59–62.

75 Giovanna Murano, Il manoscritto della "Destructio destructionum" di Averroè appartenuto a Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII E 31), *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 60 (2018): 67–80.

Some manuscripts that certainly belonged to Pico's library bear no trace of his hand, such as the extraordinary Pliny Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, lat. VI, 245 (2976), written by "Nicolaus de Mascharinis de Ferraria ad instantiam M.ci Comitis Ioannis de la Mirandula Anno incarnationis domini nostri Iesu Christi M°CCCC°LXXXI die xvii Augusti" and illuminated by the same artist as the Macrobius.[76] Others that did not belong to him bear his annotation or *marginalia*. Paris, BnF, lat. 2598, owned by Pierleone da Spoleto, shows memory marks in Pico's hand in the margins of Pietro d'Abano's *Lucidator dubitabilium astronomiae*.[77] According to the poet Giovanni Antonio Flaminio (1464–1536), Pico owned a "vetusto" ('old') copy of Virgil.[78] This manuscript is not included in the two inventories. Instead of checking the verses as Flaminio requested, Pico may have lent him his Virgil and he may have kept it, "forgetting" to return it. If Pico's manuscript has survived, the memory marks and the postille he left in the margins could help to identify it.

In the Florentine literary context of the late fifteenth century, Girolamo Benivieni, Pierleone da Spoleto, Marsilio Ficino and others used the same sign as Pico, but some morphological differences indicate different hands.

In the 1481 edition of the Psalms by Johannes Crastonus, the text is presented in two columns, on the left the Septuagint version and, according to Cornelia Linde "on the right Crastonus's revision of the Latin text, based on a translation obviously made from the Septuagint".[79] In the Vatican incunable Stamp. Ross. 2103, these two versions are joined in the lower margin by a third: the Hebrew version.[80] There is also a dense apparatus of glosses, with references to Latin authors (Nicolaus de Lyra, for example) and to the Hebrew translation. It was tempting to attribute these notes to Pico, but the hand is certainly not his. However, I do not think I am wrong in attributing the work on the Vatican incunable to the Florentine circle of San

76 Paul Oskar Kristeller, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and His Sources, in: *L'opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell'Umanesimo: Convegno internazionale (Mirandola, 15–18 settembre 1963)*, vol. 1: *Relazioni*, 35–133, Florence: Nella sede dell'Istituto, 1965, 46; Sara Blake McHam, Erudition on Display: The "Scientific" Illustration in Pico della Mirandola's Manuscript of Pliny the Elder's "Natural History", in: *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1550*, Jean A. Givens, Karen Meier Reeds, and Alain Touwaide (eds.), 83–114, New York: Ashgate, 2006; Murano, *Un primo censimento*, 236; Murano, *Copisti e collaboratori di Pico*, 352–353.

77 Giovanna Murano, Tra scienza, astrologia e magia: Un nuovo manoscritto di Pierleone da Spoleto, *Archivum mentis* 8 (2019): 249–273.

78 Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, *Epistolae familiares nunc primum editae*, Bononiae: Ex Typographia Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, 1744, 135 (ep. III. 16).

79 Cornelia Linde, Johannes Crastonus's 1481 Edition of the Psalms, *The Library*, 7th series, 13 (2012): 147–161, at 154.

80 The incunable is digitised: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Stamp.Ross.2103>, accessed 1 March 2024.

Marco. A clue to the Florentine origin of the notes is provided by the sign of attention: a stylised flower with a slanting stem.

4 Conclusion

Codicological preparation, copying and writing manuscripts have changed over time. The way in which readers approached the written text also changed over the centuries. In these pages, I have presented the first results of my research into fifteenth-century manuscripts, mainly but not exclusively Florentine. The theme was the traces of reading left in the margins by some humanists (Poggio, Bruni, Pico della Mirandola, etc.). The essay is divided into three sections, each devoted to a different type of intervention: textual intervention, index and "memory signs".

Reading is the prelude to literary, philosophical or theological reflection on a text. Renaissance readers transformed the space around the text, and the margins became firstly the site of philological activity, of appropriating the text by understanding it in its entirety. While the analysis and study of a text is evidenced by notes, commonly referred to as *marginalia*, reading leaves other traces in the margins of Renaissance manuscripts and incunabula. Careful reading reveals errors and textual corruptions, but it also leads to the recovery of classical authors, characters and places, which the Renaissance reader highlighted by means of marginal indices. Following the traces left by Renaissance readers, we have seen how both the manuscripts produced in their own time and some ancient witnesses have been transformed into veritable philological laboratories.

The last typology I have considered is that of "memory signs". I used this syntagm to define non-verbal graphic marks made by an annotator while reading a text. The category includes many signs and drawings, notably one that resembles a stylised flower (or trefoil, according to Meyenberg and Ouy), with the stem represented by a short wavy line and the petals by dots (two or three).

As we have seen, these interventions, which often go unreported, can be crucial to identifying the readers who held the manuscript under study in their hands.

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Clarisse Reynard

Text and Paratext in Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts?

The Example of the Commentaries on Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia*

Introduction

What is a memory of? If memory allows us to relate to the past, how are we able to do so? These are some of the questions that Aristotle addresses in the *De memoria et reminiscentia*.[1] Part of the *Parva naturalia*, Aristotle's short treatise on memory and recollection was studied in the academic context of the Middle Ages, up to Albert the Great, in the *translatio vetus*, by James of Venice, and then, since Aquinas' *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia,* in the *translatio nova* by William of Moerbeke. The corpus of commentaries to which the *Parva naturalia* gave rise has been the subject of several recent studies, particularly the part concerning memory.[2] This interest

1 Aristotle also indicates the temperaments that favour memory or reminiscence, as well as the habits that should be developed to improve memory. I will mention two studies proposing alternative interpretations of Aristotle's treatise. See Richard Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004; David Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection*, Leiden: Brill, 2007.

2 Between the many recent editions of medieval commentaries on *De memoria et reminiscentia*, there have recently appeared the critical editions of the commentaries of Peter of Auvergne, of Adam of Bockenfield and the thinkers of his circle and numerous editions by Sten Ebbesen. See notably Julie Brumberg-Chaumont and Dominique Poirel (eds.), *Adam of Bockenfield and his Circle on De memoria et reminiscentia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022; David Bloch, Peter of Auvergne on Memory, *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 78 (2008): 51–110; Sten Ebbesen, Radulphus Brito on Memory and Dreams: An Edition, *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 85 (2016): 11–86; Sten Ebbesen, Anonymus Orielensis 33 on "De memoria": An Edition, *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 85 (2016): 128–161; Sten Ebbesen, Anonymus Parisini 16160 on Memory: An Edition, *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 85 (2016): 162–217; Sten Ebbesen, Anonymus Vaticani 3061 and Anonymus Vaticani 2170 on Aristotle's "Parva naturalia": An Edition of Selected Questions, *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin* 86 (2017): 217–312; Véronique Decaix, Sten Ebbesen, and Christina Thomsen Thörnqvist, Questions on "De sensu et sensato", "De memoria" and "De somno et vigilia": A Catalogue, *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 57 (2017): 59–115. Other editions are due to appear shortly, including one by Maciej Stanek devoted to the commentaries of Buridan and Marsilius of Inghen. Among the studies, I will limit myself to mentioning David Bloch's important work, already quoted, which covers Aristotle's treatise and its

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in memory is keen in philosophy, psychology, and history alike. This interest aside, late medieval commentaries on *De memoria et reminiscentia* remain largely understudied. In this contribution, I propose to approach fifteenth-century commentaries by means of two texts associated with two different doctrinal tendencies framed in the realist school or *via antiqua*.[3] In addition to the subject of memory, I propose to deal with this century and the debated question of doctrinal schools that it raises, by examining the texts and the marginal notes found in the commentaries. My question throughout this chapter will be how to describe the interaction between the text (i.e. the commentary attributable to the author) and the paratext (i.e. everything that accompanies the text, especially the marginal notes or *marginalia*,[4] presumably by readers other than the author himself). My analysis will suggest paying attention to the hierarchical relationship of these texts. To put it in another way, I propose to observe these relationships using a musical metaphor: I will consider if this relationship is rather to be seen as the one that characterises that between the principal voice and the accompaniment or if it is rather to be seen on a more equitable polyphonic ground. A contemporary musical genre could even mirror what we observe

Latin reception up to Duns Scotus, via the Arab commentators, and Carla Di Martino's study on the internal senses, as well as various articles, including some devoted to Ockham and Buridan. This field of study is expanding rapidly. See notably Véronique Decaix and Christina Thomsen Thörnqvist (eds.), *Memory and Recollection in the Aristotelian Tradition*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021; Carla Di Martino, *Ratio particularis: La doctrine des sens internes d'Avicenne à Thomas d'Aquin*, Paris: J. Vrin, 2008; Dominik Perler, Ockham on Memory and Double Intentionality, *Topoi* 41 (2022): 133–142.

3 In the fifteenth century, authors divide in two groups, *via antiqua* and *via moderna*, according to two opposing ways of understanding the nature of universals. The first group is realist, whereas the second is nominalist and maintains that universals do not exist outside the language or the mind. Despite this quick definition, nevertheless, the concurrent views are numerous, above all on the realist camp. Followers of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome or John Duns Scotus are all realists. On the *via moderna* and *via antiqua*, see notably Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, "Via antiqua" and "Via moderna" in the Fifteenth Century: Doctrinal, Institutional, and Church Political Factors in the "Wegestreit", in: *The Medieval Heritage in Early Modern Metaphysics and Modal Theory, 1400–1700*, Russell Friedman and Lauge Nielsen (eds.), 9–36, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003. On the multiplicity of realist perspectives, see Pepijn Rutten, "Duae opiniones probabiles": Der Kölner Wegestreit und seine Verbreitung an den Universitäten des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: *University, Council, City: Intellectual Culture on the Rhine (1300–1550)*, Laurent Cesalli, Nadja Germann, and Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen (eds.), 113–136, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

4 On this term and its origins in the seventeenth century, see Jacqueline Hamesse, Les marginalia dans les textes philosophiques universitaires médiévaux, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, vol. 1, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferràu, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), 301–321, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002, 308.

in the case of glossed commentaries: the pluritextual motet.[5] This genre offered a different text to each voice giving rise to overlapping texts that blurred the meaning of the whole. To provide an initial answer, I will focus on three case studies from two commentaries: the commentary by Johannes de Caulaincourt (labelled as "Scotist" and associated with the *via antiqua*) as transmitted in the Turin manuscript BN H III 13 and the commentary by Johannes Versoris (associated with Thomism or Albertism and the *via antiqua*) as transmitted in the manuscripts Pamplona Bibl. Cath. 24 and Oxford BodlL Canon Misc. 211.

1 A Note on Paratext and Marginalia

As the present volume shows, there are various types of marginal notes (*marginalia*) that "frame" the main text. These range from additions of various types: numbering of the arguments, corrections, comments, hands designed in the margins to indicate a definition or a particular important point, tree diagrams, which serve as summaries, etc. These marks underline a particular point of the text, serve the reader as a memo, add something to the main text (as a kind of footnote), or correct some errors, such as words difficult to read, unclear (or wrong) abbreviations, homoioteleuta or eye-skip. My partial study of the fifteenth-century corpus, largely made in the context of proposing an edition of Versoris' Commentary on the *De memoria and reminiscentia,* revealed *marginalia* of various types in these manuscripts:

Corrections, reading marks (hands or numbering of the arguments), and minor explanatory marginal notes:
- Bibliothèques d'Amiens-Métropole: ms. 402, fols. 285r–288r (numbering)
- Universitätsbibliothek Basel: UB F III 10, fols. 274r–277v (corrections, small additions)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: SPBK lat. fol. 402, fols. 257r–265v
- Real Biblioteca de El Escorial: BReal m.II.1, fols. 322r–326v
- Biblioteca Nacional de España: Madrid BN 9018, fols. 137v–139r
- Mende, Bibliothèque municipale: ms. 40, fols. 175r–177v
- Prague, Národní knihovna: NK I E 38, fols. 351r–355r

5 As an example of a pluritextual motet, I propose the incipit of a motet by Nicholas Grenon (c. 1375–1456), a French composer working in Paris. It reads as follows: "Ave virtus virtutum caritas / Prophetarum fulti suffraggio / Infelix, propera".

– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK IV G 18, fols. 311v–315r (red notes in the margin)
– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK V E 8, fols. 171v–175r
– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK V E 9, fols. 266v–270v
– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK V E 12, fols. 90r–93v (corrections, fols. 91r, 92v)
– Poitiers, Médiathèque François-Mitterrand: BV 138, fols. 346r–350r
– St-Quentin, Médiathèque Guy de Maupassant: BV123, item 7, (reading marks)

Diagrams added as memos/summary (and reading marks):
– Universitätsbibliothek Basel: UB F VII 11, fol. 349r
– Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: SPBK lat. fol. 402, fols. 257r–265v
– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK V E 8, fol. 174r
– Prague, Národní knihovna: NK V E 9, fol. 266v (scheme); fols. 267v, 269r (comment)

Important marginal notes that add something to the general text:
– Oxford, Bodleian Library: Can. Misc. 211, fols. 247r–248v
– Archivo Catedral Pamplona: còd. 24, fols. 192v–196r
– Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria: BN H III 13, fol. 284r

All these manuscripts, apart from Turin and Mende, concern the commentary by Johannes Versoris. This is both the commentary that is most widely disseminated and most affected by the manuscript tradition. It is also the commentary that I have studied the most, with a view to proposing an edition. The manuscripts Turin BN H III 13 and Mende, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 40 contain Caulaincourt's commentary.[6] This list does not show, however, all the manuscript commentaries circulating without marginal notes, and there are many of these.[7] In short, it is rare for

6 The case study proposed in this chapter will be restricted to these commentaries. However, Caulaincourt and Versoris are not the only fifteenth-century Parisian commentators on the *De memoria et reminiscentia*. One could notably mention Johannes Hennon, Johannes le Damoisiau, Georges of Bruxelles and Peter Tartaret. Part of these, i.e. Tartaret's and Bruxelles' commentaries circulated mainly in printed version. The manuscripts so far considered do not include any significant marginal note. However, it would be interesting to look at the marginal notes of the printed editions, but at this stage I have not been able to carry out such research. On these commentaries, see Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 1.1: *Medieval Authors: A–L*, Florence: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013; Olga Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: Textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500)*, vol. 5: *Répertoire des noms commençant par J (suite: à partir de Johannes D.)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

7 This list of surveyed manuscripts should not induce the idea that *marginalia* are highly disseminated. In these manuscripts, which contain the commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia* by Johannes Versoris, I have found no *marginalia*, i.e. no paratext. It is notably the case in Amiens

a commentary to circulate with marginal notes concerning the doctrinal content. In a review of some thirty manuscripts, I found three notable examples: the folios concerning the Caulaincourt commentary, and those of the Pamplona and Oxford manuscripts concerning Versoris.

2 First Case of Analysis: A Text and a Paratext? A Two-Part Commentary: Johannes de Caulaincourt(/John Buridan) and John Duns Scotus

Little is known about the Parisian Master of Arts Johannes de Caulaincourt.[8] His name appears several times in the *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* concerning the first half of the fifteenth century.[9] Olga Weijers mentions that he studied at the Collège d'Harcourt and was probably not a member of any order. Charles Lohr is more cautious. His name ("de Magistri" or "de Magistris") makes it difficult to identify him.[10] Studies of him are scarce to say the least. Although his

Bibliothèque Métropole, ms. 402, fols. 285r–288r; Universitätsbibliothek Basel F I 13, fols. 210r–214r; Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig 1419, fols. 204r–206v; Bibliothèque Nationale du Luxembourg NB53, fols. 229r–251r; Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana Mantova BC F. IV–9, fols. 254v–257v; Schlägl Prämonstratenserstift 119 Cpl. 169, fols. 272r–275r; St. Gallen Kantonsbibliothek. (Vadiana) 839, fols. 311rb–314rb; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. Lat. 1050, fols. 314r–318r. At this point in my research of the Versorian corpus, these are the manuscripts I could study. This list does not cover all manuscripts mentioned by Charles Lohr or Olga Weijers in their respective catalogues. See Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol 1.1; Charles H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 1.2: *Medieval Authors: M–Z*, Florence: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010; Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel*. In addition, the manuscript Colmar, Bibliothèque des Dominicains (Bibliothèque municipale) BD 223, fols. 292r–297r, which contains Caulaincourt's commentary does not include any marginal notes.

8 Note that in some printed editions Johannes de Caulaincourt is called Johannes de Magistris. On the question of attribution, see in particular Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 1.1, 269 and 311.

9 Charles Samaran and Émile Aurèle Van Moé (eds.), *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4: *Liber Procuratorum Nationis Picardiae in Universitate Parisiensi*, Parisiis: Henri Didier, 1938, 95.16–17, 110.22–25, 189.34–36, 201.39–46, 253.21–254.7, 256.20–46, 262.34–37, 330.12. Cited by Paul Bakker, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics in Late Fifteenth-Century Paris, III: The Commentaries on Aristotle by Johannes de Caulaincourt (alias Johannes de Magistris), *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 49 (2007): 195–238.

10 He mentions at least four Johannes de Magistris. See Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. 1.1, 311. For the bibliography concerning Johannes de Caulaincourt, see also Lohr, *Latin Aristotle*

name is mentioned in the catalogue of Olga Weijers and Charles Lohr, he has been the subject of little research.[11] Johannes de Caulaincourt was the author of several commentaries used for teaching at the Arts faculty and compiled in collections. These include the *Questiones (perutiles) super tota philosophia naturali cum explanatione textus secundum mentem Doctoris subtilis Scoti*, published in Parma (1481), in Basel (before May 1490) and in Venice (1487 and 1490),[12] and handed down in three manuscripts, the ms. Turin BN H III 13,[13] Mende, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 40 and Colmar, Bibliothèque des Dominicains (Bibliothèque municipale) BD 223. These *Questiones* include the commentary on *De memoria*. The Turin manuscript will be the focus of this analysis, as – to my knowledge – the only witness with an important marginal note.[14] As Paul Bakker points out in his article, Johannes de Caulaincourt was described as a Scotist, according to his editors, but in his monumental study on the history of science, Pierre Duhem states that Caulaincourt also owes a debt to Buridan, Albert of Saxony, Nicolaus d'Orbellis, and Johannes Hennon.[15] I intend here to study the interaction between text and paratext in order to explore the qualifiers applicable to Caulaincourt on questions relating to memory: is he a Scotist or a Buridanist?[16] Before examining this question in detail, as well as the

Commentaries, vol 1.1.

11 Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel*, 116–117. For more information on the biography of Johannes de Caulaincourt, see this recent article by Paul Bakker concerning him: Bakker, *Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics*.

12 See Bakker, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics, 197.

13 I would like to thank Kamil Majcherek for this identification.

14 Almost nothing is known about this manuscript. It is mentioned in Pasini's catalogue at number 457, but there we only learn that the manuscript dates from the fifteenth century and that it contains questions on *Physics*, *De caelo et mundo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Metheororum*, *De anima*, *De sensu et sensibili*, *De somno et vigilia* and *De memoria et reminiscentia*, without any mention of authors' names. See Giuseppe Pasini, *Manuscriptorum Codicum Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, *Pars Altera*, Taurini: Ex Typographia regia, 1747, 107.

15 See Bakker, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics, 197–198. For Pierre Duhem, see Pierre Duhem, *Le système du monde: Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*, vol. 10, Paris: Hermann, 1959, 105–111.

16 Regarding memory, I identify as a Buridanist an author who proposes an analysis of memory close to his. The most salient points of Buridan's analysis of memory are firstly his reduction of the Avicennian five internal sense to two, i.e. a cognitive faculty (common sense) and a conservative one (memory or imagination). Secondly, Buridan defends a view according to which the object of memory is a proposition, containing an act of knowledge, the object of this act and the time at which the cognitive act occurred. Moreover, Buridan understands memory and remembering as part of the sensitive process. For a Scotist, however, remembering is an act of the intellect: only human beings can know the past as past. In his account, Scotus identifies two objects of memory: an act and the object of that act. At this stage of my research, I cannot yet identify any similarities

interaction between the text and the paratext or *marginalia*, we need to say a few words about the question as a whole.

Johannes de Caulaincourt devotes a single question to *De memoria et reminiscentia*. Entitled "Utrum iuvenes et senes sint bene memorativi" ('Do the young and the old have a good memory?'),[17] the *quaestio* covers all the main issues traditionally raised in the context of the reception of the Aristotelian treatise. After a few arguments claiming that young and old have a good memory and opposite arguments, our commentator announces the structure of the Aristotelian treatise and begins by contextualising Aristotle's definition of memory. As explained in conclusion no. 6, this involves (a) the reference to the past – as opposed to the present and the future, which fall respectively under sense and opinion or hope (cf. *conclusiones* 2–6) – and (b) the definition of memory as the affection (*passio*) of a part of the soul (*conclusiones* 1 and 6–7). It remains to be seen which part of the soul is affected by the *passio* that memory is. In *conclusio* 8, Caulaincourt asserts that memory is an affection of the primary faculty of sense, the common sense, in accordance with the Aristotelian definition. It should be noted that, unlike many commentators before him, Johannes de Caulaincourt does not describe memory as a *virtus*, i.e. a faculty, located in a cerebral ventricle according to the definition proposed by Avicenna's influential *De anima*.[18] Rather, he is following in the footsteps of *De memoria et reminiscentia*. In other words, unlike many of his predecessors, Caulaincourt resists the temptation to describe memory as a faculty.[19] It is merely an affection of a faculty. In this, he is close to John Buridan, for example, but also to Aristotle, for whom memory is an affection or a disposition of the primary faculty of sense, i.e. the common sense. Caulaincourt simplifies the whole scheme. He maintains that two faculties are sufficient to explain memory and remembering, namely common sense and imagination. As for Buridan, his account delimitates precisely the relationship between memory and the two left faculties, i.e.

between Caulaincourt and Johannes Hennon or Albert of Saxony. As Nicolaus d'Orbellis did not write on *De memoria*, I can exclude him from the list of possible influences.

17 In the ms. Turin B, we read: "utrum iuveniores et seniores sint melius memorativi?" (Turin, BN H III 13, fol. 281vb).

18 Avicenna writes: "Thesaurus vero apprehendentis intentionem est virtus custoditiva, cuius locus est posterior pars cerebri … Quae virtus vocatur etiam memorialis …" (Avicenna, *De anima*, IV, I, Simone van Riet (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1968, 9).

19 Before Buridan, many commentators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries proposed a synthesis of Avicenna's and Aristotle's accounts of memory. This is at least the case of Adam of Bockenfield, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Matteo Mei de Gubbio, or Walter Burley.

common sense and imagination.[20] In addition, Caulaincourt (like Buridan) claims that the philosophical perspective should be distinguished from the medical one, which entails five internal senses.[21] To put it in another way, Caulaincourt does not reject Avicenna's theory of internal senses, but he distinguishes it from the analysis of memory and remembering proper, which requires only two principles, i.e. an apprehensive power (common sense) and a conservative one (imagination). This reduction permits to claim that the faculty that perceives time is also the one that assembles the three representations that are relevant in remembering, producing an act of memory.

After explaining the definition of memory, Johannes turns to the famous paradox of memory as presented by Aristotle in *De Memoria* 450a26:[22] how can

20 This is confirmed in a later section of Johannes de Caulaincourt's commentary. Before dealing with recollection, he raises three difficulties – all stemming directly from Buridan's commentary, as we shall see below. In the second of these, he takes this point further by explicitly opposing the medical (and Avicennian) position, which posits in the soul a plurality of sensory faculties, distinct *loco et subiecto*. With Aristotle (and Buridan in particular), he defends the existence of two internal faculties: the common sense and *fantasia*, the imagination. For both Buridan and Johannes de Caulaincourt, these two faculties are responsible for the reception and conservation of sensory data. For Johannes de Caulaincourt, see Turin, BN H III 13, fols. 283ra–b. It reads: "… si memoria capiatur pro actu cognoscitivo memorativo, sic *memoria est passio primi sensitivi, scilicet ipsius communis, ita quod est una qualitas realiter sibi inherens*. … si memoria capiatur pro habitu memorativo, scilicet pro specie vel intentione reservativa, tunc memoria est passio secundi [*ms*. primi] sensitivi, scilicet fantasie, eo quod talis species et talis intentio realiter inherent ille potentie fantastice; ideo sunt passiones fantasie subiect⟨iv⟩e; tamen sunt passiones sensus communis obiective … si capiatur memoria pro potentia memorativa, hoc est dupliciter. Vel capiatur pro potentia receptiva actus memorativi, et sic est realiter ipse sensus communis, vel pro potentia ipsius speciei et intentionis reservate in absentia sensibilis; et sic est realiter ipsa fantasia" (fol. 283rb); for John Buridan, see Johannes Buridanus, *Questiones super librum De memoria et reminiscentia*, q. 2, Parisiis: Lockert, 1516, fols. 161va–b: "… si ergo capitur 'memoriam' pro illo actu cognoscitivo memorativo sic *memoria est passio sensus communis, scilicet primi sensitivi; ita quod est accidens illi sensui communi inherens*: cum non ponamus aliam virtutem sensitivam et cognoscitivam interiorem, nisi sensum communem. Si vero memoria capitur pro habitu, scilicet distincto a predicto actu et a virtute anime, ille habitus nihil aliud est quam species et intentiones reservate in fantasia; et ideo sic memoria est passio fantasie subiective, quia inheret fantasie, cum adhuc quodammodo potest dici habitus respectu sensus communis non subiective, sed obiective".

21 The last question of Caulaincourt's commentary on *De anima* II presents Avicenna's scheme in the context of a *dubitatio*. See Johannes de Caulaincourt, *Questiones de anima*, II, fol. 171/y4, Basel, 1490. Talking about internal senses, Caulaincourt refers mainly on their organic characteristics (such as dryness, moisture or hardness) and localisation in the brain.

22 This second stage corresponds to the section beginning with "sciendum est secundo", Turin, BN H III 13, fol. 282rb.

we relate to the past now?[23] This question is directly linked to that of the proper object of memory: what does it mean to know the past, or to remember? As with the definition of memory, Johannes proceeds step by step. He claims that the absent sensible thing remains in the soul through an image. He writes: "… in anima habente memoriam est passio aliqua representans anime obiectum in absentia eius et habitum illius passionis vocamus memoriam"[24] ('in the soul endowed with memory, a certain affection represents the object to the soul while it is absent; and the possession [*habitus*] of this affection we call "memory"'). In so doing, Johannes de Caulaincourt recalls – and completes – the Aristotelian definition of memory as *habitus sive passio*, disposition or affection. Earlier, he explained that memory was the affection of common sense; here, he describes how memory understood as an affection (*passio*) relates to memory described as a disposition (*habitus*). The *passio* refers to a memory act, effective, and the *habitus* to the latent possession that enables the formation of an effective memory.[25] Finally, Johannes takes the opportunity to recall the physiological considerations still at work in the context of the *Parva naturalia* and, consequently, of the *De memoria* (cf. *conclusio 3)*: dry temperaments retain better, but moist temperaments allow themselves to be affected stronger; they receive sensible impressions in a finer way. Youth and old age are characterised respectively by too much humidity and too much dryness, two states that are not conducive to a good memory.

As with Aristotle, the question of the nature of the object of memory remains. Is it the past thing? But if so, how can this be, since the past thing is no longer there? Or are we remembering the present affection, that is, the preserved trace of the absent thing, considered in the present? Like Aristotle, Johannes de Caulaincourt distinguishes two ways of relating to the mental trace, the preserved image: the mode of imagination, which considers the image as an image, and the mode of

23 In contemporary philosophy of memory, this problem is called the problem of "co-temporality". See, for example, André Sant'Anna, The Hybrid Content of Memory, *Synthese* 197, (2020): 1263–1290.

24 Turin BN H III 13, fol. 282va.

25 See the excerpt quoted in note 20: "… si memoria capiatur pro actu cognoscitivo memorativo, sic memoria est passio primi sensitivi, scilicet ipsius communis, ita quod est una qualitas realiter sibi inherens. … si memoria capiatur pro habitu memorativo, scilicet pro specie vel intentione reservativa, tunc memoria est passio secundi [*ms*. primi] sensitivi, scilicet fantasie, eo quod talis species et talis intentio realiter inherent ille potentie fantastice", Johannes de Caulaincourt, *Questiones de memoria et reminiscentia*, ms. Turin, BN H III 13, fols. 283ra–b. As strange as it may appear, this explicit identification of *passio* with an act of memory certainly results from the need to find an act of memory in Aristotle's commentary. As Aristotle speaks of "memoria et memorari", understood as a "passio sive habitus", the couple of terms appear to be equated in some manner. However, this frequent solution seems fragile. On the absence of a proper act of memory in Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia*, see David Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection*, especially 95–109.

memory, which considers the image as a copy referring to a precise thing, i.e. what caused the image.[26]

Until now, as in an *expositio*-section, Johannes de Caulaincourt has followed Aristotle's text and its structure with great attention. The specificity of his position is particularly evident in his treatment of the following three difficulties,[27] which call into question the limits of the Aristotelian perspective:

1. Is memory only about the past?
2. Is memory really the *habitus* or *passio* of the primary faculty of sense (common sense)?
3. Is it necessary to posit an intellective memory that is truly distinct from its sensory counterpart?

It is here that the proximity of Caulaincourt's commentary to Buridan's is most apparent. Indeed, these three questions correspond exactly to questions one to three in Buridan's commentary on *De memoria*. For the sake of brevity, I will concentrate on Caulaincourt's answer to the first question. Here, Caulaincourt departs from the purely Aristotelian line. He begins by talking about the act of remembering (instead of just remembering).[28] Who, in the medieval philosophy of memory, focuses more on acts than on memory as a faculty, affection or disposition? John Duns Scotus and, after him, William of Ockham, Walter Burley (to a certain extent), and John Buridan.[29] Like Scotus and Ockham, Johannes de Caulaincourt specifies that, for there to be an act of memory, a cognitive act must have taken place previ-

26 As Turin BN H III 13, fol. 282vb testifies: "illa passio est aliud secundum se et est fantasma, id est similitudo alterius; ideo cum memoratur non speculetur eam secundum seipsam, sed secundum quod est fantasma, scilicet inquantum est alterius id est memorabilis".

27 These three difficulties (*difficultas*) look like standard questions (*quaestiones*). Caulaincourt's commentary seems to be made of a unique question (i.e. Do the young and the old have a good memory?). However, it entails two *expositiones* (one on the chapter on memory, the second on recollection). These so-called difficulties end the *expositio*-section of the first chapter of Aristotle's treatise.

28 On the debate about the existence of memory acts in Aristotle, see Richard Sorabji, who posits them, and David Bloch, who rejects them: Sorabji, *Aristotle on Memory*; Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection*.

29 In the first question of his commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*, John Buridan writes: "Ex hac suppositione concluditur quod ad actum memorandi requiritur actus cognoscendi preteritus de quo dicimus habere memoriam" (Buridan, *Questiones*, fol. XLIra). On Scotus and Ockham, see notably Dominik Perler, *Eine Person sein: Philosophische Debatten im Spätmittelalter*, Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2020, 261–289.

ously, which becomes the object of the act of memory.[30] In short, when I remember my birthday, I remember having invited this or that person. Above all, I remember a previous act, an act that is specific to me. What is specifically Buridanian about this answer?[31] The characterisation of three intentional mental objects (or "representational" objects in Johannes de Caulaincourt's terms): the sensitive *species*, the *intentio*, and what represents past time. This trio comes from Buridan's Commentary on *De memoria*.[32] The *species* is what makes it possible to refer to a perceived sensible object; the *intentio* refers to the cognitive act that made it possible to grasp this sensible object; and the temporal gap between the act of remembering and the past to which it refers is represented by another mental object.[33] Caulaincourt distinguishes between different ways of talking about memory so as not to limit it to the past: if, by "memory", we mean the three intentional mental objects, then these are considered in the present; the soul possesses them when it performs the act of remembering. Memory remains past by its reference to a previous cognitive act, but it can be present, past or future depending on the object to which it refers, since I can just as easily remember my deceased grandfather as my grandmother who is still living or the plans for my (future) house. Here, the Buridanian kinship of this passage is obvious. Buridan expanded the spectrum of memory in this way. Johannes de Caulaincourt goes so far as to use Buridan's example of a future object that one could remember: the antichrist. The following table gives a hint of the way Caulaincourt uses Buridan's commentary.

30 See Turin BN H III 13, fol. 282va: "Prima ad actum memorandi requiritur quod aliquis actus cognoscendo [sic] sit preteritus et talis actus cum eius obiecto dicitur obiectum memorie".

31 On Buridan's Commentary on *De memoria*, see Véronique Decaix, La conception buridanienne de la mémoire dans les "Parva naturalia", in: *Miroir de l'amitié: Mélanges offerts à Joël Biard*, Christophe Grellard (ed.), 309–327, Paris: J. Vrin, 2017.

32 Note that it is also found in Marsilius of Inghen. It reads: "Secundo notandum quod de aliquo potest intelligi aut dici memoria tribus modis: primo modo de re alias cognita, secundo modo [seu] in specie seu phantasmate representante rem alias cognitam, tertio modo tamquam de actu memorandi mediante quo res alias cognoscebatur et tamquam de tempore in quo res talis cognoscebatur" (Uppsala C624 fol. 127va). I would like to thank Sten Ebbesen for providing me with his transcription of part of the first question in Marsilius' commentary.

33 This is not specified directly, but a few lines below we read: "secunda distinctio: memoria est representativum et sic est species sensibilis obiecti et temporis et ipsius intentionis" (Turin BN H III 13, fol. 283ra).

Johannes de Caulaincourt, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, Turin BN H III 13, fols. 282vb–283ra.[34]

fol. 282vb … utrum memoria sit solum preteritorum.
… in memoria debent esse tria representativa:

Primum debet esse representativum rei alias cognite et illud vocatur species sensibilis.

Secundum representativum est intentio que representat ipsum actum cognoscendi preteritum.

Et tertium est representativum temporis in quo illam rem cognoscimus; ideo sunt etiam tria representata, scilicet res alias cognita, actus cognoscendi illius rei alias cognite et tempus in quo illa res cognoscebatur …
memoria est presentium cum omnia illa tria sint presentialiter in memoria; alio modo est aliquorum tanquam representatorum [*corr. in marg.*] et sic est alicuius quod est ipsius temporis et ipsius actus preteriti tanquam preteritorum quia ille actus quem memoramur et similiter illud tempus sunt preterita; aliorum res [tamen res, *scrips sed eras*] est presens, et tamen memoramur alias vidisse illam quem nunc videmus; aliquando futura, ut cum memoramur nos cognovisse *antichristum*; aliquando est preterita ut cum memoramur nos cognovisse hominem, qui nunc mortuus est.

Johannes Buridanus, *Questiones de memoria et reminiscentia*, q. 1, "Utrum memoria sit solum preteritorum an etiam presentium?", Parisiis: Lockert, 1516, fol. XLIr.

fol. XLIra Tertio concluditur quod in virtute memorativa reservativa que potest vocari memoria: sive in organo illius virtutis oportet esse certa reservata.

Primo quidem representativum rei alias cognite, et hoc solet vocari species sensibilis vel intelligibilis.

Secundo representativum actus cognoscendi quo illam rem alias cognovimus, et hoc solet vocari intentio.

Tertio representativum temporis in quo illam rem cognovimus.
… Quarto concluditur quod ad actum memorandi sex concurrunt, scilicet *tria representata*. Puta res alias cognita, actus quo ipsa cognoscebatur, tempus in quo illa res cognoscebatur et alt(er)a tria repraesentativa, scilicet species rei alias cognite, intentio actus cognoscendi et intentio vel species temporis.
Tunc istis suppositis, questio solvitur secundum formam eius. Et erit prima conclusio quod *si memoria dicatur esse representativorum, ipsa est presentium*; quoniam *illa representativa sunt principaliter in fantasia, vel in virtute memorativa,* aliter non duceret ad aliquem actum cognoscendi. Sed de representatis ponitur secunda conclusio, scilicet quod unum representatum, scilicet res alias cognita forte est preterita et corrupta, forte est presens, et forte nunquam fuit. Sed adhuc est futura, verbi gratia forte nunc sum, memor quod heri cogitavi vel locutus fui de *antichristo* et de hoc habeo memoria, scilicet quod heri de eo cogitavi et sic memoriam habeo de antichristo tanquam de illa rem quam memor alias cognovisse; ita memor alias vidisse solem vel lunam que tamen sunt presentes.

34 Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions are mine.

In the following text, Johannes de Caulaincourt demonstrates his attentive reading of Buridan's commentary. This applies both to the (re)reading of the Aristotelian definition of memory and to the recognition of an intellective memory. Another important aspect of Buridan's conception of memory, as well as that of Caulaincourt, is the question of intellectual memory. To this question, which falls outside the scope of Aristotle's *De memoria*, Johannes answers in the affirmative, identifying it with the cognitive faculty itself. In other words, memory should not be distinguished within the intellect, as a part distinct from the others: memory is simply a characteristic of the intellect.[35] After this overview of memory (*memoria*) and recollection (*memorari*), Johannes de Caulaincourt resolves the initial question concerning the good or bad memory of young and old, and goes on to present recollection.

It is now time to turn to the marginal notes. At the end of the commentary, the Turin manuscript BN, H III 13 offers a long marginal note (see Figure 1), which comes straight from Scotus' *Ordinatio.* The table below shows the note and its model.

35 He writes: "memoria intellectiva non distinguitur a virtute sua cognoscitiva [ed. Basel 1490: a virtute cognitiva]; sed memoria sensitiva distinguitur a sua virtute cognoscitiva" (Turin BN H III 13, fol. 283rb). A similar position is taken by Buridan, who writes: "in parte intellectuali non differt virtus memorativa, scilicet reservativa, a virtute cognoscitiva" (Buridan, *Questiones*, fol. XLIIra).

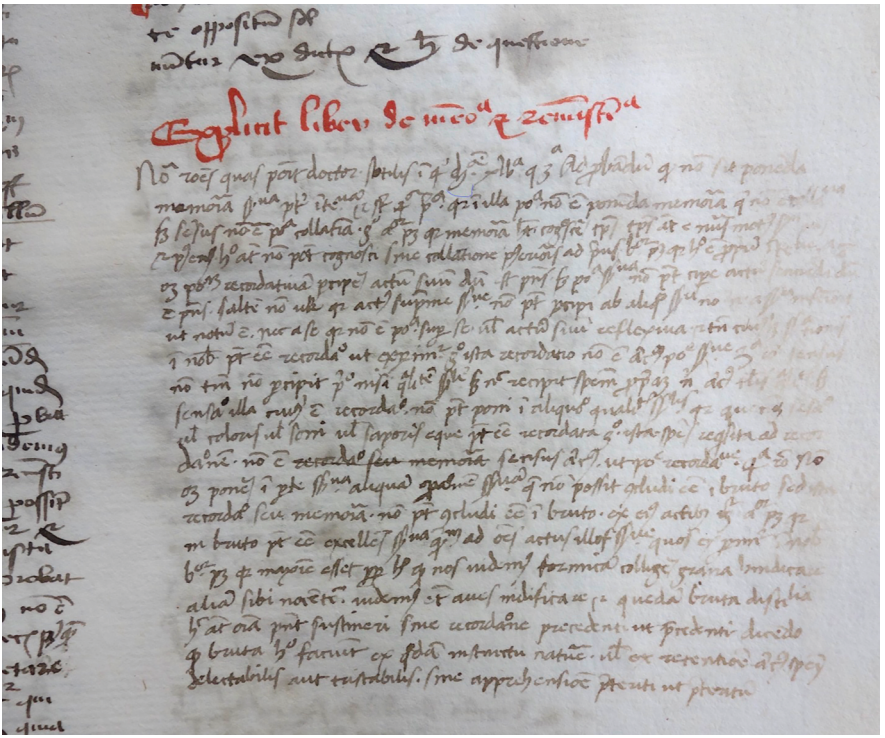


Figure 1: Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria H III 13, fol. 284rb.

Johannes de Caulaincourt, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, Turin BN H III 13.

Nota: rationes quas ponit doctor subtilis in distinctione XLV[a] quaestio tertia.
Ad probandum quod non sit ponenda memoria sensitiva prout[37] intellectiva sunt quattor.

Prima: quia in illa potentia non est ponenda memoriam que non est intellectiva, sed sensus non est potentia collativa, ergo. Maior patet quia memoria habet cognoscere tempus; "tempus autem est numerus motus secundum prius et posterius", hoc autem non potest cognosci sine collatione posterioris ad presens; minor patet quia hoc est proprium intellectus;

Igitur *oportet ponere recordativam percipere actum suum dum est presens, sed potentia sensitiva non potest recipere actum sentiendi* dum est presens saltem non *videtur quia actus supreme sensitive non potest percipi ab aliquo sensu non respectu*[39] *a sensu inferiori ut notum est*; nec a se quia non est potentia supra se vel actus sive reflexiva et *tamen cuiuslibet sensationis in nobis potest esse recordatio ut experimur*; ergo ista recordatio non est actus potentie sensitive.
Tertia conclusio: sensus non tantum non percipit primo nisi qualitatem sensibili, sed nec recipit speciem propriam, nec *alicuius talis qualitatis sed sensatio illa cuius est recordatio; non potest poni in aliquo qualitas sensibilis quia quedam sensatio, ut coloris vel soni vel saporis eque potest esse recordata.* Ergo: *ista species requisita ad recordatione non est* [*recordatio seu memoria,* scrips sed eras] *sensus actus ut potentie recordative.*

Johannes Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio* IV, dist. 45, q. 3.[36]

Primo, ex illa conditione quae est percipere tempus: "Tempus autem non est nisi numerus motus secundum prius et posterius", IV Physicorum.[38] Hoc autem percipi non potest sine collatione posterioris ad prius. Collationem autem sensuum habere non potest, quia hoc est proprium intellectus.

Item … *oportet potentiam recordantem percipere actum dum est praesens; sed non potest sensitiva percipere actum sentiendi,* saltem non universaliter, quia *actus supremae sensitivae non potest percipi ab aliquo sensu, nec ab inferiori, nec a superiori, patet.* Nec a seipsa, quia non est potentia illa super se vel actum suum conversiva. Et tamen *cuiuslibet sensationis in nobis potest esse recordatio, ut experimur*. Ergo non est ista recordatio generaliter alicuius sensitivae. – Sed quia hic arguitur ex quodam quod prius dictum fuit esse dubium, ideo arguatur ex aliquo tamquam certo sic: *sensitiva non tantum non percipit primo nisi qualitatem aliquam sensibilem* …, sed nec recipit speciem ipsam propriam, nisi *alicuius talis qualitatis. Sed sensatio illa cuius est recordatio, non potest poni aliquo modo qualitas sensibilis, quia quaecumque sensatio, vel coloris, vel soni vel saporis, aeque posset esse recordata. Ergo ista species requisita ad recordationem non est sensus alicuius potentiae receptivae.*

36 Allan Wolter and Marilyn McCord Adams, John Duns Scotus: A Treatise on Memory and Intuition: From Codex A of Ordination IV, Distinctio 45, Question 3, *Franciscan Studies* 53 (1993): 193–230.
37 Dubious transcription.
38 Aristotle, *Physics* IV, 11 219b 1–2, quoted in: Wolter and McCord Adams, *John Duns Scotus*, 197.
39 Dubious transcription.

Quarta ratio: *non oportet ponere in parte sensitiva aliquam operationem sensitivam, que non possit concludi esse in bruto*, sed ista recordatio seu memoria non potest concludi esse in bruto ex eius actibus. Concluditur auctor: patet quia in bruto potest esse excellens sensitiva quantum ad omnes actus illos sensitive quos exprimitur in nobis; minor patet quia maxime esset propter hoc quod nos videmus *formicam colligere grana* hindicare aliam sibi nocentem; videmus etiam aves nidificare et quedam bruta discibilia; hec[40] aut omnia possunt sustineri sine recordatione precedenti, ut precedenti dicendo quod bruta hoc faciunt *ex quidam instinctu nature vel ex recentione alicuius species delectabilis aut tristabilis sine apprehensione preteriti, vel preteritum.*

Item, *non oportet ponere in parte sensitiva aliquam operationem sensitivam quae non potest concludi esse in bruto.* Hoc probatur, quia in aliquo bruto potest esse excellens sensitiva quantum ad omnes illos actus sensitivae quos experimur in nobis. Sed ista recordatio non potest concludi esse in bruto ex actibus eius.

Probatio minoris: videmus omnes actus brutorum ex quibus posset magis concludi, utpote qui videntur esse actus prudentiae vel providentiae, ut de *formica colligente grana* ad eumdem locum et tempore determinato, ut in aestate. Similiter, actus vindicandi vel quasi iustitiae retributivae, puta obsequendi benefacientibus et puniendi offendentes, videntur in brutis competere eis inquantum cognoscunt praeteritum …

De uniformitatem enim quantum ad locum et tempus, ut patet in formica, *potest salvari per solam apprehensionem et retentionem speciei eius quod est delectabile sine apprehensione praeteriti ut praeteriti.*

To the question of the *raison d'être* of such an addition, several hypotheses can be considered. A Scotist, reading Johannes de Caulaincourt's commentary, might feel the need to complete it by adding a key point of the Scotist definition of memory: the restriction of memory and recollection proper to rational beings.

To explain the shift between Aristotle and Scotus, we should remember that Scotus did not write a commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*. His argument is rooted in a theological work. Scotus focuses here on the memory of the separated soul. His interest in memory and remembering one's own acts thus stems from this context, even if it also concerns our present life. The excerpt quoted in the final note stems from a *quaestio* entitled "Utrum anima separata possit recordari preteritorum que ipsa novit coniuncta".[41] By discussing this question in his commentary, Scotus proposes an analysis of human personal memory. This memory is centered on our previous *acts*. By making memory a capacity to reflect on one's own actions by going back to them, Scotus places it firmly on the side of the rational faculty, the only one capable of such reflexivity.

40 Dubious transcription.

41 Wolter and McCord Adams, *John Duns Scotus*, 193.

The reader who wrote this note might have felt that the specifically human character of memory was not sufficiently apparent from the text itself. Following Buridan's commentary, Caulaincourt attributes memory acts to the common sense. He does not claim that animals could possess such a reflexivity, namely the possibility to attribute to oneself previous acts of perception. A Scotist reader might have felt the need to prevent a misunderstanding concerning animal memory: we do not need to posit such a reflexivity and memory in animals to explain their behaviour that seems to be rational. This reflexivity is properly human. But the addition is not a mere precision: it somewhat contradicts the main text, since it seems to deny the thesis according to which memory acts inhere within the common sense. As they manifest a capacity to reflect one's own acts, memory acts should instead be attributed to the intellect.[42]

By adding this note, Caulaincourt's reader could have highlighted a latent tension inhering within Caulaincourt's commentary. The text reminds us that memory is not the prerogative of rational beings, while at the same time specifying on several occasions that the object of memory is a past act. How is this grasp of a past act to be understood? Should we, according to the Scotist reading, see it as reflexivity on our own acts, in which case memory cannot be a sensitive faculty, since sensitivity excludes this reflexive capacity? Or should it be understood in a broader sense, i.e. simply that we remember the past in so far as we remember the object of a past apprehension (rather than the apprehension itself)?[43] This interpretative tension also brings us back to our question: is Johannes de Caulaincourt a Scotist on the question of memory? Looking at the text, we must give a negative answer. Even if Caulaincourt considers that a previous act is part of the object of remembering, he explicitly attributes this act to the common sense. Were he following Scotus' account of memory, he would nuance his claim. Do we have to conclude that he attributes a propositional act to animals? Contrarily to Buridan, Johannes de Caulaincourt does not stress the propositional nature of the object of memory and does not qualify it as a kind of judgement. Nevertheless, if this is not formalised explicitly in terms of judgement, memory as an act probably cannot

42 Caulaincourt claims that there is an intellective memory distinguished from the sensitive one. However, he does not say much about its object. See, ms. Turin, fol. 283rb.

43 This broad meaning would fit with Aristotle's text, notably this highly debated section: "However, when one has knowledge and sensation without performing these actions, then he recalls, in the case of knowledge because he has learned it or contemplated it, in the case of sensation because he has heard or seen it or sensed it in some other way; for it is always the case that when a person actualises as regards his memory, what he does is to say in his soul that he has previously heard, sensed or thought about this". See Aristotle, *On Memory and Recollection*, in: Bloch, *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection*, 25–27.

escape this qualification. I suggest qualifying Caulaincourt's account of memory as a kind of tempered Buridanism. He follows Buridan's analysis and develops it towards a common account of memory for human beings and beasts. At the same time, he reduces Buridan's position by undermining the propositional character of remembering.

The final marginal note does not cancel out the meaning of the text. It establishes a dialogue between two distinct, albeit somewhat related, doctrinal contexts. These are related in that they both treat the previous act as the primary object of an act of memory. As in the context of the polytextual motets, it is difficult to establish a clear hierarchy between the text itself and the concluding note, between Caulaincourt's (and Buridan's) commentary and the specificity of Scotus' text. All things considered, this note can hardly be reduced to the commentary it accompanies and introduces a form of duality. Should we consider that these two perspectives describe two types of memory that are not mutually exclusive, but complementary? If it was the case, it would mean that the intellectual level duplicates in a probably better way what the sensitive level achieves. As in the case of multi-text motets, the solution to the meaning of this combination of texts remains open. Among the cases studied in this article, this is the one most marked with tension between text and paratext. Let's have a look at the margins of Versoris' commentary.

3 Second Case Study: Polyphonic Play in the Pamplona Manuscript

The second case I propose for this study is to be found in fols. 192vb–196rb of the Pamplona Bibl. Cathedral 24 manuscript containing the commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia* by Johannes Versoris.[44] Before going into the study of this peculiar case, I would like to say a few words about this Parisian master.

A celebrated commentator of the Aristotelian corpus in the Thomistico-Albertist reading (*via antiqua)*, his commentaries have circulated all over Europe.[45] Despite this success, we do not know much about this figure. He was active as a

44 On this manuscript, see Monika Mansfeld, Descriptio Codicis 24, qui in Bibliotheca Cathedrali Pamplonensis Asservatur, *Studia Antyczne i Mediewistyczne* 61 [51] (2018): 97–114. Mansfeld dates the manuscript from the second part of the fifteenth century. She posits a terminus post quem for the part that interests us (i.e. fols. 1–209) after 1450–1451. See Mansfeld, *Descriptio Codicis 24*, 98.

45 On Versoris' association with schools of thought, see notably Pelpijn Rutten, "Secundum processum et mentem Versoris": John Versor and His Relation to the Schools of Thought Reconsidered, *Vivarium* 43 (2005): 292–336.

magister at the University of Paris between 1435 and 1482.[46] He also studied theology and, according to Charles Lohr, received his PhD in 1458. However, we possess scarce evidence of what he did – even of his grade of *doctor theologiae*.[47]

3.1 Some General Remarks on the Content

The indicated folios of the Pamplona manuscript contain Versoris' commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*. Divided into four questions, it follows the symmetry of the Aristotelian treatise. Two questions on memory proper and two others on recollection are dedicated to the book on memory and the one on recollection: "Utrum memoria sit solum preteritorum" ('Is memory only of the past?'); "Utrum memoria sit passio primi sensitivi" ('Is memory an affection of the first sensible?'); "Utrum reminiscentia sit resumptio noticie elapse a memoria ex aliquo principio in memoria retento" ('Is recollection the recovery of a partly forgotten memory?');

46 Consulting the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, edited by Denifle and Châtelain, the first occurrence of his name dates from 1435, where he is mentioned as part of the Norman Nation. See Henri Denifle and Emile Châtelain (eds.), *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. 4, Paris: Delalain, 1897, 565, note 2458. Then, we learn that he was magister of the Norman Nation in 1449 and that he declined the rectorship, but that he accepted it in 1458. He is also mentioned as magister regens in 1478, 1479, and 1482. Apart from the *Chartularium*, his name appears in a collection of quittances belonging to the College of Autun; in 1467, he sells some books by Thomas Aquinas to the College of Autun, including the first part of the *Summa theologiae*. He presents himself as a priest of the diocese of Séez in France. I thank Jérémie Foa who pointed my attention to this document in a workshop we attended in Geneva in May 2023. For this archive, see Archives nationales, Université de Paris et collèges, Université et collège, Collège d'Autun, Pièce n°31. As some of Versoris' treatises were translated in Hebrew in Spain, Jean-Pierre Rothschild suggested he could have spent some time there – but there is no evidence of this. See Jean-Pierre Rothschild, Johannes Versoris: Les deux portraits d'un maître latin dans la littérature hébraïque: Johannes Versoris (Jean Le Tourneur), son œuvre traduite par 'Eli Ḥabilio (Aragon, années 1470) et son personnage (imaginaire?) chez Salomon Ibn Verga (av. 1508/1520), in: *Portraits de maîtres offerts à Olga Weijers*, Claire Angotti, Monica Brînzei, and Mariken Teeuwen (eds.), 309–324, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. Aurora Panzica refutes this hypothesis in a recent article: Aurora Panzica, Fifteenth-Century Textbooks: John Versoris's Commentaries, Their Dissemination and Reworking in Central and Eastern Europe, in: *Studying the Arts in Late Medieval Bohemia*, vol. 2, Ota Pavlíček (ed.), forthcoming. Using the same logic, Joseph Hartzheim in his *Biblioteca Coloniensis* made Versoris travel to Cologne (to the Bursa Montana and the Bursa Corneliana) because his works were largely spread there. But, as for the Spanish hypothesis, there is no strong reason to link the success of Versoris' works to a travel or a stay he could have made in a particular place. See Joseph Hartzheim, *Bibliotheca Coloniensis*, Coloniæ Augstæ Agrippinensium: Thomas Odendall, 1747, 206, quoted by Panzica, *Fifteenth-Century Textbooks*.

47 As Aurora Panzica noted, there is no mention of his doctorate in theology in the *Chartularium*, even if it is Lohr's source for this information. I thank her for this information.

"Utrum reminiscentia insit solum hominibus" ('Is recollection exclusive to human beings?').

This testimony of Versoris' commentary is of special importance to our study, as it contains many marginal notes.

In addition to the layout elements, the paratext of these folios includes significant *marginalia* which can be classified into three categories.[48]

(a) Notes that provide answers to additional questions:
   a. fol. 192vb: (A) *Utrum hec scientia, scilicet de memoria et reminiscentia sit distincta a scientia de anima.*
   b. fol. 193ra: (A) *Utrum scientia de memoria et reminiscentia sit distincta a scientia de sensu et sensato*.
   c. fol. 193va: (B) *Utrum memoria sit in anima separata.*
   d. fol. 194rb: (A) *Utrum oblivio sit ipsius memorie.*
   e. fols. 195va–b: (B) *Utrum reminiscentia insit nobis a natura.*

(b) Additions useful to understand the text:
   a. fol. 193rb: (A) *Sciendum quod preteritum dicitur dupliciter*.
   b. fol. 193v: (C) *Memoria potest sumi dupliciter*; (C) *Non contingit aliquem intelligere sine fantasmate*; (C) *Frequentes meditatio memoriam servant*.
   c. fol. 194ra: (A) *Memoria nobilior est in hominibus quam in animalibus et brutis*; (B) *quia habent*; (A) *Sicut intellectus aliquando nominat substantiam vel potentiam*.
   d. fol. 194rb: (B) *Secunda causa potest esse.*
   e. fol. 194va: (A) *Item, quia non est idem p⟨ri⟩mititudo ad memorandi et reminiscendi*; (A) *Item, memoria invenitur in brutis et in hominibus*; (A) *item memoria uno modo precedit reminiscentia*; (B) *Utrum reminiscentia dicitur virtus conservans*.
   f. fols. 195ra–b: (A) *Reminiscentia est passio corporalis*; (ra) (D) *nondum quod licet collatio alcuius cogniti*; rb (D) *Nota quod secundum sanctum doctorem.*
   g. fol. 195va: (A) *differunt conservanti ista*; (B) *Anima nostra omnes rerum convenit.*

(c) Summaries, including diagrams or lists of what is known about memory:
   a. fol. 193va: (B) *Commentarium: ad hoc quod fiat actu memoria quinta requiruntur.*
   b. fol. 193vb: (A) *Memoria potest accipi in comparatione.*

48 These include highlighting important definitions, underlining, and mentioning conclusions in the side margins. The following list divides the notes into three groups and indicates the incipit of each, as well as the folio concerned.

c. fol. 194r: (D) *Quattuor sunt cause requisite ad memorie bonitatem.*
d. fol. 194rb: (B) ⟨*Q*⟩*u*⟨*ale*⟩*s sunt cause que impediunt memoriam vel bonitatem memorie*; (B) *Algazel dicit.*
e. fol. 195vb: (B) *Ad hoc quod fiat actu reminiscentia quattuor concurrunt.*

The letters ("A"–"D") used in the list refer to different hands and, correlatively, to different readers. There are at least three hands involved. Note that this threefold division does not correspond to the typology relating to the content of these notes. According to the current state of my research, none of the manuscripts concerned with Versoris' commentaries on *De memoria* is as annotated as this one. Given the large number of additions, I will propose an analysis of a selection of notes. I will deal with the notes present in the first *quaestio* ("Utrum memoria sit solum preteritorum" / 'Is memory only of the past?'). In addition to defining memory and its object, the question here, as above, will be to establish the relationship between the voices present, in the text and in the *marginalia*, and so to ask how the addition of different readers enriches Versoris' text.

To answer this question, I propose to focus on the first *quaestio* and the marginal notes that accompany it.[49] Let us focus first on the text and its general structure.

Versoris raises the classic question of the object of memory: is it only of the past?

His *quaestio* is made up of two objections, both of which put forward the idea that memory relates to the present, (a) because we can remember something that always exists, (b) because memory is based on a preserved *species* – which is therefore currently available to us. Versoris set out to counter these two objections, asserting that memory relates only to the past –in contrast with what Buridan or Caulaincourt, for example, asserted.

Before answering the question – in the *conclusions* – he puts forward several elements corresponding to the three *sciendum* of the text. The first situates memory and recollection in nature, distinguishing between beings endowed with memory and recollection and those without: memory, like prudence, is found in certain animals, while recollection is unique to man. This makes it possible, correlatively, to place *De memoria et reminiscentia* in the context of the Aristotelian corpus: this treatise comes after *De sensu*, insofar as all animals are endowed with sensation, whereas only some of them are endowed with memory, and recollection is peculiar

49 Focusing on this question has another advantage. In fact, in the section that follows, which consists of analysing fols. 246r–247r of the Oxford Bodleian Library Canon Misc. 211, the interesting marginal notes mostly accompany the first of the four *quaestiones* of Versoris' commentary.

to man.[50] The second preliminary assertion is that beings endowed with memory have varying aptitudes in terms of memory and recollection, depending on their complexion: dry beings retain better than wet ones. Finally, the third remark presents the course of the Aristotelian argument in *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

Versoris then sets out three conclusions that synthetically answer the question:

1. The future is not the object of memory, but of opinion or hope.
2. The present is not the object of memory, but of sensation.
3. The past is therefore the only object of memory.

Versoris does not develop the question any further, except to say that, like Aristotle, he appeals to the common meaning of the terms "memory" and "recollection" to support the assertion that it is the past alone that is the object of memory. He also points out that "past" means the past according to apprehension, not the past according to being. Thus, we can remember objects that still exist, provided we have perceived them previously. This is followed by a concluding synthesis in which Versoris presents the definition of memory – underlined in the manuscript in question: "Memoria est passio vel habitus anime de prius sensatis cum factum fuerit tempus". He concludes his answer by specifying that there is a certain lapse of time between the first apprehension and recollection, and he also states that animals capable of perceiving time are endowed with memory.

Versoris is extremely brief on the object of memory; he does not enter the existing debates on how it can be said that there is memory of the past in the present time and on the apparent paradox of this assertion but instead limits himself to summarising succinctly Aristotle's text. Moreover, he synthesises Aquinas' teaching of the *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia*. Versoris uses the *Sententia* by selecting the most important passages and compiles them in the following way:

50 On the structure of the *Parva naturalia* and especially on the order of the two first treatises, which was debated at the beginning of the tradition of commentaries on *De memoria*, see notably Julie Brumberg-Chaumont, Introduction, in: *Adam of Bockenfield and his Circle*, Julie Brumberg-Chaumont and Dominique Poirel (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23–24. This structure is clarified in the *explicit* of the translated version of the *De sensu* by Moerbeke. The argument here used by Versoris is really similar to the one by Aquinas in his own commentary. For the reference, see the comparison between Versoris and Aquinas below.

Johannes Versoris, *Questiones de memoria et reminiscentia*, q. 1, Pamplona, Bibl. Cath. 24, fol. 192vb.

Pro quesito est sciendum quod *prudencia est virtus propria homini, quia est recta ratio agibilium.* Unde *inveniuntur quedam animalium quadam prudentia participare, non quia rationem habeant, set quia per instinctum nature ad quedam opera vere prudencie similia.*[52] *Ad prudenciam autem pertinet ut prudens per eam dirigatur in ea que sibi videntur agenda non solum ex cognitione presentium, sed etiam preteritorum.* Ideo memoria, qua preterita comprehenduntur, a Tullio pars prudentie ponitur. Ideo in animalibus in quibus reperitur quedam similitudo prudencie reperitur etiam quedam memoria. *Set tamen sicut habent imperfecta respectu hominis ita et memoria imperfectam.*

Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia*, I.[51]

Sicut Philosophus dicit in VII De historiis animalium, natura ex inanimatis ad animalia paulatim procedit … Ita etiam et in progressu ab animalibus ad homines quedam inveniuntur in quibus aliqua similitudo rationis appareat: *cum enim prudencia sit propria virtus hominis* (est enim prudencia *recta ratio agibilium*, ut dicitur in VI Ethicorum, *inveniuntur quedam animalia quandam prudenciam participare, non ex eo quod habeant rationem, set eo quod instinctu nature moventur per apprehensionem sensitive partis ad quedam opera facienda ac si ex ratione operarentur. Pertinet autem ad prudenciam ut prudens dirigatur per eam in hiis que inminent sibi agenda ex consideratione non solum presencium, sed etiam preteritorum*; … Unde et in animalibus in quibus invenitur prudencia similitudo participata, necesse est esse non solum sensum presentium, set etiam memoriam preteritorum, et ideo Philosophus dicit in principio *Metaphysice* quod quibusdam animalibus ex ⟨sensu⟩ memoria fit, et propter hoc prudencia sunt; *set, sicut prudenciam inperfectam habent respectu hominis, ita etiam et memoriam*: nam alia animalia memorantur tantum, homines autem et memorantur et reminiscuntur.[53]

Versoris cuts through Aquinas' references to retain only the core of his argument. In this case, it consists of showing that Aristotle deals with memory after having dealt with sensation and the soul in general, because not all living beings are endowed with memory. Only certain animals, those whose actions are characterised by a form of prudence – however imperfect – have some knowledge of the past. Finally, only human beings are capable of recollection (*reminiscentia*), i.e. able to retrieve information momentarily forgotten from knowledge currently in their possession.

51 Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 45.2: *Sententia libri De sensu et sensato cuius secundus tractatus est De memoria et reminiscentia*, René-Antoine Gauthier (ed.), Rome: Commissio Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 1985.

52 As in the manuscript, a verb is missing.

53 Thomas de Aquino, *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia*, 103–104.

However, although a large part of Versoris' text can already be retraced in Aquinas' ideas, there is one section that escapes this connection. This is the last part of each *quaestio*, the part that precedes the answers to the objections: the *dubitationes*. These have the peculiarity of making the subject of memory very concrete, anchoring it in physicality and the tics that characterise us when we want to remember something.[54] In this context, he asks: why do we tie something (a handkerchief, for example) to remember something we need to do? Why do we remember better in the dark than in the light? Why do we remember things when we do not want to, and when we do want to, we have the hardest time remembering them? These practical questions interest Versoris in the penultimate section of his *quaestio*.

3.2 The Marginal Notes of the First *Quaestio*

How do the marginal notes in this Pamplona manuscript contribute to Versoris' argument? The first *quaestio* is accompanied by several notes that fall into the three above-mentioned categories. There are questions, notes of clarification, and lists or summaries in the margins of the folios under review. There are two additional questions: is the science of memory (and *reminiscentia*) distinct from the science of the soul (*De anima*)? And is it distinct from the science of sensation (*de sensu et sensato*)? These questions echo in the first *sciendum* of Versoris' text. In both cases, the aim is to situate memory in living beings and to show the theoretical congruence and the tight relationship of *De memoria* with other Aristotelian works (especially *De anima*). However, the first question adds a distinction absent from the text itself: both the science of memory and the science of the soul can deal with memory, but they are distinguished by the point of view they adopt. The science of the soul considers memory abstractly, whereas the science of memory considers this same power of the soul in relation to a bodily organ.[55] In other words, there is

54 These concrete topics inserted into the scholastic questions are quite standard. On this point, see the Problemata tradition. See, for example, Maciej Stanek, "Problemata Parvorum naturalium": An Anonymous Supplement to John Buridan's Commentary on the "Parva naturalia", *Przeglad Tomistyczny* 27 (2021): 61–105.

55 The note reads as follows: "Dicendum quod ad distinctionem scientie non requiritur diversitas sci⟨bi⟩l⟨is⟩ secundum essentiam, sed secundum rationem, ut de memoria secundum quod potest esse subiectum transmutationis consideratur in *scientia naturali*, sed de eadem prout est d⟨i⟩v⟨ers⟩ a entis consideratur in *metaphysica*; memoria autem potest attingi secundum quod est potentia anime, vel secundum quod refertur ad organum cuius est perfectio; secundum hoc habet diversas habitudines et diversas rationes, quia prout refertur ad animam cuius est potentia habet unam rationem et consideratur de ea secundum hoc in libro *De anima*; prout autem habet habitudinem

a legitimate perspective on memory that considers it without its corporeal anchoring, with the tools of the metaphysician, so to say. This question was quite standard at the end of the thirteenth century. It can be found in commentaries on *De memoria et reminiscentia* by Peter of Auvergne and Radulphus Brito for instance.[56] To my knowledge, it is absent from many fifteenth-century commentaries, notably Johannes de Caulaincourt's, Georges of Bruxelles', and Peter Tartaret's. Nevertheless, these authors seem to keep the perspective of the metaphysician in mind when they deal with intellectual memory in their commentaries or even when they analyse the act of memory as a complex of three kinds of representations: these analyses do not refer to the organs they may involve. On the other hand, the mentioned commentators keep using the point of view of the physician when they refer to the organic dispositions required to safely store representations or to be quick-witted. Versoris also embraces each perspective. However, his metaphysical perspective on memory is also to be seen in his commentary on *De anima*, while his position on the intellective memory is to be found in a *dubitatio* of his commentary on *De anima* III.[57]

Which bodily organ? If we follow Aristotle, memory is to be attributed to the common sense, located in the heart. But if we follow Avicenna, Averroes, and the Latins after them, memory is to be found in one of the cerebral ventricles, like common sense, imagination, and other faculties, such as the estimative. We will say more about these faculties shortly. They do not feature in Versoris' text, which remains close to Aristotle, partly as an *expositio*, and limits itself to talking about the relationship between memory and imagination or common sense. However, these internal senses are mentioned in one of the notes at the end of the *quaestio*. The second marginal additional question is closer to Versoris' text, comparing beings endowed with sensation with beings endowed with memory: like the text, it asserts that all animals are endowed with sensation, while only some of them are capable of memory.[58]

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ad organum cuius est perfectio, consideratur in hoc libro [i.e. *De memoria*]" (Pamplona, Bibl. Cath, 24, fol. 192vb).

56 See these commentaries: Bloch, *Peter of Auvergne on Memory*, 60–62; Ebbesen, *Radulphus Brito on Memory and Dreams*, 24–26; Ebbesen, *Anonymus Orielensis 33 on "De memoria"*, 135–137; Ebbesen, *Anonymus Parisini 16160 on Memory*, 172–173; Ebbesen, *Anonymus Vaticani 3061 and Anonymus Vaticani 2170 on Aristotle's "Parva Naturalia"*, 244–246.

57 For instance, to quote a manuscript mentioned in this chapter, this point is to be found in the Oxford manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon misc. 211, fols. 228v–229r.

58 "… Sed sciendum quod de memoria et reminiscentia est distincta scientia ad scientia de sensu et sensato, quia in libro *De sensu et sensato* determinatur de sensu qui convenit omnibus animalibus, sive de potentiis exterioribus sensitivis et de sensibilibus, sed in hoc libro solum determinatur de

Turning then to the heart of Versoris' answer – that memory is of a past apprehension rather than an extramental object that no longer exists but existed in the past – the same annotator adds a clarification on two ways of understanding the past: (a) the past according to existence and (b) the past according to apprehension. This reader places the memorable in the second category. This note duplicates the text, but it also refers both to one of the objections (i.e. we remember only by means of a preserved and presently available *species*) and to the paradox identified by Aristotle in *De memoria* 450a26. However, there is a difference between the text and the note: Versoris distinguishes the past as the object of memory (the object of past apprehension – for example, my sister on her wedding day) from the present existence of the extramental object (here, that of my sister), whereas his reader distinguishes the object of memory from the mean of knowing (the preserved image that allows me to remember my sister on her wedding day). Why did the annotator add this note? It is meant to clarify the difference between (a) the object of memory and (b) the mean of remembering (memory trace). The three marginal notes studied in this manuscript illustrate a different type of relationship to the text from that in the Turin manuscript BN H III 13: here, the notes are more easily aligned with the text. The annotators undoubtedly felt that Versoris was too synthetic on the question of memory, and that he left out certain points. These additions could have been parts of an evaluation in the university curriculum in which this manuscript was used. Were these additions made by teachers who had taken Versoris' commentary as the basis for their course? These questions remain unanswered, at least in the present state of my research.

The two important marginal notes, which I have classified as "summary", are at the end of the *quaestio*. They are additions with no direct link to the text itself. Close to the Arabic authors, they are also close to Albert the Great's Commentary on *De memoria*.[59] The annotator in question probably owes these references to the Dominican. This is quite interesting in that it re-Albertises Versoris' commentary which largely follows Aquinas'.[60] We can link this strategy with the one described

quibusdam potentiis exterioribus que vero non insunt omni animali, sed solum perfectis ut de memoria que solum animalibus perfectis inest et de reminiscentia, que solum in hominibus invenitur" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon misc. 211, fol. 193ra).

59 Albert the Great synthetises Averroes' and Avicenna's positions on the internal senses in the *digressiones*, i.e. the beginning of his commentary on the first chapter of Aristotle's treatise. See notably Donati's edition: Albertus Magnus, *Opera Omnia* VIII, IIA, 113–115. See also Dag Nikolaus Hasse, *Avicenna's "De anima" in the Latin West: The Formation of a Peripatetic Philosophy of the Soul 1160–1300*, London: Warburg Institute, 2000, 60–69 and 127–153.

60 On the association of Versoris' position to Thomistico-Albertinian perspective, see Rutten, *Secundum mentem et processum Versoris.*

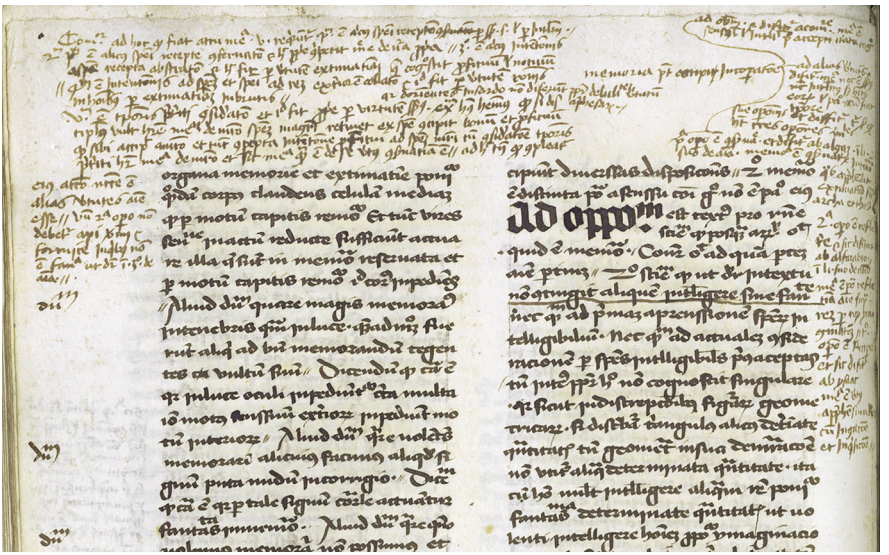


Figure 2: Archivio Catedral Pamplona, Còd. 24, fol. 183v.

above, Scoticising a commentary close to Buridan's. Let us look at these two notes in detail.

The first (see Figure 2) lists five elements necessary to the act of remembering:

1. the reception of a *species* (image), which is a matter for the senses and the intellect;[61]
2. preserving this *species*, which is a question of memory in the strict sense of the term;

61 This parallel treatment of intelligible and sensible *species* is not common at all in that such different *species* are strictly distinguished. However, in the context of this commentary, it is an interesting addition to what Versoris' writes. This parallel treatment seems to be implicit in Versoris' text which reads as follow: "sed debet intelligi quod memoria est preteritorum quantum ad nostram apprehensionem, ita quod dum memoramus aliqua *sensisse vel intellexisse* sive illa sint in presenti, sive non, tunc ibi est memoria. ... Cum enim intervenerit aliquod tempus medium inter priorem apprehensionem *sensus vel intellectus* et apprehensionem sequentem, sic est memoria et sic memoria est respectu preterite apprehensionis". See ms. Pamplona, Bibl. Cab. 24, fol. 183rb. Intelligible and sensible *species* would certainly not be equated in Caulaincourt's treatment of memory and its object. On *species*, see Leen Spruit, *Species intelligibilis: From Perception to Knowledge*, vol. 1: *Classical Roots and Medieval Discussions*, Leiden: Brill, 1993.

3. the abstraction of *intentio* from the *species* due to the estimative – and our annotator specifies that the function of the estimative is to perceive emotional data such as enmity or friendship;
4. the association (*collatio*) of *species* with *intentio*, a matter for the cogitative (in humans) and the estimative (in non-rational animals);
5. consideration for time spent.

This note is particularly interesting because it revives the tradition of the internal senses, which can be traced back to Avicenna. At first glance, it may seem that it owes more to Averroes except that the commentator distinguishes three (and not five) operations necessary for recollection.[62] Moreover, in the second point of his list, the annotator links memory with the function that Avicenna and Averroes attribute to imagination, namely the conservation of *species*. The annotator then merges Avicenna's estimative, which can perceive the *intentiones* present in the object perceived, with Averroes' memory, which captures the *intentiones* by abstracting them from the *species*. Furthermore, if we take seriously the third element of his enumeration, *intentio* is to be understood (a) as data of the emotional order, (b) which comes from the *species*, in other words from the data of the five senses. The harmful or positive character of an object – a mushroom, for example – can be abstracted from the sensory data we have gleaned about it (its smell, colour, taste, etc.). However, this definition of *intentio* is different both from what we find in Avicenna, since the estimative is capable of perceiving its potential danger directly, without going through the *species*, and from what we find in Averroes, where *intentio* designates the singularity of an object, without necessarily referring to emotional data.[63] If the content of the note seems close to the Arab doctrines of the internal senses, insofar as it recovers their vocabulary, this closeness must be understood in a rather broad

62 In the compendium of *Parva naturalia*, or, more precisely, in the Epitome devoted to memory, we read the following: "Et cum virtus rememorativa fecerit illam presentari, ymaginans faciet presentari formam illius rei et distinguens componet intentionem quam distinxit et divisit, quoniam ex intentionibus in quas forma dividitur componitur. [a] Intentio igitur forme presentatur a rememorativa; [b] descriptio eius presentatur ab ymaginativa; [c] et compositio intentionis cum descriptione fit a distinctiva; et per congregationem istarum trium virtutum presentatur res oblita apud investigationem remorationis" (Averroes, *Compendia Librorum Aristotelis qui Parva naturalia vocantur*, Emily Shields (ed.), Cambridge (MA): The Medieval Academy of America, 1949, 60–61, l.8–15).

63 On this point, see in particular the specificity that Averroes assigns to memory, the faculty capable of grasping intentions: "Et manifestum quod [ista virtus, i.e. *virtus rememorativa*] est de virtutibus comprehendentibus res particulares individuas" (Averroes, *Compendium libri Aristotelis*, 49–50).

sense: the details of this position cannot be traced back to either Avicenna or Averroes. Nevertheless, the fourth element of the enumeration belongs to the two Arab commentators. For Avicenna, it is the estimative that takes on the task of assembling *intentio* and *species* by means of memory and imagination. For Averroes, for whom there is no estimative, *collatio* is performed by the cogitative faculty (in human beings) or instinct (in non-rational animals). Finally, the fifth and last item in the list cannot be directly reconciled with any of the Arab theories. The Arabs read a version of *De memoria* that is unknown to us, but which differed substantially from the one available to the Latins:[64] it apparently placed less emphasis on past time – which is why this dimension is not so prominent in the theories of Avicenna and Averroes, even though it is not entirely absent. To this list, the annotator adds an example that illustrates the process of recollection that takes place through the association of *intentiones* with objects endowed with these characteristics: the preservation of a *species* via memory – for example, of the master's *species* – makes it possible to conceive of the master's goodness, that is, an *intentio*; once the *intentio* of the good has been conceived, it is possible to refer to the *species* that is associated with the master.[65]

64 Several studies have been published on this corpus. I will limit myself to mentioning two publications: Deborah Louise Black, Memory, Individuals, and the Past in Averroes's Psychology, *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 5 (1996): 191–197; Carla Di Martino, Mémoire, représentation et signification chez Averroès: Une proposition de lecture, in: *Memory and Recollection in the Aristotelian Tradition: Essays on the Reception of Aristotle's "De memoria et reminiscentia"*, Véronique Decaix and Christina Thomsen Thörnqvist (eds.), 93–105, Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

65 The example is as follows: "Exemplum huius habemus quod si discipulus vult habere memoriam de magistro speciem magistri retinet, ex specie concipit bonum et proficuum quod sibi accipit amitto et tunc concepta intentione proficuum ad speciem magistri tamen consideratione temporis preteriti habet memoria de magistro" (Pamplona, Bibl. Cath. 24, fol. 183va (see Figure 2)). This seems to correspond to the process of recollection as set out by Avicenna in his *De anima*, IV, I, except that Avicenna mentions *intentio*, but also *species* and the combination of the two to obtain a memory. See the following passage: "Cum vero ostensa fuerit forma qua apprehendit intentionem quae deleta erat, apparebit et intentio sicut apparueat extra et stabiliet eam virtus memorialis in se sicut stabilierat prius, et fiet memoria. Et aliquando perveniet ab intentione ad formam, et memoria habita non habebit comparationem ad id quod est in thesauro retinendi, sed ad id quod est in thesauro imaginandi; et erit eius conversio, aut ex hoc quod convertitur ad intentiones quae sunt in retentione, ita ut intentio faciat formam necessario apparere et convertetur iterum comparatio ad id quod est in imaginatione, aut propter conversionem ad sensum" (Avicenna, *De anima*, IV, I, 9–10). Another example, always by Avicenna, can be mentioned here, although it differs in that Avicenna refers to a process operating by the association of ideas: "… sicut ille cuius mentem subit liber aliquis per quem recordatur magistri qui se docuit eum, non tamen est necesse ut cum recordatur libri et intentionis eius, recordetur etiam magistri sui omnis homo" (Avicenna, *De anima*, IV, III, 41).

Finally, after listing the elements necessary for the act of remembering in the form of a summary or *aide-mémoire*, our annotator defines memory as a preserving faculty and specifies that the act of remembering – what he calls its "second operation" – is not solely a matter for this faculty, but that it involves a combination of operations of the faculties listed, and in particular of the imagination (*fantasia*).[66] Despite his reading and knowledge of the Arab authors, he distances himself from them – consciously or not – by making memory a capacity for conserving *species.* According to Avicenna, memory preserves the *intentiones*, understood as elements that are not perceived by the five senses, in the manner of the harmfulness of an individual, whereas for Averroes it captures what makes an individual special (via *intentio*, abstracted from other sensible data). As far as I know, the position presented in this note is unprecedented, even if it owes a debt to Aristotle, but above all to Avicenna and Averroes, perhaps through the intermediary of Albert the Great. Comprising a *fenestra* of a few words, it is probably a note copied from a model which, at this stage of my research, is still unknown to me. This model incorporated into the theory of memory the Aristotelian argument on time, set out in *Physics* IV, with the example of the tales of the heroes of Sardinia, in relation to point 4.[67] This example, which refers to the difficulty of defining time and to the fact that we are sometimes unaware of the passage of time, is to my knowledge a first in the commentaries on *De memoria*. It does not come from Albert, Aquinas, or any other known commentator of the *De memoria*. It remains difficult to grasp its function in relation to point 4 because of the missing terms.

In short, this note presents a vocabulary derived from the Arabic and Latin reception – notably Albertinian[68] – of *De memoria*, even if the details of the con-

66 He concludes his note by writing: "Et sic memoria quantum est de se virtus conservativa est. Ad hoc tamen quod compleatur eius actio necesse est alias virtutes anime esse. Unde secunda operatio non debetur api verum et formice in quibus non est fantasia ut dicitur in tertio *De anima*" (Pamplona, Bibl. Cath. 24, fol. 183va (see Figure 2)).

67 The annotator writes: "quartum est intentionis ad speciem et speciei ad rem exteriorem collatio et istud fit per virtutem rationis in hominibus, per extimationem in brutis; [fenestra: 2–3 voces] quia dormientes in Sardo non differunt propter debilitatem virtutum apprehensarum" (Pamplona, Bibl. Cath. 24, fol. 183va (see Figure 2)).

68 Albert the Great was fond of Arabic peripatetic interpretations, and this also applies to his paraphrase of *De memoria*. At the beginning of his commentary, he draws up a list partly like this one. He writes: "Revocentur igitur ad memoriam ea quae de virtutibus apprehensivis sensibilibus dicta sunt, et inveniemus quod quattuor sunt in quibus memoriae perficitur operatio. ... Cum autem dicimus quod rememoramur ex eo quod est apud animam, oportet necessario duas praecedere operationes. [i] Quarum una est esse receptum hoc a quo memoria incipit; et haec est operatio sensus communis. [ii] Secunda autem est esse conservatum apud nos ex praesenti accepto in praeterito. Et ostendimus in libro *De anima* impossibile esse quod eiusdem potentiae organicae

veyed position make it a novelty, which is rather unexpected from a synthesis situated at the end of the *quaestio*. The elements it refers to are absent from Versoris' commentary. Versoris' method, as deduced from a reading of his commentaries, will be discussed below. One of the characteristics of the style of Versoris' commentaries is that they rework material coming from Aquinas' *Sententia* that is directly useful for understanding and learning the Aristotelian purpose of *De memoria*. Since there is never any mention of *intentio*, a notion introduced in this context by Avicenna, it is not surprising that Versoris does not mention it. By the same token, Versoris does not mention the association (*collatio*) between *species* and *intentiones*, which is characteristic of recollection as envisaged by Avicenna and Averroes.

What more can we know about this approach to memory? The same hand has copied another note on this folio. Of the same type, this one considers different ways of defining memory in relation to the other faculties:

– A definition in relation to the object: as such, memory differs from knowledge of the sensible or the intelligible in that these allow us to know in the present and without the need for an intermediate lapse of time between apprehension and recollection.
– A definition in relation to the other faculties, which involves listing the operations specific to memory.

The first definition of memory allows the annotator to stipulate in Aristotelian terms that memory is an affection and a disposition (*passio et habitus*), but he adds

sit bene recipere et bene conservare. Hanc conservantem Avicenna quidem vocat formalem vel imaginativam. Averroes autem in huius libri commento vocat eam conservantem … Patet igitur ex his necessario probatum esse quod quoad hanc partem memoriae, quae scilicet procedit et incipit ex eo quod habemus apud nos, duae vires ante eam esse exiguntur … Sed distinctam rei cognitionem operatur in anima quando cognoscitur quod haec figura huius rei et non alterius intentio est. [iii] Oportet igitur quod ante memoriam quaedam virtus operetur quae ex ipsa figura elicit rerum intentiones singulares. Et hanc quidem bene et proprie vocavit Avicenna aestimationem. Averroes autem improprie vocat cogitativam animalium brutorum, per quam fugiunt nociva et prosequuntur convenientia. [iv] Cum igitur memoria habeat utrumque horum, oportet in ipsa esse depictas figuras et intentiones; completur enim actus memoriae ex compositione horum duorum" (Albertus Magnus, *De sensu et sensato cuius secundus liber est de memoria et reminiscentia*, Silvia Donati (ed.), Münster: Aschendorff, 2017, 113–114). This list thus includes four elements: (i) the reception of a (sensible) form attributed to the common sense; (ii) the conservation of this form, attributed in Avicenna to the *virtus formans* or *imaginativa* and, in Averroes, to the *virtus conservans*; (iii) the faculty of singular *intentiones*, i.e. the Avicennian estimative and the Averroes cogitative. This faculty is necessary because, without connecting a sensible form to its *intentio*, we cannot return to a precise thing and remember it; (iv) memory, which acts by combining *intentio* and *forma* in the act of recollection.

that this can be understood in relation to the sense or the intellect. Now, Aristotle limits himself to saying that memory is an affection or disposition of the sense – and not of the intellect. Memory belongs to the intellect only by accident in so far as I can remember having learnt the definition of a triangle in such-and-such a year and on such-and-such an occasion.

But it is in the context of the second definition that this note proves particularly interesting, especially in its treatment of Arabic sources. The annotator defines memory in terms of its three operations: preservation, reflection, and apprehension (reception). However, this note completely contradicts the previous one, which was written by the same hand. Does this mean that the source copied is different? Certainly, since this time the source seems to be Albert's *De homine,* as can be seen in the table below. In this passage, Albert sets out the different definitions of memory before seeking a concordant solution. Does this mean that our annotator is contradicting himself completely – in relation to what he set out in his earlier note? Not necessarily. Perhaps, like Albert, he is trying to set out different meanings of the term "memory" to arrive at the broadest possible definition. The annotator proposes to define memory – according to Al-Ghazali – as the preservation of *intentiones* grasped by the estimative, whereas the previous note defined it as the preservation of *species*. Then, concerning the second operation, the annotator cites Al-Farabi and his *De anima*. Memory is reflexive in the sense that it thinks its operation. What does this mean? This reflexivity probably refers to the fact that one remembers an act, such as having done something.

Pamplona, Bibl. Cath. 24, 183vb (see Figure 2).	**Albert the Great, *De homine*, 297–301.**[69]
Prima operatio est conservativa et diffinitur ab *Algazali* in libro suo *De anima:* "*memoria est conservatrix intentionum quas apprehendit extimativam sicut archa et thesaurus*"	Dicit *Algazel:* "*Memoria est conservatrix harum intentionum quas apprehendit aestimativa, et ideo est arca intentionum, sicut imaginativa conservatrix formarum est arca formarum*." Item, Isaac in libro de diffinitionibus: "Memoria est comprehensio rerum existentium in anima cum inquisitione." …

69 Albertus Magnus, *De homine*, Henryk Anzulewicz and Joachim Söder (eds.), Münster: Aschendorff, 2008.

Secunda operatio est reflectere et sic diffinitur ab *Al-Farabio* in libro suo *De anima*: "memoria est potentia reflectiva anime supra rem per †res[70]† ymaginationem"	Supra dictae autem diffinitiones diversimode tangunt naturam potentiae memorativae. Et *prima* quae est Algazelis, datur de potentia in comparatione ad proprium habitum eius. Habitus enim memoriae constituitur ex intentionibus, quae prius sunt acceptae per phantasiam et aestimationem, propter quod etiam Aristoteles dicit quod memoria est passio sensus et phantasiae. *Sequens autem diffinitio quae est Isaac, datur de memoria in comparatione ad proprium obiectum et proprium actum. Res enim existentes in anima dicuntur ab ipso res existentes in praeterito. Inquisitio autem non est inquisitio rationis, sed illa quae exigitur ad actum recordationis*, ad cuius actum secundum *Alfarabium in suo libro de memoria et reminiscentia quattuor exiguntur, scilicet imago, et intentio illius imaginis elicita per phantasiam, et facere illam intentionem praesentem, et iudicare illam intentionem esse illius imaginis quae prius sentiebatur*. Collatio enim quae in his quattuor consistit, ab Isaac inquisitio vocatur.
Tertia operatio est recipere et sic diffinitur ab *Isaac: memoria est virtus apprehensiva rei cum investigatione et inquisitione*.	

With these two notes, our annotator does not seem to be adopting a systematic perspective on memory. He reproduces – at least in one case – a passage from Albert the Great, and in the other case studied, something that could come indirectly from Albert, since the position mobilises several Arab authors. Alongside Versoris' text, which is straight to the point in its aim to comment on Aristotle's *De memoria*, our annotators add references to the Arabic and Latin reception of this treatise; they reproduce the history of the discussions to which it gave rise, a history absent from the text itself (see Figure 3).[71] As we have said, Versoris' commentary is intended

70 Undecipherable term.

71 In addition to numerous references to Arabic vocabulary and sources, the *marginalia* also mention Latin sources and theological questions. The annotator behind the two "summary" notes under review shows an encyclopaedic, and very Albertinian, approach. This tendency is further demonstrated when he introduces a question on the memory of the separated soul. At the bottom of fol. 193va, we read: "Utrum memoria sit in anima separata: memoria uno modo dicitur conservativa similitudines partis intellective conservante que impressa est anime a prima sui origine; et sic in anima separata est ponere memoriam; est in apprehensiva partis ut dicit in libro *De anima* Augustinus quantum ad intelligentiam, voluntatem et memoria⟨m⟩; alio modo dicitur 'memoria' virtus conservativa intentionum receptarum in anima mediante fantasmate; et hec est memoria de qua loquitur Philosophus quod … est in anima coniuncta". This question is also irrelevant to

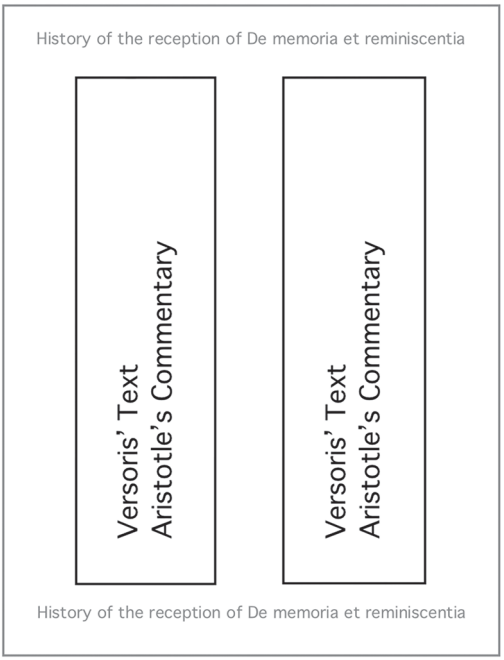


Figure 3: History of the reception of *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

to be synthetic, straightforward and, by the same token, close to Aristotle's text. So, what can be said about the relationship between the different voices in fols. 192v–193v of the Pamplona manuscript Bibl. Cath. 24? The notes complete the manuscript, adding an Albertine colouring, but their main function is to insert the interpretative tradition of *De memoria*. They reintroduce what has been left out of the text, i.e. the details of the debates within the Aristotelian tradition. They add parameters – notably by considering the relationship between the discussion of the soul and that of memory, or by considering the memory of the separate soul. In short, unlike the above-presented case, with the Scotist note that follows Caulaincourt's commentary, we are not dealing here with the insertion of a particu-

Versoris. Our annotator mentions two ways of conceiving memory. There is an Aristotelian one, according to which memory requires the *fantasma* or *species* derived from sensible knowledge; the other, being rather Augustinian, claims that memory does not come from the sensitive part of the soul, but from its intellective part. In more Augustinian terms, we would have to say that memory is part of the image of God in man, alongside the intelligence and the will. This memory is innate; it preserves data imprinted in the soul from its origin. The two memories are therefore compatible.

lar doctrine, but with the history of the reception of Aristotle's treatise. Although Albert is undoubtedly a model, the notes studied are not all based directly on his writings. Moreover, the additional questions, in particular the one concerning the relationship between the science of the soul and that of memory, as well as the one concerning the relationship between the science of memory and that of sensation, can be traced back to several commentaries from the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, rather than to Albert's writings.[72] In short, in this commentary, the relationship between text and paratext (*marginalia*) can be schematised as shown in Figure 3. This case of polyphony and polytextuality within the Pamplona manuscript, which brings into play the views of Versoris and Aquinas in the body of the text, and those of Albert and other philosophers in the margins, is also of interest in the discussion of the models of Versoris and his readers from the *via antiqua*, which can oscillate between Thomism and Albertism.[73] These two voices, that of Albert and of Aquinas, echo, in their own way, just as Scotus and Buridan did in the previously studied cases. These two dialogues are important testimonies to the reception of Caulaincourt's and Versoris' texts. They show how these commentaries have been read in the context of doctrinal schools. With the addition in Caulaincourt's commentary studied above, Caulaincourt's text becomes more Scotist, whereas in this case Versoris' text, much indebted to Aquinas' *Sententia*, is tainted with Albertism.

4 Third Case Study: One or Two Voices? Johannes Versoris and Thomas Aquinas

The third and final case in our analysis is the Oxford manuscript, Canon Misc. 211, fols. 246r–248v, which also contains the commentary on *De memoria* of Ver-

72 Several readers (at least two) have added five questions to the four Versorian questions, as we have seen. The first two are now classics of thirteenth-century teaching concerning *De memoria* and its link with *De anima* and the rest of the *Parva naturalia*. Why add these questions alongside Versoris' first question? The first *sciendum* of this question situates *De memoria* within the Aristotelian corpus in the manner of Aquinas' *Sententia.* The addition of these questions allows the same observation to be made in other words. Instead of talking about prudence, which is not present in all sentient beings, and which includes memory, these annotators point out that the angle of analysis of the *Parva naturalia* is more organic – insofar as it deals with the soul as it interacts with the body – and more concrete than that of the *De anima*.

73 On this point, see also Rutten, *Secundum processum et mentem Versoris*.

soris.[74] This French manuscript, which is one of the oldest witnesses to the *De memoria* of Versoris – along with St-Quentin BV123 mentioned above – illustrates a third type of relationship that may exist between the text and the marginal notes. With Caulaincourt, we saw a Scotist note completing a Buridanist commentary; with Versoris' copy in the Pamplona manuscript, we saw a dialogue between the Versorian interpretation of Aristotle's text and the interpretative tradition that preceded it; finally, here we shall see that the boundary between the text itself and the paratext located in the margins is not always as clear-cut as it may appear.

Fols. 246r–247r of the Oxford manuscript, which transmit the first and the beginning of the second *quaestio* of Versoris' commentary, are accompanied by four extensive marginal notes by a hand that also corrected the initial text and that intervened throughout the manuscript to annotate Versoris' commentaries. This is a far cry from the previously discussed Pamplona manuscript, with its extreme number of notes and annotators. However, the notes present in the Oxford manuscript have one specificity: they make transparent the references underlying the text by Versoris and, hence, by Aquinas (Cicero, the *Physics*, the *Metaphysics*, and even Aristotle's *De anima*).[75] We have already seen the close links between the beginning of the Versorian *quaestio* and Thomas Aquinas' *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia.* The Oxford annotator obviously completed the commentary based on the *Sententia*, as can be seen in the example below, where the commentary is in Roman script and the marginal additions are in italics in the left column.

74 On this manuscript, see Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries,* vol. 1, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, 74–76. According to Thomson, the folios concerning the *De memoria* were written by Johannes Run in 1443. He also thinks that the notes, written in a style contemporary with that of the main text, have been written by Johannes de Coromines, who owned and commissioned the manuscript from the University of Paris.

75 In the case of two of them, they come from the same source as Versoris' commentary, namely Aquinas' *Sententia.*

Johannes Versoris, *Questiones de memoria et reminiscentia*, q. 1, Oxford, Bodl., Canon Misc. 211, fol. 246 (see Figure 4).

… Ideo memoria per quam apprehenduntur preterita ponitur pars prudentie; unde etiam in animalibus in quibus invenitur prudencie similitudo participata invenitur etiam memoria preteritorum, sed tamen sicut habent prudenciam imperfectam respectu hominis, ita habent memoriam imperfectam. *Unde et Tullius in sua Rhetorica: non solum providentiam que futura disponuntur et intelligentiam per quam presentia considerantur, sed cum hiis ponit memoriam preteritorum esse partem prudentie,*
Secundo ideo principio Metaphysice dicitur quod quedam animalia memoriam habent et propter hoc prudentia sunt.

… Prima pars probatur, quia futura cognoscimus per intellectum; ergo, si etiam illa cognoscemus per memoriam, superflueret una istarum potentiarum;
Nota quod Aristoteles ponit quod futurorum quantum ad partem intellectivam est [*opinio,* scrips sed eras] *scientia sperativa aut divinativa; futura sunt contingentia; ergo eorum non est aliqua scientia. Dicitur quod ipsorum secundum se non est scientia, sed bene per habitudinem ad suas causas necessarias in quibus potest videri habitudo effectus ad esse sicut astrologi ex corporibus celestibus indicant multos futuros eventus; non ut contingentes, sed ut sunt in causa necessaria. Non omne futurum est contingens.*
Argumentum patet quia de futuris contingentibus secundum quod in suis causis considerantur potest esse aliqua scientia que vocatur sperativa aut divinativa. Et per hoc etiam probatur secunda pars conclusionis.

Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia*, 104.

… Pertinet autem ad prudenciam ut prudens dirigatur per eam in hiis que inminent sibi agenda ex consideratione non solum presencium set etiam preteritorum; *unde Tullius in sua Rethorica partes prudencie ponit non solum providenciam per quam futura disponuntur, set etiam intelligenciam per quam considerantur presencia et memoriam per quam apprehenduntur preterita.* Unde et in aliis animalibus in quibus invenitur prudencie similitudo participata, necesse est esse non solum sensum presencium, set etiam memoriam preteritorum, et *ideo Philosophus dicit in principio Metaphisice quod quibusdam animalibus ex ⟨sensu⟩ memoria fit, et propter hoc prudencia sunt*

… Dicit ergo primo quod futura non contingit memorari, set eorum est opinio, ex parte virtutis cognoscitive, dum scilicet aliquis opinatur aliquid esse futurum, et spes, ex parte appetitive, dum scilicet ipse in aliquid futurum sperando tendit.
Dicit autem quod etiam quedam sciencia potest esse futurorum, que potest dici *sperativa* sciencia, quidam autem nominant eam *divinativam*, quia per eam aliqui possunt cognoscere in futurum contingere de quo est spes.
Set, cum spes sit futurorum que ab homine acquiri possunt, huiusmodi autem sunt futura contingencia de quibus non potest esse sciencia, videtur quod nulla sciencia possit esse sperativa futurorum. Dicendum est autem quod de futuris contingentibus secundum se consideratis non potest esse sciencia, set secundum quod in causis suis considerantur potest de eis sciencia esse, prout scilicet alique sciencie cognoscunt esse inclinationes quasdam ad tales effectus: sic enim et sciencia naturalis est de generabilibus et corruptibilibus. *Et hoc etiam modo astrologi possunt ⟨per⟩ suam scienciam prenunciare quosdam futuros eventus sperando, puta ubertatem vel sterilitatem, propter dispositionem corporum celestium ad tales effectus.*

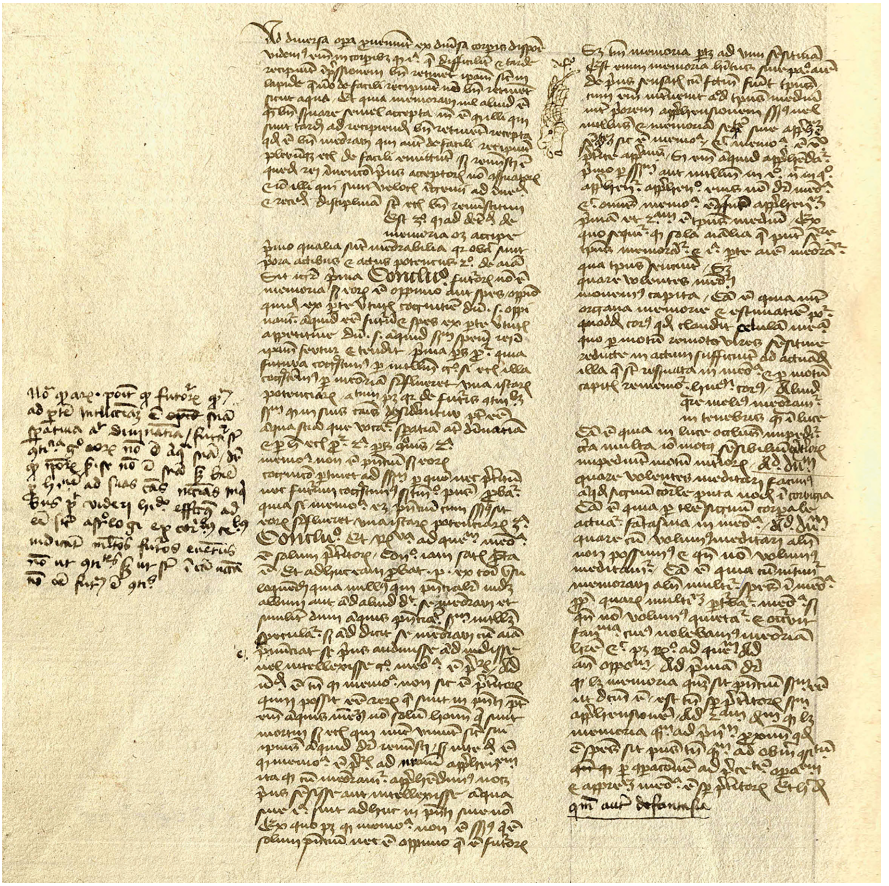


Figure 4: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon misc. 211, fol. 246r.

At this stage, how can we describe the work of the annotator of the Oxford manuscript? Did he have the *Sententia* before him and, seeing the proximity between Versoris and his model, added to it? Or has Versoris himself changed his teaching in the meantime and added these examples? In the first case, the additions should be ascribed to a user of the text, and in the second one, to Versoris' teaching.[76]

76 Versoris' writing is to be seen in a quittance already mentioned above (note 46). This writing does not look like that of the annotator. The mentioned hypothesis is that these additions could eventually relate to Versoris' teaching at a later stage of his career. However, I have no evidence for that. See also above (note 74).

These explanations are very appealing. However, when we look at the Prague manuscript tradition concerning Versoris' *De memoria*, we see that other hypotheses are also worth mentioning. Indeed, some other witnesses to Versoris' commentary – including several examples from the Central-European family – have, in one way or another, integrated the marginal additions present in the Oxford manuscript into the text itself. To get a clearer idea of the nature of the addition and its relationship to the text, let us look at the way in which the various witnesses behave in the table below.

Oxford Bodleian Library, Canon misc. 211, marginal notes.	**Prague, Národní Knihovna I E 38.**[77]	**Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia De memoria et reminiscentia*.**
fol. 246r: Unde et Tullius in sua *Rhetorica*: non solum providentiam qua futura disponuntur et intelligentiam per quam presentia considerantur, sed cum hiis ponit memoriam preteritorum esse partem prudentie,	fol. 351r: Nam Tullius in sua *Rhetorica* partes prudencie ponit: non solum providenciam per quam disponimus futura sed etiam intelligentiam per quam considerantur presentia et memoriam per quam apprehenduntur preterita.[78]	L. 24–28, 104.
fol. 246r: Et ideo principio *Metaphysice* dicitur quod quedam animalia memoriam habent et propter hoc prudentia sunt.	fol. 351r: Et ideo Philosophus dicit in principio *Metaphysice* quod in quibusdam animalibus ex memoria fit prudencia, sed tamen sicut alia animalia habent imperfectam prudenciam respectu hominis, ita et memoriam;	L. 31–34, 104.

77 This manuscript was chosen as a testimony for the Central-European family.

78 This passage – with minor variants – can be found in the body of the text of the following manuscripts: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin ms. lat. 402, Universitätsbibliothek Basel F VII 11, Real Biblioteca de El Escorial m.II.1, Prague Národní Knihovna I E 38, Prague KMK L37, Prague KMK M75, Prague Národní Knihovna IV G 16, Prague Národní Knihovna IV G 18, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 8, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 9, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 12, Prague Národního Muzea X E 5, Schlägl Prämonstratenserstift 119 Cpl. 169, St. Florian Stiftsbibliothek XI 626, St-Omer 586. By comparison, we find this in Pamplona: "[ideo memoria qua preterita comprehenduntur] a Tullio pars prudentie ponitur" (Pamplona Bibl. Cath. 24 fol. 182vb). The current state of my research on the dissemination of Versoris' commentary does not allow me to draw up a precise stemma. However, there are at least important differences between the group of manuscripts I will call "A" and "B". The "A" manuscripts tend to come from Western Europe (Italy, France, Spain, etc.), whereas the "B" manuscripts also originate from Paris (ms. St-Omer, 586) – as noticed by Aurora Panzica – and spread in Central Europe. Pamplona Bibl. Cath. 24 would be placed in the "A" group.

fol. 246v: Nota quod Aristoteles ponit quod futurorum quantum ad partem intellectivam est [opinio, *scrips sed eras*] scientia sperativa aut divinativa; futura sunt contingentia; ergo eorum non est aliqua scientia. Dicitur quod ipsorum secundum se non est scientia, sed bene per habitudinem ad suas causas necessarias in quibus potest videri habitudo effectus ad esse, sicut astrologi ex corporibus celestibus indicant multos futuros eventus, non ut contingentes, sed ut sunt in causa necessaria. Non omnes futurum est contingens.

fol. 247r: Nota quod, cum fantasia aliqua convenientiam habeat cum memoria, ut patet in notabili prout conclusionem, ideo Aristoteles se excusat de determinatione fantasie, dicendo quod in *De anima* determinandum est de ea quomodo pertinet ad partem sensitivam, subsuit tamen maxime intellectu, quoniam non contingit intelligere sine fantasmate et quare intellectus est universalium, fantasia corporalium et materialium; aliquis posset dubitare quomodo non contingit intelligere sine fantasmate; ideo Aristoteles hic dat exemplum de descriptionibus mathematicis etiam gratia illius.

fol. 351v: etiam astrologi considerando vel sperando possunt per suam scientiam preannuciare quosdam futuros eventus puta ubertatem, aut sterilitatem propter dispositionem corporum celestium ad suos effectus.[79]

L. 131–135, 105.

To what extent are the Oxford marginal additions paratextual? Should they not be considered part of the commentary itself? This seems to be the view of the "Prague" witnesses, i.e. the Prague manuscripts, and the witnesses of other prove-

79 Similarly, this passage is found in Nürnberg, Staatsbibliothek, Cent V 46 MF, Prague KMK L37, Prague KMK M75, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 8, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 9, Prague Národní Knihovna V E 12, Prague Národní Knihovna IV G 16, Prague Národní Knihovna IV.G.18, Prague Národního Muzea X E 5, Schlägl Prämonstratenserstift 119 Cpl. 169, St. Florian Stiftsbibliothek XI 626, St-Omer 586. This passage is missing from Pamplona Bibl. Cath. 24.

nance sharing their characteristics, i.e. here adding the same portions of text. Three marginal notes in the Oxford manuscript are added to the heart of the commentary itself in the manuscripts that are part of the "B" group.[80] How can the text be delimited? This question revives that of understanding Versoris' authority, a problem mentioned by Christoph Flüeler in an article dedicated to the colophons.[81] The question is especially salient since the author's work in this context is largely a compilation of extracts from the writings of Aquinas. I do not claim to resolve this question here but simply show that the comparison between the Oxford manuscript and the members of a possible "B" group, widespread in Central Europe, reopens this question of Versoris' authority. How should we conceive of authority in this context?[82]

Versoris – or the author of the commentary on *De memoria* mentioned above – did not limit himself to compiling extracts from Aquinas' *Sententia*. As we have said, the *dubitationes* in his questions to the *De memoria* are certainly of his own making, or from a hitherto unknown source. However, it is interesting to note that these manuscripts from the group widespread in Central Europe do not include these *dubitationes* for the first *quaestio*. In other words, at this stage of my study, it seems that the Oxford marginal notes – considered *post* additions and corrections – allow us to situate this manuscript at the intersection of two traditions or groups of manuscripts: one, which contains a condensed version of the first *quaestio*, omitting the references to Cicero, to Aristotle's works other than the *De memoria*, and to

80 See above, note 79.

81 Christoph Flüeler writes: "Zahlreiche Editionen zum ganzen *corpus Aristotelicum* werden eindeutig Johannes Versor zugeschrieben. Wendet man sich aber der vernachlässigten handschriftlichen Überlieferung zu, erweist sich die klare Zuschreibung in den Editionen als fragwürdig. Die Handschriftenkataloge haben sich meistens auf die Zuschreibung in den alten Drucken gestützt und haben den Kommentar ohne näheren Hinweis dem Pariser Magister Johannes Versor zugeschrieben, selbst wenn der Kommentar in der Handschrift anonym überliefert ist" (Christoph Flüeler, Die verschiedenen literarischen Gattungen der Aristoteleskommentare: Zur Terminologie der Überschriften und Kolophone, in: *Manuels, Programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales: Actes du colloque internationale de Louvain-la-Neuve, 9–11 septembre 1993,* Jacqueline Hamesse (ed.), 75–116, Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1994, 80). Based on the examination of the colophons of some of the oldest manuscripts transmitting Versoris' commentaries, Flüeler confirmed that these texts originated in Paris, mostly in the 1440s. Their strong structural similarities seem to indicate that they were conceived as an organic introduction to the different branches of philosophy for Parisian students. It remains unclear whether Versoris was the author of these commentaries, their compiler, or exactly which role he played.

82 Aurora Panzica, to whom this study owes a great deal, is conducting research into this very question.

the question of the astrologers; the other, which contains all of this in the text itself, but omits the final part of the *quaestio*, the *dubitationes*.[83] What connections can be drawn between the Oxford notes and the inserts of the so-called "B" group? Did Versoris vary his teaching by adding these passages, which would have been found in the B group and which would have been added by the annotator to a pre-existing manuscript? Can we assume that the Oxford annotator was read by a copyist of one of the so-called "B" group manuscripts? Or could it be the other way round? These questions will remain open, especially as both the Oxford manuscript and several members of the Prague family contain idiosyncrasies: (a) Oxford includes a note on *fantasia* that is absent from any other known witness at this stage of my research, and (b) several manuscripts of the "B" group contain the quotation from the *Aeneid*, which is present in Aquinas' *Sententia*, and is absent, even from the margins, from the witness in the Bodleian Library. While it is not yet possible to define precisely the direction of these influences and of the collective work on this commentary on *De memoria*, it is certain that the solution will involve a study of the *marginalia*.

Concluding Remarks

At the end of this three-stage journey, I hope to have shown that marginal notes are not simply additions to the text or ways of saying the same thing. They are much more: the three manuscripts studied show that the notes can contradict the text – at least in part – as well as complement it by putting forward other data from different doctrinal schools. They can also reference it, by indicating the source of this or that other assertion put forward by the text itself. In this way, the large *marginalia* provide valuable data: for anyone interested in the use of a codex –for teaching, simple reading, scholarship etc.; for anyone wishing to produce a stemma – since the *marginalia* can also be copied, even in the body of the text; and for anyone wishing to examine the reception of a particular commentary. They are also invaluable for those wishing to examine the reception of a particular commentary, which might have been biased – as in the case of the Scotist note in Caulaincourt's commentary.[84] In short, marginal notes convey polytextuality.

In the introduction and during the text, I sought to highlight this polytextual character by proposing a comparison between the annotated commentaries under

83 At this stage of my research, I do not know if there is another manuscript that carries the note on the imagination.

84 Publishers of Caulaincourt's commentary refer to it as "secundum mentem Doctoris Subtilis Scoti". See Bakker, *Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics*, 197.

study and the medieval genre of the motet. It is now time to evaluate this comparison. To what extent can motets and annotated commentaries be compared? From the reader's or listener's perspective, they may appear similar in that they superimpose several voices and texts of different origin and status. Apart from this, the hierarchy of these texts is not always self-evident: who, the *tenor*[85] or the superior voices, holds the main text? At the same time, who, as commentator or annotator, is at the heart of the discussion of memory? We have seen that there is nothing obvious on this question. However, the comparison does not hold between the composer and the commentator: the polytextual motet is the result of the will of the composer and/or poet alone, whereas the annotated commentary is most often the fruit of a collective effort. The reader – who may be the commentator himself – adds his own touch; he enriches and augments the text to the readers who follow him. In short, the study of marginal notes once again highlights the collective nature of medieval thought.[86]

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85 The *tenor* is the lowest voice in a motet. At the origin of the genre in the thirteenth century, the tenor sings in long notes a melody taken from a *cantus firmus*, a Gregorian chant. On the motet, see Catherine Bradley, Peter M. Lefferts, Patrick Macey, Christoph Wolff, Graham Dixon, James R. Anthony, Malcolm Boyd, Jerome Roche, Leeman Lloyd Perkins, and Ernest Helmut Sanders, Motet, *Grove Music Online,* 30 December 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000369371>, accessed 5 July 2024.

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Fabio Bulgarini

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 Kuhnekath, see Klaus Dieter Kuhnekath, *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

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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 ʿAbd al-Majīd 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[e]lis Poetriam*, 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 Bibioteca 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 where 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' *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 Meliadò, *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 simbolice 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 Meliadò (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 signifcationem"; 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 assimiliabile 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[ratius] 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 Aristote'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]

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18 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1590, fol. 21r: "Questio 1456 Wenck"; fol. 41r: "in vesperiis 1454 in die Kalixti pro frate 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 Mulenbrun; 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 Patrarch'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 representacione, et ergo considerativa cuiuslibet simitudinis in esse representationis, excitacionis 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 equilaterial 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 sinbolicam theologiam". Furthermore, in his *glossae* to the text Wenck clearly considers Hermannus' identification of the *ars laudandi* (in Averroes' Arabic *ṣināʿat 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]

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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 function[37] 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 comparationem*) – 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]

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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 simbolice 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 exemplus"; 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 hérméneutique, *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. Silvianne 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 at 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*

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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 Dionysiacum* consisting of the *De coelesti hierarchia*, the *De divinis nominibus* and the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*.[48]

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conformat. Propter hoc, ergo humanum animum, sancta scriptura in diversis symbolis atque doctrinis contexta est, ut per ipsius introdutionem 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 ispsam 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 sinbolicam 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 sensibilium 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*:

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in his commentary to the *De divinis nominibus* clearly considers the *De symbolica thelogia* 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 symbolicam theologiam: 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 cooperator, 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 yimittatione 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 Sarracensus, 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[ti]ficiali 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 diligat, 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*.

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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 recepitur recipitur secundum modum recipientis', aliter homine comprehendere quam comprehensibiliter et in imagine, cum, ex. De Anima III°, 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 Meliadò (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		fructificatio				[per oppositum "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 (*ṣināʿat al-madīḥ* / *ars laudandi* or *tragoedia*) is to move (*ḥaṯṯa* / *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 impediebantur 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: inpatientia 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 Vílchez, *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 images[62] 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]

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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

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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 discendere 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 interests[79] 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 irracionalibus, 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 Meliadò, 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.

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

84 Averroes, *Commentarium medium in Aristot[e]lis Poetriam*, 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 Aristotilis 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 breviloquio, 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 ympnorum, 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 prohemiis. Et tu fac similter infigendo moderative, 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 addiscientiam,[89] sicud aliud est dicere primum propositi, aliud dicere ostendere secundum persuasionis. Apud Aristotelem Tertio Rethorice[90] aliud

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89 For the unusual term *addiscientia*, cf. its occurrence in Enricus Bate, *Speculum divinorum 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 addiscientiam* 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 *addiscientia*. Other occurences of the term *addiscentia* are found in Themistius, *Paraphrasis in Aristotelis: Posteriora, & Physica: In libros item de anima, memoria et reminiscentia, 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, aliorumq[ue] Sacrorum Doctorum*, vol. 2, Venetiis: Ex officina Damiani Zenarii, 1586, ch. 4, 235; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Omnia quotquot extant D. Ambrosii … opera: primum per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum, mox per Sig. Gelenium, deinde per alios eruditos uiros 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 divinorum", 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 Anima[91] et ex Libro Causarum[92] "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

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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 essential), 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 majorem 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 reditivum 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 Meliadò, 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 Meliadò (ed.), *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 79, no. 3, Special Issue (2024): 523–548.

93 For the use of the term *addiscientia*, 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 indiuisibilium corporum, motiuum 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 addiscentiam[100] generandam nedum nudam orationem sive dictionem, quin potius et methaforizatam.[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 addiscentia[103] ex methaphora propria et dicente:[104]
Regula: quecumque nominum faciunt nos addiscere delectantissima.
Regula: metaphora facile facit addiscere maxime.

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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 *addiscientia*, 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 *addiscientia*, 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 venerabiliorem; sicut enim ad extraneos et ad cives homines, idem patiuntur et ad eloquium; propter quod oportet facere etraneum 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 *addiscientia*, 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 eiudem Lincoliensis, 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 uisiuas 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.	**Wenck's *glossae.***
[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]	[19] Quia in natura gracia operatur, hinc poetria Aristotelis valde valet ad mysticam pariter et sinbolicam theologiam.
	[20] Prefatio in Poetriam Aristotoelis.
	[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.
Assumpsi ergo editionem Averroiis 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 Tulii Cicernois adiuvans est ad intelligendum negotium Aristolicale [*sic*] rethorice.[110]	[23] Ab Aristotele prius facta est poetria quam rethorica, ut patet intuenti textum rethorice et etiam huius poetrie.
	[24] Cicero – facilitat – rhetoricam; Oratius – facilitat – poetriam.

108 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 41: "Postquam cum non modico labore consummaveram translationem Rethorice Aristotilis, 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 dividua 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 nonnulum 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 negocii Aristotelis complementum.[111]

[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.

Dixit Aristoteles: Propositum quidem nostrum nunc est loqui in arte poetica et in modis poematum et oportet qui volt 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]

[27] Propositum poetrie est per assimulatam 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 adiuvans 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 conparatio quae tantum ambiguitatis offundit, ut diuersas habeat sententias plurimorum".

115 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria*, IV, 2, 123: "Multum confert adiecta veris credibilis rerum imago, quae velut in rem praesentem perducere audientis 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 possibilium esse.[117] Et sicut sermones ita et gestus inducunt passiones.[118]

[31] Quod non tollit Christus, tollit viscus; *viscus*[119] 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

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

… **[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 tibie vel fistule vel saltandi artificium, scilicet quod ipse sunt apte naturaliter hiis duobus, scilicet laudationi et vituperationi intentionibus.[121]

[33] Cum dicitur homo factus ad similitudinem Dei[122] hec prepositio ad notat distantiam a perfecta similitudine cum accedat ad Ipsum.

[34] Artes representative sunt ymitatrices poetrie.

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

[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 formonsior 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 tibie 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.*] venentium indigentias replenens copiose et effluenter.[124]

[37] *manicula*: pictura liberalis[125]

Et sciendum est autem quod in hanc divisionem intrant species poematum que moderni nostri temporis nominant transumpionem 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 prehabitum 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 similantur, 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".

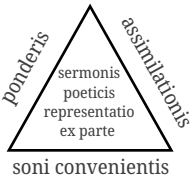
126 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 42: "Et sciendum est tibi, quod in hanc divisionem intrant species poematum, que moderni nostri temporis nominant 'transumptionem' et 'translationem', ut cum dicitur: 'pratum ridet', 'litus aratur', et, ut dixit poeta talis: 'sunt eque que in adolescentia sua nondum 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 prehabitum 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, assimilitationis, soni convenientis]



[41] Q⟨uintilianus⟩: *Quas greci phantasias nos visiones appellamus, per quas ymagines rerum absentium ita representantur animo, ut eas censere oculis ac presentes habere videamur; has quisquis tantum ceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus* ⟨…⟩ *Prosecuntur nos ymagines 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 gratior 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 iuvari 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 contingent”. 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 imitatatio 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]

[44] Scilicet: – pondus – representatio.

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

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

[46] Idem: – representatio – assimilatio.

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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 imitatatio 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 representatores 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 virtuosi non representent nisi virtutes et virtuosos, mali autem malitias et malos”.[133]

[47] Quid representandum.

[fol. 52r]

[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]

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]

[50] Intenditur a poeta:
– approbatio/assecutio decentis, id est virtutis;
– detestatio/refutatio turpis.

… 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]

[51] Quid assimulatio.

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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 virtuosi 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 eorume per poetas qui fuerunt in tempore ipsorum famosi et notorii in legibus ipsorum, et per usum cuiuslibet maneriei 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 miseriae 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 maneriei istarum trium manerierum assimilationum …"

139 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: "Species vero poetrie quam 'elegiam' nominant non est nisi 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".

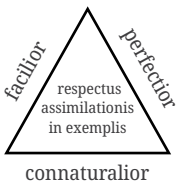
141 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 44: "Et patet per hanc divisionem quoniam maneries assimilationum tres habent radices, et quoniam earum differentie sunt tres. Et patet etiam que sunt ille tres differentie et tres maneries. Et videtur, quando inducta fuerint poemata, haberi certitudo quoniam

[fol. 53r] Reperitur enim doctrina naturaliter procedere ab homine ad hominem, secundum comparationem 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: facilior, perfectior, connaturalior]



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

Idem:
– assimilatio
– comparatio
– representatio
– ymitatio.

non est hic maneries quarta manerierum assimilationum, neque differentia quarta differentiarum illarum manerierum". 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 comparationem 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 exemplus"; 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.

[60] Habens delecatio anime in:
– representatione
– simphonia.[145]

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.

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

[*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]

[62] Primi inventores artis carminnum [*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]

[63] Quid: – laudandum – detestandum.

"… ut ex hoc amplius manifestentur mala et facta ignominiosa, scilicet quando enarraverit ista et iuxta ipsa posuerit ipsorum contraria.[149]

[64] Oppositionalis locus.

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]

[65] Poematibus: – communia – appropriata.

[66] Epylogus.[151]

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

[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]

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



cientes ab hiis in nobilitate adinvenerunt 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 cathegoricis syllogismis*: "Boecius in de kathegoricis sillogismis: amicitia non querit cogitationes privatas".

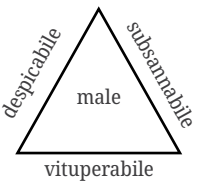
153 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 45: "Et narrat preterea quis fuerit qui primo incepit unamquamque illarum artium poeticarum assuetarum apud ipsos, et quis addiderit in ipsis, et quis tandem compleverit ipsas".

Dixit Aristotelis: et defectus et magis breve ex poematibus antecessit in terpore [*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]

[69] Quid: – brevius – defectus.

[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]

[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 defectius et magis breve ex poematibus antecessit in tempore, propterea quod nature facilius comprehendunt illa primitus. Brevius autem est quod ex paucioribus sillabis constat, et defectius 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]

[73] 2:
– narratio intentionum
– investitio earumdem.

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]

[74] Quid tonus et usus eius.

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]

[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 nutrivit 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 / animusque 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 fruere 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 comparationem 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 representationem rei cuius intenditur assimilatio.

162 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 47: "… poematis, tonus conveniens illi speciei per eius simphoniam et compositionem ipsi. Sicut enim invenimus accentum seu tonum acutum convenire cuidam speciei orationis cui non convenit gravis, sic oportet ut credatur esse in simphonia 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]

[79] Elementa representationis:
– assimilatio
– pondus
– tonus.

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 recitatorem.[164]

[80] Multum facit fama loquentis.

... 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.

[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, completive 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 recitatorem et representatorem 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 invidum esse convenit, sed secundum proverbium multa mentiuntur poete, nec ea aliam honorabiliorem oportet existimare".

Recitatores [*add.* representatores *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]

[83] Quid representator.

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]

[84] Ecce: tragediam esse laudem.[169]

[85] Partes sex tragedie.

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

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

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]

[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]

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

[89] Quid consideratio.

[90] Differunt: – representata – representantes.[173]

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

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

[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]

[92] Due partes sermonis representativi.

[93] Quid: – circulatio – signatio.

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]

[94] Alter intenditur rei:

– absque sui representatione
– ⟨vel⟩ cum.

representatione: – contrarii – ⟨vel⟩ similis.

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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 delecatationem *sub. l.*] utuntur homines arte pingendi et rescribendi.[177]

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

[96] Quare scribere ratione representationis est delectabile.

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

[97] Quid credulitas.

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]

[98] Ostendere per sermonem:
– persuasivum–est–rhetorici
– representativum–⟨est⟩ poetici.

[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]

[99] Anterior fuit sermo poeticus rhetoricali.

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

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-

[101] Poeticus sermo fundamentum et principium:
– ad consuetudinem
– ⟨et⟩ credulitatem.

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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]

[102] Instigatio poetica:
– ad credulitate⟨m⟩
– ⟨et⟩ consuetudine⟨m⟩.

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]

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

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

[104] Effectus toni: imprimere.

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

[105] Quid consideratio.

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

[106] Scientia principalior/perfectior operatione.

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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 sun”.

Dicemus ergo quoniam oportet ut sit tragedia conferens sufficientiam finibus operationis sue, scilicet ut pertingat in assimilatione et reprentatione 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]

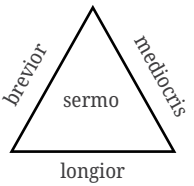
[107] Proverbia et parabole aliud habent in medulla, aliud in superficie pollicentes, in quibus divinus sensus altius perscrutandus, quasi in terra aurum, in nuce nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inqueritur.[187]

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 terraabsconditum, et nucleum in nuce conclusum; et sicut in hirsutis castanearum operculis inquiritur 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 inquiritur: 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 proportione ad logicam.
[Sermo: brevior, mediocris, longior]



Est igitur dispositio ruch° [*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 secundummateriam.Averroiis:etpropterea…[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 innitimur 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] Averroys: 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, disgrediuntur a proposito et immoratur nimis in laudibus materie que se obtulit ad laudandum.[192]

[112] Regula: non oportet disgredi a proposito.

[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]

[113] Natura duce, intendere debemus proposito, cui est et:
– initium
– ⟨et⟩ medium
– ⟨et⟩ complementum.

… representationes que fiunt per figmenta mendosa adinventitia non sunt de opere poete, ut sunt ea que nominantur proverbia et exempla, ut ea que sunt in libro Ysopi seu Hesyodi et inconsimilibusfabulosiscircumscriptionibus.[194]

[114] Qualis representationum poeticarum differt a fabulis.

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

[115] observa: ordo bonificans.

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nostra consuetudo, cum id cui nos innitimur 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 proverbia 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 proverbia et fabulas quas componunt sermone metrico communicent cum alterius eorum completur operatio intenta per fabulas etiam si sit absque metro. Et est instructio …[196]

[116] Notabilis.

[117] Differt: – poeta – fabularius.

"… 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 fortassisloquuntur in universalibus, ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum".[197]

[118] Utilitas fabularum.

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

[119] Differunt:
– ars poetrie
– ⟨et⟩ proverbiorum.

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

[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 proverbia 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 conveniant 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 conveniant 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]

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

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.*] fabulosorum poeatarum 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

[129] Poeta:
– peritus
– ⟨aut⟩sophysta.[206]

[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.

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

[131] *manicula.*

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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 possibilis 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 indigetur 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 ostentant se esse poetas, licet poete non sint".

207 Aristoteles, *De Arte Poetica*, 52–53: "Non indigetur 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]

[132] Notabilis.

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 imitationum[209] [*add.* probatio ex similitudine *sup. l.*] habet enim se in assimilatione, sicut se habet in operationibus.

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

[134] 2: – assimilatio – operatio

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-

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

[136] Ymitatio: – simplex – composita.

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

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tationem 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 circulatione.[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 △ *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 ce~~ 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:
– incipientum
– 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 circulatione”. 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]

[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]

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]

[146] 2:
– intenta ~~ymaginatio~~ operatio
– ymaginis commotio.

[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 indigetur in arte laudandi actus humanos laudabiles et decentes, et vituperandi indecentes. Dixit: hee itaque …[216]

[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 indigetur 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]

[148] Tragedie partes seu laudative.

Et hec pars est tercia, scilicet ea que generat passiones animales, videlicet miesericordiam, timorem et tristiciam. Averroys: et Ipse ponit inter hos eventus quosque miserabiles, amicorum pericula et parenctum 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.

[149] Notabilis

Dixit Averroys: 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 edificationum nobilium et ruinarum et vestigiorum, et post hec quedam preludia et solacia tractantur in ea.[218]

[150] Poematum tres partes.

[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]

[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 misericordiam 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 misericordiam et timorem. Et hec pars magna earum partium per quas est instigatio ad actiones 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 tractitant 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 fierit possit operatio artis laudandi, id est tragedie, postmodum dicemus subiungentes illud eis [*add.* dictis *sup. l.*] que precesserunt.[220]

[153] Ordo dictorum, ad dicenda.

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

Oportet ut ode, id est carmina laudum per que intenditur instigatio …[221]

[155] 2: – oda – carmen.

[fol. 63v] ad virtutuem, 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 iprorum.[222]

[156] Representantur: – virtutis – passiones.

Per hec enim fit vehementer incitatio anime ad perceptionem virtutum, nam permutatio poete a representatione virtutis ad representationem virtuosi, aut a representatione virtuosi ad representationem non virtuosi 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]

[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, idest 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 virtuosi ad representationem non virtuosi non agit aliquid per quod incitetur homo aut stimuletur, quasi terrefactus, ad virtutum actiones, cum non inducat amorem ad eas intensum, neque pavorem”.

Averroys. 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]

[158] Ecce legalia laudabilia.

... 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.

[159] Regula: narratio miseriarum inducit passiones.[225]

[fol. 64v] [vacat folium]

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

[fol. 65r] Dixit: et cum facta fuerit mentio virtutum singulariter, non incutit anime timorem perdendi 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"

[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 perdendi 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

[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, procifiscatur oratio. Igne accendimur, humore madescimus, nec res ulla dat alteri quod ipsa caret. Afficiamur igitur ⟨que⟩ antequam afficere conemur.[227]

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]

[163] Qualia poete intromittant in Tragedia.

[164] Differun: – satira – tragedia.

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 …"[229]

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

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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 volemus, simus ipsi similes eorum, qui vere patiuntur adfectibus, et a tali animo proficiscatur 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 circulationis, 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 circulationis 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]

[166] De laude cuius sit.

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 vestigiumremanet 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]

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

[168] Quid representare.

[169] Notabile.

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

[170] Ecce quod Averroys vidit legem divinam.

[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.*] habitutdines anime.[233]

[171] Poeta assimilatur pictori.

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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 imitetur 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 cuiudam 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 sensibilium per res senssibiles [*sic*] quarum natura sit ut quasi in dubio ponat aspernatorem et estimatorem faciat ipsum presentes res ipsas esse representantur propter communicationem earum in dispositionibus senssibilibus 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 senssibiles, quando habuerint ipse res actiones proportionatas rebus illis intellectualibus per quas potet estimari quod sunt res iste.[237]

[175] Secunda ⟨specierum signaculorum⟩.

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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 nuncium quendam 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 sensibilium 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 res ille 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 Abichaÿbi 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 reprentationis 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 fortasse similem Platoni in moribus representant.[242]

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

[181] Quinta ⟨specierum signaculorum⟩.

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

[182] Sexta ⟨specierum signaculorum⟩.

[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]

[183] Qualitas bone narrationis poetice.

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

[184] Oratio – emendata/dilucida/ornata – dicere aperte, quod est principium grammatice.[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 ocultati oculi pupilla in concussione vehementi prosiliit alimentum adapta tui insideat et fomenta arida subministrat et, ut vivificetur, spiritum Aquilonis advoca et manus ei, ne evanescat, circomplica"*.[247]

[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]

Ideoque refertur de ipso quod voluerit aliqua gesta describere regis Sceÿfa 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 circumstanciis per se comprehendit et quasi sensualiter conspexit.[249]

[186] *manicula*.

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

[187] 2: – colligatio – dissolutio.

[fol. 72v]

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

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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 concussione 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 Sceifi Addauleti domini sui, quibus ipse non interfuerat cum ipso. Certius enim comprehenduntur a seipso perspecta 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 "facetus" 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 forsan fierent adhuc perdita, 'matre autem aput 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]

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

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]

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

[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 extrinsico adminiculantur ad eorum bonitatem…[257]

[196] poematum in-/ex-trinseca.

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

[197] Elementa orationum poeticarum septem.

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

[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-

[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 intrinsice, 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 significent, 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 loqutio constittuitur [*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]	[200] Quid vocalis.
Dixit: littera autem que semivocalis est que habet cum vocali protractionem quamdam et non habet secundum sua singularitatem sonum audibilem prout habet vocalis.[261]	[201] Semivocalis.
[fol. 75v]	[202] Regula: vox preceptoris ut sol universis lucem caloremque largitur,[262] et oportet doctrinantem ad intellectum audientis discendere[263] et suas temperare vires infirmitati discentium. Usus litterarum, ut custodiant voces et velut depositum reddant legentibus itaque id exprimere debent quod dicturi sumus;[264] verborum in tragediis gravitas, comediis elegantia.
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 quandam, 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 celsior que est, hoc maioribus velut organis commovetur, ideo que 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 grammatice potest esse perfecta, cum ei de metris rhythmis que dicendum sit, nec si rationem siderum ignoret, poetas intellegat, qui, ut alia omittam, totiens ortu occasu que 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 significativam 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 ocultatur [*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 contexio 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" Ethycorum 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 essencialium, 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 aliquod afficere [*add.* ad] admirandum aut ad delectandum, inducit nomina alterius, scilicet generis peorici [*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 vicium 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 adiuvat.

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Michael Engel

Dispute in the Margins. An Argument Regarding *Creatio ex nihilo* in Paris Ms. héb. 968

Introduction

Elijah Del Medigo (ca. 1460–1493) was a Jewish philosopher from Crete who spent most of his adult life in the Northern Italy, traveling mainly between Venice and Padua, and dedicating his professional activity to the Aristotelian commentaries and tractates by the twelfth-century Muslim philosopher Averroes (Latinized name of Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198).[1] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the philosophical works of Averroes enjoyed wide popularity and circulation in Northern Italian universities and Christian patrons were seeking Jewish scholars to translate Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle, many of which circulated in Hebrew at that time.[2] Del Medigo himself was commis-

1 On Del Medigo's life and works, see Michael Engel, Elijah Del Medigo's Critique of the Paduan Thomists, *Medioevo* 38 (2013): 295–318; Michael Engel, Elijah Del Medigo and Agostino Nifo on Intelligible Species, *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 26 (2015): 495–517; Michael Engel, The Relation between Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Elijah Del Medigo: A Study of Three Models, in: *Uriel Da Costa, Sources, Themes, Traditions*, Giovanni Licata and Omero Proietti (eds.), 105–120, Macerata: Edizioni università di Macerata, 2016; Michael Engel, *Elijah Del Medigo and Paduan Aristotelianism: Investigating the Human Intellect*, London: Bloomsbury, 2017; Michael Engel, Elijah Delmedigo, in: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2023 Edition)*, Edward Nouri Zalta and Uri Nodelman (eds.), Stanford: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2023, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2023/entries/delmedigo/>, accessed January 29, 2025; David Geffen, *Faith and Reason in Elijah Del Medigo's "Behinat Hadat"*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1970; David Geffen, Insights into the Life and Thought of Elijah Medigo Based on his Published and Unpublished Works, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 41–42 (1973–1974): 69–86; Giovanni Licata, *La via della ragione: Elia del Medigo e l'averroismo di Spinoza*, Macerata: Edizioni università di Macerata, 2013; Giovanni Licata, *Secundum Avenroem: Pico della Mirandola, Elia del Medigo e la "seconda rivelazione" di Averroè*, Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2022.

2 There were several waves of translations of Averroes' works into both Hebrew and Latin between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The Hebrew versions that served Del Medigo were translated in Spain and Provence during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Del Medigo and other translators were active in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and several of their Hebrew-into-Latin translations were included in printed editions that circulated during the Italian renaissance and the early modern period. For literature on the Arabic-Hebrew-Latin trans-

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sioned several different times by different patrons, namely Pico della Mirandola and Domenico Grimani, to translate the works of Averroes, including the *Epitome of the Meteorologica*, *Epitome of Plato's Republic*, and the *Preface to the Long Commentary on the Metaphysics XII*.[3] In addition to these translations, Del Medigo was also commissioned to compose explanatory treatises that sought to defend Averroes' doctrines by placing them in a broad context. These treatises included a mosaic of references to the vast corpus of Averroes' works, both Hebrew and Latin, as well as references to the polemic literature around Averroes that grew in Paris and the Italian universities between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The work at the heart of this chapter, Del Medigo's two tractates on the nature of the Intellect (henceforth *TT*), belongs to this genre of explanatory and apologetic tractates.[4]

The *TT* was composed originally in Latin at the request of Pico della Mirandola, who wanted to have a better understanding of Averroes' psychological doctrines and, in particular, those found in Averroes' long commentary on the *De anima* (henceforth *LCDA*). The *LCDA*, in its Latin guise, was widely circulated among Italian university professors and was extensively commented upon. Moreover, several doctrines originating in the *LCDA* were at the heart of fierce debates, in particular the famous unicity debate, whether the human soul is one for all humans or whether each human has a soul as a substantial particular form.[5] The first of Del Medigo's two tractates concentrates on the theme just mentioned, i.e. the ontological status of the human intellect, while the second tractate concerns human

lation movements, see Steven Harvey, Arabic into Hebrew: The Hebrew Translation Movement and the Influence of Averroes upon Medieval Jewish Thought, in: *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (eds.), 258–280, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2003; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, The Social Conditions of the Arabic-(Hebrew-) Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance, in: *Wissen über Grenzen, Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Andreas Speer and Lydia Wegener (eds.), 68–86, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006; Moritz Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Berlin: Kommissionsverlag des Bibliographischen Bureaus, 1893.

3 For a list of Del Medigo's translations, see Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*, 125–129.

4 Kalman Bland supplied a general survey of the tractates in Kalman P. Bland, Elijah Del Medigo, Unicity of Intellect, and Immortality of Soul, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 61 (1995): 1–22. A more comprehensive analysis is given in my monograph, Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*. I am currently preparing a critical edition of the first tractate to be published with Brill in 2025. For an analysis of the impact of Del Medigo's account in the *TT* on Pico's 900 thesis, see Michael Engel, Reconstructing Averroes's Theory of Conjunction and Immortality in 15th-Century Padua: A Possible Source for Pico's 900 Theses, in: *La lama del sapiente: Saggi sulla filosofia di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Giovanni Licata and Pasquale Terracciano (eds.), 179–216, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2022; Licata, *Secundum Avenroem*, 127–179.

5 Information and references concerning the debate are found in Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*, 20.

immortality as achieved through conjunction with the agent intellect. In short, in the *TT* Del Medigo discussed pressing questions of the intellectual climate of the time, while trying to defend Averroes' doctrines[6] and focusing on the *LCDA* as the focal point of his endeavors, which were, to a large extent, exegetical.

From all the above it becomes clear that the *TT* is to be associated with late Christian scholasticism, and, in particular, with the scholasticism of the Northern Italian universities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is not only because of the themes discussed, but also because of the numerous references Del Medigo is making to debates and sources characteristic of the Christian universities of that time, most notably to the fourteenth-century Christian author John of Jandun, who, apart the case of Del Medigo as well as a single anonymous translation, had practically no influence upon Jewish readership.[7] However, and despite its predominantly Christian context, only the Hebrew version of the *TT* has survived, a translation from the Latin origin that was probably made by Del Medigo himself. This version contains some remarks clearly aimed at a Jewish readership that were most likely absent from the original Latin version.[8] In my monograph dedicated to *TT*, I left the question of who were Del Medigo's Jewish readers unanswered, as well as what was his motivation in translating it.[9] While I still cannot supply a definite answer to these questions, this chapter wishes to advance the discussion, as I have deciphered the content of some Hebrew glosses in the margins of one of the manuscripts carrying the *TT* and would like to present their study here.

6 One should remember, however, that the question of what Averroes' real beliefs were is a question that Averroists disagreed upon among themselves. A clear example is Del Medigo's harsh criticism of John of Jandun, who was also a proclaimed follower of Averroes. See Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*, 20–21.

7 On Del Medigo and John of Jundun, see Engel, *Del Medigo and Agostino Nifo*. The Hebrew translation of several of Jandun's *quaestiones* was identified by Mauro Zonta. See Mauro Zonta, Un'ignota versione ebraica delle Quaestiones in "De anima" di Jean de Jandun e il suo traduttore, *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 3 (1993): 5–34. I intend to examine the relation between this manuscript and its content to the references to Jandun made by Del Medigo in a future study.

8 The late Kalman Bland mentioned he witnessed fragments of either a Latin paraphrase or the original Latin of the *TT*. He did not, however, mention what was that source, and I never came across a Latin version. See Kalman P. Bland, Elijah del Medigo's Averroist Response to the Kabbalahs of Fifteenth-Century Jewry and Pico della Mirandola, *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 1 (1991): 23–53, at 23, note 2.

9 On the Christian and Jewish readership of the *TT*, as well as on Hebrew and Latin sources used by Del Medigo, see my monograph, Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*, 23–31.

1 The Glosses and Their Theme: Creation *ex nihilo*

The glosses are found only in one of the manuscripts, added by an anonymous hand.[10] They appear only in the first tractate which, as mentioned, discusses the ontological status of the human intellect, whether it is numerically one or many. Del Medigo holds that there is one intellect shared by all humans, and the glosses appear in the section where Del Medigo puts forward arguments against the view that God creates multiple human souls *ex nihilo* and places them in human embryos. As I have shown elsewhere, this position, which Del Medigo attributes to a theological camp (מדברי הדתות) and criticizes, is probably the view of contemporary Thomists, with whom Del Medigo had personal contacts during his sojourn in Padua.[11] Del Medigo alludes to various violations against basic Aristotelian principles which this position involves.[12] These include that every generated thing is corruptible,[13] that knowledge of transient particulars necessitates change in the knower[14] and that the human form is material.[15] Yet the first Aristotelian principle to which Del Medigo refers, and to which he dedicates a vast portion of his discussion, is that nothing can be generated out of nothing, as every generation requires a substratum.[16] In other words, Del Medigo presents arguments designed to show that the notion of creation *ex nihilo*, and specifically of human souls being created *ex nihilo*, must be rejected if we are to follow the principles of Aristotelian science.

The arguments Del Medigo lays out against the feasibility of creation *ex nihilo* are found in fols. 85r–90r, seven arguments in total, and it is in this section that we find the glosses by the anonymous hand. The glosser reminds the reader that

10 The Paris manuscript is one of three manuscripts containing the *TT*: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, héb. 968, fols. 79r–177r; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Sup. 128 X, fols. 1v–68v; Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, Acc. 140. For a discussion on the manuscripts, see Engel, *Paduan Aristotelianism*, 12–14. The scribe of the Paris codex is Matityah Ḥazan, who left a scribe colophon found in fol. 74v. A comparison of the hands clearly shows that the glosses are not by the scribe. As the manuscript contains two indications of ownership, I have gone through other manuscripts relating to the supposed owners, hoping to find similar glosses, yet to no avail. The glosser's identity thus remains currently unknown.

11 See Engel, *Paduan Thomists*.

12 Although, Del Medigo notes, it could be believed as far as it reflects the teachings of the Torah (מצד התורה, BnF 968, fol. 83v). Compare with Pietro Pomponazzi: *An anima sit unica*, 71.13–15: "[O] pinionem christianorum, vera in se, falsa tamen in via peripatetica."

13 ההקדמה האומרת שכל הווה נפסד (BnF 968, fol. 83v).

14 שידיעת הפרטים במה הם פרטים מתחדשים בזמן מוגבל תחייב שינוי ביודע (BnF 968, fol. 83v).

15 ויכפרו שהצורה האנושית חמרית (BnF 968, fol. 83v).

16 שלא יתהוה דבר מלא דבר במוחלט (BnF 968, fol. 83v).

creation *ex nihilo* is "what we brought up to believe in from a young age,"[17] i.e. an essential belief for the Jewish practitioner. Yet the glosser's position is not merely based on tradition, as he offers philosophical counterarguments against Del Medigo's own arguments, thereby suggesting that creation *ex nihilo* is, in fact, a coherent and valid philosophical position. In what follows, I will present the relevant philosophical argument made by Del Medigo alongside the corresponding gloss by the anonymous author.

2 Creation *ex nihilo*: On Potentiality and Possibility

In fol. 85r we find Del Medigo putting forward the following argument against those who promote the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*:[18]

> First, prior to the coming to be of a thing, its existence is either possible [אפשר] or not possible [אי אפשר], for these two are contradictory. And what is not possible is thus impossible [נמנע]. If therefore possibility does not precede [the coming to be] of a thing then the thing would be impossible. The philosopher has already supplied several proofs in the ninth book of the *Metaphysics* that possibility necessarily precedes the generated thing, and where there is possibility there is necessarily a subject for this possibility.

Del Medigo's point can be summarized as follows. With regard to the generation of whichever substance, its generation is either possible or impossible, *tertium non datur*. If there is not the possibility [אפשר] of its coming to be, then its coming to be is not possible [אי אפשר].[19] In other words, the possibility that generation takes place is a necessary condition for its actual occurrence. In the case of the human souls too, their generation entails the possibility of their generation.

Having pointed to the dichotomy between possibility and impossibility and that every case of generation entails the former,[20] Del Medigo makes a further step,

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17 הנרמז למה שגדלנו מעת הקטנות (BnF 968, fol. 83v).

18 ראשונה, הדבר קודם שיתהוה או שיהיה אפשר או שאי אפשר כי אלה הם סותרים. ומה שאי אפשר הנה הוא נמנע. אם כן אם לא תקדם האפשרות לדבר יהיה הדבר נמנע וכבר באר הפלוסוף בט׳ ממה שאחר הטבע בדרכים רבים כי האפשרות בהכרח תקדם לדבר המתהוה ואם היה אפשר הנה שם בהכרח דבר נושא לאפשרות (BnF 968, fol. 85r).

19 Or impossible (נמנע). Both impossible (נמנע) and not possible (אי אפשר) appear to be used interchangeably by Del Medigo

20 Throughout the tractate, Del Medigo's point is that the same natural laws govern natural generation and what the theologians refer to as "creation." He makes this point by putting forward the arguments discussed here, but also by explicitly glossing over terminological distinctions, arguing that change (השתנות), generation (התהוות) and creation (חדוש) signify the very same thing. See, for

by claiming that every possibility is found in a substrate [נושא]. The argument thus runs as follows:

– Where there is generation there is the possibility of generation.
– Where there is the possibility of generation there is a substrate in which the possibility inheres.
– Therefore, where there is generation there is a substrate, and therefore creation *ex nihilo* involves a contradiction in terms.

Note that for the argument to work, *nihil* is understood not as a substrate characterized by non-being (which would bring it close to the notion of prime matter and absolute potentiality), but as the lack of any substrate whatsoever. And where there is nothing, Del Medigo holds, nothing can come into being.

Let us now see what the glosser has to say concerning Del Medigo's reasoning:

> With regard to things which come to be from a subject we must assume the preexistence of possibility. However, that which comes to be from absolute privation [העדר במוחלט] cannot be described either as possible or as impossible prior to its generation.[21]

As mentioned, according to Del Medigo, every case of coming to be is either possible or impossible, *tertium non datur*, and it is the universal application of this dichotomy that the glosser wishes to undermine. The glosser does not disagree with Del Medigo that the dichotomy holds in the case of natural generation, which necessarily involves a possibility (and therefore a substrate). The glosser's point however is that in the case of generation *ex nihilo* there precedes neither possibility nor impossibility. The glosser goes on to elucidate this point by contrasting creation to artificial generation, which, like natural generation, requires a substrate:

> The difference between the two [i.e. natural generation and creation] is that he [i.e. a carpenter] makes the form to exist in the underlying subject. The artisan [הפועל המלאכותי] cannot create [להמציא] matter *ex nihilo*. And just as the form in the soul of the artisan is only dependent upon … matter, in the same manner the form which is granted[22] through the act of an immaterial agent is not dependent upon matter.[23]

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example, BnF 968, fol. 81v (Ambrosiana fol. 2v, emphasis mine): "Nothing is generated or created *or call it what you will* from absolute privation." (שלא יתהוה או יתחדש או תקראהו כמו שתרצה דבר מלא דבר במוחלט). See also BnF 968, fol. 86r (Ambrosiana fol. 5v); BnF 968, fol. 87v (Ambrosiana fol. 6v).

21 כי הדברים שיתהוו מנושא יחויב שיהיה האפשרות קודם; אבל המתהווה מההעדר במוחלט לא יתואר לא באפשר ולא בנמנע קודם היותו (BnF 968, fol. 85r).

22 Here ציור means 'form'.

23 וההפרש ביניהם שזה ימציא בחומר הנושא הצורה. והפועל המלאכותי לא יתכן לו להמציא חומר מהעדר וכמו שהצורה אשר בנפש האומן אין לו התלות בחמר זולת חמר [?] כן הצורה אשר בציור הפועל המופשט מחמר לא תתלה בחמר (BnF 968, fol. 85r).

When generating a chair out of wood, the carpenter uses wood as preexisting matter, as his art requires a substrate with the innate potentiality of becoming a chair. In other words, in cases of natural generation, as well as artificial generation, there is the involvement of possibility-inherent-in-matter. Yet this is not the case with creation, as here we are concerned with the generation of matter as well. The glosser points to the fact that just as when the artisan conceptualizes an object there is no involvement of real matter,[24] so, *a fortiori*, the presence of matter is not involved in the activity of an agent who is entirely and essentially immaterial, i.e. God:

Del Medigo

	Material component	**Formal component**
Any type of Generation	Preexisting	Generated

The Glosser

	Material component	**Formal component**
Natural Generation	Preexisting	Generated
Conceptualization	Missing	Generated
Creation	Generated[25]	Generated

The glosser's objection to Del Medigo could therefore be summarized as follows. Del Medigo rejects the notion of creation *ex nihilo* while making recourse to the Aristotelian principle that generation entails the possibility of generation, and thus of a substrate, i.e. matter. Yet for the glosser, as recorded in the third row of the table above, creation entails that both matter and form are brought into existence.[26] The glosser thus argues that creation entails the coming to be of the possibility-to-ex-

24 The glosser in fact does mention that the concept of the chair in the soul of the artisan relates to some kind of matter, though I could not decipher the word which is used here as an adjective to qualify this type of matter. The point seems to be that while outside the soul the chair depends on real matter, in the soul it is related to immaterial matter.

25 ולזה כבר אפשר לאשר נתדבקו בשכל הפועל לחדש ההיולי אחר שנחרבה ההכנה ההיולאנית (BnF 968, fol. 85r). The glosser adds that even humans, when conjoined with the agent intellect, are capable of creating matter, i.e. of creating a hylomorphic composite.

26 This is in fact more complicated, as the soul is the form of the human being, yet what the glosser's comments appear to indicate is that the soul itself is a hylomorphic composite. This should not bother us here as it is sufficient to understand the glosser's assertion that in the case of creation there is no dependence upon preexisting matter.

ist alongside existence itself. This feature distinguishes creation from natural generation, as the generated thing is always preceded by a possibility inherent in a material component. One could perhaps accuse the glosser of merely begging the question: if in the case of divine creation matter is brought into existence as well, and the dichotomy possible/impossible does not apply here, לא אפשר ולא נמנע, then what? One thing is to argue *that* the dichotomy does not apply in the case of divine creation, another to explain *what* we mean by its rejection, and what conceptual framework is offered instead. If the created hylomorphic composite is neither possible nor impossible, what is it then?

A possible answer is in the glosser's alternative interpretation of the term possibility (אפשר), to which I now turn. So far, both Del Medigo and the glosser were reading possibility (אפשר) as the disposition in matter which constitutes its aptitude to receive a form. This we find both in Del Medigo's "where there is possibility there is necessarily a subject for this possibility"[27] and in the glosser's example of the carpenter and the wood. In other words, possibility (אפשר) was taken thus far to designate potentiality, which in the Hebrew philosophical literature is usually designated by בחיות, and both Del Medigo and the glosser located this potentiality in the process of natural generation. In the next gloss, the glosser notes that there is another way of understanding the term possibility (אפשר), not as 'potentiality' but as 'possibility,' i.e. as designating logical coherence which is a necessary condition for the existence of whatever exists.[28] Understood thus, the task of responding to Del Medigo's challenge becomes rather straightforward, as – according to this understanding of possibility (אפשר) – everything which *is*, is logically coherent, and to that extent is also possible, regardless of its substrate or its mode of generation. Here in the glosser's formulation:

> The issue can also be viewed differently, i.e., something can be logically possible [אפשרי בשכל] although it has no existence outside the mind [מציאות חוץ לשכל], and all what does not have in its essence what hinders it from becoming will be referred to as possible [אפשר]. This does not

27 BnF 968, fol. 85r.

28 Crescas seems to be pointing to this distinction in his comment on Maimonides' twenty-fourth proposition of the second part of the *Guide*: "[W]e must however observe that inasmuch as the term possibility may apply either to an existing subject thus e.g. Bronze as matter may become verdigris or to a non-existent subject thus e.g. verdigris may settle on the matter bronze, in this proposition the term possibility is to be taken with reference to an existent subject." Translation by Harry Wolfson in Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1929, 313; see also his footnote there with other parallel sources.

> require a power in the subject (unless it is generated from a subject, for in that case possibility must precede in this subject).[29]

In other words, if we take possibility (אפשר) to denote logical coherence, i.e. to denote the constitution of a thing as logically conceivable, *not* as innate potentiality in a substratum, then the glosser sees no real problem with Del Medigo's insistence that existence presupposes possibility.[30] Everything that exists is, by and by, possible.

In sum, the glosser dismisses Del Medigo's attempt to reject the notion of creation *ex nihilo* based on a conceptual analysis of the notion of possibility (אפשר). Del Medigo's argument does not work, so the glosser holds, when possibility (אפשר) is understood as potentiality inheriting in matter, as by "creation" we understand the coming to be of matter as well. Alternatively, if we accept a thinner interpretation whereby possibility (אפשר) is tantamount to "that which is conceivable," then – assuming God cannot create what is logically impossible – everything which is created, everything which *is* for that matter, can also be described as possible.[31] Accepting possibility as a necessary condition for generation – however we understand the nature of this conditioning – does not, for the glosser, rule out creation *ex nihilo*.

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29 ועוד יש לאפשר בחינה אחרת והוא היות הדבר אפשרי בשכל אעפ שלא יהיה לו מציאות חוץ לשכל וכל מה שהוא בעצמותו אין בו מהדברים המונעים להמצא יקרא אפשר וזה אינו מחויב שיקדם למציאותו כח בנושא אלא אם היה מתהוה מנושא כי הוא מחוייב שיקדם האפשרות בזה הנושא

30 In his article, Alexander Altmann analyzes Maimonides understanding of possibility as follows: "According to Maimonides – if I understand him correctly – the element of possibility is bound up with external causation, whereas potentiality is the as yet unrealized being of the thing as such" (Alexander Altmann, Essence and Existence in Maimonides, in *Maimonides: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Joseph A. Buijs (ed.), 148–165, Lafayette (IN): Notre Dame University Press, 1988, 153). Whether Altmann understood Maimonides correctly or not, the analysis seems to fit the two ways in which the glosser understands the two meanings of אפשר. The point is that if we take אפשר solely as "bound up with external causation" rather than "unrealized being" then the notion does not exclude the possibility of creation *ex nihilo*.

31 Another possibility of understanding אפשר is in the *Guide* II.19, where Maimonides states that the world is possible, but here speaks about "possible" as opposed to "necessary," i.e. that can be formed thus or otherwise. With this sense of possibility in mind, Maimonides establishes God as a free agent who could model the world thus or otherwise, and is also God who brought the world into existence. It would seem that the sense of possibility as here rendered by the glosser, i.e. as logical possibility, is presupposed in the discussion of Maimonides by both eternalists and creationists.

3 Creation *ex nihilo* and Substantial Change

Having discussed the notion of possibility (אפשר), we find in fols. 86v–87r Del Medigo moving to advance a different type of argument against the notion of creation *ex nihilo*. The claim is that creation *ex nihilo* entails the change of the nature of *privatio* (העדר) to that of *ens* (נמצא).[32] This, in Del Medigo's reading, would render the substantial change of a nature to its opposite (מקביל), an impossible scenario within the realm of Aristotelian natural philosophy. The glosser again does not object the fundamental principle advanced by Del Medigo, in this case that a given nature cannot change into its opposite. However, the glosser reiterates his claim that Del Medigo is invoking principles which are irrelevant in the case of divine creation, as *privatio* is not a *res* which can change its nature, or possess a nature at all for that matter:

> One cannot argue that privation changes into the nature of existence; privation *simpliciter* is nothing in its essence that can be said that it changes to the nature of reality. But we should say that what is absent *simpliciter*, i.e. matter and form, is created and exists after it did not. The statement that "something comes to be from nothing" does not mean that "nothing" changes its nature to become a thing, but the intention is that a thing is created *simpliciter*, in both its form and its matter, as it is not preceded by something [i.e. substrate] from which it came to be.[33]

As in the previous discussion, the glosser points to the fact that creation entails the coming to be of both matter and form. In the present case, this explains why saying that a soul is created *ex nihilo* is not tantamount of saying that "nothing becomes something." Had the position been that *nihil* is some kind of substrate underlying creation, then Del Medigo's argument could have entertained some force. Yet since the material aspect is created as well, Del Medigo here misses the mark, as there is no nature to be transformed; there is nothing at all. The glosser implies that one should not construct a false analogy between *ex nihilo* and *ex aliquo*; what the phrase *ex nihilo* actually means is that prior to the act creation there was nothing relating to either the act or to the created thing. That the glosser wishes to distance

32 היה טבע ההעדר משתנה לטבע הנמצא (BnF 968, fol. 86v).

33 BnF 968, fol. 86v.
לא יאמר אדם שההעדר יתהפך לטבע המציאות, גם ההעדר המוחלט אינו בעצמותו שום דבר עד שיאמר בו שנתהפך אל טבע המציאות אבל יאמר שהנעדר לגמרי רצוני בצורתו וחמרו נתחדש ונמצא אחר שלא היה ומה שיאמר שיהיה דבר מלא דבר אין פירושו שהלא דבר נתהפך והיה דבר אבל הרצון בו שנתחדש הדבר חדוש גמור בין בצורתו בין בחמרו שלא קדם למציאותו דבר ממנו נתחדש והיה

himself from any characterization of *nihil* as substrate is manifested in the following gloss as well:

> The absent thing while it was absent, had only existence in the intellect, and its coming to be happens outside the intellect; nothing outside the intellect carries it while it is absent.[34]

As I have mentioned above, the arguments Del Medigo elaborates were aimed against a certain group of theologians which I have identified, in a study published more than a decade ago, with Thomists active in Padua during the time Del Medigo was staying there.[35] It is interesting therefore to find echoes of the Thomist position in the gloss I have just referred to. According to James N. Hubler, a fundamental feature in Aquinas' doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* was that it "does not mean that there must first have been nothing before there was something."[36] Aquinas, Hubler explains, wanted to illustrate that creation *ex nihilo* is not in contradiction with the eternity of the world. In other words, Aquinas maintains that there was not something prior to creation in order to eliminate the temporal aspect and leave room to eternal creation.[37] Our glosser, on the other hand and judging from the general spirit of his comments, seems to be holding that creation occurred in time. Be it as it may, both Aquinas and the glosser hold that creation *ex nihilo* does not entail the existence of a preexisting substrate. Both Aquinas and the glosser, rather than claiming that there *was* nothing before there was something, argue that there *was not* something before there was something, and this negative formulation is the key for their understanding of creation *ex nihilo*. Whether the glosser was influenced by Thomist interpretations remains an open question, as do many other aspects regarding the Hebrew glosses and the Hebrew readership of the *TT*.

34 (BnF 968, fol. 87r).
הדבר הנעדר בעת שהיה נעדר לא היה לו מציאות אלא בשכל ושובו נמצא הוה בפעל חוץ לנפש ואין שם דבר נושא אותו חוץ לנפש בעת היותו נעדר.

35 Engel, *Paduan Thomists*.

36 James Noel Hubler, *Creatio ex Nihilo: Matter, Creation, and the Body in Classical and Christian Philosophy Through Aquinas*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995, 161.

37 And see *Summa Theologiae* as cited in Hubler, *Creatio ex Nihilo*, 162: "Ostensum est autem supra quod nihil potest esse in entibus quod non sit a Deo, qui est causa universalis totius esse. Unde necesse est dicere quod Deus ex nihilo res in esse producit." ('It was demonstrated above (q. 44 a. 1, 2) that no entity can be that is not from God, who is the universal cause of entire being. Hence, it is necessary to say that God produces things from nothing (ex nihilo) into being' [trans. found in Hubler]).

4 Conclusion

The chapter focused on several glosses in one of the manuscripts carrying Elijah Del Medigo's *TT*. While my aim was not to present all the glosses – some of which I have yet to decipher – I hope that I could illustrate their fundamental nature. The glosser seems to be a reader who understands well Del Medigo's Averroist position and strongly objects to it. The disagreement concerns Del Medigo's attack on the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* and, more specifically, Del Medigo's understanding of the ontological implications of this doctrine. Del Medigo argues that for any type of generation there is need for a preexisting substrate, while the glosser denies this, distinguishing generation (הויה) from creation (חדוש). Beyond the philosophical merit of the comments and the light they shed on Del Medigo's argument and on some of his philosophical preconceptions, this disagreement is particularly important as it supplies us with the only known case of Jewish readership of the *TT*, a text that was written originally and predominantly in a Christian context.

Lastly, my discussion aimed to contribute to our methodological awareness of the importance of analyzing glosses in the context of Hebrew philosophical manuscripts.[38] The fact that the anonymous glosser did not betray his identity nor the context in which he was operating enables us to raise some speculative suggestions in that regard. The glosses could have been the reading notes of an enraged reader to himself, a draft for an independent treatise, part of a study program, or documentation of an actual confrontation between the glosser and/or his circle and the author of the treatise, Elijah Del Medigo. While we are unable to answer these questions, raising them sheds light on the methodological need to pay heed to the margins of philosophical manuscripts and to contextualize them appropriately. The more this methodology is implemented by scholars of premodern Jewish philosophy, the more successfully we will be able to come up with valid answers.

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38 In this regard, consult the recent studies of Yoav Meyrav, who has been at the forefront of this research in recent years

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Leonardo Graciotti

In the *Magister*'s Shadow: Domenico Bonfioli's Student Notes from Pomponazzi's Lectures

Introduction

Over the past seventy years, the investigations into Pietro Pomponazzi's unpublished university courses have provided a clearer and more accurate understanding of his thought, as well as significant insights into the university milieu of Renaissance Padua and Bologna.[1] One of the most fascinating aspects of reading *reportationes* of university lectures is that they give us the impression of being, so to speak, flies on the wall – listening directly to the words of the *magister* (*viva voce*). However, whether they are first-order notes (*Mitschriften*) or second-order notes (*Nachschriften*), we should always bear in mind that a hidden presence lies between us and the *magister*: the student.[2] This intermediary figure becomes even more significant in the case of Pomponazzi's *reportationes*, as there is no evidence that he dictated his lectures or reviewed the notes taken by his pupils.[3] The lack of authorial control is reflected in the marked differences among notes taken by different students from the same courses, which makes it impossible to establish a proper critical edition bearing Pomponazzi's name. In other words, the essence of these materials largely relies on the minds and hands of the students (or scribes), who collected, transcribed, copied and circulated the words of the *magister*.

1 After the studies by Francesco Fiorentino and Luigi Ferri, in the 1950s Bruno Nardi and Paul Oskar Kristeller drew historiographical attention to Pomponazzi's *reportationes*. A seminal introduction to this research remains: Bruno Nardi, *Studi su Pietro Pomponazzi*, Florence: Le Monnier, 1965.

2 For this distinction, see Ann M. Blair, Student Manuscripts and the Textbook, in: *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony Thomas Grafton (eds.), 39–40, Geneva: Droz, 2008.

3 Although it is still unclear whether and how widespread dictation was in Renaissance Italian universities, Cesare Oliva ruled out the attribution of this practice to Pomponazzi. On dictation between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Cesare Oliva, Note sull'insegnamento di Pietro Pomponazzi, *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 7, no. 2 (1926): 83–103, at 94–96; Blair, *Student Manuscripts*, 45–50; David A. Lines, *The Dynamics of Learning in Early Modern Italy: Art and Medicine at the University of Bologna*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2023, 77 and 81.

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While perusing Pomponazzi's *reportationes*, one comes across several figures associated with his circle. The Venetian patrician Antonio Surian, the Bassanese humanist Lazzaro Bonamico, the Modenese physician Giovanni Grillenzoni and the Cremonese physician Pietro Manna are only a few examples among the best known. The role of the student, however, has often been marginalised by scholars, who focused instead on grasping the key developments of Pomponazzi's thought. As a result, many of the personalities who gravitated around him for years, and to whose efforts we owe so much, have been left in the shadow of the *magister*. In this chapter, I would like to make an attempt in the opposite direction. By shifting the focus from the centre to the margins, I intend to shed some light on Domenico Bonfioli (*Dominicus Bonusfilius*, or *Bonifilii*), a nearly unknown pupil of Pomponazzi, who taught for many years at the University of Bologna.

1 Dominicus Bonusfilius: Life and Works

The earliest information on the noble family "de' Bonfioli" (or "de' Bonfiglioli") has been collected by Pompeo Scipione Dolfi in his *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna*.[4] They were originally related to the Orsucci family of Lucca and the Bonfiglioli family of Imola. Due to the civil wars, they first moved to Ferrara, and then to Bologna in 1458, with Nascimbene the son of Pietrobono Bonfioli.[5] Domenico belonged to this family, but we lack information about his private life. We know that he was born in Bologna in the early sixteenth century to Nicolò Bonfioli and Dorotea (or Lucrezia) Fontana, and that at some point he married Maria da Saffuno.[6] More details come from his academic career. He graduated *in artibus et medicina* from the University of Bologna on 6 July 1528, and he immediately became a board member (*collegiatus*). He first held the chair of logic in the morning (*logica de mane*) for three years (1529–1532), then the extraordinary one of philosophy

4 Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna, con le loro insegne, e nel fine i cimieri: Centuria prima, con un breve discorso della medesima città*, Bologna: Giovanni Battista Ferroni, 1670, 201–208.

5 The relocation to Bologna was probably facilitated by some relationship with the prominent Bolognese family of Malvezzi. This is not the place to delve into the link between these two families, but it is worth mentioning that many documents related to the Bonfioli family are today stored in the Malvezzi-Campeggi collection of the Archivio di Stato of Bologna.

6 Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, vol. 2, Bologna: Stamperia di San Tommaso d'Aquino, 1782, 299.

(*philosophia extraordinaria*) for four years (1532–1536).[7] On 16 December 1536, he was called to Padua to teach logic *in primo loco*, with a salary of 100 florins.[8] After a few years, in 1540, Domenico returned to Bologna to teach medicine in the early afternoon (*medicina in nonis*). From 1541 to 1550 he taught theoretical medicine (*medicina theorica ordinaria de mane*), and then again medicine *in nonis* for one year, before retiring in 1551.[9] He died in a villa of his own in 1571 and was buried in the Bolognese church of Santa Cecilia.[10]

As for Bonfioli's own writings, Dolfi refers only to a four-volume commentary on Aristotle's *Topics* (Bononiae: Giovanni Battista Faelli, 1531), while Antonio Bumaldi (pseudonym of Ovidio Montalbani) also mentions some of his philosophical manuscripts, which were finely crafted and prepared for a few learned minds of his time.[11] One of these manuscripts mentioned by Bumaldi is probably the codex 18. L. 44, kept in the Biblioteca Storica dell'Istituto Campana in Osimo (Ancona, Italy). It contains several documents drafted by Bonfioli, including some *reportationes* of Pomponazzi's courses.[12] Moreover, at the Wellcome Library in London there is a copy of the *Tractatus celeberrimus de febribus* (Lugduni: François Fradin, 1507) by Marsilio Santasofia, which shows numerous annotations jotted down by Bonfioli along with a final ownership note: "Dominicus Bonusfilius 1537. Patavii".[13] This is also the case with a second edition copy of Girolamo Savonarola's *Opera singulare contra l'astrologia divinatrice* (Venetiae: Lazarro Soardi, 1513), in which there are marginal notes and a final ownership's note, stating: "Dominicus Bonusfilius,

7 Serafino Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i professori antichi, e moderni della famosa Università, e del celebre Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna*, Bologna: Tipografia di San Tommaso d'Aquino, 1847, 65. According to the teaching rolls (*rotuli*), he read progressively Aristotle's *De coelo et mundo*, *De anima*, *Physica* and again *De coelo et mundo*. See Umberto Dallari, *I rotuli dei lettori legisti e artisti dello Studio di Bologna dal 1384 al 1799*, vol. 2, Bologna: Regia Tipografia dei Fratelli Merlani, 1919, 69, 72, 75 and 78.

8 Jacopo Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasi Patavini*, Patavii: Tipografia del Seminario, presso Giovanni Manfrè, 1757, 296.

9 See David A. Lines, Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy: The University of Bologna and the Beginnings of Specialization, *Early Science and Medicine* 6, no. 4 (2001): 267–323, at 310.

10 Fantuzzi, *Notizie*, 299; Mazzetti, *Repertorio*, 65.

11 Dominicus Bonusfilius, *Commentaria in quatuor volumina Topicorum Aristotelis cum novo textu Iacobi Fabri*, Bononiae: Giovanni Battista Faelli, 1531. See Dolfi, *Cronologia*, 203; Antonio Bumaldi, *Bibliotheca Bononiensis*, Bononiae: Tipografia dell'Erede di Vittorio Benacci, 1641, 59 ("eius manuscripta subtilissime exarata circa Philosophiam totam in sublimiorum ingeniorum dimanarunt utilitatem").

12 For a detailed description of the Osimo codex, see Leonardo Graciotti and Costanza Lucchetti, Pietro Pomponazzi nella Biblioteca Storica dell'Istituto Campana di Osimo: Il codice 18. L. 44, *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 27, no. 1–2 (2021): 117–134.

13 Marsilius de Sancta Sophia, *Tractatus celeberrimus de febribus*, Lugduni: François Fradin, 1507.

1539".[14] There is no doubt that the hand that penned these two printed books is the same one found in the codex 18. L. 44 mentioned above.

During his studies at the University of Bologna, Bonfioli had the opportunity to attend Pomponazzi's last university course on Aristotle's *De sensu et sensato*, reported in the Osimo codex as *Expositio libelli De sensu et sensato*.[15] After this *Expositio*, the codex contains a draft letter written and signed by Bonfioli. He stated that he was waiting to learn from his anonymous correspondent which of the Pomponazzi's notes he had collected on the *Parva naturalia* might have been of interest to him.[16] He specified that these texts were gathered in the year that Pomponazzi passed away, before having completed the reading of the *Parva naturalia*.[17] This suggests that Bonfioli had attended the course on *De sensu et sensato* (completed on 6 April 1525), and that Pomponazzi had continued with his lectures on the *Parva naturalia* until his death, occurred on 18 May 1525. Even if the *Expositio* had not been transcribed in its entirety by Bonfioli himself (there are moments when one has the impression that different hands are involved), he was certainly the one who collected, arranged and annotated it.

After completing the reading of *De sensu*, Pomponazzi presumably started with *De memoria et reminiscentia*, but died without finishing it.[18] This can be deduced from a commentary on *De memoria* contained in the Osimo codex, whose author refers several times to his *magister* Pomponazzi.[19] The similarity in the handwriting between this text and those marked by Bonfioli suggests that he was indeed

14 Hieronimus Savonarola, *Opera singulare contra l'astrologia divinatrice*, Venetiae: Lazarro Soardi, 1513. I learned of the existence of this copy through the online catalogue of the Libreria Rappaport, one of the most famous antiquarian bookshops of the twentieth century. Bernard E. Seacombe, grandson of the founder Carl Ewald Rappaport, has kindly provided me with some pictures of the volume, now in his possession. I would like to take this opportunity to openly express my gratitude to him.

15 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r–79v. On this last university course, see Leonardo Graciotti, Medicine and Philosophy in Pomponazzi's "Expositio libelli de sensu et sensato" (1524–1525), *Micrologus* 31, Special Issue (2023): 295–310; Luca Burzelli, A Heated Debate: Pomponazzi and Contarini on the Nature of Fire, *Micrologus* 31, Special Issue (2023): 311–329.

16 "Expectabam pariter et a Magnificentia vestra indicem eorum, quae vellet ex scriptis Pomponatii atque ex Bononia, qualia ego met, ipso docente, collegeram in *Parvis naturalibus*, non quidem virtute" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 83r).

17 "Ideo eas, ut potui, in hoc uno collegi, quem tibi tradere potui ex Pomponatio, qui anno illo defecit, priusquam *Parva* illa *naturalia* perficere [perficire *ms*] posset" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 83r).

18 To the best of my knowledge, there is no *reportatio* of Pomponazzi's course on *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

19 For this commentary on *De memoria et reminiscentia*, see Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 95r–105v. For explicit references to the *magister*, see "ut bene etiam dixit Pomponatius", "vide Pomponatium hic plura" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 95r); "vide hic Pomponatium hoc in alia lectione" (Osimo, ms. 18. L.

the hardworking pupil who attended Pomponazzi's very last lectures and later used those notes to elaborate his own commentary on *De memoria*. The draft letter reveals that Bonfioli had promised his correspondent not only the materials on *De sensu et sensato*, but also those on the rest of the *Parva naturalia*'s collection.[20]

Bonfioli's draft letter describes a work conceived not only for private use, but also for public circulation, although its diffusion was meant to be much more circumscribed than a printed publication. In this respect, some fundamental paratextual elements are mentioned here: index (*index*), tables (*tabellae*), branching diagrams (*arbores*), epilogue (*epilogus*), annotations (*annotationes*) and appendices (*corollaria*). Extraneous to Pomponazzi's speech, these elements are inserted by Bonfioli to introduce the content of the text and aid navigation, as well as memorisation.[21] The draft letter also suggests that the anonymous correspondent had some interests in medical studies, as Bonfioli emphasised the value of this work not only for philosophy, but also for medicine.[22] The paratextual elements were therefore even more useful, for they facilitated the transition from theoretical knowledge to practice, allowing the text to be consulted as needed. At the University of Bologna, Pomponazzi was mostly facing an audience of future physicians, who were obliged to attend lectures on natural philosophy designed as propaedeutic to the study of medicine. As already mentioned, Bonfioli himself reached the peak of his academic career teaching medicine. It just so happened that better organisation of these notes resulted in a useful tool in the future, both for theoretical teaching and for practical application.

Meant to be shared with others, the *Expositio libelli De sensu et sensato* was certainly not recorded directly under the *magister*'s *viva voce*. The graphic reg-

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44, 96v); "haec praeceptor", "sed respondet praeceptor", "Aliter, inquit praeceptor, dicere nescio" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 97v).

20 "Quod si haec tuae magnificentiae grata esse cognovero, cui video omnium labores homini studiosissimo fore tales, non cessabo hac aestate prius quam totius voluminis *Parvorum naturalium* tibi dedero tabellas aut arbores, quales colligere potero" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 83r).

21 "Audiveram autem a Magnificientia vestra una die dici quam maxime existimaret tabellas, quae aut ad memoriam aut introductionem fortassis praeponi solent … Quod si haec tuae Magnificentiae grata esse cognovero, cui video omnium labores homini studioso fore tales, non cessabo hac aestate prius quam totius voluminis *Parvorum naturalium* tibi dedero tabellas aut arbores, quales colligere potero … Dicam nam hoc, mihi videtur fuisse mens autoris tum ex libri titulo seu rubrica, qui illum inscripsit de sensiteriis, quibus primam partem dicam ultra praefacionem, et de sensilibus, quibus secundam partem appropiari putavi. Tum ex fine, quando dictorum fecit collectionem, quam mihi placuit separatim facere epilogum de quaestionibus" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 83r–v).

22 "Doctrinam enim maximam sapere videntur, et prodesse, nedum philosophiae, immo et arti etiam medicae" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 83r).

ularity, the fluidity of the discourse and the subsequent modifications as well as annotations reveal several stages of elaboration. When compared with the other *reportationes* of Pomponazzi's course, Bonfioli's text stands out for its accuracy and clarity in conveying the *magister*'s exposition, as well as for its completeness: it is, in fact, the only one to include all fifty-three lectures delivered by Pomponazzi – together with the copy preserved in ms. lat. 6536 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, to which I will return below. Moreover, although this was by no means a singular case, it is worth noting that Bonfioli included the initials of his name ("D. B." or "D. Bo.") in some of the marginal and interlinear notes, as if to emphasise his personal commitment to the text. Pomponazzi's *reportationes* probably had a wide circulation in the university milieu, so much so that in some cases several copies of the same *reportatio* have been preserved.[23] The students who had collected these notes sometimes included their names or initials, especially where they added personal notes: in this way they probably sought to make clear to the future reader or copyist which words belonged to the *magister* and which were their own annotations. This can be seen, for example, in the copy of the notes taken from Pomponazzi's lectures on *Liber septimus De physico auditu*, contained in the Osimo codex: the very last folio shows a final note enclosed between the initials "H.^{us} B.^{us}", that is, according to Bruno Nardi, "Hieronymus de Bono, bononiensis".[24] This copy was likely transcribed by Bonfioli, as suggested by the handwriting. But he decided to report the *magister*'s words with the final annotation and the initials of his own colleague Girolamo de Bono.

In many cases, annotations and names of the students were lost in subsequent copies. This is the case with the copy of Bonfioli's *reportatio* contained in ms. lat. 6536 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. The scribe (or perhaps scribes) of this transcription drew from various *reportationes* at different time. From Lecture 14 onwards, the text turns into an exact copy of Bonfioli's *reportatio*, except for the *marginalia*: most of the notes found in Bonfioli's *reportatio* are omitted, including those marked with his initials. Why were they not included? Given the current state of the evidence, it is difficult to provide a definitive answer. I can only offer a tenta-

23 About Pomponazzi's lectures, Ludovico Castelvetro writes: "Et perché Egli non iscriveva nulla delle sue letture, per la mano del Grilenzone si sono conservate, il quale avendone fatta copia a molti sono al presente tanto divulgate, quantunque non siano stampate, che non è niun Lettore pubblico di Filosofia, che non le abbia et non se ne abbellisca leggendo". See Ludovico Castelvetro, Racconto delle vite d'alcuni letterati del suo tempo di M. L. C. Modenese scritte per suo piacere, in: *Appendice I*, Giuseppe Cavazzuti (ed.), 1–15, Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese – Antica Tipografia Soliani, 1903, 4.

24 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 222r. Nardi had originally attributed these initials to Girolamo Bettoni da Correggio. Later he ascribed them to Girolamo de Bono (see Nardi, *Studi*, 75–76 and 296).

tive hypothesis. Bonfioli's *Expositio* in the Osimo codex shows a darker ink between fol. 21r and fol. 37v.[25] The stroke is slightly different, but the handwriting seems to be the same as in the other fascicles. These folios, however, were clearly produced at a different time than the earlier and the later ones. The marginal notes here included present two types of ink: a darker one, like the body of the text; a lighter one, as in the other folios of the *Expositio*. The notes of the first group are copied in the Parisian codex, while those of the second group, which include all the notes signed by Bonfioli, have been omitted. I therefore wonder whether the scribe of the Parisian codex had in hand a draft version (with the notes written in darker ink) of Bonfioli's *reportatio*, which lacked most of the *marginalia* added by Bonfioli himself at a later stage. While I cannot offer a definitive answer, this example suggests that a careful study of the *marginalia* may reveal insights into the processes of production, sharing and circulation of these university course notes.

Bonfioli's *Expositio libelli De sensu et sensato* is clearly the result of a process that began in the university classroom and continued in private: from a phase of transcription and reworking of the *magister*'s words, up to a moment of close reading and editing of the text. We do not know exactly how many people were involved in this process, and it is not excluded that Bonfioli may have employed professional copyists. In any case, the final step probably coincided with the inclusion of various kinds of *marginalia*: some of them aimed at integrating missing parts of the text through cross-reference marks, or at providing precise coordinates for the passages quoted by the *magister*; others focused on subdividing and organising the text to make it easier for the reader; still others supplemented the text with additional references, argumentations, and personal comments, carefully marked with his own initials. The latter are particularly interesting, as they reveal the intellectual engagement of the student-reader-author in understanding the *magister*'s lectures.

2 Paratextual Notes

From the very first folio's *recto*, it is immediately clear which marginal notes serve as paratextual elements for the text's browsing and which ones reveal Bonfioli's personal commitment. Pomponazzi's *Expositio* starts after the heading ("Lectura Magistri Petri Pomponatii in *Parva naturalia* Aristotelis. Anno domini 1524, die 24 novembris. *De sensu et sensato*") with the first lemma of the Aristotelian text, dis-

25 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 21r–37v.

tinguished from the *magister*'s commentary by being underlined.[26] The first lecture serves as an introduction (*accessus ad auctorem*), in which Pomponazzi presents *De sensu et sensato* and places it within the Aristotelian *corpus*. He explains that Aristotle's natural philosophy consists of two parts: on the one hand, there are the books dedicated to inanimate beings (*de rebus inanimatis*), that is, the *Physics*, *De coelo et mundo*, *De generatione et corruptione* and the *Meteorology*; on the other, there are the books devoted to living beings (*de animatis*), that is, *De anima*, the *Parva naturalia* and the treatises on animals and plants. Three notes appear here in the right-hand margin.[27]

The first and third of them are signed "D. B." and are introduced by "nota quod". In the former, Bonfioli briefly recalls the first book of *Physics* for the investigation of the principles of nature; in the latter, he focuses on plants. According to Pomponazzi, Aristotle intended to write a treatise on plants, since he had already dealt with animals; but he may not have been able to complete this project, which was later carried out by his pupil Theophrastus. Echoing the words of the *magister*, Bonfioli recalls that Aristotle mentioned his action plan at the beginning of Book I of *Meteorology* and at the end of *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*; later on, Theophrastus developed it, following the method of history (*per hystoriam*) used by Aristotle for animals, that is, describing the essence and operations of plants, their generation, and their death.[28] In these two notes, Bonfioli follows Pomponazzi's exposition, merely providing further arguments and bibliographical references. However, he signals with his own initials that he personally contributed these additions.

The second of the three notes above mentioned has no initials and presents the contents of the text with a short summary heading: "Division of books about living beings".[29] Notes of this kind are completely impersonal, that is, without personal commitment, which is why the author's initials are not necessary. They appear quite frequently along the margins of the entire exposition, dividing the text into paragraphs. For example, limiting our attention to Pomponazzi's first lecture, we find the following short titles: "Why these books are called *Parva naturalia*"; "Order of the *Parva naturalia* within the books on the animals"; "Division of the *Parva nat-*

26 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r.

27 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r.

28 "Nota quod de his Aristoteles proposuit in principio libri *Metheorum* et fine *De longitudine ac brevitate vitae*. In illo ita processit Theophrastus, sicut Aristoteles de animalibus per hystoriam, propter quid, utrobique tria dicens, scilicet essentiam cum operationibus, generationem vitam et mortem cum cognatis. D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r).

29 "Divisio librorum de animatis" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r).

uralia"; "Order of the *Parva naturalia*"; "Title of this book"; "Usefulness".[30] In addition to the summary headings, Pomponazzi's *Expositio* is frequently partitioned by means of standard formulas. Through these, Bonfioli indicates to the reader that the main text contains: a literal exposition (*textus expositio*), an objection (*obiectio*), a common solution (*responsio communis*), a confutation or a counterargument (*confutatio*, *impugnatio*), a personal solution (*solutio*, *evasio propria*) or a remarkable point (*notabilis*).

Notes with a navigational function also include all the bibliographical references that Bonfioli provides in the margin or in the line-spacing of the text. For example, in the first folio's *recto*, where Pomponazzi states that Aristotle's *De anima* firstly deals with the definition of the soul (*Philosophus prius agit de ipsa anima secundum suam definitionem*), Bonfioli specifies: "up to text 33", that is, "up to *De anima*, II, 415a14" in the Bekker edition.[31] Bibliographical references of this kind are found every time Pomponazzi invokes *De anima*, as well as others Aristotelian works. But Bonfioli does not merely rely on *magister*'s quotations. Rather, he often extracts by himself the implicit reference from the body of the text. For instance, in the margin of fol. 9r, where Pomponazzi states that according to the physicians the same nerves are involved in speaking and listening (*ut dicunt medici, sunt idem nervi qui faciunt ad auditum et ad loquellam*), Bonfioli adds some references to Avicenna's *Canon* on his own initiative.[32] These bibliographical notes provides us with clues to the works' editions used by Bonfioli, although the references do not always seem appropriate. By way of example, one can observe the left-hand marginal note in fol. 6v. As reported in the body text, according to Aristotle all the animals that are capable of local motion have sight, except for the mole (*omnia animalia quae localiter moventur habent visum praeter talpam*). Here Bonfioli refers to Galen's *De usu partium*, XVII (*vide Galenus, 17, De usu partium*), although the exact reference is probably *De usu partium*, XIV, chapter 6, the only place where Galen mentions the Aristotelian example of moles' eyes.[33]

30 "Cur dicuntur *Parva Naturalia*", "Ordo *Parvorum* inter libros de animalibus", "Divisio *Parvorum naturalium*" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1v); "Ordo *Parvorum*" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r); "Titulus libri huius", "Utilitas" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2v).

31 "Usque ad t. c. 33" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1r). In this case, Bonfioli does not specify the book, but the reference is clearly to the *textus commento* 33 of *De anima*, II.

32 Specifically, he makes reference to *Canon*, I, fen. I, doctrina V, summa III, cap. 2 (*De anatomia nervorum egredientium a cerebro et eorum viis*), 3 (*De anatomia nervorum nuche et colli et viis eorum*), 4 (*De anatomia nervorum nuche spondilium que sunt in rectitudine pectoris*) and to *Canon*, III, fen. IV, cap. 3 (*De nocumentis auditus*). See Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 9r.

33 See Galen, *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, vol. 2, Margaret Tallmadge May (ed.), Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1968, 629.

In addition to Aristotle, Galen and Avicenna, Bonfioli makes references to Plato, Theophrastus, Virgil, Themistius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Simplicius, Averroes, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Gentile da Foligno, Peter of Abano, Dino del Garbo, Tommaso del Garbo, John of Jandun, Marcantonio Zimara, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo and many others. Most of the time, he accurately quotes the work and the specific place he wants to suggest, while in some cases he simply mentions the author's name, without giving any other precise indication. The strong presence of physicians among the authors mentioned above, as well as the number of specific references to medical texts, is quite remarkable: it confirms what Bonfioli himself states in the draft letter described earlier regarding the value of this work for medical studies. Moreover, these marginal notes tell us about Bonfioli's cultural background and his presumably easy access to certain texts. Finally, the diligence with which the appropriate bibliographical references are included in the *reportatio* shows an important aspect of the transition from oral lecture to written commentary: the aim is not only to reproduce the words of the *magister*, but also to edit a text that is suitable for public circulation, albeit still in manuscript form.

Another kind of paratextual notes is those in which Bonfioli summarises the *quaestiones* and *dubitationes* addressed by Pomponazzi. For example, towards the end of fol. 4r, we read in the right-hand margin: "Whether or not the natural philosopher is intitled to deal with health and sickness".[34] This kind of questions are collected by Bonfioli in the index found at the end of the *Expositio*, that is, the "Tabula quaestionum generalium quae habentur in hoc libro *De sensu et sensato* a Domino Petro Pomponatio Mantuano".[35] Here the issue concerning the legitimacy of a philosophical enquiry on health and sickness is recalled in a more expansive fashion, with a cross-reference to the specific place where it is raised: "In what manner the physician begins with issues related to natural philosophy, while the philosopher ends with medical problems, and in what sense the physician is subordinate to the natural philosopher: fourth folio's recto, towards the end".[36] The same pattern recurs for the other issues raised by Pomponazzi and collected by Bonfioli in the final table, so as to further facilitate reading, as well as quick browsing into the text. Many of these issues are labelled as remarkable points (*notabilia*), while others as doubts (*dubitationes*).

34 "Utrum naturalis considerat de sanitate et aegritudine" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 4r).

35 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 79r–v.

36 "Quo modo medicus faciat initium a naturalibus, philosophus autem ad medicinalia desinit, et quo modo medicus philosopho naturali subordinetur: charta 4, facie prima, circa finem" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 79r). For the *Tabula quaestionum generalium*, see the appendix to this chapter.

3 D. B.'s Annotations Supporting Pomponazzi

As mentioned above, beyond adding paratextual markers, Bonfioli often engages with the text in a more personal way through his *marginalia*. In many cases, he seems to intervene in favour of the *magister*, either by reinforcing his points with additional arguments and references or neutralising opposing positions. One such example can be found in the first folio's *verso*. Pomponazzi mentions Thomas Aquinas to explain why Aristotle did not include a treatise on the intellect and the intelligibles in his *Parva naturalia*: the investigation conducted in this collection concerns the operations of the soul in its relation to the bodily organs; since the intellect is independent of any bodily organs (*intellectus nullius corporis actus est*), its consideration is beyond the scope of this study, as Bonfioli makes clear:

> Some other people say that he made indeed [a book on the intellect], and this book is the one on animals, for there he deals with animals in relation to the human being, who is the intellect. This is what Aristotle suggested in that book. But this is false, because there the question is about the matter of the animal, not its operations – as it will be argued later. D. B.[37]

Bonfioli takes a stand here in support of Pomponazzi's argument. Against those who believe that Aristotle dealt with the intellect and the intelligible in his book on animals, Bonfioli argues that there Aristotle simply investigates the organic body of the animals, without taking into consideration the intellectual faculties of the human beings.[38] Furthermore, to corroborate his alignment with Pomponazzi, Bonfioli adds a cross-reference to a later passage in the *Expositio*.

Another interesting note is found in fol. 2r. Here Pomponazzi describes the *Parva naturalia*'s treatises devoted to the vegetative function of the soul, that is, *De morte et vita*, *De iuventute et senectute*, *De longitudine et brevitate vitae* and *De sanitate et aegritudine*. But no trace of this last work remains, and commentators have often questioned its existence.[39] Bonfioli details the sources that helped give rise to this belief:

> That Aristotle wrote a book entitled *De sanitate et langore* comes from *De partibus animalium*, II (chapter 7, in the end), the beginning of *De longitudine ac brevitate vitae*, the end of *De*

37 "Alii dicunt quod fecit, et est liber de animalibus, quia agit ibi de animalibus in ordine ad hominem, qui est intellectus. Et ita ibi proposuit Aristoteles. Sed hoc est falsum, quoniam ut infra dicetur, ibi agitur de materia animalis, non de operationibus. D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 1v).

38 Bonfioli is probably referring to Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, II, 744a30–35.

39 See René-Antoine Gauthier's critical apparatus in Thomas de Aquino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 45.2: *Sentencia libri De sensu et sensato cuius secundus tractatus est De memoria et reminiscencia*, René Antoine Gauthier (ed.), Rome: Commissio Leonina; Paris: J. Vrin, 1985, 5.

> *morte et vita*, and the beginning of *De sensu et sensato* (where there is also its introduction). Moreover, [he dealt with it] in *Historia animalium*, VIII, from chapter 18 onwards. And even Theophrastus [discussed it] in his *De causis plantarum*, V, chapter 9. D. B.[40]

Bonfioli does not merely report Pomponazzi's statement – who in accordance with Aquinas attributed this lost treatise to Aristotle – but adds all the references to the Aristotelian *corpus* that corroborate the *magister*'s position.[41] In addition, he mentions Theophrastus' *De causis plantarum*, V, chapter 9, in which plant pathology is discussed.[42] All these references confirm, in Bonfioli's opinion, that a treatise on health and sickness was part of the Aristotelian project.

In some cases, Bonfioli substantiates the issues discussed by adding arguments in the margins. For instance, in the first lecture, Pomponazzi explains why *De sensu* is the first treatise of the *Parva naturalia* collection. The main reason is that initially we have a better grasp of the external rather that the internal senses (*quia sensus exteriores sunt nobis notiores interioribus*).[43] Bonfioli adds two more reasons:

> Or because the external sense is about present things and memory pertains to the past, while sleep and wakefulness are related to future things, especially sleep because of his nature. Or because sleep and wakefulness do not belong to the soul like the external and internal senses, but they are more related to the body. D. B.[44]

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40 "Nota quod Aristoteles fecit liber *De sanitate et langore* patet ex eo secundo *De partibus animalium*, capitulo 7, in fine; ad principium *De longitudine ac brevitate vitae*; in fine *De morte et vita*; principio *De sensu ac sensato*, hic habetur etiam principium eius. Item quia in *Hystoria* tractavit, VIII, capitulo 18 inde et etiam Theophrastus, 5, *De causis plantarum*, capitulum 9. D.B" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r).

41 Bonfioli refers to *De partibus animalium*, II, 653a10, where Aristotle clearly referred to a work on the origin of diseases; *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, 464b30–33, where a future treatise on sickness and health is announced; *De vita et morte*, 480b23–30, where he claimed that natural philosophy deals with the causes of health and sickness; *Historia animalium*, VII, 601a23–608a1, where Aristotle dealt with animal pathology. As for the last reference, note that Book VIII quoted by Bonfioli corresponds to Book VII in modern editions: the variation is due to the fact that, following Theodore Gaza's edition (published in 1476), many later editors placed Book IX after Book VI, resulting in a different order of the work. For further details, see the introduction in Aristotle, *History of Animals (Book VII–X)*, David Mowbray Balme and Allan Gotthelf (eds.), Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1991, 1–50.

42 See Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum (Books V–VI)*, Benedict Einarson and George Konrad Karl Link (eds.), Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1990, 85–89.

43 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r. See Aristotle, *Physics*, 184a23–26.

44 "Vel quia sensus exterior est praesentium, memoria praeteritorum, somnus et vigilia futurum respiciunt, et maxime somnus prae ipso. Vel quia somnus et vigilia non ita sunt animae ut sensus exteriores et interiores, sed magis corporis sunt. D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r).

According to the first hypothesis, *De sensu et sensato* is the first treatise because the external senses examined there always concern present things; this is followed by *De memoria et reminiscentia*, which deals with the memory of the past (always implying a previous sense perception), and finally *De somno et vigilia*, which addresses the perception of future things. It is therefore necessary to start with the external senses (*De sensu*) and then gradually proceed to the other treatises. The second hypothesis rests on the fact that *De sensu* (which deals with the external senses) and *De memoria* (which regards the internal senses) precede *De somno*, for they are more related to the activity of the soul, whereas sleep and wakefulness (discussed in *De somno*) are functions which are more dependent on the body. In this view, the collection of the *Parva naturalia* seamlessly leads from an investigation into the operations involving the soul–body compound to those strictly related to the body.

It is worth pointing out that Pomponazzi's lectures were probably a rather flexible framework, to the point that Stefano Perfetti called them a sort of Aristotelian workshop.[45] Indeed, the *reportationes* suggest that students sometimes intervened directly with questions or objections. For instance, in Lecture 43 of Bonfioli's *reportatio* one can read: "As our Furnus was saying yesterday …".[46] The objector to whom Pomponazzi was referring here is Gianfrancesco Forno of Modena, as Bonfioli pointedly indicates in the margin (*Obiectio Furni Mutinensis*). The young and talented Forno was probably well known in the Bolognese milieu.[47] He was a student of Pomponazzi in Bologna, where he later obtained the chair of logic in 1520. His reputation grew after taking part in a public philosophical dispute in Modena during the General Chapter of Dominicans, in which Pomponazzi also participated.[48] According to Tiraboschi, Forno held the extraordinary chair of philosophy in

45 See Perfetti's introduction in Pietro Pomponazzi, *Expositio super primo et secundo De partibus animalium*, Stefano Perfetti (ed.), Florence: Olschki, 2004, XXIV–XXVI.

46 "Quod autem dicebat heri Furnus noster …" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 65r).

47 For biographical details, see Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del serenissimo signor duca di Modena*, vol. 2, Modena: Società Tipografica, 1782, 348–351.

48 There is a reference to Forno and his public dispute in Pomponazzi's *Expositio libri De generatione et corruptione*, contained in the codex 18. L. 44: the handwriting seems to be attributable to Bonfioli, but we do not know whether he was actually present at this course (held on holidays in 1519) or later collected these notes (see Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 278r). The presence of Pomponazzi and Forno at the General Chapter of Dominicans in Modena had become part of a novel (III, 38) written by Matteo Bandello. See Matteo Bandello, *Novelle*, Giuseppe Guido Ferrero (ed.), 739–742, Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1978; Luca Badini Confalonieri, Bandello e Pomponazzi: la parte del filosofo, in: *Il cammino di madonna Oretta: Studi di letteratura italiana dal due al Novecento*, Luca Badini Confalonieri (ed.), 63–72, Alessandria: Edizione dell'Orso, 2004.

Pisa between 1521 and 1524. However, at least since 1523, he had already become part of Ercole Gonzaga's entourage, as testified in a letter sent on 10 January 1523 by Vincenzo de' Preti (mentor of Ercole Gonzaga) to his mother, Isabella D'Este.[49] Forno provided the future cardinal with the study support, as well as with private lectures on logic. It was probably with Ercole Gonzaga that Forno attended Pomponazzi's lectures on *De sensu et sensato* and raised his objections, at the risk of receiving straight response by the *magister*: "This argument is worthless".[50]

Pomponazzi himself often left some issues open, encouraging his students to reflect on them – for instance during the Christmas holidays.[51] In some of these cases, Bonfioli writes his own opinion in the margin or in the line spacings of the text. For instance, towards the end of fol. 2r, Pomponazzi wonders whether Aristotle had sufficiently dealt with the sensory faculty in his *De sensu et sensato*, *De memoria et reminiscentia* and *De somno et vigilia*. According to Averroes, these three treatises were sufficient, but others might have argued that the part on the internal senses, that is, imagination and common sense, was missing, even though Aristotle had announced it. Pomponazzi does not engage with this question, and postpones it to a more appropriate place, leaving it to his students (*nunc relinquo vobis*).[52] Here, in the right-hand margin, Bonfioli fits his own note: he claims that imagination is the same faculty as memory, and that Aristotle dealt with it in *De anima*, III.[53] Due to this association between memory and imagination, Bonfioli seems to suggest that the ideal place Pomponazzi was referring to in order to address this issue was *De memoria et reminiscentia*.

49 "Il studio … segue gagliardamente mattino e sera, et sin qui M. Lazaro spera benissimo de lui, né M.ro Petro si diffida ponto per li principij mostra [*sic* nostra], secondo dice anche m. Zo. Fran.co Forno, qual non manca di farlo ben instrutto in questi principij" (Alessandro Luzio, Ercole Gonzaga allo studio di Bologna, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 8 (1886): 374–386, at 381).

50 "Hoc nihil valet …" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 65r).

51 At the end of Lecture 16 on 20 December 1524, Pomponazzi states: "Et ideo ne istis festis vellitis omnino vos ludo deditos esse has propositas quaestiones pro eo tempore vobis pensitandas relinquo" (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 24v).

52 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r.

53 "Ego dico, ut tenuit *De anima*, II, in fine, quod phantasia sit eadem virtus cum memoria, de qua, ut cogit, egit in libro *De anima*, II, t. c. 150, inde … D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 2r). Bonfioli's reference corresponds to Book III in modern editions of *De anima*. See Aristotle, *De anima*, 427a16–429a10.

4 D. B.'s Annotations Challenging Pomponazzi

Despite his overall agreement with the *magister*, Bonfioli occasionally expresses dissent by adding his own counterarguments in the margins. This happens for example in Lecture 6, where Pomponazzi criticises Thomas Aquinas' interpretation of an Aristotelian passage against the ancient philosophers, who attributed the element of fire to sight. The question was: if sight is composed of fire, why are we not able to see it? And yet the same point could be raised against Aristotle, who considered the eye to be made of water. In his defence, Aquinas argued that this criticism was certainly valid for the ancient philosophers, for they believed that an actual assimilation was taking place between the organ and the object of vision; but not for Aristotle, who considered the presence of a medium to be crucial for the visual act to occur. Pomponazzi is not convinced by this interpretation for two reasons: firstly, because the ancient philosophers intended real assimilation as the apprehension of something that is external to the sense organ, and not as the perception of itself; secondly, because this kind of criticism would be valid only for those (*ad hominem*) who considered vision as a real assimilation, but not against all those (*simpliciter*) who believed the eye to be constituted of fire.[54]

Bonfioli's note is quite intricate, but he clearly disagrees with Pomponazzi and argues in favour of Aquinas. First of all, he says that the ancient philosophers did not make this kind of distinction (*antiqui non faciunt hanc differentiam*) between what is external and what is internal to the sense organ, and indeed there is no point in making it (*nec est facienda*), for if they admit the actual assimilation of something that is external to the organ, they will accept it even more so when the object is internal (*magis debet fieri per intrinsecum*), given the greater similarity to the organ. Secondly, Bonfioli states that it is acceptable that the Aristotelian argument specifically refers to those who consider vision as an actual assimilation, because if it were valid in general, it would turn against Aristotle himself (*Nam si Aristoteles non loquatur ad hominem facientem cognitionem ex simili, procedit etiam contra se ipsum*).

Bonfioli also adds that it is perhaps more correct (*rectius*) – compared to Aquinas' argumentation – to say that Aristotle was preparing the ground for criticising those who believed that vision occurred by the distension of the most external parts of the eyes outwards (*nunc loquatur contra eos qui ponunt visionem fieri a sensu active per extremis*), as he would later say: if this were the case, it would not be possible to perceive what is inside (*ad ipsum non sequi qui potest fieri intra*) and they would not be able to sustain the igneous nature of the eye. On the contrary,

54 Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 10r.

Aristotle could argue that the eye is made of water, because he believes that vision occurs within the eye.[55] Leaving aside the proposed argumentation, what is noteworthy here is Bonfioli's direct engagement in interpreting the Aristotelian passage and discussing the *magister*'s position – a pattern that recurs on many other occasions.

One final peculiar case I would like to mention here can be found in the left-hand margin of fol. 6v. According to Aristotle, sight, hearing, and smell are necessary for such animals that are capable of local movement. In this regard, Pomponazzi questions whether these animals should possess all these three senses or just one is sufficient. Relying on his own experience, Pomponazzi says that the second hypothesis seems more reliable to him, because there are a few animals that, albeit capable of local motion, are devoid of sight (such as the mole). Here Bonfioli writes:

> One can doubt whether the sense of smell is extended to the whole species, because, according to Aristotle, the sense of smell has the utmost affinity with flavour, which is the object of taste, a necessary sense. However, when the question regards individuals, it is not, and I have seen many human beings who lacked the sense of smell. This was the case with a certain Doctor of Arts and Medicine, namely the outstanding *magister* Giustiniano Fantino, who is very dear to me. And so also was Mrs Bartolomea (my father's sister) and Mrs Catelina (my sister), of whom I know with certainty. D. B.[56]

Bonfioli maintains that, according to Aristotle, the sense of smell is necessary for the survival of living beings because it is related to the sense of taste, and consequently to feeding. Thus, as for sight, there is the issue of how one can live without it. However, if one looks at the individuals, it is evident that there are some people

55 "Primum dicendum est, quoniam antiqui non faciunt hanc differentiam, nec est facienda, quoniam magis debet fieri [feri *ms*] per intrinsecum, eo quod magis est similitudo, cum sit intrinsecum, in qua similitudine ipsi fundantur. Tum, quod non haberent rationem huius? Secundum etiam quoniam potest admitti quod ratio est ad hominem. Verum rectius dico quod ratio est simpliciter probans, non ex eo quod iste dicit tantum, quia ipse etiam non respondet ad argumentum. Nam si Aristoteles non loquatur ad hominem facientem cognitionem ex simili, procedit etiam contra se ipsum, cum sit ibi natura aliqua apud oculum, sed est simpliciter ad dicentes hoc signum. Vel rectius quod nunc loquatur contra eos qui ponunt visionem fieri a sensu active per extrema [extremis *ms*], ut ipse idem dicet statim, quare ad ipsum non sequi qui potest fieri intra. D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 10r).

56 "De olfatu etiam est dubitatio in tota specie, quoniam, ut dicit Aristoteles, habet maximam affinitatem cum sapore, qui est obiectum gustus necessarii. De individuis autem non est dubium, et vidi multos homines non olfacere. Sic fuit quidam doctor artium et medicine, excellens Magister Iustinianus Fantinus mihi affectus. Item Domina Bartholomea soror patris mei et Domina Chatelina, soror mea, de quibus certe scio ego. D. B." (Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 6v).

who are able to live without it. Bonfioli mentions three cases known to him personally: his professor Giustiniano Fantino, his aunt Bartolomea and his sister Catelina.[57] The presence of these personal references, as well as Bonfioli's validating tag ("de quibus certe scio ego"), suggests that this work was not conceived solely for private use, but was also intended to be shared or consulted by others, to which he offers his own testimony in support of the argument put forward.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to offer a glimpse into the wealth of information that can be found in the *marginalia* dotting the pages of Domenico Bonfioli's *reportationes* on Pomponazzi's course. Besides reiterating the importance of marginal notes, which has rightly been emphasised by eminent scholars in recent years, my focus here was to shed light on the specific technical functions these annotations played within students' *reportationes*.[58] Back in 1998, during a conference held at Erice, Jacqueline Hamesse (one of the leading specialists of the "literary genre" of *reportationes*) had already pointed out how much work remained to be done on the *marginalia* found in medieval university philosophical texts, and how many secrets still needed to be revealed: both the notes collected by students and texts used by the *magistri* are rich in marginal annotations that, for the most part, still remain unexplored.[59] This holds true even when early modern *reportationes* are taken into account. In the specific case of Pomponazzi studies, for example, a com-

57 I could not find any information on Bartolomea and Catelina. As for Giustiniano Fantino, Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi refers that in 1503 he became board member of Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Bologna, where he taught Logic, Philosophy and Medicine (both theoretical and practical) until 1524. It is not clear when he died, but we know that he was buried at the church of S. Domenico in Bologna (see Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi, *I dottori bolognesi di teologia, Filosofia, Medicina e d'Arti Liberali: Dall'anno 1000 per tutto marzo del 1623*, Bologna: Nicolò Tebaldini, 1623, 98). According to Nardi, Fantino was one of the academic sponsors (*promotores*) of the famous philosopher Ludovico Boccadiferro on 15 March 1516 (see Nardi, *Studi*, 321). It was probably in the last period of Fantino's teaching that Bonfioli had the opportunity to attend his courses.

58 For a recent assessment of the field of history of reading, see Anthony Thomas Grafton, Nicholas Popper, and William H. Sherman (eds.), *Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading: Essays by Lisa Jardine and Others*, London: UCL Press, 2024.

59 Jacqueline Hamesse, Les marginalia dans les textes philosophiques universitaires médiévaux, in: *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 26 September – 3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, vol. 1, Vincenzo Fera, Giacomo Ferraù, and Silvia Rizzo (eds.), 301–321, Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2002.

prehensive analysis of the *marginalia* found in the notes taken by his students during his university courses promises to yield a great deal of information. This should be combined with a "social approach" that considers Pomponazzi's thought in relation to that of his students, colleagues, friends and adversaries – in the belief that any philosophical thought, although original, is never completely isolated, but always intertwined with the contribution coming from other participants in the social business of thinking.

Bonfioli is one of those participants who deserves some attention. The present study of his *reportationes* can only serve as a starting point. First of all, it would be necessary to carefully examine the autograph documents contained in the Osimo codex: these include, for example, three draft letters on logic, written to Giovanni Battista Goineo – a humanist from Pirano (Slovenia) who was probably his pupil at the University of Bologna.[60] Then, in the same codex, it would be necessary to study all the *reportationes* annotated by Bonfioli, trying to clarify where he is the author, and where he simply copied others' notes. It also would be useful to study the marginal notes written by Bonfioli in the printed texts mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, looking for other books with his possession notes. Finally, his *Commentary on Aristotle's Topics* mentioned above and published by Bonfioli in 1531 should be carefully scrutinised. The work was published under the pontificate of Clement VII, who in 1529 offered a diplomatic role in Bologna to the famous Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540). It is precisely with a dedication letter to Guicciardini that Bonfioli opens the volume, followed by many other letters to political and influential figures in Bologna. Moreover, Bonfioli's *Commentary* presents many paratextual notes to guide the reader. It is indeed worth noting that the same formulas found in his *reportatio* of the *Expositio libelli De sensu et sensato* also occur here.

According to the approach taken in this chapter, I propose in the appendix Bonfioli's *Tabula quaestionum generalium*, hoping that it will provide some support to those who wish to take up Pomponazzi's last university course.

60 See Osimo, ms. 18. L. 44, 91r–94v. For more information on Goineo, see Silvano Cavazza, Goineo, Giovanni Battista, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 57 (2001): 562–565.

6 Appendix

The following *Tabula* is found in codex 18. L. 44 (fol. 79r–v) of the Biblioteca Storica dell'Istituto Campana di Osimo, in Ancona (Italy). All the *quaestiones* are listed without indicating those marked as *notabilia* and *dubitationes*. Square brackets indicate the marginal headings inserted by Bonfioli to group the issues by topics. References to *chartae* and *facies* have been abbreviated as "fol." (*folio*), "r" (*recto*) and "v" (*verso*). As modern cartulation differs from the original one, some references had to be changed: they are indicated with angle brackets (⟨…⟩).

fol. 79r

Tabula quaestionum generalium quae habentur in hoc libro *De sensu et sensato* a Domino Petro Pomponatio Mantuano

Quo modo medicus faciat initium a naturalibus, philosophus autem ad medicinalia desinat, et quo modo medicus philosopho naturali subordinetur (fol. 4r, circa finem).

[De comparatione sensuum invicem ad animalia]

Utrum gustus sit necessarius animali, et de consideratione philosophi in hac re (fol. 6r, circa medium).

Utrum cuilibet animali progressivo sint necessarii omnes sensus qui fiunt per medium extrinsecum, vel quidam tantum (fol. 6v, circa medium).

Utrum magis faciant ad scientiam visus quam auditus. Utrum magis faciant ad scientiam visus et auditus quam tactus. Utrum ceci a nativitate sint prudentiores surdis et mutis. Utrum omnis surdus a nativitate [natavitate *ms*] sit mutus (fol. 9v, in principio: haec omnia ibi continentur).

[De visione, et modo fiendi ipsius]

Utrum lux quae apparet in corporibus politis et tersis sit in illis effective (fol. 10r, circa finem).

Quid sit visio et quo modo fiat visio (fol. 15v, in principio).

Utrum visio fiat intus, vel extramittendo (fol. 16r).

Utrum Aristoteles bene probaverit visionem fieri in nervis obticis [obticiis *ms*] (fol. 16v).

Utrum valeant aliae rationes Philosophi ad probandum de oculo quod attribuitur aquae (fol. 17r, ultra principium).

Utrum valeant rationes Philosophi ad probandum olfatum attribui igni (fol. 17r).

Cui elemento attribuatur olfatus, et de contradictione Aristotelis in hac re (fol. 17v, circa medium).

[De sensiterio tactus]

Utrum tactus a praedominio sit terreus (fol. 18r).
Utrum gustus sit terreus a praedominio (fol. 18v).
Utrum sensiterium sensus tactus sit in corde (fol. 18v, circa finem).
Utrum cor sit principium tactus (fol. 19r).
Utrum primum sentiens in tactu sit cor (fol. 19v).
Utrum organum gustus sit in corde (fol. 19v).

[De organo trium sensuum qui fiunt per medium]

Utrum organum trium sensuum qui fiunt per medium extrinsecum, scilicet olfatus, auditus et visus sit in cerebro (fol. 20r).
Unde motus fuit Aristoteles ad ponendum organum illorum trium sensuum qui fiunt per medium exstrinsecum in cerebro (ibidem fol. 20r, parum infra).

[De obiectu visus, seu de colore et lumine]

Quid sit dyaphanum, et per quid efficiatur dyaphanum (fol. 21v, in fine).
Quid sit illa extremitas quae ponitur in diffinitione coloris (fol. 23r ⟨fol. 22v⟩)
Quae qualitas sit color, vel quo modo causetur color (fol. 23r, in fine ⟨in principio⟩).
Vide multa consideranda circa diffinitionem coloris (fol. 24r, in fine, et fol. 25r, in fine ⟨fols. 23v–24v⟩).
Utrum colores medii sint extremi simul accepti, vel unum trium resultans (fol. 29r ⟨fol. 27r⟩).

[De sapore, seu de obiecto gustus]

Utrum aqua in sui substantia efficiatur sapida, et colorata (fol. 33r, in principio ⟨fol. 29v⟩).
Qualis sit ordo primarum qualitatum ad quattuor elementa (fol. 33r, circa finem ⟨fol. 29v⟩).
Utrum materia saporis sit humidum, agens vero sit siccum (fol. 36r, in principio ⟨fol. 31v⟩).
Utrum illa particula posita in diffinitione saporis, scilicet alterativa de potentia ad actum, sit de intrinseca ratione saporis (fol. 36r ⟨fol. 31v⟩).
Utrum siccum sit magis effectivum saporum quam calidum, vel econtra (fol. 37r, in medio ⟨fol. 32r⟩).
Utrum ignis agat inquantum ignis (fol. 37v, circa medium ⟨fol. 32v, in principio⟩).

[Quaedam pulchra, scilicet digna]

Quare est quod nulla forma substantialis per se immediate agit (fol. 39r, ultra principium ⟨fols. 32v–33r⟩).

Quae sit immediata causa productiva ignis, vel alterius substantiae. Quod sit reducens aquam ad pristinam frigiditatem (fol. 39v, in principio ⟨et⟩ in medio ⟨fols. 33v–34r⟩).

fol. 79v

[De sapore]

Utrum dulce et amarum sint sapores extremi (fol. 42r, in principio ⟨fol. 35r⟩).
Utrum sapores medii generentur ab extremis (fol. 45r, ultra principium).
Utrum omnia viventia nutriantur dulci (fol. 45r, in fine).

[De odore, seu de obiecto olfatus]

Quid sit odor, ubi plures habentur opiniones de mente Philosophi (fol. 52r).
Utrum odor secundum se possit aliquo modo nutrire, nutritione improprie dicta (fol. 51r, circa medium).
Utrum odor alteret nutribile realiter, vel spiritualiter (fol. 57v, ultra medium).
Quo modo ex odore possit provenire actio realis (fol. 58r, in principio).
Utrum odor possit nutrire vera nutritione partes spirituosas animalis (fol. 58v, circa medium).
Utrum odor possit vere nutrire partes carnivores et solidas animalis (fol. 59r, in fine).
Utrum sint duae species odorum realiter distinctae, vel una tantum secundum rem (fol. 60r, in fine).
Utrum bruta percipiant odores secundum se delectabiles (fol. 60v, circa medium).
Utrum homo peius odoret [odores *ms*] multis animalibus (fol. 61v, in principio).

[Haec quae sequuntur sunt supra tribus quaestionibus Aristotelis, in fine. Prima est de speciebus sensibilium, utrum dividuntur in infinitum]

Utrum omnis magnitudo naturalis sit sensibilis (fol. 64v, circa finem).
Utrum species sensibilium sint infinitae (fol. 65v, in principio).

[Secunda est utrum sensibile prius medium mutet quam sensum]

Utrum odor habeat prius esse in medio quam in extremo (fol. 67v, ultra principium).
Utrum odor multiplicetur realiter in aere, vel spiritualiter (fol. 67v, in fine).
Utrum sonus prius habeat esse in medio quam in sensu auditus (fol. 68r, circa finem).
Utrum ad auditionem debeat moveri unus aer continuus a corpore sonoro usque ad sensum auditus (ibidem paululum post).

Quo modo intelligatur illud dictum Philosophi in secunda dubitatione, quod plures audiunt quodammodo eundem sonum, et quodammodo alium sonum (fol. 69r, ultra medium).
Utrum sentiremus sapores non tangendo, si viveremus in humido aqueo (fol. 69v, in medio).
Utrum sit dare primum in motu alterationis (fol. 69v, in fine).

[Tertia dubitatio est utrum contingat simul duo sentire]

Quare est quod non ita possumus duo simul sentire aliis sensibus sicut visu (fol. 75v, in principio).
Qualis fiat mixtio in coloribus, cum simul videmus duo opposita (fol. 76r, in principio).
Utrum omnes visiones quae simul fiunt sint eiusdem speciei, vel eiusdem [eedem *ms*] numero (ibi continetur).
Quare virtutes interiores possunt simul opposita percipere, et non exteriores (fol. 77r, circa medium).
Utrum contingat simul audire et olfacere, seu videre aut huiusmodi (fol. 77r, in medio).
Utrum sensus communis esset sufficens pro omnibus sensationibus exterioribus (fol. 77r, ultra medium).

[De quadam ratione Aristotelis in fine libri, ubi revertitur ad probandum nullum indivisibile esse sensibile]

Utrum Aristoteles bene probaverit nullum indivisibile esse sensibile (fol. 77v, circa finem).
Utrum sit dare maximum ⟨in⟩ quod sic et minimum in quod non (fol. 79r, ultra medium).

Finis. Laus deo.

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Valentina Zaffino

Tommaso Campanella's *Marginalia* on Aristotle

Introduction

From 1585 to 1587, Tommaso Campanella lived and studied in Nicastro.[1] In 1585, a reform in the Dominican studies curriculum required Dominicans to study metaphysics, physics, and logic for five years. Accordingly, as a young friar, Campanella spent considerable time in the San Domenico convent library, reading books on philosophy, theology, history, oratory, and law.[2] In particular, the library held books of Aristotle and his Greek, Arabic, and Latin commentators.[3] Some of these commentators, such as Averroes, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Thomas Aquinas, and Agostino Nifo will be cited in the *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1591), and we can suppose that Campanella quoted them from memory, as he was used to doing.[4] Indeed, the books he read in Nicastro early in his education were probably significant throughout his life. Most importantly, *marginalia* and glosses are preserved in many of these volumes, some possibly in Campanella's hand, others certainly so.

The study of *marginalia* is important for at least three reasons. First, the annotations allow us to know which books the author certainly read and, therefore, which philosophers and texts were fundamental to his education. Second, the annotations let us reconstruct Campanella's interpretations of the texts he commented on. Campanella's glosses and *marginalia* do indeed manifest his thoughts, in two different ways. On the one hand, the annotations express theses that were introduced more fully in his later works and thus contain *in nuce* arguments that would be later explained in detail. On the other hand, some marginal notes hint at views quite different from what we otherwise know of Campanella's philosophy. Studying the latter annotations means tracing some new motifs in our understand-

1 My thanks go to the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme for allowing me to collect this important information. I am particularly grateful to Dott. Antonio Vescio for his valuable support of my research.

2 See Antonella De Vinci, Postille del giovane Campanella in volumi della Casa del Libro Antico di Lamezia Terme, in: *Laboratorio Campanella: Biografia, contesti, iniziative in corso: Atti del Convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani, Roma, 19–20 ottobre 2006*, Germana Ernst and Caterina Fiorani (eds.), 39–63, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008, 42.

3 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 49–50.

4 See Antonella De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, Vibo Valentia: Qualecultura, 2002, 104.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111560229-011

ing of the author. This is particularly true of his annotations of texts from the Aristotelian tradition, with which he had a critical relationship.[5] Third, for Campanella the marginalia represented a space of freedom, not only because they were not addressed to an official readership, but also because they could escape censorship since they remained anonymous or, at most, only thinly ascribable to him as author.

Scholars have not yet tackled this topic – at least, not in detail. However, we must mention the works of Antonella De Vinci,[6] who investigated Campanella's youth, and particularly the relevance of the ancient collection of the Dominican library in Nicastro. De Vinci also studied Campanella's *marginalia*, offering a remarkable reconstruction of the philosopher's annotations of these books.[7]

In the wake of De Vinci's contribution, the aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it highlights Campanella's formative stay at the Dominican convent of Nicastro and examines the volumes that were important for the development of his thought. Second, and more importantly, it reconstructs Campanella's attitude towards Aristotle and the Aristotelian tradition as it emerges from the *marginalia* of these texts. In this regard, the essay underlines how, in some of these annotations, Campanella expressed partially innovative aspects of his philosophy not present as such in his canonical works, while in others he proposed theses that would be developed in his later works. The range of views thus expressed in the *marginalia* is due to a certain freedom of expression that could not be achieved in other contexts.

5 As attested by Germana Ernst: "La lettura dei testi aristotelici e dei suoi commentatori suscita da subito nel giovane frate insoddisfazione e un atteggiamento critico. A Nicastro un maestro, stigmatizzando tale attitudine polemica, lo avrebbe ammonito: 'Campanella, Campanella, tu non farai bon fine!'" (Germana Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella: Il libro e il corpo della natura*, Rome: Laterza, 2002, 5).

6 De Vinci wrote the abovementioned contributions to the topic as the former director of the Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme.

7 As Germana Ernst also notes, De Vinci is credited with discovering the *marginalia* of the young Campanella. She maintains that Campanella himself is the author of the annotations found in the volumes preserved in Nicastro, and she substantiates this claim with historical and technical evidence in De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 14–16; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 41–43.

1 Campanella in Nicastro: Writing *Marginalia* in Aristotelian Volumes

Tommaso Campanella was a remarkably fruitful writer. This was probably due to his prodigious genius and tireless activity as a reader. As De Vinci reminds us,[8] in the *Syntagma de libris propriis*[9] he used a highly illuminating term to describe his approach to books and study, namely the verb *perlego*. This word indicates the desire to immerse himself in reading. In fact, reading was Campanella's main activity in Nicastro, where he spent intense years in the library of the convent that hosted him. Here he read through (*perlegit*) a seemingly boundless number of volumes.

To examine Campanella's *marginalia* – at least those produced during the years he spent in Nicastro – does not primarily mean to reconstruct theoretical or strictly theological-philosophical themes and issues. Rather, it entails adopting a historical perspective to reconstruct Campanella's technique of reading. The presence of his *marginalia* testifies to the importance of certain authors and themes within Dominican libraries and, consequently, within the cultural formation of the novices. At the same time, it highlights the specific preferences accorded by Campanella to particular authors and texts within these broader collections. In other words, one may attempt to answer the following questions: What were the principal contents of Campanella's intellectual education? Which authors did he engage with most frequently? Which works did he specifically select from the rich library of the convent of San Domenico? Why did he make these choices? Among the books he read, which ones contain *marginalia*, commentary, and significant interventions? Answering these questions allows us to explore the intellectual background within which the key concepts of Campanella's mature thought took shape. In any case, no autograph manuscript from his youth has been preserved, so it is impossible to compare the annotations found in Nicastro with Campanella's writings from the same period.

The content of Campanella's *marginalia* on the Aristotelian works is, in a sense, preparatory to the themes that the author will develop later throughout his life in his most important writings. Indeed, as we shall see, the personal notes that

8 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 94.

9 "Quapropter ego cuius commentarios ferme omnes perlegisti, atque tuis approbasti scriptis editis, abs te stimulatus adiuratusque, ut omnium librorum meorum numerum ac rationem tibi patefacerem usque ad schedas" (Tommaso Campanella, *Sintagma dei miei libri e sul corretto metodo di apprendere*, Germana Ernst (ed.), Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2007, 28). "Proptereaque, cum mortuo Telesio, quem viventem alloqui non licuit, elegeiam affixissem, Altum Montem oppidum adivi, ubi Platonicorum et medicorum libros ab optimis viris subministratos perlegi" (Campanella, *Sintagma dei miei libri*, 32).

Campanella inscribed in the volumes of the Dominican library of Nicastro contain, in embryonic form, some foundational themes for the speculative path that Campanella will later pursue. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the reading of these volumes during Campanella's youth proved to be fundamental during the long years of his imprisonment, providing him with a bibliographical reservoir from which he could constantly draw. As a matter of fact, Campanella, as was common during the Renaissance, made extensive use of mnemonic techniques[10] and succeeded in retaining in his memory not only the contents of the volumes he read (in this case, at Nicastro), but sometimes even the exact words contained within the texts themselves.

We should wonder about the aim and meaning of the annotations Campanella wrote in the margins of the texts he consulted and studied. What role did they play in the philosopher's thought? Why did the author write in the volumes themselves and not on loose sheets? To answer these preliminary questions, which are crucial for investigating the content of the annotations themselves, we must turn to the manuscripts, where two interesting aspects emerge. First, Campanella signed his notes. In some cases, he wrote his own name. As reconstructed by De Vinci,[11] on the first folio of the *Ars versificatoria* (1517) we find the inscription "fr. Thoma do sqllij ont[…]go,"[12] while on a page of the *Morale reductorium super totam bibliam* by Pierre Bersuire (1520), one reads "frater Thomas de sqllio [Squilatio?]"[13] (see Figure 1).

10 This topic has been addressed notably by Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

11 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 95.

12 Ioannes Despauterius, *Ars versificatoria diligenter recognita: adiectis complusculis: & quicquid parum speciosum videbatur eliminato velles quaedam latius probari … Praemissa Isagoge Ascensiana: Addita est Despauterij recriminatio in aduersarium*, Lutetiae: Claude Chevallon, 1517 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 177-C).

13 Petrus Berchorius, *Morale reductorium super totam Bibliam: quattuor & triginta libris consummatum: singulisque … capitibus aptissime distinctum: vbi notabiliorum, historiarum, ac figurarum veteris & noui testamentorum: premissa compendiosa textus summa: tropologica seu allegorica atque nonnunquam anagogica subnectitur explanatio. Adiectis Biblie concordantijs …*, Lugduni: Jacques Mareschal, 1520, book I, ch. II, fol. II (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 166-C). At the time, Stilo was in the diocese of Squillace, now the archdiocese of Catanzaro-Squillace.

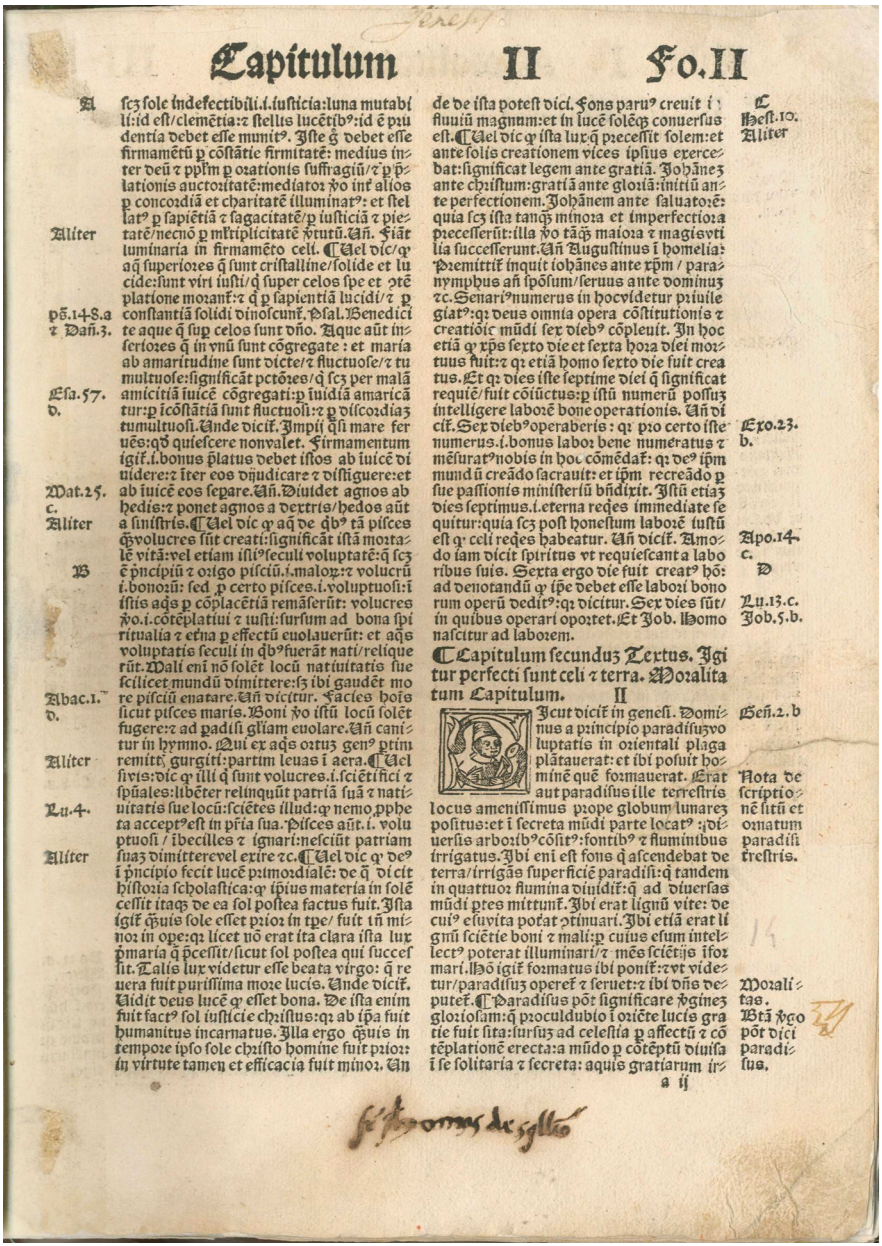

Capitulum II Fo.II

Figure 1: Campanella's intervention on a page of the *Morale reductorium super totam bibliam* by Pierre Bersuire (1520).

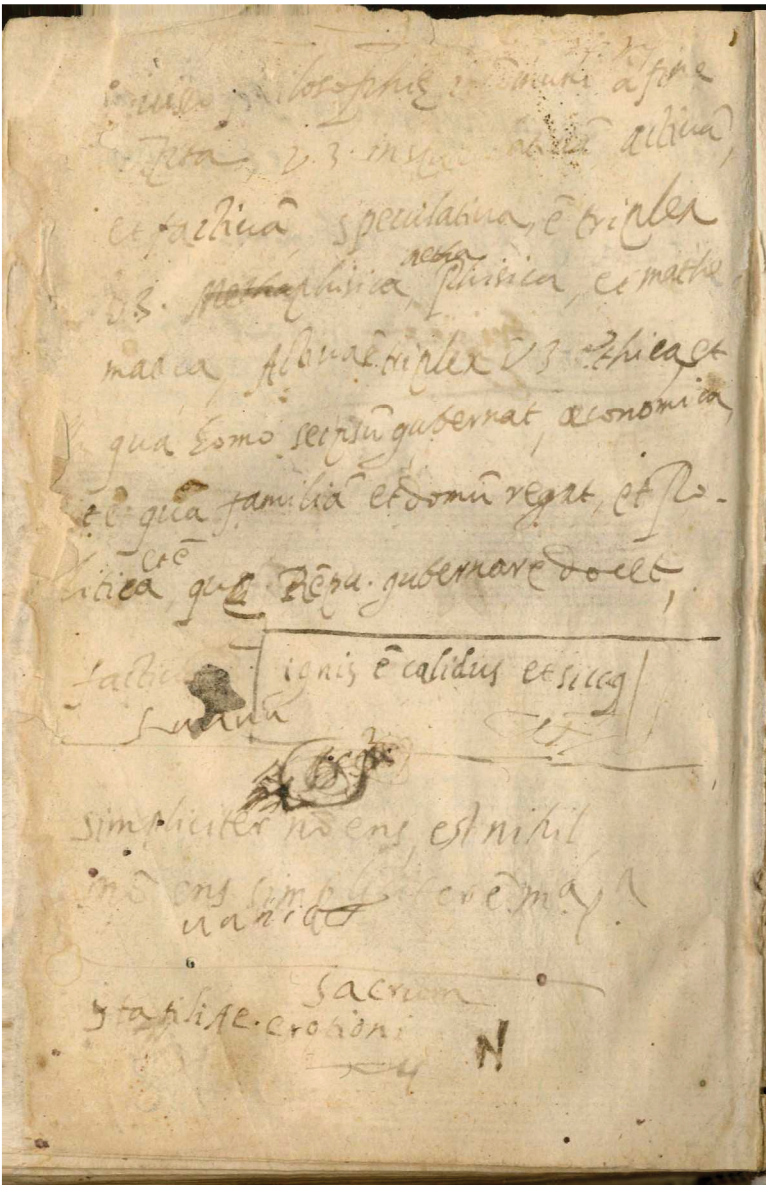


Figure 2: An example of Campanella's peculiar way of signing his notes.

Second – and this is particularly striking and original – being the eccentric philosopher he was, Campanella signed his notes in a rather peculiar way, namely by drawing a bell on the guard sheet of a commentary on Aristotle[14] (see Figure 2).

On the same sheet is written "Cl. T.," which may mean Campanella Tommaso.[15] In the first case, that of an actual signature, we have a declaration of authorship of the notes to the texts; in this second case, such authorship is only alluded to.[16] We might call this a kind of coded signature, that is, a willingness to associate a partly veiled identity with a thesis outlined in summary in the *marginalia*. Furthermore, the political environment of the time subjected him to a certain degree of scrutiny by the authorities, so he had to proceed with some caution.

Of special note is a distinctive intervention by Campanella in the 1567 edition of the Aristotelian *Epitome* by Crisostomo Javelli. In the section devoted to the *Meteorologica*, a central point is drawn within the capital letter Q, with many rays added around the letter, creating a clear representation of a sun.[17] The same symbol would later be printed on the title page of the *City of the Sun*.[18]

We must reflect on why Campanella signed his notes, explicitly or not. He knew that the books would remain at the disposal of others after he moved away from Nicastro, so leaving a recognizable mark is a sort of affirmation of identity. In other words, the *marginalia* are not addressed only to the author himself; they are aimed at an audience, to which the author introduces himself and for which he wants to leave his name. Therefore, the space of freedom referred to earlier afforded an opportunity to say some things in a concealed and inconspicuous way to an audience that would, nevertheless, have recognized him as the author of those theses and thoughts. This aspect reveals that two distinct purposes likely drove Campanella: on one hand, the desire to make his work as a glossator recognizable, that is, the aim to sign what he wrote; on the other hand, the necessity (and consequent

14 See Chrysostomus Iavellus, *Epitome, in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam, tam naturalem, quàm transnaturalem: A mendis quamplurimis ab eiusdem ordinis philosopho repurgata, ac iuxta Arist. libros in ordinem restituta …*, Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1567 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C).

15 See De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59. As reported by De Vinci, the letters Cl. T. may be attributed to Tommaso Campanella, also because, on the same page, a drawing of a small bell appears to be visible. This could possibly represent the bell of Settimontano Squilla (the pseudonym of Tommaso Campanella himself).

16 Indeed, in Italian, the surname "Campanella" literally means "small bell."

17 See Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam*, 235.

18 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 15 and 115; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59.

intention) to remain anonymous, and thus avoid being prosecuted, as the author of glosses that expressed his unconventional ideas.

A further reason is evident in some of the hand drawings in the margins of the volumes he studied. When Campanella wanted to emphasize the importance of a certain passage or part of the text, he often drew a small hand (*manicula*) holding a pen that pointed to the passage in question. Since *maniculae* were widely used by medieval and Renaissance authors, they are scattered throughout nearly all the volumes examined by Campanella, functioning as a kind of visual marker. From the perspective of the historian of reading practices, this phenomenon produces two noteworthy effects: 1) it fully situates the philosopher within the milieu of Renaissance erudition, whose method he shared and reproduced in traditional form; 2) it allows us to identify the *corpus* of volumes that were most significant to Campanella within the holdings of the Nicastro library, by tracing the interventions he made in the texts, including minor ones such as *maniculae*. This little hand, almost representing the hand of the (anonymous) glosser, calls attention to some crucial points in the texts, and it seems likely that in these cases he also wanted to leave something of himself in the volumes, albeit in a veiled way.

In 1588, Campanella left Nicastro to continue his studies in Cosenza. By that time, many of the annotations and marginalia had appeared in the volumes in the Nicastro library.[19] He also returned to Nicastro briefly in July 1598. De Vinci maintains that in 1598 most of his reading concerned law,[20] because he was defending himself against accusations from authorities at the time. Although this thesis is valid, it cannot be excluded that some notes on other philosophical texts also date back to this second stay in Nicastro.

A collection of Aristotelian treatises published in the sixteenth century, currently kept in the Casa del Libro Antico of the Oreste Borrello Municipal Library in Lamezia Terme, should also be mentioned. This collection belonged to the Capuchin monastery of Nicastro, as the ownership mark on the volumes testifies. These books contain many annotations in the same hand, that could be in some cases attributed to Campanella.[21] It is likely that when the Dominican order encountered political problems because of the involvement of many of its friars in the turmoil of the time,[22] the volumes containing Campanella's annotations were somehow pre-

19 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 40.

20 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 61–63.

21 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 68–70.

22 Many members of the clergy in Nicastro, except for the Capuchin friars, participated in the Conspiracy of 1599. Among them, the Dominicans were particularly notable for their efforts to involve the people in the uprising, and even the then Bishop of Nicastro showed sympathy for the rebels. See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 72; Jean-Paul De Lucca, Campanella e

served from the Inquisition and moved to the Capuchin convent, which remained politically untouched.[23]

2 Campanella's Aristotelian Readings in Nicastro

This is a list of books that Campanella read and commented on in the margins. The books are ordered by date of publication.

1. Thomas Aquinas. *Expositio Divi Thomae Aquinatis in libros Posteriorum et Perihermenias Aristotelis cum textu Ioannis Argyropili ubique anteposito: et cum fallacibus et quaestionibus Dominici de Flandria*. Venetiis: Simone da Lovere, 1507;
2. Iohannes Despauterius. *Ars versificatoria Joannis Despauterij Niniuitae diligenter recognita: adiectis complusculis: & quicquid parum speciosum videbatur eliminato velles quaedam latius probari … Praemissa Isagoge Ascensiana: Addita est Despauterij recriminatio in aduersarium*. Lutetiae: Claude Chevallon, 1517;
3. John Duns Scotus. *Scriptum Ioannis Duns Scoti doctoris subtilissimi ordinis Minorum super primo [-quarto] sententiarum: antea vitio impressorum deprauatum: nunc vero a multifarijs erroribus purgatum: pristineque integritati restitutum. Cui tabula vniuersam autoris … subnectitur: ab … Antonio de Fantis Taruisino … elaborata proximis his diebus absolutissime in lucem editum*. Pavia: Giacomo Pocatela, 1517;
4. Pierre Bersuire. *Morale reductorium super totam Bibliam: fratris Petri Berthorij Pictauiensis, ordinis diui Benedicti: diuinarum litterarum studiosissimi: quattuor & triginta libris consummatum: singulisque … capitibus aptissime distinctum: vbi notabiliorum, historiarum, ac figurarum veteris & noui testamentorum: premissa compendiosa textus summa: tropologica seu allegorica atque nonnunquam anagogica subnectitur explanatio: Adiectis Biblie concordantijs …*. Lugduni: Jacques Mareschal, 1520;
5. Ambrose. *Diui Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis Omnia opera, per eruditos uiros, ex accurata diuersorum codicum collatione emendata, … in quatuor ordines digesta, quorum primum habet mores, secundus pugnas aduersus haereticos, tertius orationes, epistolas, & conciones ad populum, quartus explanationes uoluminorum ueteris & noui testamenti …*. Basileae: Johann Froben, 1527;

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il rinnovamento sociale della sua Calabria: Un auspicio europeo, in: *"Virtù Ascosta e Negletta": La Calabria nella modernità*, Germana Ernst and Rosa M. Calcaterra (eds.), Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011, 43–48; Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella*, 62–64.

23 De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 71–73.

6. Ambrose. *Diui Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis operum tomus Quartus, continens explanationes, hoc est ea quae faciunt ad interpretationem diuinarum scripturarum, veteris testamenti, deniq[ue] noui*. Basileae: Johann Froben, 1527;
7. Olympiodorus of Alexandria. *Olympiodori philosophi Alexandrini In Meteora Aristotelis commentarii Ioannis grammatici Philoponi scholia in 1. Meteorum Aristotelis: Ioanne Baptista Camotio philosopho interprete*. Venetiis: Aldo Manuzio, 1551;
8. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi … Expositio super octo Aristotelis Stagiritae libros De physico auditu Cum duplici textus translatione, antiqua videlicet, & noua eius, ad Graecorum exemplarium veritatem, ab eodem Augustino quam fidissime castigatis: Averrois etiam Cordubensis in eosdem libros Proemium, ac commentaria, cum ipsius Augustini Suessani refertissima expositione, annotationibus, ac postremis in omnes libros recognitionibus, castigatissima conspicuntur: His demum … locupletissimus index literarum ferie congestus nuper additus est …*. Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552;
9. Aristotle. *Primum volumen: Aristotelis Stagiritae Organum, quod Logicam appellant, cum Auerrois Cordubensis varijs commentarijs, epitome, quaesitis, ac epistola vna: his accesserunt Leui Ghersonidis in nonnullos Aristotelis, & Auerrois libros annotationes*. Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552;
10. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi … In Aristotelis libros posteriorum analyticorum subtilissima commentaria, cum duplici textus translatione Ioannis Argyropili uidelicet, & eiusdem noua ab ipso fidelissime recognitis: Omnium item conclusionum, ac notabilium dictorum nouus index adiectus est*. Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1553;
11. Ammonius Hermiae. *Ammonii Hermei Commentaria in librum Porphyrii de quinque uocibus, & in Aristotelis Praedicamenta, ac Peri hermenias cum indice, tam rerum, quam uerborum locupletissimo: In his conferendis cum Graecis exemplaribus, atque emendandis, quantum studii Petrus Rosetinus … adhibuerit, qui haec legerit, perfacile intelliget*. Venetiis: Giovanni Griffio, 1555;
12. Agostino Nifo. *Augustini Niphi … in Aristotelis libros metaphysices: Quae omnia igenio aedoctrina peritissimi utriusque linguae uiro denuo funt diligentissime recognita, ac erroribus post primam editionem repurgata*. Venetiis: Giovanni Griffio, 1558;
13. Alexander of Aphrodisias. *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis … Quaestiones naturales et morales et de fato Hieronymo Bagolino Veronensi patre & Ioanne Baptista filio interpretibus: De anima liber primus, Hieronymo Donato … interprete: De anima liber secundus vna cum commentario de mistione, Angelo Caninio … interprete …*. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1559;
14. John Philoponus. *Ioannis Grammatici Alexandrei philosophi cognomento Philoponi In tres libros De anima Aristotelis breues annotationes, ex dissertationibus*

Ammonij Hermei, cum quibusdam propriis meditationibus: Nuper a Graeco in Latinum conuersae, et accuratius quàm antea emendatae. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1560;

15. Themistius. *Themistii … Paraphrasis in Aristotelis: Posteriora, & Physica: In libro item De anima, Memoria et reminiscentia, Somno et vigilia, Insomniis, & Diuinatione per somnum, Hermolao Barbaro … interprete: Additae sunt et lucubrationes, quae Themistij obscuriora loca apertissima reddunt: additus & index, necnon contradictionum solutiones Marci Antonij Zimarrae in dictis eiusdem Themistij: … His demum omnibus adiecimus eiusdem Themistij paraphrasem in librum tertium De anima nuper à … Ludouico Nogarola Veronensi, latinitate donatam, ac suis subtilissimis scholiis illustratam*. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1560;
16. Aristotle. *Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera, post omnes quae in hunc vsque diem prodierunt editiones, summo studio emaculata, & ad Graecum exemplar diligenter recognita: Quibus accessit index locupletissimus, recèns collectus*. Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, 1563;
17. Aristotle. *Aristotelis Stagiritae Operum Tomus Secundus*. Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, n.d.;
18. Marcantonio Zimara. *Marciant. Zimarae … Tabula & dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis & Auer: Nunc recèns recognita, & ab innumeris erroribus expurgata*. Venetiis: Vincenzo Valgreisi, 1564;
19. Crisostomo Javelli. *Epitome Chrysostomi Iauelli Canapitij ord. Praedicatorum, in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam, tam naturalem, quàm transnaturalem: A mendis quamplurimis ab eiusdem ordinis philosopho repurgata, ac iuxta Arist. libros in ordinem restituta …*. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1567;
20. Accursius. *Institutiones diui Caesaris Iustiniani, quibus iuris ciuilis elementa singulari methodo libris quatuor comprehenduntur: Cum Accursij commentarijs, & doctissimorum uirorum annotationibus: Omnia diligentissime purgata, & recognita: Accessit rerum, & verborum insignium index locupletissimus*. Venetiis: Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1569;
21. Accursius. *Pandectarum, seu Digestorum iuris ciuilis, quibus iurisprudentia ex veteribus iureconsultis desumpta, libri 50 continetur; tomus primus [-tertius] … cum Accursij commentarijs, & doctissimorum uirorum annotationibus: Omnia diligentissimè purgata, & recognita: Accessit rerum, & verborum insignium index locupletissimus*, 3 vols. Venetiis: Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1569;
22. Thomas Aquinas. *S. Thomae Aquinatis In octo Physicorum Aristotelis libros commentaria: ex vetustissimo ac fidelissimo manu scripto exemplari, diligentissimè castigata, … Cum duplici textus tralatione, antiqua & Argyropoli recognitis: Ad haec accessit Roberti Linconiensis in eosdem Summa: Quibus etiam nuper sunt additi sancti Thomae infrascripti libelli ad speculationem physicam spec-*

tantes …: Ac Thomae De Vio Caietani Quaestiones duae, altera De subiecto naturalis scientiae, altera De Dei intensiua infinitate: Duo item indices. Venetiis: Girolamo Scoto, 1586;

23. Walter Burley. *Super Aristotelis libros, De physica auscultatione lucidissima commentaria: Cum noua veterique interpretatione: Vna cum repertorio tractatuum, capitum, dubiorum, conclusionum, ac rerum omnium notatu digniorum facillimo ordine digesto: Omnia integerrime, quàm antea impressis, recondita, non pauca super addita, ac exactissima, qua fieri potuit, diligentia, ab omni errorum labe vindicata*. Venetiis: Michele Bernia, 1589;
24. Henry of Susa. *Decretum Gratiani emendatum et notationibus illustratum vnà cum glossis, Gregorio 13. pont. max. iussu editum*, …. Venetiis: s.n., 1591;
25. Pope Gregory IX. *Decretales D. Gregorii papae 9: Suae integritati vnà cum glossis restitutae: Ad exemplar Romanum diligenter recognitae*, …. Venetiis: s.n., 1591;
26. Raphael Ripa. *Commentaria, et quaestiones ad s. Thomae Aquinatis de ente, et essentia tractatatum: Quibus, & quae omnia difficiliora tota penè Aristotelis Methaphysica tractari solent, examinantur, … & ipsius B. Doctoris litera, & quae in eius gratiam Caietanus cardinalis olim scripsit, ab omnibus, tum vero praecipue recentioribus, qui haec, & illam hactenus impugnarunt, propugnantur: Auctore fratre Raphaele Ripa Veneto ordinis Praedicatorum: Cum triplici indice, nam ijs qui nominati sunt, tertius rerum notatu dignarum in fine accessit*. Romae: Luigi Zanetti, 1598.

This list of volumes makes up a significant collection that clearly reveals the reading and study preferences of the young Campanella. Within the rich Dominican library to which he had access, he left visible traces of his intellectual engagement with texts that can generally be grouped into five categories: first, a selection of works by Aristotle; then, some Aristotelian commentaries; others composed in the Neoplatonic milieu; a theological section; and a legal section. As for the first group, namely the works of Aristotle, they are assembled in two volumes containing the *Opera*, and in the first volume of the 1552 Venetian edition of the *Organum*. Among the commentaries, there are those by Thomas Aquinas on the *Physics* and the *Posterior Analytics*, and those by Agostino Nifo, again on the eight books of the *Physics*, the *Posterior Analytics* (this overlap likely reveals Campanella's pronounced interest in these two Aristotelian works, which were extensively commented on during the medieval and humanist periods), and the *Metaphysics*. Regarding the Neoplatonic commentators on Aristotle, the collection includes, among others, Olympiodorus of Alexandria, Ammonius, and John Philoponus. Among the theological authors, the works of Ambrose are of particular note, while the legal section comprises the *Institutiones* and the *Digest* of Justinian, published by Accursius, as well as the *Decretum of Gratian*, published by Henry of Susa.

It is worth mentioning that Campanella was not willing to accept passively and wholesale the views of Aristotle. He regarded Aristotle as the main cause of many erroneous arguments and, indeed, as having caused more misunderstandings and errors than any other in the history of Western thought. Of course, Campanella still had to engage with the Scholastic tradition, infused as it was with Thomism. Accordingly, Campanella took up, appropriated, and reworked Aristotelian thought, for instance by drawing on Aristotle in his own speculations on nature.

Leafing through the first pages of *De sensu rerum et magia*, we can see examples of Campanella's approach to Aristotelian philosophy: "Solem calidum esse, alibi contra Aristotelem ostendimus";[24] "Fallitur Aristoteles quod motus generet calorem";[25] "Sensus ergo non est sola passio perfectiva, ut Aristoteles putat: sed etiam corruptiva";[26] "Sensus itaque non fit per informationem, sicut Aristoteli videtur, sed per immutationem."[27] The same critical approach informs the reading of Campanella's marginalia in Aristotelian texts.

Also relevant is that in Nicastro, in 1587, Campanella began writing the three-part treatise *De investigatione rerum*, which he completed in Naples in 1590. Two years after its completion, while Campanella was in Bologna, the manuscript was lost, so *De investigatione rerum* has not reached us. However, Campanella mentioned it in *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1591), explaining its purpose.[28]

> Quas ob res scientiam de rebus esse considerantes, non de verbis nec de Aristotelis dictis eiusque intellectu et intentione, ab ipsis rebus capiendam esse censuimus et investigavimus. Itaque decrevimus modum investigandi res componere per viam sensus et experientiae, ubi non de vocibus tractetur et obscuris dictis, sed de rebus per voces, ab ipsis rebus excerptas, non fictas, et quo pacto sint res investigandae ab operationibus, faciebus, similitudinibus, et congruentiis earum; et modus, quo errari possit circa eas, in illo opusculo aperietur; maxime autem modus, quo cum eis sit componendum quod habent, quamvis habere non appareant, et quo auferendum quod singulae non habent et tamen habere videntur; ex his enim falsitas contingit. Et qualem mihi inquirendi modum persuasi et quo rei veritatem assequi potui quantum homini licuit, adhuc decimum nonum habens annum eum compilare incoepi, ut hinc res inspectas aperirem, quod paucis ante tamen hoc tempus revelare incoeperam.[29]

24 Thomas Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, Francofurti ad Moenum: Egenolphus Emmelius, 1620, 3.

25 Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 7.

26 Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 8.

27 Campanella, *De sensu rerum et magia*, 8.

28 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 91; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 41. See also Thomas Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, Luigi De Franco (ed.), Naples: Vivarium, 1992, 12 as well as the introduction.

29 Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 6.

Campanella claimed that since science is the knowledge of things and not of words, this knowledge is not revealed in Aristotle's words but in nature itself. Thus, it is precisely in nature that Campanella pursued authentic knowledge. Indeed, he argued, things must be studied through the senses and experience. One should not use obscure words and statements as Aristotle did; the only tools for investigating nature are the things themselves. They should be investigated through the use of language, consisting of words drawn from the things themselves and not from fiction. Therefore, everything should be studied starting from its "operatio."[30] All of this, Campanella said, had already been explained in his treatise *De investigatione rerum*, in which the mechanism leading to epistemological error had been investigated ("inquirendi modum").[31]

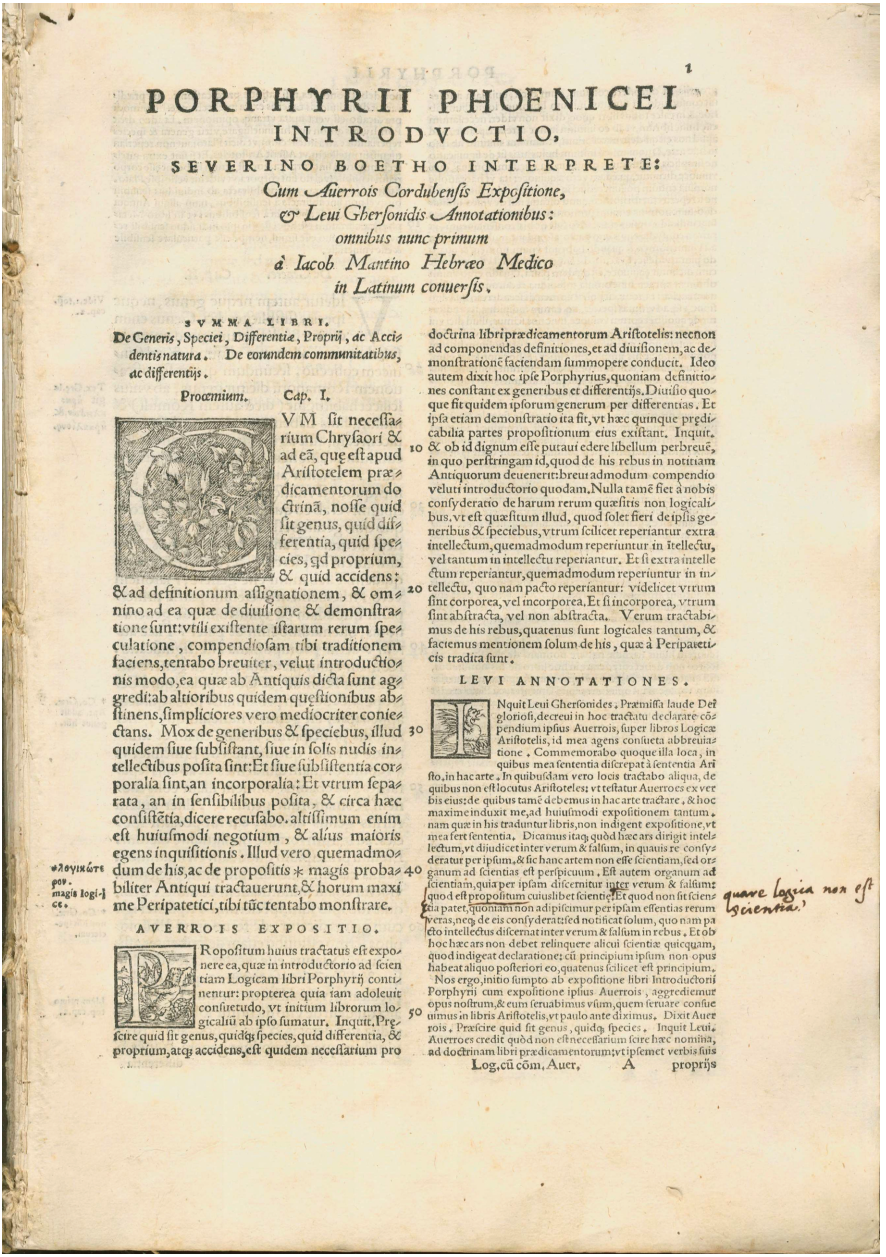
3 Logic, Ontology, and Metaphysics in Campanella's *Marginalia*

Since the *marginalia* are often brief and take the form of notes, they deal with the topic at hand only fleetingly, almost as if they were aphorisms. The *marginalia* are miscellaneous and range in topic from logic to metaphysics, from ethics to biology, addressing the various Aristotelian sciences. The focus below will be on notes devoted to logic, ontology, and metaphysics, making only a few references to another group of notes, mostly dedicated to biology. This latter group encompasses analyses of Aristotelian animal physiology and pathophysiology, reconsidered through the lens of Telesio's philosophy, to which Campanella adhered.[32] In what follows, I present a selection of *marginalia* which likely allow us to reconstruct a reinterpretation of Aristotle's works, which Campanella carried out.

30 Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 12, note 5. See Germana Ernst, "Io vivo come scrivo": Il diverso modo di parlare di filosofia in Tommaso Companella, in: *"Virtù Ascosta e Negletta": La Calabria nella modernità*, Germana Ernst and Rosa M. Calcaterra (eds.), Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011, 13–27.

31 Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 6.

32 Regarding Telesio's influence on Campanella's early thought, consider some notes he wrote on the rear guard sheet of Crisostomo Javelli's Aristotelian *Epitome*: "Ignis est calidus et siccus: Aer est humidus et calidus – Aqua est frigida, et humida – Terra est frigida et sicca." As De Vinci points out, these concepts would later be revised and superseded in Campanella's more mature works (see De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 58). See Germana Ernst and Guido Giglioni (eds.), *Il linguaggio dei cieli: Astri e simboli nel Rinascimento*, Rome: Corocci, 2012, 139–151; Ernst, *Tommaso Campanella*, 3–5.



1

PORPHYRII PHOENICEI INTRODVCTIO,

SEVERINO BOETHO INTERPRETE:

Cum Auerrois Cordubensis Expositione,
& Leui Gherſonidis Annotationibus:
omnibus nunc primum
à Iacob Mantino Hebræo Medico
in Latinum conuerſis.

SVMMA LIBRI.

De Generis, Speciei, Differentiæ, Proprij, ac Accidentis natura. De eorundem communitatibus, ac differentijs.

Proœmium. Cap. I.

VM ſit neceſſarium Chryſaori & ad eã, quę eſt apud Ariſtotelem prædicamentorum doctrinã, noſſe quid ſit genus, quid differentia, quid ſpecies, qd proprium, & quid accidens: & ad definitionum aſſignationem, & omnino ad ea quæ de diuiſione & demonſtratione ſunt: vtili exiſtente iſtarum rerum ſpeculatione, compendioſam tibi traditionem faciens, tentabo breuiter, velut introductionis modo, ea quæ ab Antiquis dicta ſunt aggredi: ab altioribus quidem queſtionibus abſtinens, ſimpliciores vero mediocriter conſectans. Mox de generibus & ſpeciebus, illud quidem ſiue ſubſiſtant, ſiue in ſolis nudis intellectibus poſita ſint: Et ſiue ſubſiſtentia corporalia ſint, an incorporalia: Et vtrum ſeparata, an in ſenſibilibus poſita, & circa hæc conſiſtẽtia, dicere recuſabo. altiſſimum enim eſt huiuſmodi negotium, & alius maioris egens inquiſitionis. Illud vero quemadmodum de his, ac de propoſitis * magis probabiliter Antiqui tractauerunt, & horum maxime Peripatetici, tibi tũc tentabo monſtrare.

φλογικώτερον. magis logice.

AVERROIS EXPOSITIO.

PRopoſitum huius tractatus eſt exponere ea, quæ in introductorio ad ſcientiam Logicam libri Porphyrij continentur: propterea quia tam adoleuit conſuetudo, vt initium librorum logicalium ab ipſo ſumatur. Inquit, Preſcire quid ſit genus, quidq; ſpecies, quid differentia, & proprium, atq; accidens, eſt quidem neceſſarium pro doctrina libri prædicamentorum Ariſtotelis: necnon ad componendas definitiones, et ad diuiſionem, ac demonſtrationẽ facienda summopere conducit. Ideo autem dixit hoc ipſe Porphyrius, quoniam definitiones conſtant ex generibus et differentijs. Diuiſio quoque fit quidem ipſorum generum per differentias. Et ipſa etiam demonſtratio ita fit, vt hæc quinque prædicabilia partes propoſitionum eius exiſtant. Inquit, & ob id dignum eſſe putaui edere libellum perbreuẽ, in quo perſtringam id, quod de his rebus in notitiam Antiquorum deuenerit: breui admodum compendio veluti introductorio quodam. Nulla tamẽ fiet à nobis conſyderatio de harum rerum quæſtiis non logicalibus. vt eſt quæſtium illud, quod ſolet fieri de ipſis generibus & ſpeciebus, vtrum ſcilicet reperiantur extra intellectum, quemadmodum reperiuntur in ſtellectu, vel tantum in intellectu reperiantur. Et ſi extra intellectum reperiantur, quemadmodum reperiuntur in intellectu, quo nam pacto reperiantur: videlicet vtrum ſint corporea, vel incorporea. Et ſi incorporea, vtrum ſint abſtracta, vel non abſtracta. Verum tractabimus de his rebus, quatenus ſunt logicales tantum, & facietmus mentionem ſolum de his, quæ à Peripateticis tradita ſunt.

LEVI ANNOTATIONES.

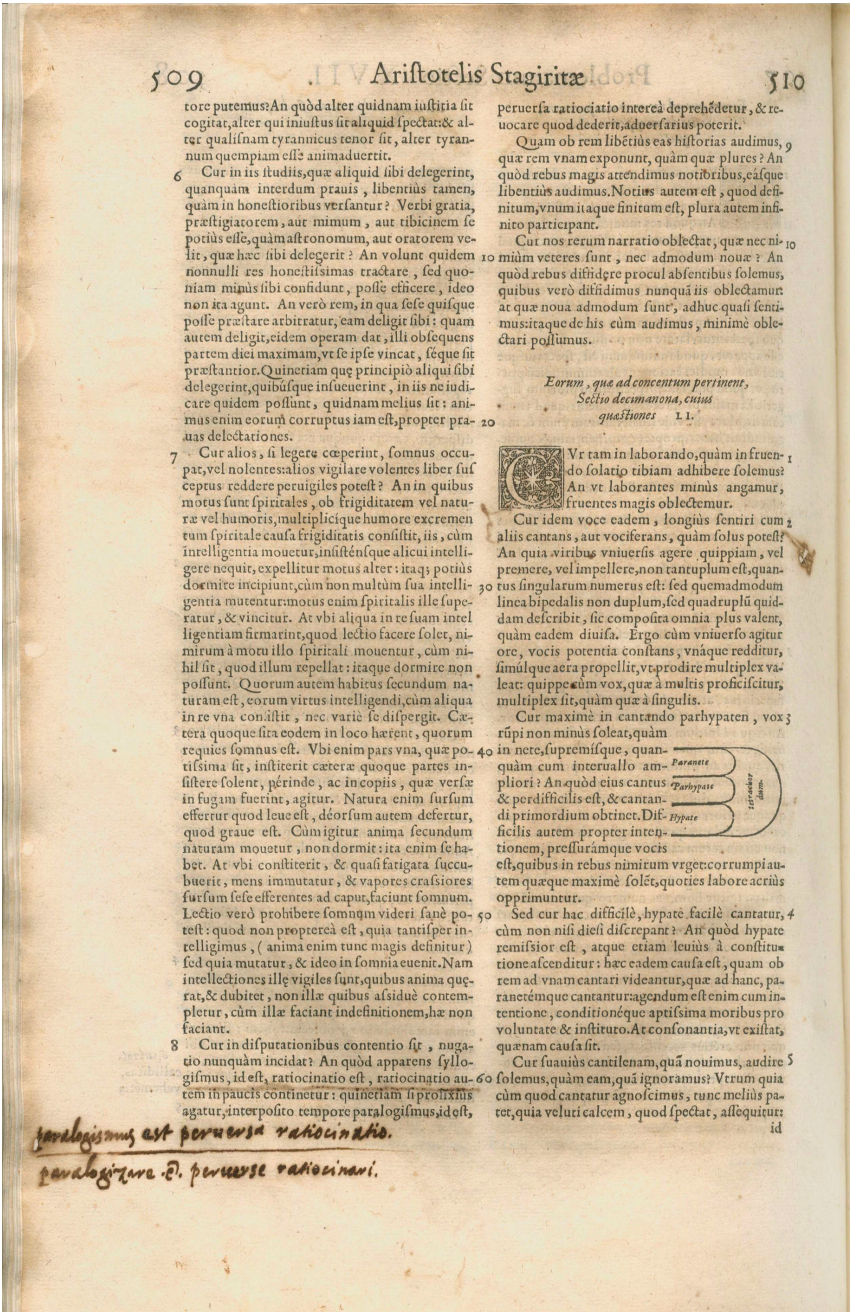
INquit Leui Gherſonides. Præmiſſa laude Dei glorioſi, decreui in hoc tractatu declarare cõpendium ipſius Auerrois, ſuper libros Logicæ Ariſtotelis, id mea agens conſueta abbreuiatione. Commemorabo quoque illa loca, in quibus mea ſententia diſcrepat à ſententia Ariſto, in hac arte. In quibuſdam vero locis tractabo aliqua, de quibus non eſt locutus Ariſtoteles: vt teſtatur Auerroes ex verbis eius: de quibus tamẽ debemus in hac arte tractare, & hoc maxime induxit me, ad huiuſmodi expoſitionem tantum. nam quæ in his traduntur libris, non indigent expoſitione, vt mea fert ſententia. Dicamus itaq; quòd hæc ars dirigit intellectum, vt diiudicet inter verum & falſum, in quauis re conſyderatur per ipſum, & ſic hanc artem non eſſe ſcientiam, ſed organum ad ſcientias eſt perſpicuum. Eſt autem organum ad ſcientiam, quia per ipſam diſcernitur inter verum & falſum: quod eſt propoſitum cuiuslibet ſcientiæ. Et quod non ſit ſcientia patet, quoniam non adipiſcimur per ipſam eſſentias rerum veras, neq; de eis conſyderatio ſed notificat ſolum, quo nam pacto intellectus diſcernat inter verum & falſum in rebus. Et ob hoc hæc ars non debet relinquere alicui ſcientiæ quicquam, quod indigeat declaratione: cũ principium ipſius non opus habeat aliquo poſteriori eo, quatenus ſcilicet eſt principium.

quare logica non eſt ſcientia.

Nos ergo, initio ſumpto ab expoſitione libri Introductorij Porphyrij cum expoſitione ipſius Auerrois, aggrediemur opus noſtrum, & eum ſtruabimus vſum, quem ſtruare conſueuimus in libris Ariſtotelis, vt paulo ante diximus. Dixit Auerrois. Præſcire quid ſit genus, quidq; ſpecies. Inquit Leui. Auerroes credit quòd non eſt neceſſarium ſcire hæc nomina, ad doctrinam libri prædicamentorum: vt ipſemet verbis ſuis

Log, cũ cõm, Auer, A proprijs

Figure 3: Campanella's intervention on the first page of Porphyrius' *Isagoge*.



509 Aristotelis Stagiritæ 510

tore putemus? An quòd alter quidnam iustitia sit cogitat, alter qui iniustus sit aliquid spectat: & alter qualisnam tyrannicus tenor sit, alter tyrannum quempiam esse animaduertit.

6 Cur in iis studiis, quæ aliquid sibi delegerint, quanquàm interdum prauis, libentius tamen, quàm in honestioribus versantur? Verbi gratia, præstigiatorem, aut mimum, aut tibicinem se potiùs esse, quàm astronomum, aut oratorem velit, quæ hæc sibi delegerit? An volunt quidem nonnulli res honestissimas tractare, sed quoniam minùs sibi confidunt, posse efficere, ideo non ita agunt. An verò rem, in qua sese quisque posse præstare arbitratur, eam deligit sibi: quam autem deligit, eidem operam dat, illi obsequens partem dici maximam, vt se ipse vincat, seque sit præstantior. Quineriam quę principiò aliqui sibi delegerint, quibusque insueuerint, in iis ne iudicare quidem possunt, quidnam melius sit: animus enim eorum corruptus iam est, propter prauas delectationes.

7 Cur alios, si legere cœperint, somnus occupat, vel nolentes: alios vigilare volentes liber susceptus reddere peruigiles potest? An in quibus motus sunt spirituales, ob frigiditatem vel naturæ vel humoris, multiplicique humore excremen tum spiritale causa frigiditatis consistit, iis, cùm intelligentia mouetur, insistensque alicui intelligere nequit, expellitur motus alter: itaq; potiùs dormire incipiunt, cùm non multùm sua intelligentia mutentur: motus enim spiritalis ille superatur, & vincitur. At vbi aliqua in re suam intelligentiam firmarint, quod lectio facere solet, nimirum à motu illo spiritali mouentur, cùm nihil sit, quod illum repellat: itaque dormire non possunt. Quorum autem habitus secundum naturam est, eorum virtus intelligendi, cùm aliqua in re vna consistit, nec varie se dispergit. Cætera quoque sita eodem in loco hærent, quorum requies somnus est. Vbi enim pars vna, quæ potissima sit, institerit cæteræ quoque partes insistere solent, perinde, ac in copiis, quæ versæ in fugam fuerint, agitur. Natura enim sursum effertur quod leue est, deorsum autem defertur, quod graue est. Cùm igitur anima secundum naturam mouetur, non dormit: ita enim se habet. At vbi constiterit, & quasi fatigata succubuerit, mens immutatur, & vapores crassiores sursum sese efferentes ad caput, faciunt somnum. Lectio verò prohibere somnum videri sanè potest: quod non propterea est, quia tantisper intelligimus, (anima enim tunc magis definitur) sed quia mutatur, & ideo in somnia euenit. Nam intellectiones illę vigiles sunt, quibus anima quęrat, & dubitet, non illæ quibus assiduè contempletur, cùm illæ faciant indefinitionem, hæ non faciant.

8 Cur in disputationibus contentio sit, nugatio nunquàm incidat? An quòd apparens syllogismus, id est, ratiocinatio est, ratiocinatio autem in paucis continetur: quineciam si prolixius agatur, interposito tempore paralogismus, id est, peruersa ratiocinatio. An quòd nemo sibi ipse paralogizare, id est, peruerse ratiocinari.

peruersa ratiocinatio intereà deprehẽdetur, & reuocare quod dederit, aduersarius poterit.

Quam ob rem libẽtiùs eas historias audimus, 9 quæ rem vnam exponunt, quàm quæ plures? An quòd rebus magis attendimus notioribus, eásque libentiùs audimus. Notius autem est, quod definitum, vnum itaque finitum est, plura autem infinito participant.

Cur nos rerum narratio oblectat, quæ nec ni- 10 miùm veteres sunt, nec admodum nouæ? An quòd rebus diffidere procul absentibus solemus, quibus verò diffidimus nunquá iis oblectamur at quæ noua admodum sunt, adhuc quasi sentimus: itaque de his cùm audimus, minimè oblectari possumus.

Eorum, quæ ad concentum pertinent, Sectio decimanona, cuius quæstiones 11

Vt tam in laborando, quàm in fruendo solatio tibiam adhibere solemus? An vt laborantes minùs angamur, fruentes magis oblectemur. 1

Cur idem voce eadem, longiùs sentiri cum 2 aliis cantans, aut vociferans, quàm solus potest? An quia viribus vniuersis agere quippiam, vel premere, vel impellere, non tantuplum est, quantus singularum numerus est: sed quemadmodum linea bipedalis non duplum, sed quadruplũ quiddam describit, sic composita omnia plus valent, quàm eadem diuisa. Ergo cùm vniuerso agitur ore, vocis potentia constans, vnáque redditur, simúlque aera propellit, vt prodire multiplex valeat: quippe cùm vox, quæ à multis proficiscitur, multiplex sit, quàm quæ à singulis.

Cur maximè in cantando parhypaten, vox 3 rúpi non minùs soleat, quàm in nete, supremísque, quanquàm cum interuallo ampliori? An quòd eius cantus & perdifficilis est, & cantandi primordium obtinet. Difficilis autem propter intentionem, pressúramque vocis est, quibus in rebus nimirum vrget: corrumpi autem quæque maximè solet, quoties labore acriùs opprimuntur.

Parante
Parhypate
Hypate
idem

Sed cur hac difficilè, hypate facilè cantatur, 4 cùm non nisi diesi discrepant? An quòd hypate remissior est, atque etiam leuius à constitutione ascenditur: hæc eadem causa est, quam ob rem ad vnam cantari videantur, quæ ad hanc, paranetémque cantantur: agendum est enim cum intentione, conditionéque aptissima moribus pro voluntate & instituto. At consonantia, vt existat, quænam causa sit.

Cur suauiùs cantilenam, quã nouimus, audire 5 solemus, quàm eam, quã ignoramus? Vtrum quia cùm quod cantatur agnoscimus, tunc meliùs patet, quia veluti calcem, quod spectat, assequitur: id

"Quare logica non est scientia!"[33] exclaimed Campanella in the margin of the first page of the Aristotelian *Organum* (see Figure 3).

Logic, Campanella here proclaimed, is not a science, which means, from an Aristotelian perspective, that it is not knowledge of causes; it is no theoretical science, being an instrument for all sciences. In this sense, it does not investigate the reality of nature, but rather the conceptual superstructure that some philosophers have built onto nature itself. In his works, Campanella made no secret of his distrust of logic, which he called "oratione filosofica senza circostanze dicente quel che è o non è."[34] Above all, for the author, logic was Aristotelian logic: "Hic ex sensu investigat, non ex logicis, ut dicebat sciolus; et ligat ipsum experientia Telesii, non logica Aristotelis cum barbara, celarent etc."[35]

Moreover, Tommaso Campanella noted the definition of paralogism as a perverse way of reasoning: "paralogismus est perversa ratiocinatio. Paralogizare est perverse ratiocinari"[36] (see Figure 4).

Campanella underlined the first part of the statement. The note is contained in the edition of Aristotle's works published in Lyon in 1563, in the section devoted to the *Problemata*, commented on by Theodorus Gaza. The text analyzed by Campanella states that: "An quod apparens syllogismus, id est, ratiocinatio est, ratiocinatio autem in paucis continetur: quinetiam si prolixius agatur, interposito tempore paralogismus, id est, perversa ratiocinatio interea deprehendetur, et revocare quod dederit, adversarius poterit."[37]

Another interesting comment by Campanella appears on the verso of the guard sheet of the Aristotelian *Epitome* by the Dominican Crisostomo Javelli:[38] "… sim-

33 Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum, quod Logicam appellant, cum Auerrois Cordubensis varijs commentarijs, epitome, quaesitis, ac epistola vna: his accesserunt Leui Ghersonidis in nonnullos Aristotelis, & Auerrois libros annotationes*, Venetiis: Lucantonio Giunta, 1552, 1 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 190-C).

34 Thomas Campanella, *Epilogo magno*, Carmelo Ottaviano (ed.), Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1939, 329.

35 Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 14. See also "Dicendum animalia differre inter se specie logica non physica; quod concederet Aristoteles, ut boni Peripatetici volunt" (Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 129); "Ita quod haec universalissima contrarietas, si debeat esse physica non logica, et in causando universalissima, non, ut aiunt, in praedicando, in primis omnium principiis elementis a nullo causatis reponi debet, ubi semper duret, ut principiis congruit. Et Aristoteles id manifestat" (Campanella, *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*, 34).

36 Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum*, 509.

37 Aristoteles, *Primum volumen: Organum*, 509–510.

38 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 113; De Vinci, *Postille del giovane Campanella*, 59.

pliciter non ens, est nihil, non ens simpliciter est materia prima"[39] (see Figure 2). It must be pointed out that this statement is found in the second half of the page, preceded on the same page and the previous one by other sentences that are not readable due to the faded ink. However, we can reconstruct other affirmations, such as "divisio [?] philosophiae … videlicet in speculativam, activam, et factivam. Speculativa est triplex, videlicet phisica [*corr. ex* methaphisica], methaphisica [metha *suprascr.*], et mathematica. Activa est triplex, videlicet ethica, et qua homo seipsum gubernat, oeconomica, et qua familiam et domum regit, et politica, et est que rempublicam gubernare docet. Factiva …."[40] This distinction among the sciences alludes to the classification proposed by Aristotle in Book VI of the *Metaphysics*, which, however, is neither annotated nor commented upon by Campanella in the volume containing the works of the Stagirite, published in Lyon in 1563, and which bears as many as 272 marginal notes by Campanella (the volume comprises a total of 801 pages).

Furthermore, the problem of being is present in his philosophical thought already in his earliest works, those that, more than others, reveal his alignment with the naturalistic philosophy of Bernardino Telesio.[41] Thus, as these notes attest, these ideas were already relevant to Campanella when he lived and studied in Nicastro. Indeed, denying and correcting these Aristotelian theses, Campanella would write in the *Epilogo magno* that non-being, which is pure privation, is a condition of generation, but not a principle, as Aristotle asserts.[42] As Ponzio notes, in 1592 Campanella was writing a *Metaphysicae novae exordium*, which has been lost. Scholars assume that Campanella's thought at this early stage did not yet include the doctrine of primality, which was not to appear until the first (1602) version of the *Metaphysics*. Ponzio dates the *Epilogo* to the same period as a draft of the thesis on the primality of being, that is, to the period before the 1599 revolution. During

39 Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam* (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C)

40 Iavellus, *Epitome in vniuersam Aristotelis philosophiam* (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 187-C).

41 See Paolo Ponzio, Notitia sui est esse suum: Nota sull'ente e sull'io nel pensiero metafisico di Tommaso Campanella, *Quaestio* 9 (2009): 101–110, at 102: "il problema dell'essere è presente nella sua riflessione filosofica sin dalle opere giovanili, quelle opere, cioè, che più delle altre mostrano la vicinanza con la filosofia naturalistica di Bernardino Telesio." Concerning the influence exerted by Telesio on Campanella, particularly with regard to the ontological question, see Germana Ernst, Natura e Politica in Tommaso Campanella, in: *La filosofia del Rinascimento*, Germana Ernst (ed.), Rome: Carocci, 2003, 267–269.

42 See Campanella, *Epilogo magno*, 187: "il non essere, ch'è pura privatione, è conditione della generatione, ma non principio, come vuole Aristotile."

his time in Nicastro, Campanella seems to have been maturing his fundamental metaphysical thesis.[43]

Concerning another group of *marginalia*, devoted by Campanella to biological themes, it is useful, if only for the sake of completeness, to recall at least some of them here. In this respect, I refer to the detailed analysis already offered by De Vinci.[44] The collection of Aristotelian works reveals that, in the section devoted to animal physiology, Campanella frequently intervened, evidently driven by a significant interest in these subjects. This interest would be developed systematically in his subsequent works. Moreover, in the commentary by Olympiodorus of Alexandria on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*,[45] one can trace a certain resonance between the marginal notes (particularly those referring to authors such as Hippocrates, Theophrastus, and Galen) and the themes explored in *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata*.

The note written by Campanella in the margin of volume II of *Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera*, in the section devoted to *De historia animalium*, is particularly interesting. Campanella polemically states against Aristotle: "Nota quod Aristoteles non intellegit quod pariat aliquod aliud animal simile semini cucumeris."[46] Here, the interest is directed not only towards the animal and vegetative worlds but also, quite evidently, towards Aristotle himself, who, according to Campanella, failed to understand how certain mechanisms of nature work. Furthermore, Campanella continues, stating in the margin of the text that discusses the sensitivity of human skin, that he must add that the right things shine more brightly when placed next to their opposites ("Et ego adderem quia opposita iusta se posita magis elucescut"[47]). In this context, he is referring to the reason why Africans have particularly white teeth, which become even whiter as these men age, while their nails, black like their skin, darken further over time. These topics, seemingly secondary to the author's metaphysical, ontological, and logical interests, are nonetheless significant because they highlight Campanella's peculiar approach towards Aristotle.

43 See Ponzio, *Notitia sui est esse suum*, 102–103.

44 See De Vinci, *Fra le letture del giovane Tommaso Campanella*, 105–107.

45 See Olympiodorus Alexandrinus, *In Meteora Aristotelis commentarii Ioannis grammatici Philoponi scholia in 1. Meteorum Aristotelis: Ioanne Baptista Camotio philosopho interprete*, Venetiis: Aldo Manuzio, 1551 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 126-C).

46 Aristoteles, *Opera, post omnes quae in hunc vsque diem prodierunt editiones, summo studio emaculata, & ad Graecum exemplar diligenter recognita: Quibus accessit index locupletissimus, recèns collectus*, Lugduni: Symphorien Barbier, 1563, 94 (Casa del Libro Antico of the Municipal Library of Lamezia Terme, 10-C).

47 Aristoteles, *Opera, post omnes quae in hunc vsque diem prodierunt editiones*, 478.

4 Conclusions

In conclusion, we may observe that studying the *marginalia* by Tommaso Campanella provides some significant insights for the reconstruction of his thought. In particular, it enriches our understanding of Campanella's relationship with Aristotle and Aristotelianism. In this chapter the focus has been on the *marginalia* written during his years in Nicastro, at the beginning of his education. During this period, Campanella developed themes and ideas that would serve as a foundation for those he would later elaborate in his major works. The early traces of his thought are present in the marginal notes he wrote in the volumes he had access to during his youth, particularly in those containing Aristotelian treatises and the medieval and humanist commentaries on them. Moreover, his thorough reading of these texts would prove fundamental during the years of his long imprisonment, when, lacking access to his library, he was able to draw upon books he knew well and could quote from memory, thanks to the Renaissance use of mnemonic techniques.

While not explicitly signing his notes, Campanella nevertheless left instances of his handwriting in these volumes – and, more than that, signs of his authorship of the annotations. Indeed, drawing a small bell next to some of the *marginalia* or leaving an indication of his own diocese of origin (Squillace) represents an interesting statement. However, these indications did not detract from Campanella's ability to express himself almost anonymously. In fact, he could consider the *marginalia* a space of freedom, as the thoughts he expressed there were not directly traceable to him. We know, moreover, that some of the volumes in question were preserved from censorship and destruction, and then transferred to the Capuchin convent in Nicastro. The *marginalia* can be read on two levels: on the one hand, they can be traced back to Campanella and are therefore an expression of his interpretation of the texts; on the other hand, they leave open the possibility of anonymity, so precious to the author, especially at that time.

Studying Campanella's annotations also means reconstructing what he read as a youth – that is, what his early sources were. These remained important throughout his activity as a philosopher, especially during his imprisonment, when he quoted ancient and medieval authors from memory. It seems likely that among the volumes he cited from memory were precisely those he read in these formative years. Furthermore, as mentioned above, his stay in Nicastro led to the composition, during this period, of the now-lost treatise *De investigatione rerum*. In addition to reconstructing the historical context and giving an account of the role that the *marginalia* played in the more general sphere of Campanella's thought, this chapter has dwelt on some of the thematic nuclei Campanella explored in his annotations to the volumes kept at the Dominican library in Nicastro. In particular, some theoretical insights have emerged concerning logic and the ontological-metaphysical sphere.

In fact, Campanella drew on some Aristotelian commentaries to specify themes that he would later take up in his mature works, while using other commentaries to analyze Aristotelian arguments critically. For these purposes, *marginalia* served as a direct and effective tool because of their brevity and communicative immediacy.

It seems likely that Campanella foresaw some readership for his notes, since, as we have seen, he left some signs of his identity. Precisely for this reason, the more or less veiled criticisms of Aristotelian – that is, traditional – themes gain in significance, especially when they are recognizable as germs of Campanella's future works. Furthermore, from the ontological and metaphysical points of view, Campanella's reflection on being in the margin of Crisostomo Javelli's *Epitome*, opens the way for the reflection on being that later emerges as the foundation of Campanella's metaphysics.

These insights, while only provisionally addressed in this essay, deserve to be further analyzed and explored. Meanwhile, the hope remains of finding more of Campanella's annotations, perhaps still scattered in ancient library collections.

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Christoph Sander

Traces of Attention

A Computational Approach to the Study of Readers' Marks in Early-Modern Printed Books

Introduction

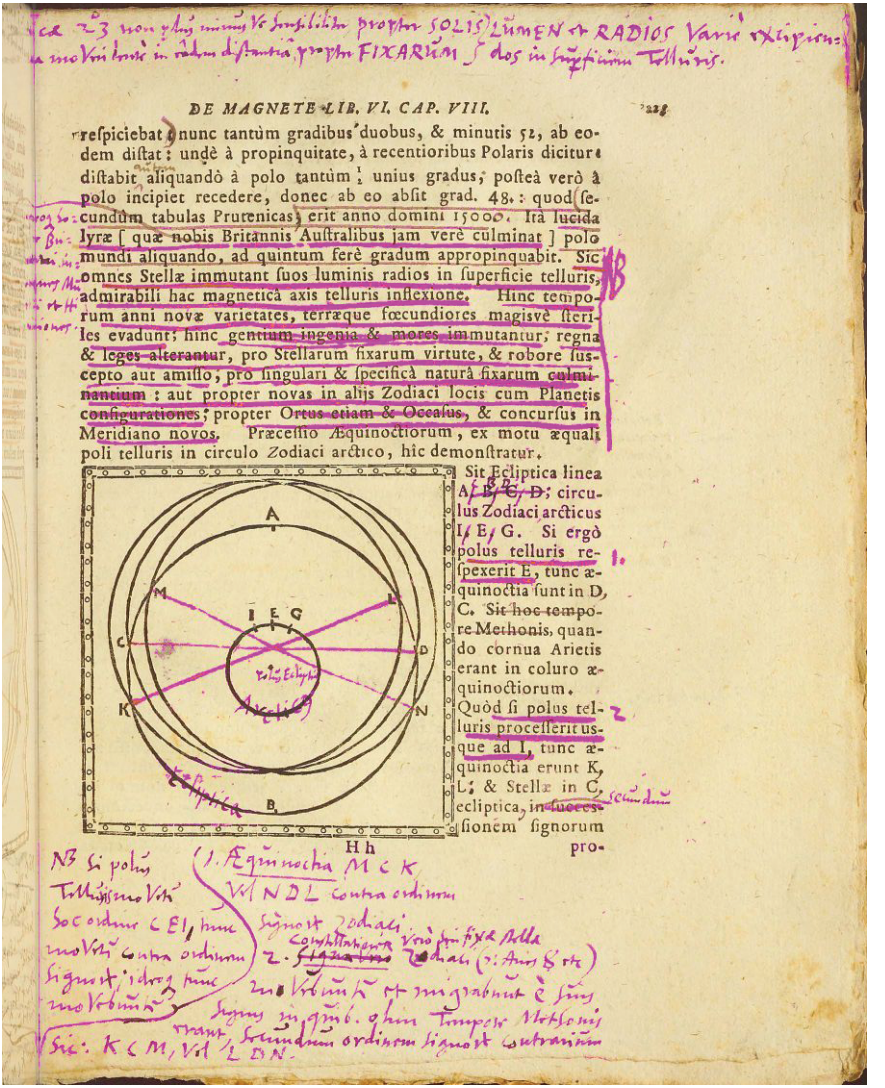
Anyone who has ever purchased or borrowed used books knows that the print can be enriched or soiled by underlinings, crossings out, marginal notes, corrections, and sketches made by previous readers. Reading a book may leave traces, and these traces can also be found in large numbers in very old copies of books (Figure 1). The material carriers of texts, namely the individual printed copies of the book, were, and continue to be, immediate points of contact with the ideas of an author and may testify to readers' written reactions to these ideas.

Surviving readers' annotations are material traces of past readings with significance for the history of ideas.[1] They can be used to research the past reception of scholarly publications, instead of investigating how one publication reacts to another one. This approach consequently yields into an original and promising synthesis of material history and the history of ideas.[2] The underlining of text, for example, is

1 See, for example, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy, *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30–78; Danielle Jacquart and Charles S. F. Burnett (eds.), *Scientia in margine: Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du moyen âge à la renaissance*, Geneva: Droz, 2005; Heather Joanna Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, New Haven (CT): Yale University Press, 2001; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010; Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015; Katherine O. Acheson (ed.), *Early Modern English Marginalia*, New York: Routledge, 2019; Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2020; Ku-ming (Kevin) Chang, Anthony Grafton, and Glenn Warren Most (eds.), *Impagination – Layout and Materiality of Writing and Publication: Interdisciplinary Approaches from East and West*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110698756>, accessed February 22, 2025; Sylvia Brockstieger and Rebecca Hirt (eds.), *Handschrift im Druck (ca. 1500–1800): Annotieren, Korrigieren, Weiterschreiben*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111191560>, accessed February 22, 2025.

2 This project does not subscribe to an old-fashioned division between the history of ideas on the one hand and bibliography and book history on the other, or, more specifically, between the study of content and its medium, such as Walter Wilson Greg, Bibliography: An Apologia, *The Library*, 4th series, 13, no. 2 (1932): 121–122, <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s4-XIII.2.113>, accessed February 22, 2025.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111560229-012



DE MAGNETE LIB. VI. CAP. VIII.

respiciebat; nunc tantùm gradibus duobus, & minutis 52, ab eodem distat: undè à propinquitate, à recentioribus Polaris dicitur distabit aliquandò à polo tantùm ½ unius gradus, posteà verò à polo incipiet recedere, donec ab eo absit grad. 48.: quod secundùm tabulas Prutenicas, erit anno domini 15000. Ità lucida lyræ [quæ nobis Britannis Australibus jam verè culminat] polo mundi aliquando, ad quintum ferè gradum appropinquabit. Sic omnes Stellæ immutant suos luminis radios in superficie telluris, admirabili hac magneticâ axis telluris inflexione. Hinc temporum anni novæ varietates, terræque fœcundiores magisvè steriles evadunt; hinc gentium ingenia & mores immutantur; regna & leges alteratur, pro Stellarum fixarum virtute, & robore suscepto aut amisso, pro singulari & specificâ naturâ fixarum culminantium: aut propter novas in aliis Zodiaci locis cum Planetis configurationes; propter Ortus etiam & Occasus, & concursus in Meridiano novos. Præcessio Æquinoctiorum, ex motu æquali poli telluris in circulo Zodiaci arctico, hic demonstratur.

Sit Ecliptica linea A, E, C, D; circulus Zodiaci arcticus I, E, G. Si ergò polus telluris respexerit E, tunc æquinoctia sunt in D, C. Sit hoc tempore Methonis, quando cornua Arietis erant in coluro æquinoctiorum. Quòd si polus telluris procellerit usque ad I, tunc æquinoctia erunt K, L; & Stellæ in C, ecliptica, in successionem signorum pro-

Hh

Figure 1: A page from William Gilbert, *De Magnete* (1628), annotated by Andreas Granius. Everything considered a readers' mark is digitally highlighted in pink (Source: HAB Wolfenbüttel: M: Nc 4° 46 <https://diglib.hab.de/drucke/nc-4f-46/start.htm>, accessed February 22, 2025).

presumed to indicate that a reader was particularly interested in this part of the text. Dog-earing helps to quickly find an important page again, while the deliberate tearing out of a page may indicate that this page contains something that should not be received. The attitude towards and interest in the ideas formulated in the text is expressed by the material handling of the book pages on which the text was printed.

For historians, handwritten annotations provide an undisguised, almost intimate, but often not easy to interpret insight into the reception of specific works.[3] Significant reception tendencies can be determined if similar comments or markings are found in several copies of a specific work.[4] Or they can be discovered if similar topics are marked by readers across multiple editions and copies of different works.[5] These research perspectives are not novel; however, they can be advanced and executed in a novel manner through the use of digital resources and methodologies.[6]

3 See Robert S. Westmann, The Reception of Galileo's "Dialogue": A Partial World Census of Extant Copies, in: *Novità celesti e crisi del sapere: atti del convegno internazionale di studi galileiani*, Paolo Galluzzi (ed.), 329–371, Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1984; Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' "De Revolutionibus" (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)*, Leiden: Brill, 2002; Thomas F. Mayer, An Interim Report on a Census of Galileo's Sunspot Letters, *History of Science* 50, no. 2 (2012): 155–196, <https://doi.org/10.1177/007327531205000202>, accessed February 22, 2025; Dániel Margócsy, Mark Somos, and Stephen N. Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius: A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions*, Leiden: Brill, 2018; Mordechai Feingold and Andrej Svorenčík, A Preliminary Census of Copies of the First Edition of Newton's "Principia" (1687), *Annals of Science* 77, no. 3 (2020): 253–348, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00033790.2020.1808700>, accessed February 22, 2025.

4 Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, 25–52.

5 Cf., for example, Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' "De Revolutionibus" (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)*, xvi: "In fact, a quite unexpected result has been the discovery of patterns of annotations that are found in multiple copies of the book." Similarly in Margócsy, Somos, and Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius*, 56: "The availability of such large corpora of annotated books has allowed scholars to identify the reading patterns of even those annotators who left only one or two marginalia here and there." Cf. also Margócsy, Somos, and Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius*, 61: "How can one use such a database that contains information on hundreds of annotators? A few years ago, newspapers were abuzz with the concern that e-book providers may carefully track what percentage of readers finishes the book they purchase, and that it is possible to tell at what page these readers stop reading. One can perform similar calculations on consumers of the *Fabrica*, using their annotations as an imperfect proxy for reading activity. By visually tracking how frequently each page of the *Fabrica* was annotated in our corpus, we are able to see where readers tended to turn their attention, and we can combine this quantitative analysis with a careful consideration of the variety of marginalia that decorate these pages." However, none of these projects ever published actual databases.

6 Readers' marks have also already featured in digital humanities projects, for example as library subcollections of annotated copies (e.g. UCLA's Clark Library, <https://calisphere.org/collec-

For instance, federated library catalogs, comprehensive digitization of books, authority files, and standardized vocabularies facilitate the rapid identification, examination, and description of a multitude of copies of an edition.[7] The recognition of full texts through OCR/HTR provides machine readable access to their content. This content can itself become subject to explorative natural language processing techniques, such as Named Entity Recognition that looks out for persons, places, and other recognizable entities in the text.[8] Topic Modeling and the use of (Large) Language Models give reliable insights into the actual content beyond the literal by representing the semantic dimension as embedding. These powerful tools allow to track down if two texts address similar subjects or have a similar tonality. On the purely visual level, the identification of modifications of the printed pages by later hands or circumstances can increasingly reliably be recognized by Computer Vision.[9] Multimodal Visual Language Models are able to relate visual content, e.g. a readers' mark,

tions/26771/>, accessed April 8, 2024) or cross-sections of marginalia relating to certain topics (e.g. Early Modern Women's Marginalia, <https://earlymodernwomensmarginalia.cems.anu.edu.au>, accessed April 8, 2024). Most importantly, the large-scale project The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe (<https://archaeologyofreading.org>, accessed April 8, 2024) has created a sophisticated website to explore the marks made by two famous sixteenth-century readers, John Dee and Gabriel Harvey. Digital databases have also repeatedly recorded provenance information as structured data, especially with a focus on artworks (e.g., Boehler re:search, <https://boehler.zikg.eu>, accessed April 8, 2024, and Provenia, <https://www.proveana.de/de/start>, accessed April 8, 2024) but also on book history (e.g. Book Owners Online, <https://bookowners.online>, accessed April 8, 2024, Owners of Incunabula, <https://data.cerl.org/owners>, accessed April 8, 2024, and Archivio dei Possessori, <https://archiviopossessori.it>, accessed April 8, 2024. These impressive projects and their platforms are, however, neither intended nor equipped to analyze readers' marks with a quantitative methodology, and hence do not qualify to transparently discover large-scale patterns of book use and readers' engagements with topics beyond genres and very small social groups.

7 For authority files and vocabularies, see esp. <https://data.cerl.org/mei>, <https://www.getty.edu/publications/categories-description-works-art/categories/object-architecture-group/8/>, <https://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/reading-practices/>, <https://provenienz.gbv.de/T-PRO_Thesaurus_der_Provenienzbegriffe>, and <https://viaf.org>, accessed April 8, 2024.

8 Megan R. Brett, Topic Modeling: A Basic Introduction, *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2012). <https://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/2-1/topic-modeling-a-basic-introduction-by-megan-r-brett/>, accessed February 22, 2025; Yida Mu, Chun Dong, Kalina Bontcheva, and Xingyi Song, Large Language Models Offer an Alternative to the Traditional Approach of Topic Modelling, *arXiv:2403.16248. Preprint, arXiv*, March 26, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2403.16248>, accessed February 22, 2025.

9 Jochen Büttner, Julius Martinetz, Hassan El-Hajj, and Matteo Valleriani, CorDeep and the Sacrobosco Dataset: Detection of Visual Elements in Historical Documents, *Journal of Imaging* 8, no. 10 (2022): 285, <https://doi.org/10.3390/jimaging8100285>, accessed February 22, 2025; Hassan El-Hajj, Oliver Eberle, Anika Merklein, Anna Siebold, Noga Shlomi, Jochen Büttner, Julius Martinetz, Klaus-Robert Müller, Grégoire Montavon, and Matteo Valleriani, Explainability and Transparency in the Realm

to textual content by way of embeddings.[10] Unsupervised machine learning algorithms as well as foundation models present out-of-the box instruments to explore this immense amount of information to arrive at a deeper understanding of emerging patterns and general structures.[11] Last but not least, the modeling of all of this as knowledge graphs provides a complex and powerful infrastructure to retrieve answers to actual research questions addressed at the digital data.[12]

All of this, and the many ramifications not outlined here, demand for a methodological, epistemological and ontological framework.[13] The present chapter

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of Digital Humanities: Toward a Historian XAI, *International Journal of Digital Humanities* 5, no. 2 (2023): 299–331, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42803-023-00070-1>, accessed February 22, 2025.

10 Research is moving very quickly, several models for the task are available, e.g.: LLaVa, *Hugging Face*, May 7, 2024. <https://huggingface.co/docs/transformers/model_doc/llava>, accessed February 22, 2025. As a starting point, cf. also Leo Impett and Fabian Offert, There Is a Digital Art History, *Visual Resources* 38, no. 2: 186–209, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973762.2024.2362466>, accessed February 22, 2025.

11 Fabian Pedregosa, Gaël Varoquaux, Alexandre Gramfort, Vincent Michel, Bertrand Thirion, Olivier Grisel, Mathieu Blondel, Peter Prettenhofer, Ron Weiss, Vincent Dubourg, Jake Vanderplas, Alexandre Passos, David Cournapeau, Matthieu Brucher, Matthieu Perrot, and Edouard Duchesnay, Scikit-Learn: Machine Learning in Python, *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 12, no. 85 (2011): 2825–2830; Jakob Jünger and Chantal Gärtner, *Computational Methods für die Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften*, Wiesbaden: Springer, 2023; Lorella Viola, *The Humanities in the Digital: Beyond Critical Digital Humanities*, Heidelberg: Springer, 2023. For some case studies in the domain of early modern intellectual history, see Matteo Valleriani, Florian Kräutli, Maryam Zamani, Alejandro Tejedor, Christoph Sander, Malte Vogl, Sabine Bertram, Gesa Funke, and Holger Kantz, The Emergence of Epistemic Communities in the Sphaera Corpus, *Journal of Historical Network Research* 3, no. 1 (2019): 50–91, <https://doi.org/10.25517/jhnr.v3i1.63>, accessed February 22, 2025; Matteo Valleriani, Malte Vogl, Hassan El-Hajj, and Kim Pham, The Network of Early Modern Printers and Its Impact on the Evolution of Scientific Knowledge: Automatic Detection of Awareness Relationships, *Histories* 2, no. 4 (2022): 466–503, <https://doi.org/10.3390/histories2040033>, accessed February 22, 2025; James Misson and Devani Mandira Singh, Computing Book Parts with EEBO-TCP, *Book History* 25, no. 2 (2022): 503–529, <https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2022.0018>, accessed February 22, 2025; Andrea Sangiacomo, Raluca Tanasescu, Hugo Hogenbirk, and Silvia Donker, Recreating the Network of Early Modern Natural Philosophy: A Mono- and Multilingual Text Data Vectorization Method, *Journal of Historical Network Research* 7, no. 1 (2022): 33–85, <https://doi.org/10.25517/jhnr.v7i1.129>, accessed February 22, 2025.

12 Mayank Kejriwal, Craig A. Knoblock, and Pedro Szekely (eds.), *Knowledge Graphs: Fundamentals, Techniques, and Applications*, Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press, 2021; Arianna Ciula, Øyvind Eide, Cristina Marras, and Patrick Sahle, *Modelling between Digital and Humanities: Thinking in Practice*, Cambridge (UK): Open Book Publishers, 2023, <https://books.openbookpublishers.com/10.11647/obp.0369.pdf>, accessed February 22, 2025.

13 Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511490446>, accessed February 22, 2025; Andrew Piper, *Can We Be Wrong? The Problem of Textual Evidence in a Time of Data*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University

attempts to outline this framework by way of a concrete example from the Magnetic Margins Database.[14] This research does thus not aim at presenting a specific research case in its own right but uses a specific case to address more general preliminaries and implications. In doing so, its contribution lies in a critical and reflexive take on the advancement of computational methods in the historical humanities, narrowed down to the intricate subject of readers' marks. Concrete technical details of the data model and computational algorithms – which are evolving rapidly – are beyond the scope of this chapter and will be provided in a dedicated repository and future publications.[15]

First, I will present the methodological, epistemological, and ontological presuppositions that form the framework for the subsequent analysis. Then, I will provide a brief overview of the dataset and its historical significance. Finally, I will examine the potential of computational analysis through examples from the sample dataset.

1 Presuppositions

The presuppositions outlined here, which form the conceptual framework of the proposed approach, are not intended as exhaustive ontological claims. Rather, they serve as pragmatic assumptions underpinning the methodology and epistemology at hand. Some of them draw on established formalized ontologies from the Semantic Web domain.

(1) Concrete, physical annotations and marks – referred to hereafter as readers' marks (RMs) – are understood as psychological indicators or markers of attention. These RM are interpreted as traces that provide insight into historical interactions between a reader and a text. Interest in a particular passage or

Press, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108922036>, accessed February 22, 2025; David John Hand, *Dark Data: Why What You Don't Know Matters*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.

14 Christoph Sander, *Magnetic Margins: A Census and Annotations Database*, October 25, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.48431/res/qk19-bj96/magmar>, accessed February 22, 2025; Christoph Sander, Hassan El-Hajj, and Alessandro Adamou, Magnetic Margins: A Census and Reader Annotations Database, in: *Digital Humanities 2023: Collaboration as Opportunity (DH2023)*, Graz: Zenodo, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8107608>, accessed February 22, 2025.

15 See <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.14851170> and <https://github.com/ch-sander/raramagnetica/tree/main/analysis/magnetic_margins>, accessed February 22, 2025. A comprehensive account of the census as well as the census itself will be published in Christoph Sander, Magnetic Margins: Insights from the Digital Descriptive Census of William Gilbert's "De magnete", *Annals of Science*, forthcoming.

content may prompt the creation of a RMs. In this sense, they are viewed as traces of reading, sense-making, and evaluative engagement.[16]

(2) Text (as printed in books, in this context) is regarded as the meaningful expression of content – hereafter referred to as semantic expressions (SEs) – which can be characterized by a set of semantic features (SFs). These features are recurrent across different texts, whether as explicit topics or as latent embeddings in high-dimensional vector spaces produced by modern language models. Thus, a single text (or textual unit, such as a sentence) may refer to multiple topics, and conversely, a single topic may be addressed by multiple texts. The scope and nature of these features will be elaborated below.

(3) Any RM that resembles another RM (e.g., by sharing a particular property), or any SE that shares a relevant SF with another SE, is interpreted as expressing semantic similarity. This similarity gives rise to a semantic topology among RMs and SEs. Two RMs or SEs that share any SF are considered semantically related – or similar – with respect to that feature.

(4) The identification and description of any RM, SE, or SF constitutes an abstraction from a unique material or conceptual context. Connections among these elements, based on abstracted commonalities, are necessarily tentative, subject to uncertainty, vagueness, and contestability. Often, little is known about the provenance of an RM, and whether two SEs genuinely share an SF may depend on interpretive judgment or probabilistic modeling. Despite these inherent challenges of underdetermination, the overall quantitative analysis proceeds on the assumption that such biases in the ground truth or algorithm are statistically negligible or can be addressed through critical discussion of results and the presentation of comparative analytical scenarios.

While philosophical in nature, these aforementioned presuppositions have partly a technical correspondence in the domain of Semantic Web technologies.[17] Digital Semantic Web ontologies (such as CIDOC-CRM, FRBR(oo), FaBiO, DoCO, and CiTO) structure semantic data by categorizing entities and properties into relationships.[18]

16 This justifies, therefore, the exclusion of annotations related to ownership marks, librarians' cataloging notes, repagination, and similar non-reader-oriented markings.

17 Richard Gartner, *Metadata: Shaping Knowledge from Antiquity to the Semantic Web*, Cham: Springer, 2016; Elena Spadini, Francesca Tomasi, and Georg Vogeler (eds.), *Graph Data-Models and Semantic Web Technologies in Scholarly Digital Editing*, vol. 15, Norderstedt: BoD, 2021, <https://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/54577>, accessed February 22, 2025.

18 See Silvio Peroni and David Shotton, The SPAR Ontologies, in: *The Semantic Web – ISWC 2018*, Denny Vrandečić, Kalina Bontcheva, Mari Carmen Suárez-Figueroa, Valentina Presutti, Irene Celino, Marta Sabou, Lucie-Aimée Kaffee, and Elena Simperl (eds.), 119–136, Cham: Springer, 2018,

The following discussion – subscribing to FRBR-ontologies –, particularly leverages the distinction between concrete physical objects that exist(ed) at some period of time at some place on the one hand, and immaterial conceptual objects that carry meaning on the other hand.[19] The latter classes of immaterial entities include intellectual works, e.g. some treatise as a generic entity, and their expressions (e.g. its original linguistic form or a translation of that work) and manifestations (e.g. a published edition of that work). Instances (or, parts of them) of these classes are SE and have SF.[20] In contrast, any concrete material representation of such an immaterial conceptual object is seen as an item that has material properties and a spatiotemporal existence. By itself, no item is considered a SE, but it can be a (or, more precisely, its manifestation's) physical medium or carrier of some SE. As we shall see, RMs are strictly speaking items, i.e. physical unique items, but their mere existence can also be interpreted on a semantic level as a SE. While any full-fledged Semantic Web ontology is much more complex, this bifold distinction material-immaterial is the most crucial one for the approach pursued here.[21]

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00668-6_8>, accessed February 22, 2025; and <https://www.sparontologies.net>, accessed February 22, 2025.

19 For general methodological reflections and a rationale of bibliography, see Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*; George Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992; George Thomas Tanselle, *Descriptive Bibliography*, Charlottesville (VA): The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2020, 122–160.

20 <http://purl.org/spar/fabio> and <https://cidoc-crm.org/frbroo> (renamed to LRMoo), accessed April 8, 2024; Silvio Peroni and David Shotton, FaBiO and CiTO: Ontologies for Describing Bibliographic Resources and Citations, *Journal of Web Semantics* 17 (2012): 33–43, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.websem.2012.08.001>, accessed February 22, 2025; Karen Coyle, *FRBR, Before and After: A Look at Our Bibliographic Models*, Chicago: ALA Editions, 2016. See also Spadini, Tomasi, and Vogeler (eds.), *Graph Data-Models and Semantic Web Technologies in Scholarly Digital Editing*; Katrina Fenlon, Modeling Digital Humanities Collections as Research Objects, in: *Proceedings of the 18th Joint Conference on Digital Libraries (JCDL 2019)*, 138–147, Champaign (IL): IEEE Press, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1109/JCDL.2019.00029>, accessed February 22, 2025; Koraljka Golub and Ying-Hsang Liu (eds.), *Information and Knowledge Organisation in Digital Humanities: Global Perspectives*, London: Routledge, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003131816>, accessed February 22, 2025.

21 The hierarchical structure of these classes also defines the propagation of their properties. A SF of a work also applies to its expressions and manifestations, while specific properties of an expression (e.g. the language of a translation) does not apply to the work etc. Any item that is an exemplar of a manifestation or represents an expression also propagates their properties: Any copy of Plato's *Parmenides* in some German translation T in an edition E has printed text that deals with the same philosophical puzzles of that dialogue. Moreover, in a concrete encoding for the Semantic Web, any entity or property is ideally linked to a resource that provides information and context. Entities of classes that include persons, institutions (like libraries), places, editions, and specific copies are linked to authority files such as Wikidata, GND, and USTC to provide standardized references that ensure con-

What then are the most relevant properties of these classes? The scope of semantic data on works, expressions, and manifestations includes the substructure of works such as its chapters, its text and images (expression), and bibliographic information on editions (i.e. manifestations) such as place, year, publisher – but also the work's genre and creator, a (primary) language, topics, latent semantic embeddings, intertextual references, as well as tonality of the text.[22] Information about analog items like individual copies of editions centers on provenance information, material conditions (binding etc.), and conditions of the printed pages such as marks or damages.[23]

2 Magnetic Margins

Before exploring how these ontological presuppositions and commitments drive and affect modeling a concrete dataset, our example corpus deserves a historiographical introduction. The project Magnetic Margins investigates how and by whom the most important early-modern book publications on magnetism were read and annotated.[24] Magnetism emerged as one of the most important topics in natural philosophy and experimental research in the early modern period. This interest led to the publication of several extensive volumes in the seventeenth century, most famously William Gilbert's *De Magnete* (1600), Niccolò Cabeo's *Philosophia Magnetica* (1629), and Athanasius Kircher's *Magnes* (1641).[25] This project aims at investigat-

sistency and accuracy in data linkage across different systems and datasets. Moreover, controlled semantic vocabularies, managed under frameworks like SKOS, are used to define descriptive concepts.

22 Typically, some of this information is metadata retrieved from external resources or defined manually, other can be retrieved through computation, including lemma frequency analysis, Named Entity Recognition (NER), sentiment analysis, analysis of chapter headings, Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) for topic modeling, Vision Language Modeling (VLM). Large Language Models representtextual meaning through embeddings, i.e., numerical vector representations in which the dimensions are latent (not human-interpretable) and encode compressed semantic information. See note 9.

23 Retrieval of this material information utilizes metadata from library cataloging resources but potentially also employs Computer Vision technologies used for scans of individual objects.

24 A few preliminaries are developed in Christoph Sander, *Magnes: Der Magnetstein und der Magnetismus in den Wissenschaften der Frühen Neuzeit*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 833–838, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004419414>, accessed February 22, 2025; Christoph Sander, Magnetism in an Aristotelian World (1550–1700), in: *Alte und neue Philosophie: Aristotelismus und protestantische Gelehrsamkeit in Helmstedt und Europa (1600–1700)*, Bernd Roling, Sinem Kılıç, Benjamin Wallura, and Hartmut Beyer (eds.), 69–105, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2023, 90–98.

25 See esp. Sander, *Magnes*, 792–874.

ing these publications through the eyes of their contemporary readers, traceable through their handwritten RMs in the editions' individual copies.

The dataset used in the following focuses on the work by William Gilbert, extant in three editions (and one title issue) and 481 known copies (although some are spurious or privately owned). These copies contain ca. 10,000 reader annotations.[26] Gilbert's work is known for its aspiration to establish a new natural philosophy centered on magnetism, for employing a rigorous experimental approach, harsh criticisms of previous bookish views on the phenomena, and a defense and physical explanation of Copernican cosmology. *De Magnete* was highly influential and impacted on better known scholars of the era, such as Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, Francis Bacon, and René Descartes.

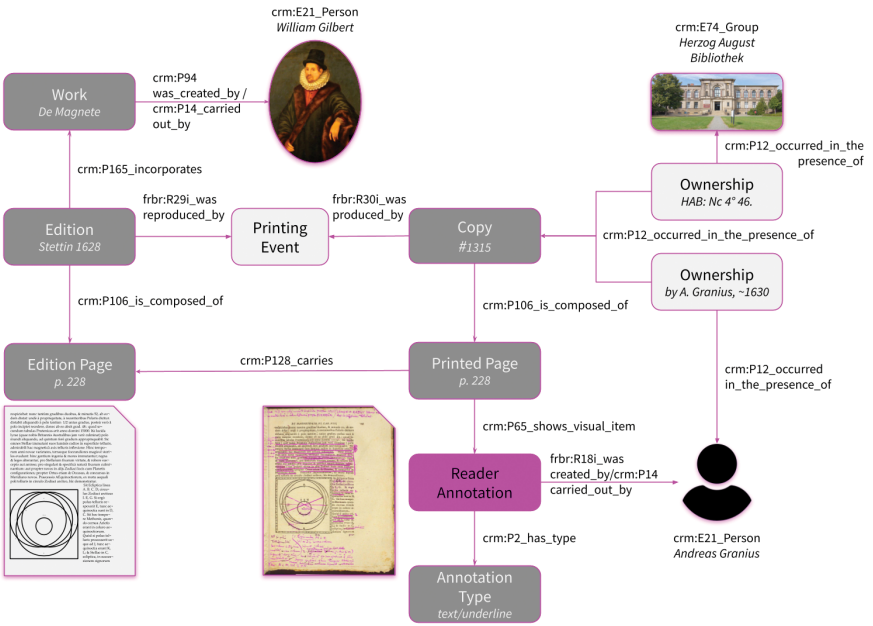


Figure 2: Simplified ontology diagram of the Magnetic Margins knowledge graph (see <https://magnetic-margins.com>, accessed February 22, 2025).

26 On how to count these, see below.

The Magnetic Margins ontology (Figure 2) follows the CIDOC-CRM, FRBRoo, and FaBiO models.[27] The conceptual objects within this database include works (and expressions), which represent structured scientific knowledge foundational to the thematic and intellectual content. The physical objects encompass book copies (items), which are individual instances of editions (manifestations) that have been printed, bound, and distributed. Each copy carries its own history of ownership, study, and use, evidenced by physical marks and wear. Annotations or RMs, as physical objects, are indirect indications of reader engagement and include notes, underlinings, marginalia, and other markings made by readers as they interacted with the texts.

Works are represented as textual expressions by way of their manifestations and have been structured into chapters. Editions are dissected into edition pages (as prepared by the typesetter) that contain the text of the work's expression in one manifestation.[28] Each printed page (a physical item), that is bound in one copy of an edition, is a carrier of its respective edition page. The texts of chapters and edition pages are described through SFs, by (my own) manual annotation employing a controlled vocabulary, retrieved from LDA topic modeling, and most frequent lemmata, both in English and Latin.[29] Printed images are described by a hierarchical controlled vocabulary.[30] Metadata on each edition includes typical biographical information.[31]

Key agents in the creation and dissemination of these works include authors, who created the works, and publishers or printers, who were responsible for the financing, creation, and distribution of editions and copies. Owners, which can be individuals or organizations such as libraries or institutions, held and hold possession of the book copies. The spatial and geographical data covered in the database include places of publication, which are specific cities where publishers operated and where the books were printed and/or initially distributed. Locations of copies

27 Some classes were added to better capture the phenomena under scrutiny. In the diagram (Figure 2), prefixes denote namespaces (i.e. ontologies and vocabularies). Classes are linked to each other by properties, directed by the arrows.

28 In the case of *De Magnete*, variants between the editions/manifestations are minimal, i.e. all manifest the same work in almost the same way.

29 Topic modeling refers to a computational technique to extract major topics from text. See note 9.

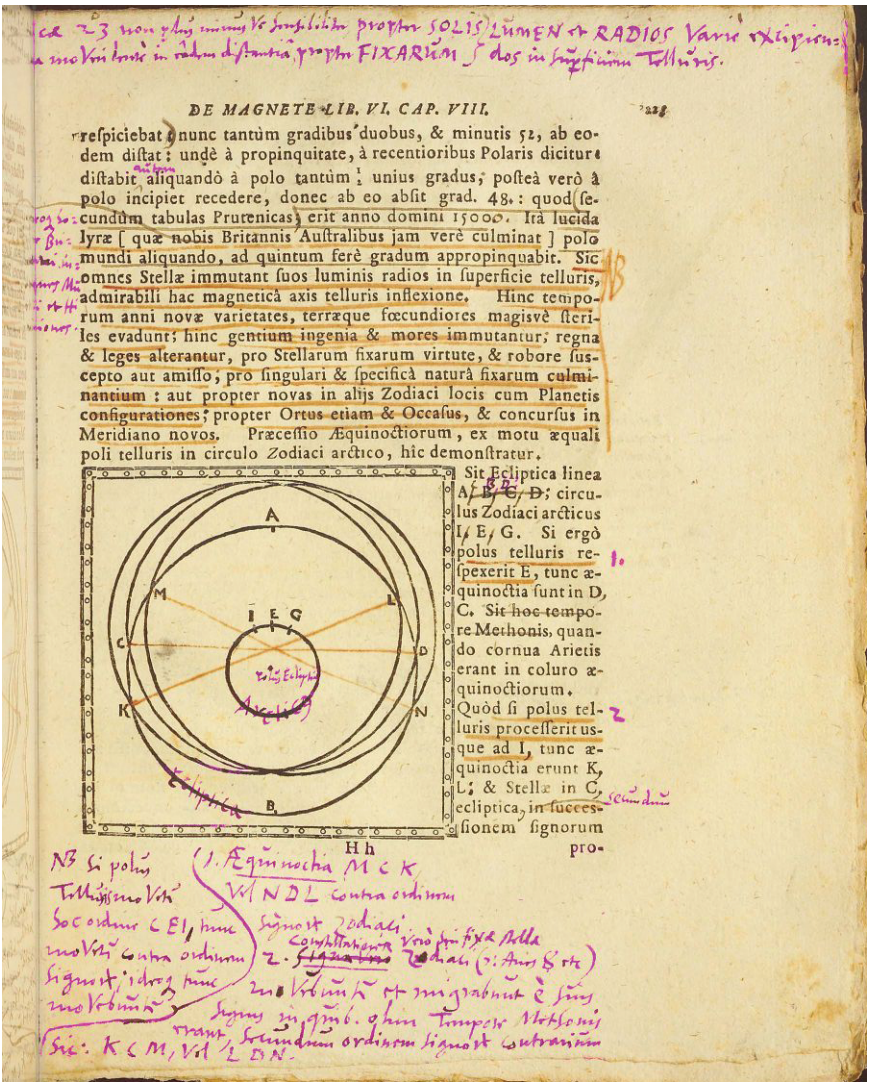
30 See Christoph Sander, *Early Modern Magnetism Image Database (1500–1650)*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.48431/res/qk19-bj96/vikus/vismag>, accessed February 22, 2025.

31 For copies individual library catalogs were used for metadata, while most metadata has been added manually when reviewing the copies directly. By way of the study of all copies, different issues and even different states of printed sheets have been identified as well. See Tanselle, *Descriptive Bibliography*, 122–160.

reflect the current or historical locations of individual book copies, showing the geographical spread and the movement of items over time. The temporal data in the database is also crucial, with composition dates suggesting when works were conceptually completed, providing insights into the intellectual timeline of scientific ideas. Publication dates indicate when editions were physically printed, providing a timeline for the material production of scientific knowledge. Ownership dates track when specific copies were acquired or cataloged by owners, offering a chronological footprint of the book's life and usage.

In the database, annotations, or RM, are defined broadly to include any intentional and detectable engagement with a printed text. Each RM is exclusively categorized under one formal type, which is determined by its visible characteristics rather than the annotator's intentions. This method ensures that data is structured consistently across various instances. The database identifies several types of RM, such as text or numbers added by a reader in their own handwriting (Figure 3), markings that underline or highlight text (Figure 4), the use of symbols like "NB" for *nota bene* or manicules to denote importance, and instances where text has been obscured or blackened out by the reader. Other types include drawings added by the reader (Figure 5), the folding down of a page corner to create a dog-ear, scribbles that test a writing tool, stamps indicating ownership, traces of wax used to adhere materials to the page, and labels or bookplates pasted onto the page.

Each type of annotation, for example, "underlining," encompasses all occurrences of that type on a single page. The database also evaluates the density or weight of RMs on a scale from 1 to 3, though finding a practical and conceptual way to measure this quantitatively has proven challenging. RMs are further detailed through four categories of tags. Position tags indicate the specific locations of RMs on the page. Descriptive tags aim to capture the semantic meaning or intended purpose of the RMs. Content tags describe the conceptual content related to the RM, such as scientific concepts, while material tags provide information about the materials used in the annotation, including the type of writing tool. Whenever possible, individual RMs are transcribed and stored, and any damage or modification to the page associated with an annotation itself is recorded. If the creator of an annotation is known, this information is linked to the ownership history of the book copy, providing a pragmatic method for tracing the provenance of RMs.



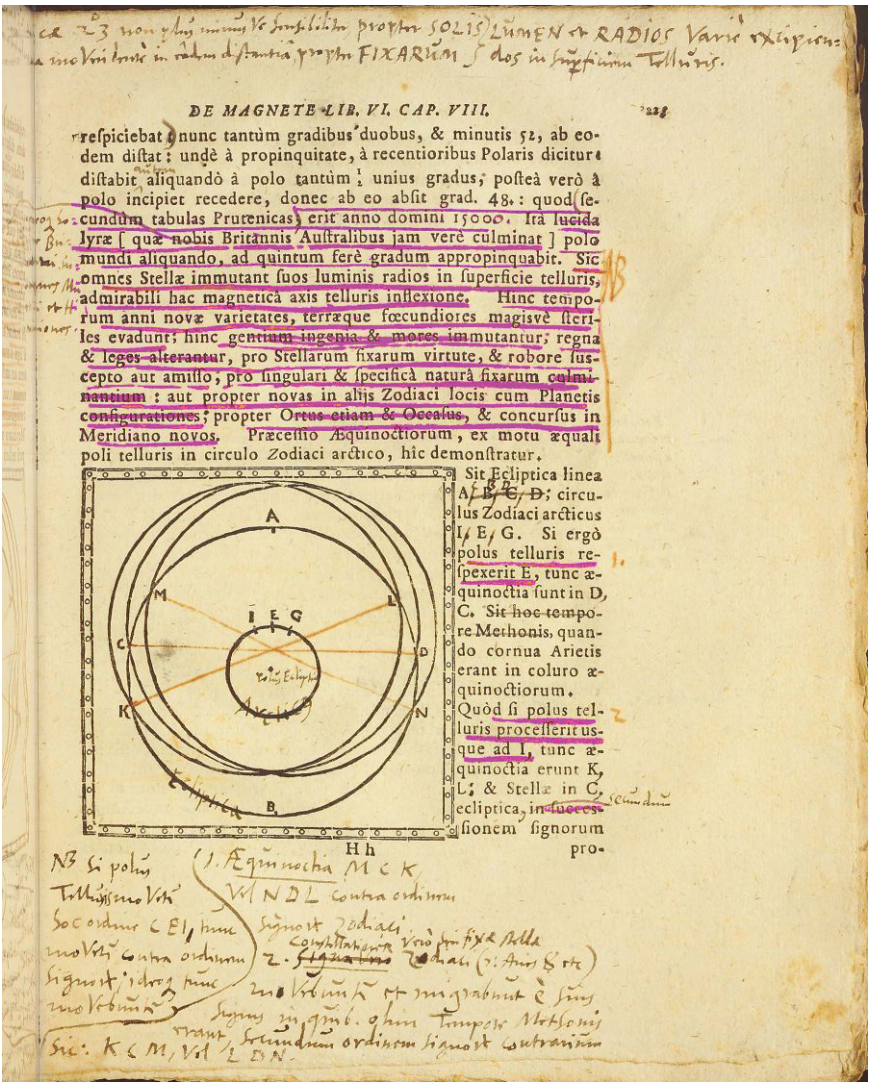
DE MAGNETE LIB. VI. CAP. VIII.

reſpiciebat, nunc tantùm gradibus duobus, & minutis 52, ab eodem diſtat: undè à propinquitate, à recentioribus Polaris dicitur diſtabit aliquandò à polo tantùm unius gradus, poſteà verò à polo incipiet recedere, donec ab eo abſit grad. 48.: quod ſecundùm tabulas Prutenicas erit anno domini 15000. Ità lucida lyræ [quæ nobis Britannis Auſtralibus jam verè culminat] polo mundi aliquando, ad quintum ferè gradum appropinquabit. Sic omnes Stellæ immutant ſuos luminis radios in ſuperficie telluris, admirabili hac magneticâ axis telluris inflexione. Hinc temporum anni novæ varietates, terræque fœcundiores magisvè ſteriles evadunt; hinc gentium ingenia & mores immutantur; regna & leges alterantur, pro Stellarum fixarum virtute, & robore ſuscepto aut amiſſo; pro ſingulari & ſpecificâ naturâ fixarum culminantium: aut propter novas in alijs Zodiaci locis cum Planetis configurationes; propter Ortus etiam & Occaſus, & concurſus in Meridiano novos. Præceſſio Æquinoctiorum, ex motu æquali poli telluris in circulo Zodiaci arctico, hic demonſtratur.

Sit Ecliptica linea A, B, C, D; circulus Zodiaci arcticus I, E, G. Si ergò polus telluris reſpexerit E, tunc æquinoctia ſunt in D, C. Sit hoc tempore Methonis, quando cornua Arietis erant in coluro æquinoctiorum. Quòd ſi polus telluris proceſſerit usque ad I, tunc æquinoctia erunt K, L; & Stellæ in C, ecliptica, in ſucceſſionem ſignorum pro-

H h

Figure 3: A page from William Gilbert, *De Magnete* (1628), annotated by Andreas Granius. Pink highlights (added digitally) extend to the annotation type for additions of handwritten text (Source: HAB Wolfenbüttel: M: Nc 4° 46 <https://diglib.hab.de/drucke/nc-4f-46/start.htm>, accessed February 22, 2025).



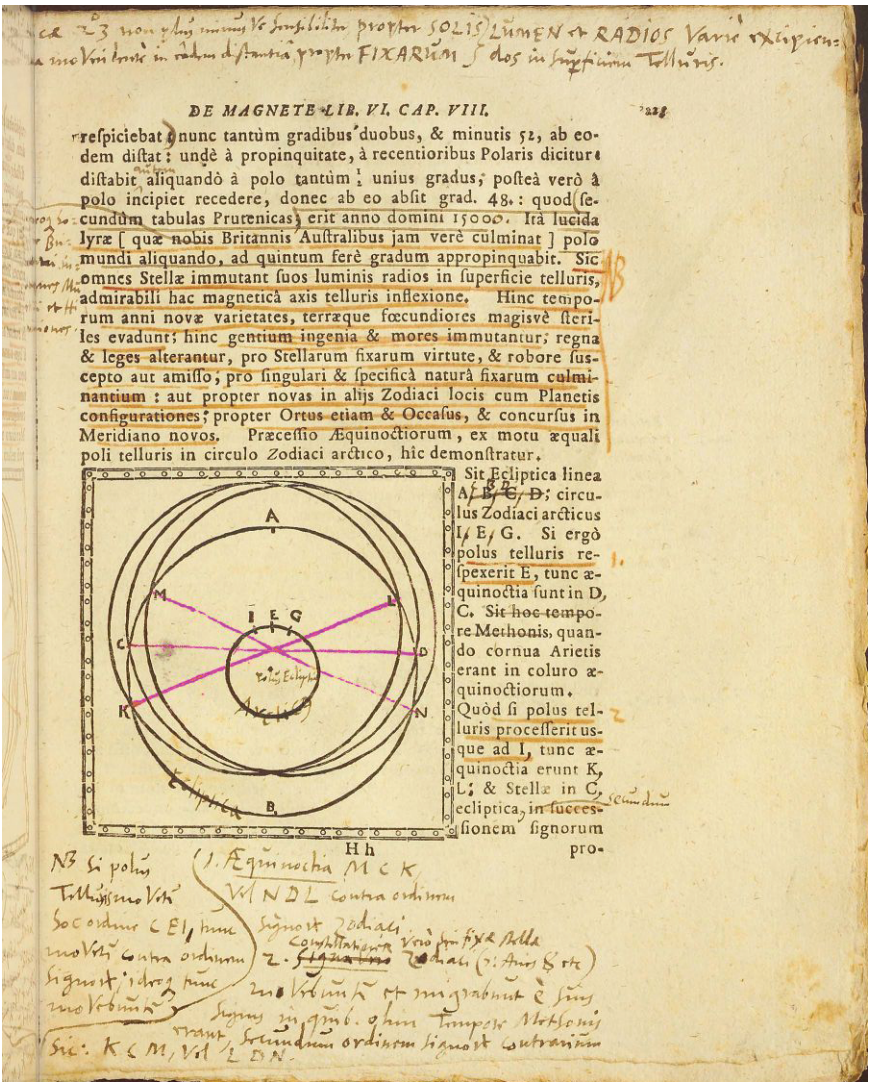
DE MAGNETE LIB. VI. CAP. VIII. 228

reſpiciebat; nunc tantùm gradibus duobus, & minutis 52, ab eodem diſtat: undè à propinquitate, à recentioribus Polaris dicitur; diſtabit aliquandò à polo tantùm ½ unius gradus, poſteà verò à polo incipiet recedere, donec ab eo abſit grad. 48.: quod ſecundùm tabulas Prutenicas, erit anno domini 15000. Ita lucida lyræ [quæ nobis Britannis Auſtralibus jam verè culminat] polo mundi aliquando, ad quintum ferè gradum appropinquabit. Sic omnes Stellæ immutant ſuos luminis radios in ſuperficie telluris, admirabili hac magneticâ axis telluris inflexione. Hinc temporum anni novæ varietates, terræque fœcundiores magisvè ſteriles evadunt; hinc gentium ingenia & mores immutantur; regna & leges alterantur, pro Stellarum fixarum virtute, & robore ſuſcepto aut amiſſo, pro ſingulari & ſpecificâ naturâ fixarum culminantium: aut propter novas in aliis Zodiaci locis cum Planetis configurationes; propter Ortus etiam & Occaſus, & concurſus in Meridiano novos. Præceſſio Æquinoctiorum, ex motu æquali poli telluris in circulo Zodiaci arctico, hîc demonſtratur.

Hh

Sit Ecliptica linea A, B, C, D; circulus Zodiaci arcticus I, E, G. Si ergò polus telluris reſpexerit E, tunc æquinoctia ſunt in D, C. Sit hoc tempore Methonis, quando cornua Arietis erant in coluro æquinoctiorum. Quòd ſi polus telluris proceſſerit usque ad I, tunc æquinoctia erunt K, L; & Stellæ in C, ecliptica, in ſucceſſionem ſignorum pro-

Figure 4: A page from William Gilbert, *De Magnete* (1628), annotated by Andreas Granius. Pink highlights (added digitally) extend to the annotation type for underlinings of printed text (Source: HAB Wolfenbüttel: M: Nc 4° 46 <https://diglib.hab.de/drucke/nc-4f-46/start.htm>, accessed February 22, 2025).



DE MAGNETE LIB. VI. CAP. VIII.

reſpiciebat, nunc tantùm gradibus duobus, & minutis 52, ab eodem diſtat: undè à propinquitate, à recentioribus Polaris dicitur diſtabit aliquandò à polo tantùm ½ unius gradus, poſteà verò à polo incipiet recedere, donec ab eo abſit grad. 48.: quod ſecundùm tabulas Prutenicas erit anno domini 15000. Ità lucida lyræ [quæ nobis Britannis Auſtralibus jam verè culminat] polo mundi aliquando, ad quintum ferè gradum appropinquabit. Sic omnes Stellæ immutant ſuos luminis radios in ſuperficie telluris, admirabili hac magneticâ axis telluris inflexione. Hinc temporum anni novæ varietates, terræque fœcundiores magisvè ſteriles evadunt; hinc gentium ingenia & mores immutantur; regna & leges alterantur, pro Stellarum fixarum virtute, & robore ſuscepto aut amiſſo; pro ſingulari & ſpecificâ naturâ fixarum culminantium: aut propter novas in alijs Zodiaci locis cum Planetis configurationes; propter Ortus etiam & Occaſus, & concurſus in Meridiano novos. Præceſſio Æquinoctiorum, ex motu æquali poli telluris in circulo Zodiaci arctico, hic demonſtratur.

Sit Ecliptica linea A, B, C, D; circulus Zodiaci arcticus I, E, G. Si ergò polus telluris reſpexerit E, tunc æquinoctia ſunt in D, C. Sit hoc tempore Methonis, quando cornua Arietis erant in coluro æquinoctiorum. Quòd ſi polus telluris proceſſerit usque ad I, tunc æquinoctia erunt K, L; & Stellæ in C, ecliptica, in ſucceſſionem ſignorum pro-

H h

Figure 5: A page from William Gilbert, *De Magnete* (1628), annotated by Andreas Granius. Pink highlights (added digitally) extend to the annotation type “drawing” (Source: HAB Wolfenbüttel: M: Nc 4° 46 <https://diglib.hab.de/drucke/nc-4f-46/start.htm>, accessed February 22, 2025).

3 Analysis

This section will focus on three computational techniques employed to interpret the complex relationships between textual content and reader interactions: frequency analysis, co-occurrence analysis, and the exploration of multidimensional feature spaces. These analytical methods allow for a discovery or confirmation of (perhaps presumed but to be confirmed) patterns that characterize historical reader engagement in their thematic emphasis.

Before presenting the methods and illustrating their potential using the Magnetic Margins dataset, it is important to note that this dataset is based on a census, that is, a comprehensive catalog of all copies associated with the same work. This enables us to focus on specific chapters that appears in all editions and copies. We safely assume that the content of each chapter is identical across these copies and can therefore investigate how frequently it was annotated. If the thematic content of the chapter is known, this already provides insight into the interests of historical readers. In this way, a SF (i.e., some conceptual content) can be proxied directly by a SE, in this case, the chapter itself. This approach does not apply when dealing with multiple distinct works within a single dataset, as each work will have its own chapter structure and content. In such cases, observing that some "Chapter 2" is the most frequently annotated across different works merely reflects a shared topological position, not identical content or comparable reader interests. The following analyzes are therefore based on the *De Magnete* census, which ensures content comparability, but the methods are adaptable to other – non-census included – datasets by identifying more appropriate SF, such as recurrent topics instead of chapters.

The dataset is queried for RMs in chapters (SE) of the work *De Magnete*, including all its editions and all their copies.[32] RMs were filtered to exclude editorial marks by librarians or book sellers and marks of ownership as they are not seen as an intellectual interaction with a text's content, occur in great numbers, and are mostly easy to identify. At the same time, RMs are weighted by a value indicating "how much annotation" one annotation record comprises. Chapters were filtered to only include content of the main text, excluding paratexts such as title pages or tables of contents for which any intellectual interaction is difficult to relate to the

32 Any analysis requires a preparation of analytical data that is generated from queries against the database. Put simply, querying the data means that a complex structured database is "asked" to return certain values, typically as a table. Tables are flat as they only contain rows and columns while the data itself is "deep." Querying all RMs in one work means to "flatten" the structure in between, including editions and copies.

printed text. As a result, each copy is represented as a vector of SFs (e.g., a topic in a chapter or the chapter itself, depending on what has been defined as the type of SF taken into consideration). If, for example, $copy_1$ had SF_1 with a weighted sum of 3 and SF_2 of 1, the vector for this copy would be [3,1]. Vectors like this are the basis for the subsequent analyzes.[33] An abstract outline of the three analytical methods – frequency analysis, co-occurrence analysis, and complexity analysis – will be followed by a more concrete example and a discussion of the insights they yield.

Frequency analysis aims to examine the distribution of data points across a single variable. The data consists of a one-dimensional set of values for the variable X. By determining the frequency of values within X these frequencies can be represented, e.g., as bars in a histogram. Here, the focus is on the sum of RMs per SF in every copy (F(X)). This analysis helps in understanding which SFs were most frequently highlighted by readers.

In the example dataset, it is less evident to search for the number of RMs per topic as SF, given that all copies ultimately contain the same text, which exhibits notable overlaps in its topics. Put simply, Several chapters deal with very similar content. To achieve a greater spread of topics, it is better to analyze the RMs per chapter across all copies of different editions. Counting the number of RMs per chapter diversifies the features – each chapter is a SF then. Since the chapters themselves undoubtedly have disparate thematic foci the result still allows for semantic interpretation.[34]

In order to further enhance the significance, two different ways of data normalization and scaling can be applied. A simple aggregation of weighted RMs per copy per SF, however, skews the data: Copies with a very high number of RMs will overstress the distribution of annotation per SF. A few heavily annotated copies would determine which SFs dominate the entire analysis across all copies, which is not desirable. Instead, in a normalization scenario we might call “frequency” the number of weighted RMs per copy per SF is multiplied by the number of how many copies overall have annotated this SF. This still reflects greater or less interest into some SF per copy but takes into account if the SF is also annotated in other copies:

33 Vectors can be understood as coordinates in a space whose number of dimensions corresponds to the number of features or positions in the vector. For example, the vector [3, 1] defines a point in two-dimensional space, i.e., a coordinate on a plane. When vectors span hundreds of dimensions, they exceed the limits of human phenomenological intuition, yet the underlying principle remains the same.

34 A manual annotation per chapter is an alternative approach and will be described below.

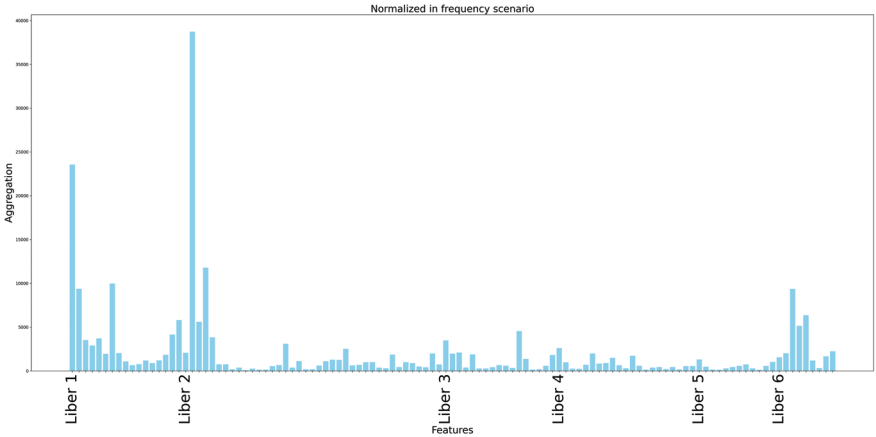


Figure 6

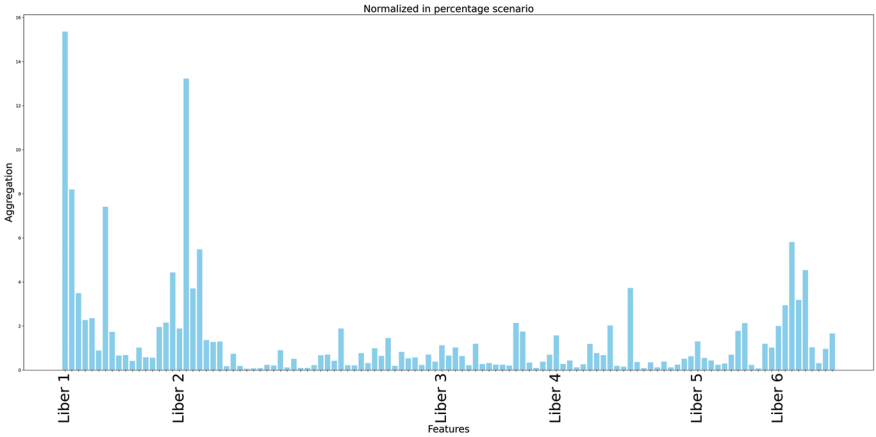


Figure 7

Figures 6 and 7: Bar charts of aggregated and weighted annotations per chapter in Gilbert's *De Magnete* across all analyzed copies, ordered by the chapters' original order in the work. Figures 6 ("frequency") and 7 ("percentage") have different normalizations for counting annotations per copy, resulting in different profiles. Source: Plots created by Christoph Sander, using Matplotlib in Python.

SF (e.g., chapters) that are annotated more frequently are weighted more strongly in the final dataset.

For a normalization scenario called "percentage" the aggregated RMs per copy are divided by the total RMs of the respective copy as values normalized, resulting in the percentage of a feature per copy.[35] This ensures that a few copies with a disproportionate absolute number of RMs for specific features do not influence the overall impression. Instead, this normalization focuses on the distributions of the interest into some SF within one single copy. So, while "frequency" normalization still accounts if a copy has 10 or 100 RMs, "percentage" disregards absolute counts and instead focuses on the relative distribution of RMs across features within each copy. In the former scenario, a two-feature vector would distinguish between [1,2] and [10,20] while in the latter scenario both would be interpreted as [0.25,0.75]. "Percentage" normalization thus highlights *what* a reader was most interested in, without indicating *how much* it interested them. In contrast, "frequency" normalization captures both the direction and intensity of attention – adjusted by how many other copies contain RMs for the respective semantic feature.

Upon examination of the results (Figures 6 and 7), two chapters, Chapter 1 in Book 1 and Chapter 2 in Book 2, in particular stand out, regardless of the normalization scenario. These chapters can be described as doxographic chapters, i.e., chapters with a high density of references to authors. Concurrently, in a topological perspective, the analysis demonstrates that the middle section of the work in particular shows significantly fewer RMs. This is the part of the work with the most experiments and the practical application of magnetism. A highly abbreviated interpretation suggests that the RMs are concentrated above all where natural philosophical and natural history debates and discussions with Gilbert's predecessors take place rather than in the chapters in which Gilbert describes his experiments in detail.[36] The relatively minor peak at the end of the book also indicates that the cosmological topics are of greater interest than the more experimental and practical sections on navigation and instrumentation. An alternative and supplementary interpretation – that however needs corroboration from other data – would suggest that readers focus(sed) on the initial and the final part of a book they read, regardless of content or interest.

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35 Other scales and normalizations of the numerical data were applied as well, with quite different outcomes in subsequent analysis. This study lacks the space to discuss each scenario.

36 Margócsy, Somos, and Joffe, *The Fabrica of Andreas Vesalius*, 95: "While it is true that Vesalius exhorted his readers to adopt a hands-on approach to anatomy, his readers did not necessarily pay attention. Instead, they turned to books. Less than 10% of the annotators mention their own experiences with studying the human body, while more than half include a reference to another book or author."

However, if all RMs are aggregated not per chapter but per book, encompassing several chapters, and these books are manually tagged with twenty thematic features, a confirming but less differentiated picture emerges (Figures 8 and 9). Thematic differentiation within a given book, comprising many chapters with different thematic foci, is given up in favor of a more general semantic description of its contents. For Gilbert's work, this is a sound approach as each book has its designated overarching topics.

Co-occurrence analysis aims to identify relationships and patterns between two variables (X and Y) by examining how often specific combinations of their values appear together. The result is a two-dimensional dataset, F(X, Y), that records the frequency of each X–Y pairing. In this context, it involves counting how often one semantic feature (SF_1) co-occurs with another (SF_2) within the same copy, e.g., how frequently two topics are annotated together by multiple readers. This yields a co-occurrence matrix, which can be visualized as a heatmap: SF_1 and SF_2 define the rows and columns, while each cell indicates the frequency with which the corresponding pair appears together. A different type of normalization of the data here is useful. PMI (Pointwise Mutual Information) quantifies how much more often two values co-occur than would be expected by chance, thereby highlighting meaningful associations.[37] If, e.g. most copies annotate some SF_x, it is likely for this SF_x to co-occur with any other SF_y, hence their correlation is less specific and insightful and would likely happen "by chance." PMI corrects for this by emphasizing co-occurrences that are unexpectedly frequent, helping to surface more expressive and significant patterns.

When a chapter covers multiple topics and topic co-occurrence is based on aggregated annotations per chapter, the resulting correlations primarily reflect relationships between topics within the chapter itself, rather than meaningful associations between topics and RMs. Given the thematic narrowness of the single work represented in this dataset, such an approach does not yield analytically useful results and is therefore not a suitable methodology in this context. Nevertheless, correlations between individual chapters are analytically significant, as they reflect which chapters attract the interest of the same readers (Figure 10), with chapters serving as proxies for thematic focal points. Particularly noteworthy are the strong correlations between topologically adjacent chapters – an unsurprising result, given their often close conceptual relationship and the tendency of readers to engage with them jointly. Additionally, a striking pattern emerges: readers who

37 See Kenneth Ward Church and Patrick Hanks, Word Association Norms, Mutual Information, and Lexicography, *Computational Linguistics* 16, no. 1 (1990): 22–29.

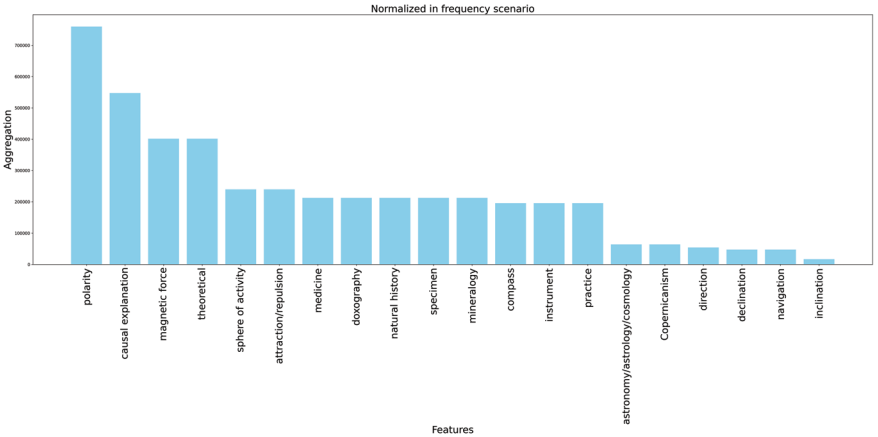


Figure 8

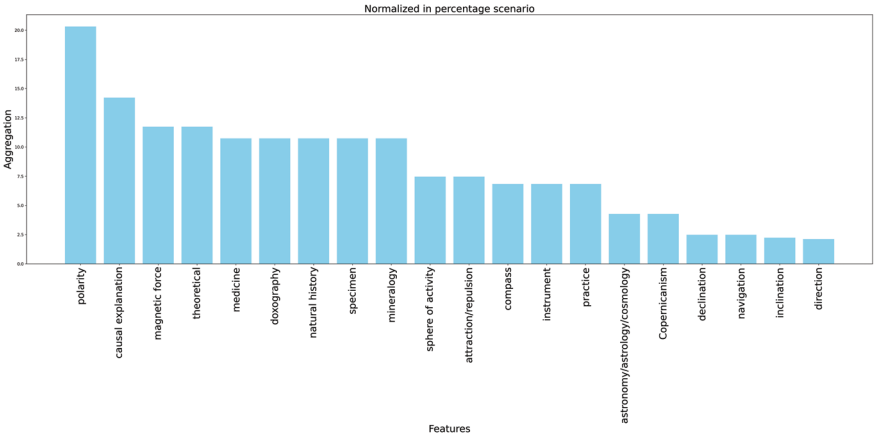


Figure 9

Figures 8 and 9: Bar charts of aggregated and weighted annotations per topic in Gilbert's *De Magnete* across all analyzed copies, ordered by accumulated sum per topic. Figures 8 ("frequency") and 9 ("percentage") display different normalizations of the data for counting annotations per copy, resulting in different profiles and in a different descending ordering of topics. Source: Plots created by Christoph Sander, using Matplotlib in Python.

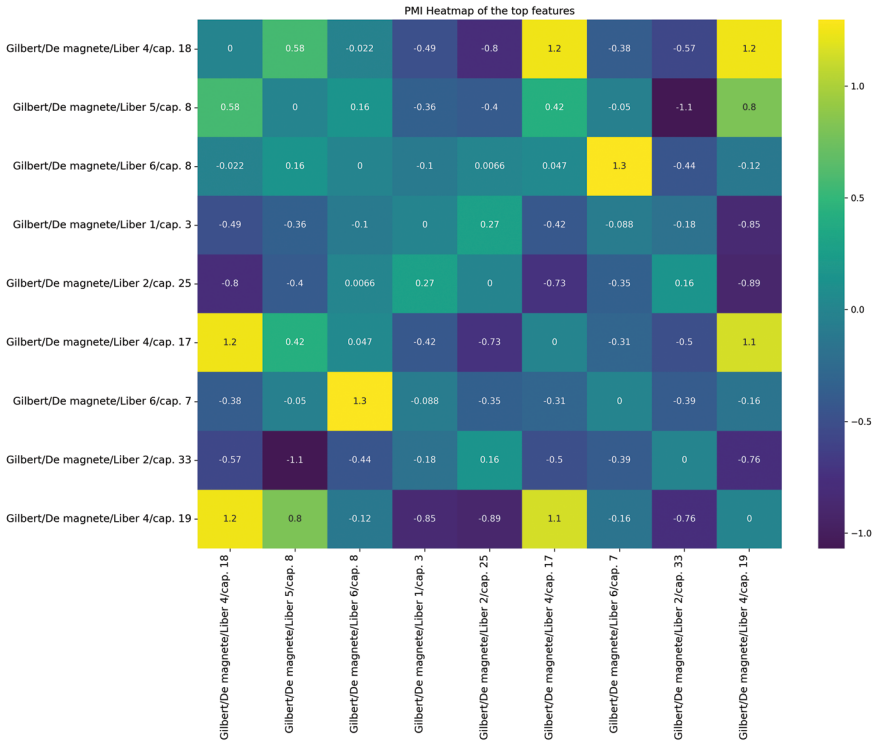


Figure 10

showed marked interest in the first two books of Gilbert's oeuvre frequently displayed little interest in his concluding cosmological work, and vice versa.

These correlations can be analyzed not only for semantic associations but also with regard to formal characteristics. Different types of annotation are significantly more often found in certain chapters (Figure 11) sometimes due to contingent factors. For example, drawings added by readers often feature on chapters that give a woodcut diagram themselves, and crossings out are particularly often found in chapters in book six on the Copernican hypothesis: a clear indication of the censorship this part underwent. For example, analyzing the types of RMs in relation to their positions reveals clear and often trivial patterns (Figure 12). When relating annotation types to the positions they occur in, pasted labels are typically found on blank pages, while underlining is almost never found in the margins. This is to be expected. Moreover, it confirms the previous observation on readers' draw-

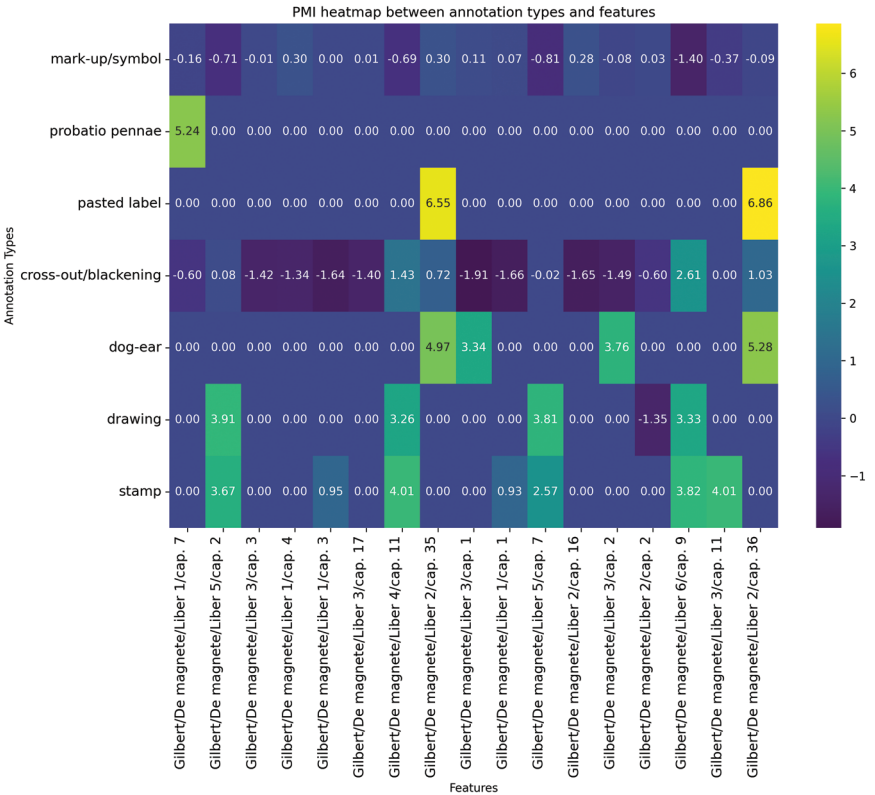


Figure 11

ings that the addition of drawings was not significantly more frequent in or next to the text, but rather within printed illustrations in the book. This indicates a dialog between two graphical representations rather than a multimodal visualization of the textual content.

Cluster analysis and complexity reduction aims to identify groups or clusters of similar data points within a high-dimensional dataset. The data consists of multiple vectors (X_1, X_2, ..., X_n), each having the same number of dimensions or features described as a numerical value.[38] The process involves reducing the dimension-

38 These values can be a one-hot encoding, if only 0 and 1 are realized, e.g. if some feature is present or not. This is usually done for categorical data, e.g. if some feature is a category such as

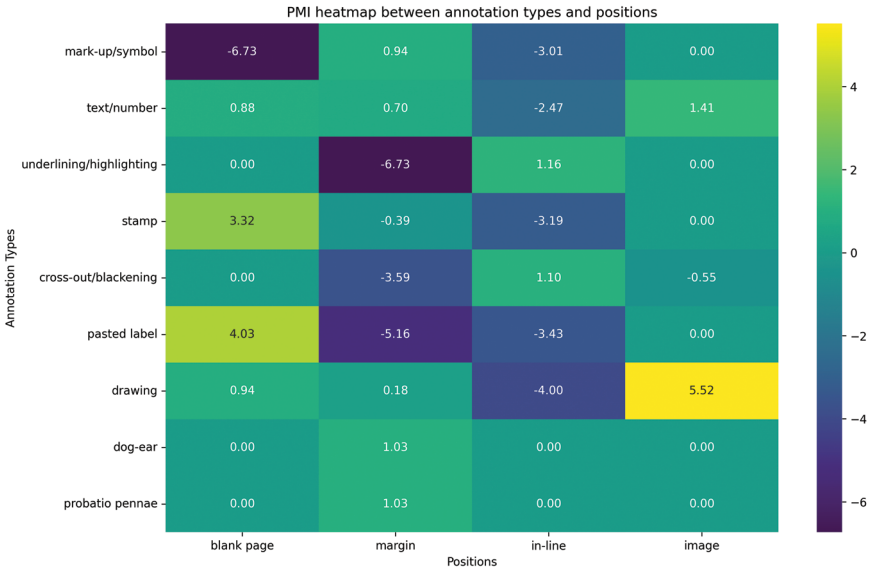


Figure 12

Figures 10–12: Heatmaps showing top and bottom co-occurring features computed as Pointwise Mutual Information. High positive values indicate frequent significant associations, low negative values indicate significant and exceptional associations. Figure 10 associates chapters with chapters, revealing how significantly annotations in chapter A and in chapter B co-occur in the same copy. Figure 11 associates chapters with annotation types, revealing how significantly annotations of some type are found in some chapter across copies. Figure 12 associates annotation types with annotation positions, revealing how significantly annotations of some type are found in some position on the page across copies. Source: Plots created by Christoph Sander, using Seaborn in Python.

ality of the data using dedicated algorithms to project the high-dimensional data onto a 2D plane.[39] This allows for a visual identification of clusters. Then, clustering algorithms mathematically group similar data points based on vector similar-

"drawing" or "underlining." While each category can be represented by a number, e.g. 1 for "drawing" and 2 for "underlining," this is not reasonable for a vector unless the order of these numbers reflects a semantic order or ranking as well. A higher number would mean a "more" of something which is for strict categories not the case. However, the (normalized) sum of weighted RMs per SF is a suitable numerical value to use, while it neglects the RMs' categorical information and only scales their weighted occurence.

39 Algorithms include PCA, t-SNE, and UMAP. All of them are included in the above-mentioned scikit-learn Python package (see note 11).

ity.[40] These clusters often match visual clusters in the projection but are based on different algorithms and may rely on the high-dimensional feature space instead of the projection. A third step in this pipeline is the identification of features that drive the assignment to a cluster, which is referred to as feature importance.[41] Modern machine learning techniques readily support all three tasks: dimensionality reduction, cluster detection, and interpretation through feature importance.

This analysis's main advantage is that it helps in understanding which copies are "similarly annotated" and may share underlying connections or patterns. We thereby can identify which copies of an edition resemble others based on whether the same chapters or SF were annotated. The data thus consists of multiple dimensions or components, with each dimension representing a SF, e.g., a chapter in the work. Each copy's vector indicates with each its dimension how much (numerically) a particular SF was annotated. This dimension value depends on the above-described normalization scenarios. Applying the "frequency" scenario will highlight mostly similarities between densely annotated copies, as they have high scores related to the same SF. The "percentage" scenario aims at the focal SF per copy and not so much on the mere number of RMs per copy. Whether the SF is represented by the chapter, the book, or a (manually assigned) tag of a book allows for another variance of the results.

An examination of calculated projections reveals varying clusters depending on the normalization scenario. Inspecting local neighborhoods allows for the verification of marked similarities on a case-by-case basis. In the "frequency" scenario, for some of the heavily annotated copies, which are plotted with correspondingly scaled dots in the plot (Figure 13), the discrimination into different clusters is particularly noteworthy. A comprehensive analysis is beyond the scope of this study. However, an examination of one cluster, for instance, reveals that a copy from the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel (copy with ID 1357) stands out from the corpus due to its extensive RMs, with these RMs concentrated primarily on Books 4 and 5, which are comparatively less annotated in other copies. Other copies have high number RMs as well – but not in these chapters. The identification of such an outlier can thus be significantly facilitated by the projection. This oddball would be described as a "heavy-annotator" with an interest in topics that are not what other "heavy-annotators" were concerned with.

40 Algorithms include k-Means and (H)DBSCAN. All of them are included in the above-mentioned scikit-learn Python package (see note 11).

41 Algorithms include RandomForestClassifier and SHAP. The former is included in the above-mentioned scikit-learn Python package (see note 11), the latter in its own.

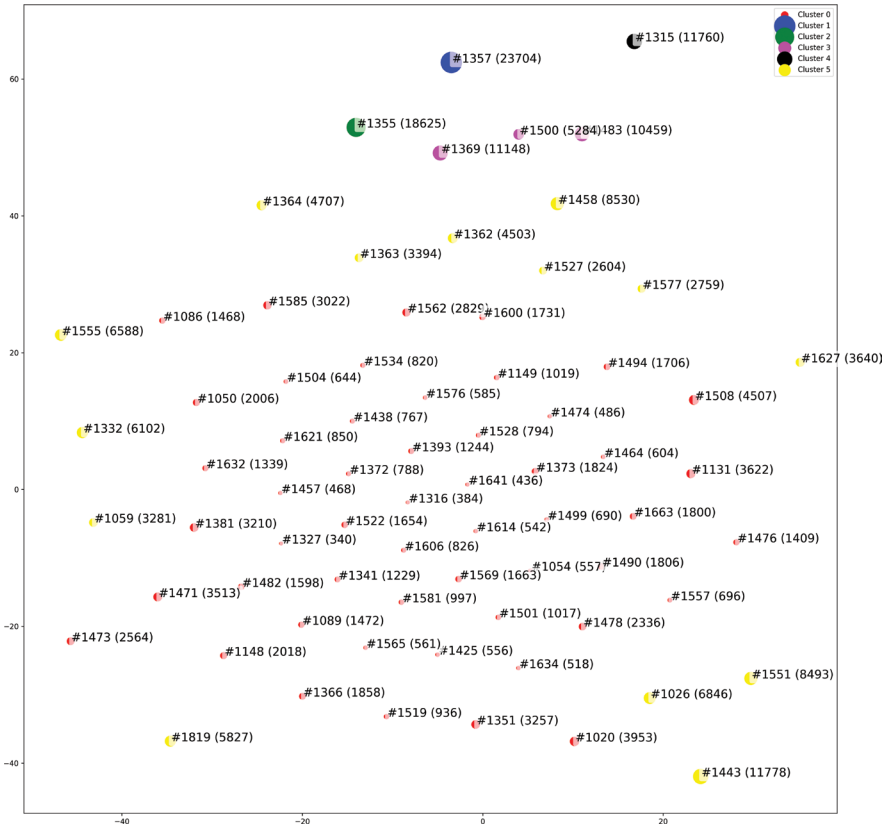


Figure 13

In the "percentage" scenario, when RMs are aggregated per book, grouping multiple chapters into a single unit, we find different clusters.[42] While a six-dimensional space, equivalent to the number of books in Gilbert's work, is rather dense, the six books can neatly be associated with a range of distinct topics (as SF), making this feature space semantically richer. The assignment of distinct topics to each book serves both to enhance the interpretability of the results as well as for accounting for potential thematic overlap across individual books. When this multidimensional feature space is projected and grouped into distinct clusters, clear

42 If the feature space is based on chapters annotated, it becomes excessively broad due to the high numbers and a large variance of values. A significant proportion of chapters are rarely or never annotated, which results in high perplexity and indistinct clusters.

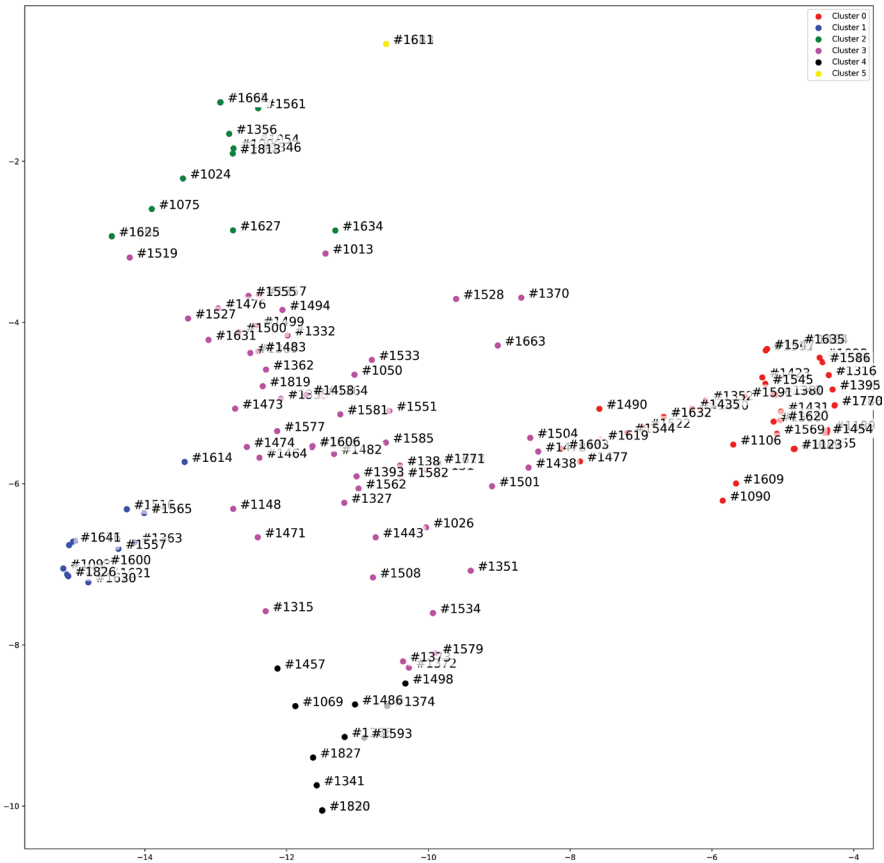


Figure 14

Figures 13 and 14: The t-SNE (t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding) algorithm projecting multidimensional data (copies represented as n-dimensional vectors) onto a 2D plane in a plot. Colors map to k-Means clusters, based on high-dimensional feature space. Included copies were thresholded with regard to the amount of annotations to avoid sparse vectors and noisy results. Figure 13 is based on the "frequency" normalization scenario for chapters as features, showing smaller clusters (less members, clusters of outliers) of semantic resemblance. Figure 14 is based on the "percentage" normalization scenario for semantic tags as features, showing larger clusters and a more pronounced topology of semantic neighborhoods. Source: Plots created by Christoph Sander, using Matplotlib in Python.

profiles (Figure 14) emerge. Indexing RMs by book-level topics and applying "percentage"-based normalization proves especially insightful: each copy receives a fingerprint of "focal interest" based on the relative attention given to each topic. This approach highlights clusters of copies that share similar thematic emphases, rather than merely distinguishing between heavily and lightly annotated texts.

To better understand the profiles of the identified clusters, it is crucial to examine the feature importance associated with each cluster. This allows for a more nuanced understanding of the motivations behind a cluster assignment. Since clustering algorithms do not assign clusters based on feature importance directly, uncovering which features drive these assignments requires a post-hoc explanatory step: training a prediction model (a subsymbolic, weak and supervised artificial intelligence model) on the given cluster assignment. The model is then observed during its prediction process, allowing us to infer which features it relies on. This explainable AI approach helps to open the "black box" of unsupervised clustering and reveals the thematic dimensions that differentiate the clusters. The result, as one might expect, is not grounded in any feature's frequency in a cluster, but rather on a normalized weighting that also considers which themes are addressed together and which are not addressed at all. A bar chart (Figure 15) makes it evident that the absolute frequency of a feature (feature sum, blue axis) is not a reliable indicator of its importance in determining cluster assignment.[43] Some features are frequently assigned to multiple clusters and hence do not distinguish them, e.g. an interest in "causal explanation" – a feature assigned to various chapters.

Looking at each cluster reveals that some clusters represent a rather diffuse annotation pattern across the majority of books and themes while others exhibit a more specific focus. From a historiographical perspective we can identify one outstanding cluster of eighteen copies with a primary and specific interest in the Copernican aspects of Gilbert's work (Figure 16). This cluster comprises copies that exhibit a distinct and overrepresented interest in this topic relative to other topics. Consequently, it excludes copies with a substantial interest in the Copernican issues but also a relatively high interest in other topics concurrently.[44] This cluster of readers displays a pronounced focus on book six, with comparatively limited interest in other content.

This "Copernican" cluster overrepresents the features "astronomy/astrology/cosmology" and "Copernicanism." These two features make up more than 50% of what distinguishes this cluster from others, while other features are frequently present as well but do not distinguish this cluster from others. Validating this

43 A box plot can also be employed to graphically display variance, thereby indicating whether the presence of a feature is relatively uniform across all instances of the cluster or if there are significant outliers.

44 In this case, we might justify their exclusion as these readers didn't show a distinct interest into the Copernican parts, which might be, but not necessarily is, a different "type of reader."

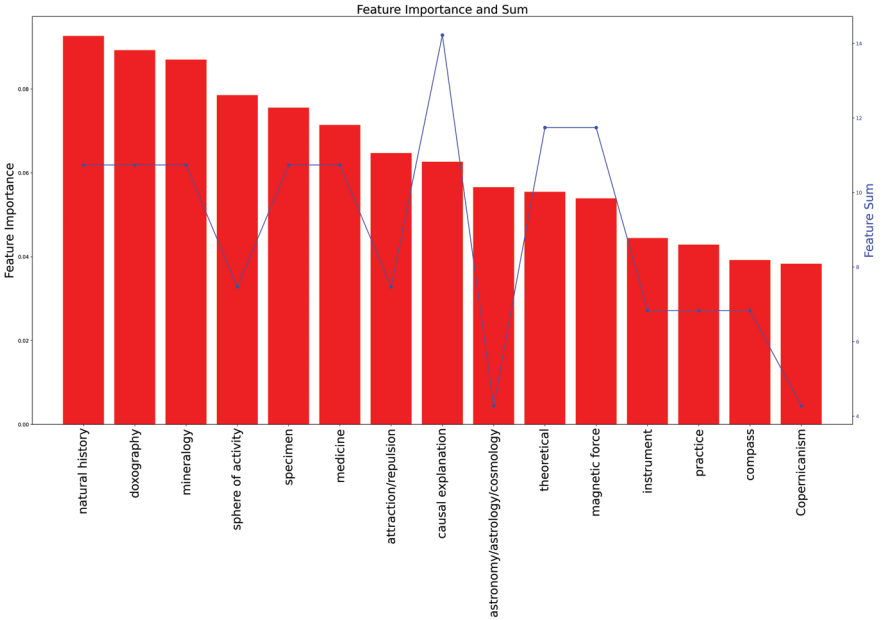


Figure 15

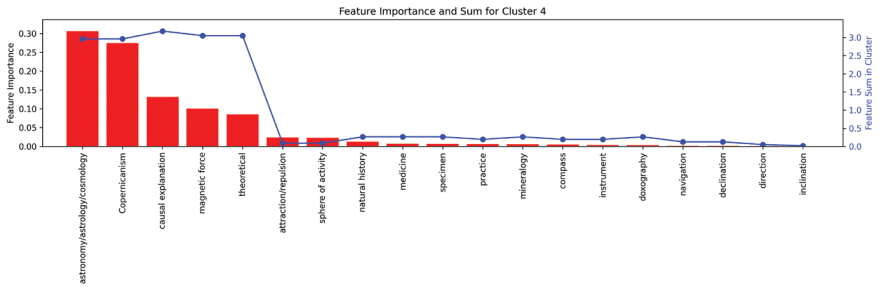


Figure 16

Figures 15 and 16: Charts visualizing feature frequency (blue line) and importance (red bars), based on "percentage" data normalization. Frequencies are aggregated sums of all annotations per feature of all copies (Figure 15) or those in Cluster 4 (Figure 16). Deviations between both metrics indicate that high frequency does not indicate high importance for cluster assignment. High importances may also indicate the low presence of a feature in copies in a cluster. Importances were calculated through RandomForestClassifier and Mean Decrease in Impurity in the feature_importances_ attribute in Python's scikit-learn package. Source: Plots created by Christoph Sander, using Matplotlib in Python.

cluster integrity by studying its members, i.e., the copies, is out of scope here, but as a proof of concept a few preliminary observations can be made.

1. Bologna, Università di Bologna, Dipartimento di Fisica ed Astronomia DIFA. Biblioteca di Astronomia, DC-4 0038
2. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, RARI B.R.121
3. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Mor.F.20
4. Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, ACCAD 349. H. 25
5. Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 55. 10.D.9
6. Offenbach a. M., Deutsche Meteorologische Bibliothek, 219060
7. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Rara *69.B.74
8. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, BU-Stare Druki 401922
9. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BIB.PHYSCHIM.000067
10. London, British Library, 33.b.20.
11. Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, 4= 62 D 1035
12. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Posner Memorial Collection, QC751 .G44, copy 2
13. Berkeley, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Bancroft Vault QC751 .G44 1600
14. Boston, Boston Athenæum, HCM .G37
15. Cambridge, University of Cambridge, Pembroke College, 10.9. 9
16. Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Sp Coll Ferguson Ag-a.27
17. London, Royal College of Physicians Library, D2/55-h-4
18. New York, The New York Academy of Medicine Library, RB

Its 18 copies include, e.g., a copy owned by Galileo Galileo (no. 2).[45] In fact, Galileo made few annotations, but only related to the work's astronomical sections. A similar focus can be corroborated for other instances, too. This clustering and feature importance detection thus reveals a group of clusters that share characteristics that may lead to historical insights, such as: These copies were read by readers, who predominantly annotated astronomical content.

45 See Mario Loria, William Gilbert e Galileo Galilei: La terrella e le calamite del granduca, in: *Saggi su Galileo Galilei*, vol. 2, Carlo Maccagni (ed.), 208–247, Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1972; Sander, *Magnes*, 833.

4 Discussion

The hermeneutic principle underlying the previous analysis is based on the assumption that the intentional material engagement with material carriers of semantic content can reveal insights about the reception and assessment of that content. This approach aims to integrate material history with intellectual history. To employ this approach effectively, it relies on an interoperable modeling of relevant phenomena as structured data, in addition to a transparent analytical pipeline that forms the basis for discovery and explanation of pattern.[46]

On an interpretive level, it is important to recognize that thematic foci for a reader to annotate may not necessarily or exclusively reflect substantive individual interests, but also testify to wider practices of annotating and reading itself. The significant focus on doxographical knowledge in readers' marks may relate to the humanistic practice of commonplacing, rather than suggesting that doxography was the most important thematic aspect for the readers of Gilbert's work.[47] Consequently, it necessitates a critical examination of the practice of annotation with regard to specific content, and compared to other datasets studied by a similar methodology.

The computational methods described enable researchers to identify relevant relationships and patterns within the data. These connections and patterns are often not unexpected to the researchers, who compiled the dataset, as they are usually already part of an "informed intuition." An important function of quantitative methods is to substantiate this intuition through scientific and verifiable means. This approach effectively counters potential risks of cherry-picking and ensures the reproducibility of the research, provided that the data processing and collection are documented by the researchers. While computed results must not be taken uncritically at face value they suggest a course for spot tests and case studies. Moreover, the efficacy of computational analysis is particularly useful when applied to previously unknown datasets for offering an initial semantic and meaningful overview. The method's flexibility in defining relevant features and its capacity to apply various combinations of queries against the dataset render it sufficiently versatile to enable comparable analyzes in diverse datasets.

46 For example, interventions by librarians, such as the retrospective pagination of an entire work, must be identified and excluded from the analytical data, as they do not constitute meaningful traces of intellectual engagement.

47 See also Ann M. Blair, Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 541–551; Ann M. Blair, The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe, *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2011): 303–316.

While the creation of suitable corpora through manual research is a time-consuming process that primarily enables researchers to develop qualified intuitions that can later be statistically validated, the use of artificial intelligence and machine learning offers a novel and promising perspective. The application of computer vision in detecting readers' marks, the semantic interpretation and text mining of full texts on printed pages, and the representation of visual elements like illustrations as semantic embeddings through Vision Language Models has the potential to significantly expand the scope of data collection. It is acknowledged that a dataset created in this manner cannot possibly meet the standards of historical research that are justifiably high. It is of the utmost importance to meticulously examine and contextualize the inherent biases of the machine learning models used. Nevertheless, the tasks performed by artificial intelligence are relatively straightforward for qualified researchers to verify.

It is crucial to highlight that the analytical or heuristical methodologies presented in this paper do not use pre-trained models. This does not render them entirely neutral research tools; however, it mitigates the risk of the analytical judgments themselves being truly hallucinated or biased from training data – much discussed issues of large foundation AI models. The mindful combination of stochastic, statistical, and rule-based approaches with the generation of semantic research data through more complex machine learning methods represents a promising avenue for further research. The genesis of hermeneutic inference and historical interpretation is not a black box in this case; rather, it is modular, individually adaptable, and verifiable. Concurrently, the analytical work conducted through statistical methods is considerably less time-consuming than the manual collection of semantic data. The resources required for the manual creation of suitable datasets should be reallocated to the critical assessment, reflection, and evaluation of analytical methods and the oversight of automatically generated datasets. Research, ideally, is about interpreting, understanding, and explaining phenomena – not (primarily) about recording them.

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