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ARTICLES

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY LATIN LIST OF PTOLEMAIC COORDINATES

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Abstract

This article makes the argument that a Latin table of geographic coordinates, copied in Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century (MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 211, fol. 260r), is derived from a list excerpted from a Greek manuscript of the *Κανὼν πόλεων ἐπισήμων* (« Table of important cities ») contained in Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. Other sources that appear to bear witness to a thirteenth-century dissemination in Italy of geographic data from the *Κανὼν* include the *Summa de astris* of Gerard of Feltre (1264/65) and some later coordinate lists contained in fourteenth-century manuscripts.

Key Words

Ptolemy, *Handy Tables*, Gerard of Feltre, Greek-to-Latin translation, geographic coordinates.



Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 211 (hereafter cited as *F*), is a parchment codex of c. 310 folios devoted entirely to mathematical astronomy. Its individual units include a copy of the so-called Toledan Tables (fol. 196r–265v), which were the dominant set of astronomical tables in Latin Europe between the middle of the twelfth century and c. 1320.¹ *F*'s rendition of these tables uses a simplified *littera textualis* that points to an origin in Italy in approximately the mid-to-late thirteenth century.² The hypothesis of an Italian origin receives some

¹ These tables and their canons are comprehensively surveyed and edited in *The Toledan Tables*, ed. FRITZ S. PEDERSEN, 4 vol., C. A. Reitzel, København 2002 (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, 24.1–4). For an earlier description of the manuscript, see CESARE PAOLI, *I Codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze*, vol. I.3, Presso i principali librai, Rome 1891 (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione: indici e cataloghi, 8), p. 227–228.

² A dating of the main hand to the mid-thirteenth century was suggested in *The Toledan Tables*, ed. PEDERSEN, vol. III, p. 780.

support from the fourteenth-century notes on the verso-side of the front flyleaf, which mostly deal with astrology. They *inter alia* mention the books owned by Jacobus Baronis, a surgeon from Bologna, and the opinion of a certain ‘magister Thadeus’. It is tempting to identify the latter with Thaddeus of Parma, who taught at Bologna in 1318–1321.³

A regular element of the Toledan Tables was a table showing the geographic coordinates of originally 62 localities, most of them situated in the Islamic world.⁴ *F* preserves this table in something close to its standard form (fol. 250v) but juxtaposes it with a second tabular list of coordinates on the facing recto-page (fol. 251r). The first entry on this page is for Cremona (longitude 31°, latitude 45°), which is a commonly attested addition to the preceding Toledan coordinate table in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁵ It is different with most of the localities that follow, which do not normally appear in this context. The list ranges from Great Britain (*Britania maior*) to Babylon/Babylonia (*Babilonia*) but is weighted primarily towards cities in Italy and surrounding Mediterranean regions.

Tab. 1 below reproduces this second coordinate list in accordance with the sequence and layout observed in *F*, fol. 251r. Omitted from this representation are certain notes in the left margin as well as additions from much later hands (s. XV or XVI), such as an entry for Paris (longitude 30;48°, latitude 42;50°) below the final line of the second column.

³ GIANFRANCO FIORAVANTI, « La Quaestio de mixtione elementorum di Taddeo da Parma », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 83 (2016), p. 149–210, at p. 150.

⁴ See the edition of this table with discussion of its offshoots and variants in *The Toledan Tables*, ed. PEDERSEN, vol. IV, p. 1509–1518 (MA11–13). For another version, see Raymond of Marseilles, *Liber cursuum planetarum*, in *Opera omnia*, vol. I, ed. and trans. MARIE-THÉRÈSE D'ALVERNY, CHARLES BURNETT, EMMANUEL POULLE, CNRS Éditions, Paris 2009 (*Sources d'histoire médiévale*, 40), p. 198–199. For discussion, see G. J. TOOMER, « A Survey of the Toledan Tables », *Osiris*, 15 (1968), p. 5–174 (134–139); ROLANDO A. LAGUARDA TRÍAS, *La ciencia española en el descubrimiento de America (las tablas de coordenadas geográficas compiladas en la España medieval)*, Casa-Museo de Colon y Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid 1990 (*Cuadernos Colombinos*, 16), p. 64–73 (with Tab. 1 and 2); PATRICK GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IV^e–XVI^e siècle)*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009 (*Terrarum orbis*, 9), p. 101–103.

⁵ For these coordinates for Cremona, see *The Toledan Tables*, ed. PEDERSEN, vol. II, p. 434–435 (canons Cb140); vol. III, p. 1004 (BD20), 1109 (BH13), 1213 (CF11.A); *Liber erarum* (appendix), ed. and trans. in C. PHILIPP E. NOTHAFT, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar: A Study with Five Editions and Translations*, Brill, Leiden 2014 (*Time, Astronomy, and Calendars: Texts and Studies*, 4), p. 124–125.

A Thirteenth-Century Latin List of Ptolemaic Coordinates

Tabula longitudinum civitatum ab occidente et latitudinum earum ab equatore										
Nomina civitatum	longitudo		latitudo			Nomina civitatum	longitudo		latitudo	
	gradus	minuta	gradus	minuta			gradus	minuta	gradus	minuta
Cremona	31	0	45	0	maior	Babilonia	78	0	32	0
Pise	33	30	42	30		Armenia	71	30	39	0
Reate			41	30		Mesopotamia	72	30	37	30
Tarrachina	37	30	41	20	insula eq ⁱ	Arabia deserti	73	6	35	12
Neapolis	43	20	40	0		Bassus	64	3	35	
Tarentum	41	30	40	0		Cesaria	66	30	39	30
						Capadocia				
Brundisium	42	30	39	0	in Francia	Barut	67	30	33	0
Ancona	36	30	43	1		Forum Iulii	26	6	42	30
Ravenna	34	44	44	0			Sualterra	21	30	43
Aquilegia	34	0	45	0	Yspanie	Valentia	23		44	
Beneventum	41	0	41	20		Tolosa	26		41	4
Capua	41	0	41	20		Malachi	8	30	37	6
in Sicilia Liliunio	37	0	36	0	maior	Britania	19	30	53	
Siragusia	39	20	37	0		Dalmazie	44	3	42	0
Messana	39	30	38	20	Germania	Epidauros	68	30	35	30
Catania	39	30	37	0		Antiochia	31	30	51	30
Centorbium	38	30	37	30		Mezza				
Segesta	37	12	36	30		Vienna	23	4	45	
						Petto	37		45	30
Doracium	45	0	40	0						
Salonichium	49	30	43	0						
Athene	52	30	37	0						
Corinthium	51	4	36	30						
Lacedemonia	53		35	30						
Corcina	54	15	34	30						
Alexandria Egipti	60	30	31	0						
Napata	63	0	24	0						
Nicomidia	57	0	42	30						
Nichea	57	0	41	0						
Ephesus	57	30	37	0						
Constantinopolis	56	0	43	0						

Tab. 1: table of geographic coordinates in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 211, fol. 260r

In order to facilitate further analysis, Tab. 2 reorders the localities in Tab. 1 alphabetically—with the aforementioned exception of Cremona, which is omitted—and compares their coordinates with those in Ptolemy's *Geography* as well as in the Κανὼν πόλεων ἐπισήμων (« Table of important cities ») included in the Ptolemaic *Handy Tables* (Πρόχειροι κανόνες).⁶ It also includes the Greek names these Ptolemaic sources use for the same localities and adds to them modern place names for the sake of identification. In a number of cases, the coordinates in *F* are

⁶ For the *Geography*, I rely on Claudius Ptolemy, *Handbuch der Geographie*, ed. ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER, GERD GRAßHOFF, 2 vol., Schwabe, Basel 2006. For the Κανὼν, I have used the edition and German translation by LUTZ KOCH and FLORIAN MITTENHUBER included in ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER, FLORIAN MITTENHUBER (eds.), *Klaudios Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie; Ergänzungsband mit einer Edition des Kanons bedeutender Städte*, Schwabe, Basel 2009, p. 152–215.

accompanied by italicized capital letters. These are there to indicate parallel attestations in the following Latin manuscripts, to which I shall return later:

M = Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 323, fol. 1v (s. XIV^{1/2})

P = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 877, fol. 75r (s. XIII/XIV; Italian)

*V*₁ = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2288, fol. 37v (s. XIV; Italian)

*V*₂ = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5311, fol. 131v–132r (s. XIV)

		<i>F</i>		<i>Geography</i>		<i>Κανών</i>	
1	Alexandria Egipti (Ἀλεξάνδρεια/Alexandria)	60;30°	31°	60;30°	31°	60;30°	31°
2	Ancona (Ἀγκών/Ancona)	36;30° <i>MPV</i> ₁	43;1° <i>MPV</i> ₁	36;30°	43;40°	36;30°	43;20°
3	Antiochia (Ἀντιόχεια/Antakya)	68;30° <i>MP</i>	35;30° <i>MP</i>	69°	35;30°	69°	35;30°
4	Aquilegia (Ἀκυληία/Aquileia)	34° <i>MPV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂	45° <i>MPV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂	34°	45°	34°	45°
5	Arabia deserti (Θάψακος/Thapsacus)	73;6° <i>V</i> ₂	35;12° (25;12° <i>V</i> ₂)	73;10°	35;05°	73;30°	35;05°
6	Armenia maior (Κολχίς/Kolchis)	71;30°	39°	75;30°	39°	71;30°	39°
7	Athēna (Ἀθῆναι/Athens)	52;30° <i>V</i> ₂	37° <i>V</i> ₂	52;45°	37;15°	52;40°	37;15°
8	Babilonia (Βαβυλών/Babylon)	78°	32°	79°	35°	79°	35°
9	Barut (Βηρυτός/Beirut)	67;30°	33°	67;30°	33;40°	67;30°	33;20°
10	Bassus (Πάφος/Paphos)	64;3°	35°	64;20°	35;10°	64;20°	35;10°
11	Beneventum (Βενεβέντον; Benevento)	41° <i>MPV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂	41;20° <i>PV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂ (41° <i>M</i>)	41°	41;20°	41°	41;20°
12	Britania (maior) (Νοιόμαγος/Chichester)	19;30°	53°	19;45°	53;25°	19;45°	53°
13	Brundisium (Βρεντέσιον/Brindisi)	42;30° <i>PV</i> ₂ (42;3° <i>M</i>)	39° <i>PV</i> ₂ (30° <i>M</i>)	42;30°	39;40°	42;30°	39;50°
14	Capua (Καπύ/S. Maria Capua Vetere)	41° <i>MPV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂	41;20° <i>MPV</i> ₁ <i>V</i> ₂	40°	41;10°	40°	41;20°
15	Catania (Κατάνε/Catania)	39;30° <i>MPV</i> ₂	37° <i>MPV</i> ₂	39;35°	37;40°	39;55°	37;25°

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16	Centorbium (Κεντούριπαι/Centuripe)	38;30° MP	37;30° MP	38;30°	37;45°	38;30°	37;50°
17	Cesaria Capadocia (Μάζακα ή και Καισάρεια/Kayseri)	66;30°	39;30°	66;30°	39;30°	66;30°	39;30°
18	Constantinopolis (Βυζάντιον/Istanbul)	56°	43°	56°	43;5°	56°	43;5°
19	Corint (Κόρινθος/Corinth)	51;4° V ₂	36;30° (30;30° V ₂)	51;15°	36;55°	51;15°	36;50°
20	Doracium (Δυρράκιον/Durrës)	45°	40°	45°	40;50°	45°	40;35°
21	Ephesus (Ἔφεσος/Ephesus)	57;3° (57;30° V ₂)	37°	57;40°	37;40°	57;40°	37;40°
22	Epidaurus (Ἐπίδαυρος/Cavtat)	44;3°	42°	44;40°	42;20°	44;20°	42;20°
23	Forum Iulii (Φόρος Ιούλιος/Fréjus)	26;6°	42;30°	26;30°	42;45°	26;10°	42;45°
24	Gortina (Γόρτυνα/Gortyn)	54;15°	34;30°	54;15°	34;50°	54;15°	34;20°
25	Lacedemonia (Λακεδαιμών/Sparta)	53°	35;30°	50;15°	35;30°	50;15°	35;15°
26	Liliunio (Λιλύβαιοι/Marsala)	37° MP	36° MP	37°	36°	37°	36°
27	Malachi (Μαλάχη/Málaga)	8;30°	37;6°	8;50°	37;10° ⁷	8;50°	37;30°
28	Mesopotamia (Ἔδεσσα/Edessa)	72;30° V ₂	37;30° V ₂	72;30°	37;30°	72;30°	37;30°
29	Messana (Μεσσήνη; Messina)	39;30° MP	38;20° MP	39;30°	38;30°	39;30°	38;20°
30	Mezza (Ἄμισα/Ameisia)	31;30° MP	51;30° MP	31;30°	51°	31;30°	51;30°
31	Napata (Νάπατα/Napata)	63°	24°	63°	20;15°	63°	20;15°
32	Neapolis (Νεάπολις/Naples)	43;20° MV ₁ (36° PV ₂)	40° MPV ₁ V ₂	40°	40;30°	40°	40;35°
33	Nicaea (Νίκαια/Iznik)	57°	41°	58°	42;15°	57°	41;35°
34	Nicomedia (Νικομήδεια/Izmit)	57°	42;30°	57;20°	42;30°	57°	44;30°
35	Petto (Ποτοοῖον/Ptuj)	37°	45;30°	37;40°	45;30°	38;20°	45;30°
36	Pise	33;30° MP	42;30° MP	33;30°	42;45°	33;10°	42;45°

⁷ This is a variant found in some manuscripts.

	(Πείσαι/Pisa)						
37	Ravenna (Ράβεννα/Ravenna)	34;44° MPV ₁	44° MPV ₁	34;40°	44°	34;20°	44°
38	Reate (?)	35° ^P (om. F)	41;30° ^P				
39	Salonichium (Θεσσαλονίκη/Thessaloniki)	49;30°	43°	49;50°	40;20°	49;20°	40;20°
40	Segesta (Σεγέστα/Segesta)	37;12° MP	36;30° ^P (36° ^M)	37;10°	36;30°	37;5°	36;30°
41	Sualterra (Βετερραί/Béziers)	21;30° V ₂	43;30° V ₂	21;30°	43;30°	21;30°	43;30°
42	Siragusia (Σουράκουσαι/Syracuse)	39;20° MPV ₁ V ₂	37° MPV ₁ V ₂	39;30°	37;15°	39;30°	37°
43	Tarentum (Τάρας/Tarent)	41;30° MP	40° MP	42;10°	40°	41;30°	40°
44	Tarrachina (Ταρρακεῖναι/ Terracina)	37;30°	41;20°	37;45°	41;15°	37;45°	41;15°
45	Valentia (Οὐαλεντία/Valence)	23°	44°	23°	44;20°	23°	44;20°
46	Vienna (Ουίεννα/Viennes)	23;4°	45°	23°	45°	23°	45°

Tab. 2: the coordinates in *F* compared with Ptolemaic sources

Leaving aside Cremona, which may be considered as still belonging to the preceding table, *F*'s second list of coordinates comprises 46 entries, only 11 of which show a perfect correspondence with the coordinates in one or both of the two Ptolemaic sources.⁸ In most of the remaining cases, however, the divergent numbers in *F* are explicable as straightforward corruptions of Ptolemaic data.

A relatively frequent type of error in *F* concerns the minutes of arc, as Ptolemy's multiples of 5 are here repeatedly reduced to low figures such as 3, 4, or 6. These transformations are rooted in the alphanumeric system used in Greek numerical tables, where, for instance, the letter γ ordinarily denotes 3, but in the case of degree values can also be used to indicate 0;20° or 1/3 of a degree. Confusion between these two possible uses of an individual letter offers the best explanation of cases such as *Bassus*/Paphos, to which Ptolemy assigned a longitude ξδ γ' = 64;20°. The compiler responsible for the data in *F* misread this as meaning 64;3°. In the two cases of the longitude of Segesta and the latitude of *Arabia deserti*, ιβ' meaning 1/12 of a degree or 0;05°, was misconstrued as 0;12°. Analogous explanations account for discrepancies in *F*'s coordinates for Corinth, Ephesus, *Epidauros*/Cavtat, and *Forum Iulii*/Fréjus.

⁸ These are the entries for Alexandria, Aquilegia, Armenia maior, Beneventum, Cesaria Capadocia, Liliunio, Messana, Mezza, Mesopotamia, Sualterra, Tarentum.

In the case of the longitude of Napata, the letter-number representing the minutes of arc was misinterpreted as being part of the full number of degrees, thus turning Ptolemy's $\kappa \delta' = 20;15^\circ$ into 24° . The same happened with the letter γ in the case of the latitude of *Salonichium*/Thessaloniki, occasioning a change from $40;20^\circ$ to 43° . A similar mistake may have occurred in the case of *Lacedemonia*/Sparta, where the longitude in *F* is shown as 53° instead of $50;15^\circ$. Here the original reading of $\nu \delta'$ was perhaps mis-transcribed as $\nu \gamma'$ and then interpreted as $\nu\gamma = 53^\circ$. Another special case is *Neapolis*/Naples, where *F* swaps the Ptolemaic coordinate values for longitude and latitude. The Κανὼν 's latitude of $40;35^\circ$ here reappears as a longitude of $43;20^\circ$, which may have been the result of reading or mistranscribing $\mu \gamma\delta'$ as $\mu\gamma \gamma'$.

A second class of variants that is rooted in Greek alphanumeric notation is exemplified by the reduction of the latitude of *Forum Iulii*/Fréjus from $42;45^\circ$ to $42;30^\circ$. This is the result of omitting the final letter in $\mu\beta \text{ L}\delta'$ (i.e., $42 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$), shortening the value to just $\mu\beta \text{ L}'$ (i.e., $42 \frac{1}{2}$). By the same token, the longitude of Athens was diminished from $52;40^\circ$ ($\nu\beta \text{ L}\zeta'$) to $52;30^\circ$ and that of Ephesus from $57;40^\circ$ ($\nu\zeta \gamma\theta'$) to $57;3^\circ$. Further examples of this general pattern are the alteration of the longitude of *Malachi*/Málaga from $8;50^\circ$ to $8;30^\circ$, that of *Terrachina*/Tarracina from $37;45^\circ$ to $37;30^\circ$, and that of *Britania maior* from $19;45^\circ$ to $19;30^\circ$. Likewise, the latitude of *Centorbium*/Centuripe changed from $37;50^\circ$ to $37;30^\circ$, that of Corinth from $36;50^\circ$ to $36;30^\circ$, that of *Gortina*/Gortyn from $34;50^\circ$ to $34;30^\circ$, that of Pisa from $42;45^\circ$ to $42;30^\circ$. There is one instance, Catania, where the change from $39;55^\circ$ ($\lambda\theta \text{ L}\gamma\iota\beta'$) to $39;30^\circ$ would have required dropping three letters. In numerous other cases (latitudes or longitudes of Athens, Beirut, Paphos, Brindisi, Catania, Constantinople, *Doracium*/Durrës, Ephesus, *Epidaurus*/Cavtat, Naples, Nicaea, *Petto*/Ptuj, and Valence) the minutes of arc have been dropped entirely.

A singular type of discrepancy occurs in the case of *Babilonia*, where *F* decreases Ptolemy's 79° (long.) and 35° (lat.) to 78° and 32° . The resulting values are equal to those listed in al-Battānī's *ṣābi' Zīj* for the region of Babylonia, which may suggest contamination.⁹ Otherwise, the various errors exhibited by *F*'s coordinates can be taken as cumulative evidence that the list in question was compiled from a Greek source by a scribe not wholly at home in the notation used. The most likely candidate overall for this Greek source would seem to be a copy of the Κανὼν , presumably (but not necessarily) included in a manuscript of the *Handy Tables*. A check of the 46 localities in Tab. 2 against the 2009 critical edition of the Κανὼν by

⁹ AL-BATTĀNĪ, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, 3 vol., Hoepli, Milan 1899–1907 (Pubblicazioni del Reale osservatorio di Brera in Milano, 40), vol. II, p. 35 (no. 67). Al-Battānī's entry for the city of Babylon (as opposed to the region) retains Ptolemy's coordinates. See *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 43 (no. 171).

Koch and Mittenhuber has left only a single entry, that for *Reate*, unidentified and unaccounted for.

In the remaining four cases where entries in our list concern a region rather than a city/town – *Britania maior*, *Armenia maior*, *Arabia deserti*, and *Mesopotamia* – the compiler appears to have taken the corresponding coordinates from one of the cities that Ptolemy’s *Κανὼν* assigns to the region in question. Thus, *Arabia deserti*’s coordinates in *F* match those of Thapsacus, which is indeed the first entry under this region in the *Κανὼν*. The same conflation between the region and its first sub-entry arose in the case of *Mesopotamia*/Edessa. A trickier case is *Britania maior*, as none of the places assigned to this island in the *Κανὼν* have the specified coordinates of 19;30° (long.) and 53° (lat.). The closest candidate is Noviomagos/Chichester, whose longitude is 19;45° could have been reduced to 19;30° by omitting a final δ.

Overall, the entries in Tab. 2 include ten cases where the numbers in *F* agree with the current critical edition of the *Κανὼν* against the *Geography*. This figure includes instances where reversing a transcription error in *F*’s data along the lines suggested above leads to a value attested in the *Κανὼν* rather than the *Geography*. For example, the faulty longitude for *Forum Iulii*, 26;6° is more easily explained as deriving from 26;10° (κς ς'), as attested in the *Κανὼν* than from the *Geography*’s value of 26;30°.

Conversely, there are eight instances where *F*’s data conform to the *Geography* rather than the Koch/Mittenhuber edition of the *Κανὼν*. In the case of *Nicomedia*/Izmit, it is not surprising that *F* agrees with the *Geography*’s 42;30° rather than with the 44;30° marked as corrupt by Koch/Mittenhuber. There are also matches between *F* and the *Geography* when it comes to the latitude of *Lacedemonia*/Sparta and Pisa. Moreover, the erroneous longitudinal coordinate of *Arabia deserti*, 73;6°, is more plausibly explained as an error for 73;10°, as in the *Geography*, than 73;30°. An analogous case can be made for *Malachi*/Málaga, where *F*’s latitude of 37;6° points to an original value of 37;10°, which is attested as a variant in the transmission of the *Geography*. *Gortina*/Gortyn has a latitude of 34;30°, which could have arisen more easily from 34;50° (*Geography*) than from 34;20° (*Κανὼν*).¹⁰ The same applies to the latitude of *Salonichium*/Thessaloniki, which *F* gives as 49;30° compared to the *Geography*’s 49;50° and the *Κανὼν*’s 49;20°. Finally, *Petto*/Ptuj’s longitude of 37° looks like a corruption of the *Geography*’s 37;40°, more so than the *Κανὼν*’s 38;20°.

Although worth noting, these examples are by themselves insufficient to support the conclusion that the list in *F* was extracted directly from the *Geography*. Reasons for discounting the *Geography* as a source are provided by its history of

¹⁰ As the variant noted by the editors suggests, however, 34;50° (λδ Λγ') was probably found in at least one manuscript of the *Κανὼν*. See p. 71 in the edition by KOCH/MITTENHUBER (see fn. 6).

transmission. According to our present state of knowledge, the earliest extant Greek copies of the *Geography* were made in the 1290s, following a ‘re-discovery’ of Ptolemy’s work by Maximus Planudes.¹¹ But it was not until 1397, or shortly thereafter, that the first Greek manuscript of the *Geography* arrived in Florence, thus paving the way for its Latin reception.¹² *F* is about a century too early to be explicable by this particular act of transmission.

The situation looks somewhat more promising if we assume that the compiler behind *F*’s second list used the *Κανὼν* originally contained in the *Handy Tables*, the earliest Greek copy of which dates from the mid-eighth century.¹³ This manuscript, which is now MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1291, arrived in Italy at some unknown point before 1465, as documented by an owner’s note on fol. 4v.¹⁴ While the *Vaticanus* contains an unmutilated copy of the *Κανὼν* (fol. 17v–21v), it does not list all of the places found in *F*.¹⁵ Missing from it are *Arabia deserti*/Thapsacus, *Armenia maior*/Kolchis, Béziers, Beirut, *Britania maior*/Chichester, *Epidaurus*/Cavtat, Fréjus, Pisa, and Valence, which represent later additions to the *Κανὼν*’s core list of 367 localities.

Most of these missing entries are present in a ninth-century copy of the *Handy Tables*, MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPG 78, fol. 66r–73v (c.820), which omits some sections of the *Κανὼν* owing to an incomplete exemplar.¹⁶ Two entries not found here are *Armenia maior*/Kolchis and *Arabia deserti*/Thapsacus, which instead appear in MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26,

¹¹ On the Greek manuscript transmission, see RENATE BURRI, *Die »Geographie« des Ptolemaios im Spiegel der griechischen Handschriften*, de Gruyter, Berlin 2013 (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, 110); OLIVIER DEFAUX, *The Iberian Peninsula in Ptolemy’s Geography: Origins of the Coordinates and Textual History*, Edition Topoi, Berlin 2017 (Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, 51), p. 57–126.

¹² On the arrival of the first Greek manuscript of the *Geography* in Florence, see PATRICK GAUTIER DALCHÉ, « The Reception of Ptolemy’s *Geography* (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century) », in DAVID WOODWARD (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. III: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2007, p. 285–364 (287–290); GAUTIER DALCHÉ, *La Géographie*, p. 145–160.

¹³ FLORIAN MITTENHUBER, LUTZ KOCH, « Der handschriftliche Bestand des ptolemäischen *Kanons* bedeutender Städte und sein Verhältnis zur *Geographie* », *Museum Helveticum*, 66 (2009), p. 29–58. See also ANNE TIHON, « Les *Tables faciles* de Ptolémée dans les manuscrits en onciale (IX^e–X^e siècles) », *Revue d’histoire des textes*, 22 (1992), p. 47–87.

¹⁴ DAVID H. WRIGHT, « The Date of the Vatican Illuminated *Handy Tables* of Ptolemy and of its Early Additions », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 78 (1985), p. 355–362; DIETER BLUME, MECHTILD HAFNER, WOLFGANG METZGER, *Sternbilder des Mittelalters: Der gemalte Himmel zwischen Wissenschaft und Phantasie*, vol. I: 800–1200, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 2012, p. 469–476.

¹⁵ A transcription is found in ERNST HONIGMANN, *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Geographie und Astrologie im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Winter, Heidelberg 1929, p. 193–208.

¹⁶ For a transcription, see HONIGMANN, *Die sieben Klimata*, p. 209–224.

fol. 51r–54r, an incomplete fourteenth-century copy of the *Κανὼν* inserted into a ninth-century codex. It gives the same corrupt value for the longitude of Kolchis (71;30° instead of 75;30°) as found in *F*. It would appear, then, that the second coordinate table in *F* ultimately stems from a Greek copy of the *Κανὼν* that was related to a shared ancestor of the *Leidensis* and *Laurentianus*.

The transfer of Ptolemaic geographic data from Greek into Latin that gave rise to *F*'s second list has left traces also in some other astronomical manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, as seen from the sigla added in Tab. 2. A particularly extensive selection from *F*'s Ptolemaic coordinates can be encountered in *P*, where they were added by a contemporary hand to a late thirteenth-century copy of the familiar Toledan coordinate list. These additions comprise 19 consecutive entries, the first 17 of which represent a continuous block from the left column of Tab. 1, from Pisa to Segesta. The scribe added two more entries from the second column, *Antiochia* and *Mezza* (which is here spelled *Metza*). A noteworthy feature of *P*'s list is that it supplies the longitude of *Reate* (here spelled *Reace*) that is missing from *F*, giving it as 35;0°. In the case of *Neapolis*/Naples, the original longitude was erased and replaced with 36°.

M is a coordinate table from the first half of the fourteenth century recording a total of 39 localities. Its first 19 entries differ from the additions in *P* only insofar as *Reate* and *Tarrachina* are omitted and *Antiochia* and *Mezza* are separated from the rest by two intruders stemming from the conventional Toledan list (*Tyrus* and *Karmelus*).

F's coordinates for Ancona, Naples, Ravenna, Benevento, Aquileia, Syracuse, and Capua are all preserved identically in *V*₁, an eclectic fourteenth-century list of geographic coordinates boasting 51 entries. A large share of its entries refers to localities in Italy, which matches this manuscript's likely region of origin.¹⁷

The tables in *V*₂ assemble over 150 sets of coordinates copied in the mid-to-late fourteenth century.¹⁸ Coordinates identical or close to those in *F* are here offered for Antioch, Aquileia, *Arabia deserta*, *Armenia maior*, Athens, Benevento, Brindisi, [Cesaria] *Capadocia*, Capua, Catania, Corinth, Ephesus, Mesopotamia, and *Sualterra*/Béziers. For Naples, we find the same altered longitude as in *P* (36°).

¹⁷ This table is reproduced in JOSÉ CHABÁS, BERNARD R. GOLDSTEIN, *A Survey of European Astronomical Tables in the Late Middle Ages*, Brill, Leiden 2012 (Time, Astronomy, and Calendars: Texts and Studies, 2), p. 202.

¹⁸ Brief remarks on fol. 132r appear in FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 10, *Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland: Historische Darstellung, Teil 1*, Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main 2000, p. 248. For a description of the codex, see DAVID JUSTE, « MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5311 » (update: 24.01.2022), Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Manuscripts, URL = <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/ms/237>.

While *F* preserves a much fuller set of Ptolemaic coordinates than any of the other manuscripts just mentioned, there are no good reasons to consider this manuscript the point of origin of the Latin list reproduced in Tab. 1. Circumstantial evidence pointing towards an earlier archetype is offered by the *Summa de astris*, a lengthy treatise on astronomy and astrology in three books by the Italian Dominican Gerard of Feltre. The work contains a description of the great comet of July/October 1264 (bk. 1, dist. 23, c. 2) and repeatedly refers to 1264 as the present year (bk. 1, dist. 2 and 11). A reference to the beginning of the Arabic lunar year on 12 October 1265 in the future tense (bk. 1, dist. 1: *incipiet annus Arabum*) indicates that Gerard had finished writing before this date.¹⁹

The first book includes a section on geographic latitude (bk. 1, dist. 8), to which Gerard added a tabular list of the coordinates of c.40 localities, apparently drawn from a variety of sources. In most copies, this list concludes with Antioch, Brindisi, Syracuse, Ravenna, and Ancona.²⁰ The longitude is in each instance the same as in *F*, even in the case of Ravenna, where Gerard's list reproduces the conspicuously erroneous value of 34;44°. His latitudes, however, are different. According to the thirteenth-century copy of the *Summa* in MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 245 inf., fol. 7r, Antioch is at 51;30° (here corrected from 53;30°; *F*: 35;30°), Brindisi at 43° (*F*: 39°), Syracuse at 38;20° (*F*: 37°), Ravenna at 45° (*F*: 44°), and Ancona at 44° (*F*:

¹⁹ The *Summa de astris* is extant in the following MSS: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, A 593, fol. 1r–96v (bk. 1–3.23; s. XIII^{2/2}); Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 610, fol. 295r–311r (bk. 1; s. XV); London, Wellcome Library, 308, fol. 1r–115v (bk. 1–2; s. XV^{2/2}); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 245 inf., fol. 1ra–45rb (bk. 1–2.6, 3.10–end; s. XIII^{ex}); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7434, fol. 1r–12v (bk. 1.12 [end]–2.3 [beginning]; s. XIII^{2/2}); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3097, fol. 23r–50v (bk. 3; s. XIV^{2/2}); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1388, fol. 37r–110r (bk. 1–2; a. 1478). The two prologues and dist. 19 of bk. 3 are reproduced and discussed in MARTIN GRABMANN, « Die 'Summa de astris' des Gerhard von Feltre O.P. », *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 11 (1941), p. 51–82, repr. as chapter 13 in IDEM, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, vol. 3, Hueber, Munich 1956, p. 254–272. Dist. 23 of bk. 1 is edited in LYNN THORNDIKE, *Latin Treatises on Comets between 1238 and 1368 A.D.*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1950, p. 190–195. The contents of bk. 3 are summarized in THORNDIKE, « A Hitherto Unnoticed Criticism of Astrology: *Liber de reprobatione iudiciorum astrologiae* », *Isis*, 31 (1939), p. 68–78 (without knowledge of Gerard's authorship); MARIA SOROKINA, « Un tournant dans la critique de l'astrologie? La *Summa de astris* de Gérard de Feltre », *Philosophical Readings*, 7 (2015), p. 71–92. Further discussions of this work appear in THORNDIKE, *Latin Treatises*, 185–190; PAOLA ZAMBELLI, *The Speculum Astronomiae and Its Enigma: Astrology, Theology and Science in Albertus Magnus and his Contemporaries*, Kluwer, Dordrecht 1992 (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 135), p. 51–59; MARIA SOROKINA, « Une source inconnue de la *Disputatio contra iudicium astrologorum* de Marsile Ficin: la *Summa de astris* de Gérard de Feltre », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 21 (2015), p. 169–189; SOROKINA, *Les sphères, les astres et les théologiens: l'influence céleste entre science et foi dans les commentaires des Sentences* (v. 1200–v. 1340), 2 vol., Brepols, Turnhout 2021 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 5), vol. I, p. 398, 440–444, 450.

²⁰ MSS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 245 inf., fol. 7r; Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 610, fol. 301v; London, Wellcome Library, 308, fol. 30r–v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1388, fol. 56v.

43;1°). Gerard's list also includes the coordinates of Pisa, for which it gives the same latitude as *F* but shortens the longitude to 33° (*F*: 33;30°). Another noteworthy item on this list is Zaragoza (*Cesaraugusta*), which according to Gerard has a longitude of 14;30° and a latitude of 41;30°. These values correspond exactly to those in the Ptolemaic *Κανὼν*, which raises the possibility that they were also included in the archetype that preceded *F*.

A possible sign of Gerard's influence on later geographic lists is the inclusion of the same set of Zaragoza coordinates in *V*₂. One can also find stand-alone copies of his list in two Italian manuscripts: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 303, fol. 4v (s. XIV) and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3124, fol. 148r (s. XV). The latter codex offers an augmented rendition of Gerard's list, whose additions include Naples, Capua, and Catania. In each case, the coordinates given here are identical to those in *F*.

To summarize: the tables of geographic coordinates in *F* (fol. 250v–251r) confront us with a hitherto unknown case of a medieval Greek-to-Latin transfer of material stemming from the *Κανὼν πόλεων ἐπισήμων* in Ptolemy's *Handy Tables*. This transfer appears to have taken place before 1264 and continued to influence Latin coordinate tables and lists well into the fourteenth century. The Ptolemaic *Κανὼν* would have been of interest to Latin astronomers for covering far more of the (Greek and Latin) Christian world than did the Islamic list known from the Toledan Tables, which may explain the juxtaposition of Toledan and Ptolemaic data one witnesses in *F*. At the same time, one should consider the possibility that the second list in *F* descends from a more extensive Latin list of Ptolemaic coordinates that originally circulated independently from the Toledan Tables. The presence of Zaragoza in a geographic table compiled by Gerard of Feltre in 1264/65 would seem to point in this direction. Whether this larger list was itself assembled for astronomical purposes, or for some other reason (possibly cartographic), remains a matter of speculation.

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L'‘ESEGESI TOPICA’ DI PIETRO ABELARDO NEL *COMMENTO ALL’EPISTOLA AI ROMANI* (11, 16–24)

PETER ABELARD’S ‘TOPICAL EXEGESIS’
IN THE *COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS* (11, 16–24)

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Abstract

Sebbene molti contributi abbiano posto in evidenza la struttura dialettica presente nelle opere teologiche di Abelardo, sorprende la completa assenza di studi relativi all’impiego dei *luoghi dialettici* a servizio del discorso teologico. Pertanto, il presente studio intende avviare una riflessione in merito a questo specifico aspetto dell’opera del maestro palatino, allo scopo di illustrare la modalità con cui i luoghi dialettici esposti in sede logica siano stati successivamente messi a servizio dell’esegesi del testo sacro. Le mie conclusioni sono che ‘l’esegesi topica’ esprime lo spazio di autonomia assegnato alla ragione umana in cerca di un fondamento, se non razionale almeno ragionevole, dell’alto grado di verosimiglianza di quanto trasmesso dalla Rivelazione.

Parole Chiave

Pietro Abelardo, Topica, Epistola ai Romani, esegesi topica

Abstract

Although many scholars have stressed the dialectical structure of Peter Abelard’s theological works, the total absence of studies concerning the use of dialectical topics into his theological discourse is surprising. Therefore, this study aims to draw attention on this specific aspect of Abelard’s theological works, in order to illustrate the way in which the dialectical topics, exposed in a logical context, were subsequently put into service of the Sacred Scripture to explore its sense. My conclusions are that the ‘topical exegesis’ represents the space of autonomy assigned to human reason in search of a foundation, if not rational at least reasonable, of the high degree of verisimilitude of Revelation’s content.

Key Words

Peter Abelard, Topics, Epistle to the Romans, Topical exegesis.



I. Introduzione

« Tutta la scrittura divina, alla maniera di un discorso retorico, intende insegnare o esortare ».¹ L'esordio con cui Abelardo apre il prologo al *Commento all'Epistola ai Romani* di san Paolo sembra indicare da subito il criterio ermeneutico adottato per l'esegesi del testo sacro, in pieno ossequio alla lezione impartita da Agostino nel *De doctrina christiana*: l'eloquenza degli autori sacri è essa stessa manifestazione dell'eloquenza divina; la Sapienza divina, infatti, rivelandosi all'uomo, ha impiegato tutti gli strumenti di cui il linguaggio umano è dotato.² Pertanto, la Sacra Scrittura « insegna quando proclama ciò che deve essere fatto o evitato, ma esorta con le sue sacre ammonizioni o dissuadendo, quando distoglie la nostra volontà dalle cose malvagie, o persuadendo, quando la dirige verso cose buone, affinché desideriamo adempiere quelle cose che abbiamo appreso che debbano essere adempiute, o affinché desideriamo evitare le cose contrarie ».³ Tale scopo è peraltro il medesimo che Abelardo ascrive a se stesso quando redige il suo commento (scritto prima del 1134), destinato con ogni probabilità a istruire i

¹ PIETRO ABELARDO (in seguito: ABELARDO), *Commentaria in epistolam ad Romanos* (in seguito: *Comm. Rom.*), PL 178, 783A, ed. ÉLOI MARIE BUYTAERT, Brepols, Turnhout 1969 (CCCM, 11), p. 41, 5–6: « Omnis scriptura divina more orationis rhetoricae aut docere intendit aut monere ». Traduzioni mie laddove non è specificata una fonte. Cf. anche ID., *Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos – Römerbriefkommentar*, ed. ROLF PEPPERMÜLLER, 3 vol., Herder, Freiburg 2000. Si è preferito seguire Peppermüller che corregge Buytaert nel leggere *monere* anziché *movere* nella citazione in oggetto. La prima e a tutt'oggi unica traduzione in lingua moderna è quella di Steven Cartwright: cf. PETER ABELARD, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, ed. STEVEN R. CARTWRIGHT, Catholic University of America Press, Washington 2011. Lo studio più completo sul *Commento all'Epistola ai Romani* di Abelardo rimane quello di Peppermüller: cf. ROLF PEPPERMÜLLER, *Abaelards Auslegung des Römerbriefes*, Aschendorff, Munich 1972 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, N. F. 10); cf. anche ID., « Exegetische Traditionen und Theologische Neuansätze in Abaelards Kommentar zum Römerbrief », in ÉLOI MARIE BUYTAERT (ed.), *Peter Abelard. Proceedings of the International Conference (Louvain, May 10–12 1971)*, Leuven University Press–M. Nijhoff, Leuven–The Hague 1974 (Medievalia Lovaniensia, Serie I. Studia, 2), p. 116–126; STEVEN R. CARTWRIGHT, « The Romans Commentaries of William of St. Thierry and Peter Abelard: A Theological and Methodological Comparison », Ph.D. Diss., Western Michigan University, 2001; ID., *Twelfth-Century Pauline Exegesis: William of St. Thierry's Monastic Rhetoric and Peter Abelard's Scholastic Logic*, in STEVEN R. CARTWRIGHT (ed.), *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2013 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition), p. 205–234.

² Cf. AGOSTINO D'IPPONA, *De doctrina christiana*, PL 34, 15–121, ed. JOSEPH MARTIN, Brepols, Turnhout 1962 (CCSL, 32), p. 1–167, IV, 6, 10.

³ ABELARDO, *Comm. Rom.*, PL 178, 783A, p. 41, 6–10: « docet quippe dum quae fieri vel vitari oportet insinuat, monet autem dum sacris admonitionibus suis voluntatem nostram vel dissuadendo retrahit a malis vel persuadendo applicat bonis, ut iam videlicet implere velimus quae implenda esse didicimus, vel vitare contraria ».

chierici secolari della scuola cattedrale di Sainte Geneviève di Parigi, nella quale egli allora insegnava.⁴

Nonostante il ruolo di preminenza manifestamente assegnato alla retorica, come stile di comunicazione privilegiato mediante cui l'eloquenza divina si sarebbe rivelata, recenti studi hanno ormai messo definitivamente in evidenza come Abelardo, per interpretare e spiegare il significato della *divina pagina*, non abbia quasi mai impiegato gli strumenti della retorica, ma abbia piuttosto preferito utilizzare la dialettica tanto per chiarire il significato del testo paolino quanto per corroborare, attraverso l'indagine razionale, la verità delle asserzioni enunciate dall'apostolo. Ciò non potrà di certo stupire lo studioso che si sia soffermato a considerare l'imponente presenza della dialettica nel resto della produzione teologica abelardiana.⁵

Ciò detto, rimane vero che l'utilizzo della dialettica nel commento al testo paolino è di gran lunga inferiore rispetto a quello che è possibile riscontrare nei suoi trattati teologici, nondimeno, egli ricorre sistematicamente agli strumenti della dialettica sia per dimostrare la verità o la falsità delle proposizioni sia per chiarire il significato del testo sacro attraverso l'uso di distinzioni, definizioni, analogie, *quaestiones*, sillogismi, nonché attraverso l'impiego dei *loci*, letteralmente *luoghi* di natura dialettica e dunque logica. Ora, sebbene molti contributi abbiano posto in evidenza la struttura dialettica presente nelle sue opere teologiche, sorprende invece la completa assenza di studi relativi all'impiego dei *luoghi* dialettici a servizio del discorso teologico. Eppure nessuno studioso metterebbe

⁴ La datazione del *Commento all'Epistola ai Romani* di Abelardo è tutt'oggi ancora incerta, gli studiosi non hanno, infatti, ancora raggiunto un parere unanime. Per la datazione e il luogo di composizione, cf. JEAN COTTIAUX, « La conception de la théologie chez Abélard », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 28 (1932), p. 247–295, qui p. 268; CONSTANT J. MEWS, « On Dating the Works of Peter Abelard », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 52 (1985), p. 73–134, qui p. 132.

⁵ Il termine 'dialettica' è qui impiegato nel senso di 'logica'. Per un elenco completo di tutti gli strumenti della dialettica impiegati da Abelardo nel *Commento alla Epistola ai Romani*, cf. CARTWRIGHT, *The Romans Commentaries*, p. 127–172. Numerosi sono i contributi scientifici che hanno ormai messo in evidenza l'esatto ruolo che Abelardo assegna a quest'arte una volta impiegata a servizio del discorso teologico. Lo studio sinora più completo è quello di Jean Jolivet: cf. JEAN JOLIVET, *Arts du langage et théologie chez Abélard*, Vrin, Paris 1982. Cf. anche JOËL BIARD (ed.), *Langage, sciences, philosophie au XIIe siècle*. Actes de la Table ronde internationale (25–26 mars 1998), Vrin, Paris 1999; PETER VON MOOS, *Literary Aesthetics in the Latin Middle Ages: The Rhetorical Theology of Peter Abelard*, in CONSTANT J. MEWS, CARY J. NEDERMAN, RODNEY M. THOMSON (eds.), *Rhetoric and Renewal in the Latin West 1100–1540. Essays in Honour of John O. Ward*, Brepols, Turnhout 2003, p. 81–98; LUISA VALENTE (ed.), *Logique et théologie. Les écoles parisiennes entre 1150–1220*, Vrin, Paris 2008; IRÈNE ROSIER-CATACH (ed.), *Arts du langage et théologie aux confins des XIe et XIIe siècles. Textes, maitres, débats*, Brepols, Turnhout 2011. Il ricorso agli strumenti della dialettica nel commento al testo paolino risulta di gran lunga inferiore rispetto a quello che è possibile riscontrare nei suoi trattati teologici; nondimeno, Abelardo impiega tali strumenti sia per dimostrare la verità o la falsità delle proposizioni, sia per chiarire il significato del testo sacro attraverso l'uso di distinzioni, definizioni, analogie, *quaestiones*, sillogismi e *luoghi* dialettici.

mai in dubbio la grande importanza riservata da Abelardo alla topica, cui egli ha dedicato ben due monografie.⁶

Il presente studio intende allora avviare una riflessione in merito a questo specifico aspetto dell'opera del maestro palatino, allo scopo di illustrare la modalità con cui i *luoghi* dialettici esposti in sede logica siano stati successivamente messi a servizio dell'esegesi del testo sacro. In mancanza di un quadro generale di riferimento formulato da parte della critica di cui potersi giovare, il presente contributo, molto più modestamente, propone l'esame, tra i tanti, del *luogo dal minore* (*locus a minori*) assegnato da Abelardo all'argomentazione paolina esposta al versetto ventiquattro del capitolo undicesimo dell'*Epistola ai Romani*.⁷ Per comprendere appieno il significato di questa espressione (*a minori*), sarà prima necessario capire che cosa sia un *luogo* dialettico partendo dalla teoria dell'inferenza topica da lui formulata; successivamente si passerà ad esaminare la strategia argomentativa espressa dal *luogo dal minore*; ciò consentirà, infine, di ritornare allo studio del commento abelardiano e di comprendere l'argomentazione paolina sulla base del *luogo dal minore* ad essa assegnata. Tale esame consentirà di rilevare altresì la sostanziale linea di continuità che collega Abelardo a Boezio: malgrado l'esplicito richiamo, nell'esordio al commento, al programma agostiniano, relativamente alla volontà di interpretare il testo sacro «alla maniera di un discorso retorico» (*more orationis rethoricae*), l'impiego e lo

⁶ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, ed. LAMBERT M. DE RIJK, Van Gorcum, Assen 1970; Id., *Super Topica Glossae*, in Id., *Scritti di logica*, ed. MARIO DAL PRA, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1969, p. 205–330.

⁷ Si tenga presente che i maestri dell'XI e della prima metà del XII secolo tendono a identificare l'esegesi con la teologia. Per ciò che riguarda la storia dell'esegesi, il XII secolo segna un'epoca di rinascita, laddove il maggior interesse si concentra proprio sul commento all'*Epistola ai Romani*, che ben si presta ad essere indagata con gli strumenti forniti dalle arti liberali, in special modo la dialettica e la retorica, sulla base della rigorosa struttura logica dell'argomentare paolino. Cf. *La Bibbia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1963 (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi dell'Alto Medioevo, 10); BERYL SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Blackwell, Oxford 1984³; GILLIAN ROSEMARY EVANS, *The Language and Logic of the Bible the Earlier Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1984. In particolare per ciò che riguarda i commenti medievali alla *Lettera ai Romani*, cf. WILLIAM S. CAMPBELL, PETER S. HAWKINS, BRENDA DEEN SCHILDGEN (eds.), *Medieval Readings of Romans*, T&T Clark International, New York 2007 (Romans Through History and Cultures Series); *A Companion to St. Paul* cit. Numerosi sono gli autori del XII secolo, contemporanei dunque ad Abelardo, ad aver scritto un commento all'*Epistola ai Romani*: Lanfanco di Pavia († 1089), Bruno di Colonia (c. 1030–1101), Anselm di Laon († 1117), Radulfo di Laon († 1131), Guglielmo di Saint Thierry (1075–1148), Gilberto di Poitiers († 1154), Herveus di Bourg-Dieu († c. 1150) e Pietro Lombardo († 1160), mentre Roberto di Melun (c. 1100–1167) scrive le *Quaestiones de Epistulis Pauli*. Cf. HEINRICH DENIFLE, *Die abendlandischen Schriftausleger bis Euther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1,17) und Justificatio*, Kirchheim, Mainz 1905; P. CESLAS SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exegese latine au Moyen Age*, Vrin, Paris 1944 (Bibliothèque Thomiste, 26), p. 399–400; WERNER AFFELDT, *Die weltliche Gewalt in der Paulus-Exegese. Rom. 13,1–7 in den Romerbriefskomentaren der lateinischen Kirche bis zum Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1969.

studio dei luoghi dialettici come strumento di esegesi del testo sacro lascia piuttosto intravedere la concezione della retorica che Abelardo in fondo sente di interpretare, una concezione da ricollegare non tanto alla tradizione discendente da Agostino quanto a quella derivante da Boezio, laddove, com'è noto, per il filosofo romano l'intera retorica è contenuta nella dialettica.

II. *Il commento all'Epistola ai Romani (Rm 11, 16-24)*

Il capitolo undicesimo dell'*Epistola ai Romani* costituisce l'apice dell'argomentazione retorica in cui san Paolo annuncia la salvezza finale di tutto Israele, a fronte del fatto che non tutti gli Ebrei hanno accettato il vangelo annunciato da Cristo.⁸ La progressione del discorso avviene in tre tappe: all'inizio del capitolo undicesimo Paolo annuncia che Dio non ha ripudiato il suo popolo perché esiste un *resto* (di Ebrei) che ha invece accolto la grazia venuta con Cristo (vv. 1-10); l'apostolo prosegue con il chiarire che non vi è in effetti nessuna caduta o separazione definitiva per coloro che non hanno accettato tale grazia (vv. 11-21); infine, egli conclude annunciando che l'indurimento degli Ebrei non ancora convertiti finirà quando avrà luogo l'ingresso pieno di tutte le nazioni (vv. 25-32), solo allora tutto Israele sarà salvato. In particolare ai versetti 16-24 Paolo rivolge un ammonimento ai pagani convertiti al cristianesimo che rigettano le radici ebraiche della loro fede e, allo scopo di enfatizzare il vincolo definitivo che li lega alla fede dei Patriarchi, utilizza un'allegoria ripresa dal campo dell'arboricoltura:

Se le primizie sono sante, lo sarà anche l'impasto; se è santa la radice, lo saranno anche i rami. Se però alcuni rami sono stati tagliati e tu, che sei un olivo selvatico, sei stato innestato fra loro, diventando così partecipe della radice e della linfa dell'olivo, non vantarti contro i rami! Se ti vantì, ricordati che non sei tu che porti la radice, ma è la radice che porta te. Dirai certamente: i rami sono stati tagliati perché io vi fossi innestato! Bene; essi però sono stati tagliati per mancanza di fede, mentre tu rimani innestato grazie alla fede. Tu non insuperbirti, ma abbi timore! Se infatti Dio non ha risparmiato quelli che erano rami naturali, tanto meno risparmierà te! Considera dunque la bontà e la severità di Dio: la severità verso quelli che sono caduti; verso di te invece la bontà di Dio, a condizione però che tu sia fedele a questa bontà. Altrimenti anche tu verrai tagliato via. Anch'essi, se non persevereranno nell'incredulità, saranno innestati; Dio infatti ha il potere di innestarli di nuovo! Se tu infatti, dall'olivo selvatico, che eri secondo la tua natura, sei stato tagliato via e, contro natura, sei stato innestato su un olivo buono,

⁸ Soltanto di recente si è posta reale attenzione all'esistenza di un modello retorico nell'argomentare paolino, tale da lasciar presumere che l'apostolo sia stato iniziato ai rudimenti della retorica greca. Cf. JEAN-NOËL ALETTI, « La présence d'un modèle rhétorique en Romains. Son rôle et son importance », *Biblica*, 71 (1990), p. 1-24; ID., « La dispositio rhétorique dans les épîtres pauliniennes: propositions de méthode », *Journal of the Study of the New Testament Studies*, 38 (1992), p. 385-401; ID., *La lettera ai Romani e la giustizia di Dio*, Borla, Roma 1997.

quanto più essi, che sono della medesima natura, potranno venire di nuovo innestati sul proprio olivo!⁹

Per comprendere l'allegoria è necessario innanzitutto ricorrere ad alcune nozioni base di arboricoltura relativamente alla tecnica dell'innesto, di cui Paolo è sicuramente a conoscenza. Tale tecnica consiste nell'unire tra loro tessuti di piante della stessa specie. Nella prima parte dell'allegoria abbiamo due olivi, un olivo selvatico (chiamato anche oleastro) e un olivo buono perché coltivato. Di norma si innesta un ramo di un olivo coltivato sul tronco di un olivo selvatico, affinché l'olivo selvatico possa col tempo prendere le caratteristiche dell'olivo coltivato. La simbologia dell'allegoria paolina rappresenta tuttavia un innesto rovesciato, in essa infatti si dice che i rami dell'olivo coltivato sono stati tagliati – essi rappresentano gli Ebrei che non hanno creduto perché non hanno accettato il Messia; al loro posto sono stati innestati i rami di un olivo selvatico – ovvero i pagani che si sono convertiti e hanno accolto il vangelo, affinché diventassero partecipi della radice e della linfa dell'olivo buono. Secondo l'interpretazione esegetica moderna più accreditata, il legame istituito tra i rami selvatici e la nuova radice santa dell'olivo buono indica il vincolo intangibile che, nella concezione paolina, lega i cristiani provenienti dal paganesimo ad Abramo, simbolo della fede; in buona sostanza, i pagani convertiti non possono rinnegare le proprie radici, pena la perdita della loro fede e della loro stessa identità; come dire che non potrà mai esserci una fede piena nel vangelo se non ancorandosi saldamente alla fede di Abramo. Abramo, infatti, è la radice santa a partire dalla quale gli Ebrei che non hanno fede (i rami dell'olivo buono) sono stati recisi, mentre i pagani che hanno creduto (i rami dell'olivo selvatico) sono stati innestati.

Tuttavia, l'ebreo che non crede in Cristo (i rami recisi dell'olivo buono) continua a essere « per natura » compartecipe della pianta da cui è stato separato. Nella seconda parte dell'allegoria si trova, infatti, l'annuncio positivo della futura reintegrazione dell'Israele *indurito*: se Dio ha già compiuto l'impossibile, ossia far diventare i pagani figli di Abramo (l'innesto dei rami dell'olivo selvatico sulla radice nobile e feconda dell'albero coltivato), tanto più Egli potrà salvare anche gli Ebrei ancora increduli (ossia reinnestare i rami naturali sul proprio olivo coltivato,

⁹ *Vulg., Rm 11, 16-24*: « Quod si delibatio sancta est, et massa: et si radix sancta, et rami. Quod si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt, tu autem cum oleaster esses, insertus es in illis, et socius radices, et pinguidinis olivae factus es. Noli gloriari adversus ramos. Quod si gloriaris: non tu radicem portas, sed radix te. Dices ergo: fracti sunt rami ut ego inserar. Bene: propter incredulitatem fracti sunt. Tu autem fide stas: noli altum sapere, sed time. Si enim Deus naturalibus ramis non pepercit: ne forte nec tibi parcat. Vide ergo bonitatem, et severitatem Dei: in eos quidem qui ceciderunt, severitatem: in te autem bonitatem Dei, si permanseris in bonitate, alioquin et tu excideris. Sed et illi, si non permanserint in incredulitate, inserentur: potens est enim Deus iterum inserere illos. Nam si tu ex naturali excisus es oleastro, et contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam: quanto magis hii secundum naturam inserentur suae olivae? ».

secondo la natura della propria radice). Dio ha già compiuto una prima operazione contro natura, e poiché a Dio nulla è impossibile, Egli può certamente compiere un'operazione ancora più straordinaria, priva di riscontri nel campo dell'arboricoltura, in quanto rami ormai recisi e rinsecchiti potranno rivivere perché reinnestati nel proprio albero.¹⁰

Quando Abelardo realizza il suo commento al testo paolino ha già portato a termine le grandi opere logiche e ha frequentato la scuola teologica di Laon circa vent'anni prima, l'unica occasione in cui si è misurato con un metodo di scuola. Composto da un prologo e quattro libri, lo scopo del commento è a un tempo dottrinale e morale, in quanto l'obiettivo è quello di spiegare il testo sacro soprattutto attraverso l'uso della dialettica, e indicarne la sua applicazione pratica nell'ambito della fede. Relativamente all'argomentazione paolina ora esaminata, Abelardo ne coglie perfettamente la struttura e le assegna il *locus* dialettico chiamato *a minori*:

E questo è ciò che si dimostra *dal minore* dicendo: se tu infatti gentile [cristiano] dall'olivo selvatico secondo la tua natura, cioè dall'albero infecondo del popolo gentile sei stato reciso e sei stato aggiunto contro natura, cioè in modo opposto al modo di innestare. Perché né gli alberi infruttuosi sono soliti essere innestati sui fruttuosi né gli alberi selvatici [solo soliti essere innestati] sui domestici, né un ramo [innestato] è solito produrre i frutti della radice ma [esso è solito produrre frutti] della propria natura. Quanto più essi [gli Ebrei], cioè quanto più facilmente essi secondo la natura della propria radice saranno innestati sul proprio olivo, da cui naturalmente sono stati generati.¹¹

Secondo un sistema di citazione ampiamente adottato nei compendi manualistici tardo-antichi, e così trasmesso al Medioevo fino all'età moderna, l'indicazione del

¹⁰ Cf. MYLES M. BOURKE, *A Study of Metaphor of the Olive Tree in Romans 11*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington 1947; WILLIAM D. DAVIES, *Paul and the Gentiles: A Suggestion Concerning Romans 11:13-24*, in Id. (ed.), *Pauline and Jewish Studies*, Fortress, Philadelphia 1984, p. 153-163 e 356-360; ALAN G. BAXTER, JOHN A. ZIESLER, « Paul and Arboriculture: Romans 11,17-24 », *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 24 (1985), p. 25-32; CHRISTIAN PAPWORTH, « Paul, the Olive Tree, and the Wild Olive Branch », *Center for Hermeneutical Studies Protocol*, 60 (1990), p. 54-59; ALETTI, *La lettera ai Romani*, p. 170-198; JOHN C. T. HAVEMANN, « Cultivated Olive Tree – Wild Olive: The Olive Tree Metaphor in Romans 11: 16,24 », *Neot*, 31 (1997), p. 87-106; PAUL J. MAARTENS, « Inference and Relevance in Paul's Allegory of the Wild Olive Tree », *Theological Studies*, 53 (1997), p. 1000-1029; PHILIP F. ESLER, « Ancient Oleiculture and Ethnic Differentiation: The Meaning of the Olive-Tree Image in Romans 11 », *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 26 (2003), p. 103-124.

¹¹ ABELARDO, *Comm. Rom.*, PL 178, 933A, IV, p. 264, 288-296: « Et hoc est quod a minori ostendit dicens: NAM SI TU gentilis EXCISUS ES EX OLEASTRO tibi NATURALI, id est ex arbore infecunda gentilis populi assumptus CONTRA NATURAM, id est consuetudinem inserendi. Neque enim infructuosae arbores inseri solent fructuosis neque silvestres domesticis, nec surculus fructus radice ferre solet sed propriae naturae. QUANTO MAGIS, id est quanto facilius SECUNDUM NATURAM suae originis INSERENTUR SUAE OLIVAE, ex qua videlicet nati fuerunt ».

luogo avviene utilizzando semplicemente la locuzione latina – in questo caso – *a minori*, forma abbreviata di *locus a minori*, o anche *argumentum a minori*. Ma cosa significa esattamente questa espressione? Per comprenderne il significato è necessario interrogare i testi in cui Abelardo ha spiegato cosa sia un *luogo* e quale sia la sua funzione.

III. La teoria dell'inferenza topica secondo Abelardo

Per Abelardo la logica, sostanzialmente identificata con la dialettica, ha come scopo la costruzione del discorso vero o scientifico attraverso un attento discernimento da quello falso.¹² Ereditando la terminologia risalente alla tradizione ciceroniana, trasmessa per il tramite di Boezio, Abelardo chiama la dialettica *ratio disserendi*, 'teoria del discorrere', accettandone anche la distinzione in *ars inveniendi*, 'arte del trovare' gli argomenti – anche chiamata *topica*, mediante la quale è possibile reperire i principi da cui ogni forma di ragionamento deve necessariamente discendere, ovvero le premesse su cui poggia ogni tipo di argomentazione – e *ars iudicandi*, 'arte del giudicare' gli argomenti, le cui regole servono invece a verificare la correttezza formale con cui, da tali premesse, è possibile giungere alle conclusioni. Lo scopo ultimo della dialettica è la costruzione di argomentazioni, tant'è che il problema principale di un dialettico, di un retore o di un filosofo è di arrivare a formulare argomentazioni con cui dimostrare la tesi che egli vuole sostenere o confutare la tesi contraria. Ora, la sillogistica e la topica servono essenzialmente a questo scopo, poiché sono strumenti mediante cui è possibile costruire argomentazioni. Di per sé un'argomentazione, avendo di mira la dimostrazione, non è altro che l'enunciazione di un'inferenza, anche chiamata *deduzione*. Secondo Abelardo, un'inferenza è a sua volta *perfetta* quando è espressa attraverso un sillogismo categorico o un sillogismo ipotetico puro, quando cioè, a prescindere dalla verità del contenuto delle premesse, il termine medio consente dal punto di vista formale il passaggio dalle premesse alla conclusione, laddove la perfezione si riferisce unicamente alla struttura formale (*perfectio constructionis*) con cui le premesse e la conclusione sono tra loro connesse (*complexio terminorum*).¹³ L'inferenza è di contro *imperfetta* quando, non essendovi il termine medio che ne assicuri la correttezza formale, essa necessita di essere garantita a partire dall'analisi del contenuto semantico dei termini che la compongono e del

¹² Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 121, 4-7; p. 152, 26-28; p. 278, 16-18, p. 286, 31-34. Cf. anche MARIA TERESA BEONIO-BROCCHIERI FUMAGALLI, *La logica di Abelardo*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1969; EAD., *Introduzione ad Abelardo*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1974.

¹³ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 253, 31-254, 1: «Haec autem inferentia alias perfecta est, alias imperfecta. Perfecta quidem est inferentia, cum ex ipsius antecedentis complexione consequentis veritas manifesta est et antecedentis constructio ita est disposita, ut in se consequentis quoque constructionem contineat, veluti in syllogismis aut in his hypotheticis quae formas habent syllogismorum ».

loro nesso concettuale: ciò è reso possibile attraverso il ricorso ai *luoghi* dialettici.¹⁴ Questi ultimi espongono la totalità delle relazioni (*habitus*) di natura concettuale che è possibile stabilire tra tutti i termini intesi sotto il profilo universale, termini la cui imposizione si fonda in ultima istanza sulla natura stessa delle cose (*ex natura rerum*). In sintesi quindi l'inferenza sillogistica possiede una perfezione di natura formale; di contro, l'inferenza topica interviene a garantire un'argomento che difetta quanto alla forma, ma che è valido sotto il profilo materiale.¹⁵

Nell'arco della sua produzione scientifica Abelardo ha dedicato ampio spazio all'esame dei *luoghi* dialettici realizzando uno studio autonomo, esposto nel libro terzo della *Dialectica* intitolato *Topica*, e un commento analitico sotto forma di glosse al *De topicis differentiis* di Boezio (rimasto tuttavia incompleto) dal titolo *Super Topica Glossae*, ed è dunque a questi due testi che bisognerà adesso prestare attenzione per comprendere che cosa sia un *locus* e quale sia la sua funzione.¹⁶

Tanto nella *Dialectica* quanto nelle *Glossae* Abelardo definisce il *locus* attraverso la definizione ciceroniana, trasmessa da Boezio, inteso come *sedes argumenti*, « sede

¹⁴ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 255, 1–13: « Sunt autem aliae inferentiae, quae imperfectae sunt, cum videlicet una tantum propositio antecedit, etsi de eis.dem antecedentibus substracta una fiat ad uitimam inferentiam hoc modo: 'si omnis homo est animal, omnis homo est animatus' vel: 'si omnis homo est animai, nullus homo est lapis'. Quae quidem inferentiae, quamvis imperfectae sint quantum ad antecedentis constructionem, tamen necessitatem ex rerum natura saepissime tenent veluti ista quam prius posuimus de 'animali' ad 'animatum', cum videlicet natura animalis, cui animatum ut substantialis forma inest, ipsum animai praeter animationem existere nusquam patiat. Perfectio itaque necessitatis etiam in his est inferentiis, non constructionis ». Nel sillogismo categorico, una volta concesse le premesse – ad esempio 'ogni uomo è un animale' (premessa maggiore) e 'ogni animale è un essere animato' (premessa minore) – si deve necessariamente concludere 'ogni uomo è un essere animato', ciò che è possibile esemplificare dicendo 'ogni A è B', 'ogni B è C', 'quindi ogni A è C'; questa inferenza è necessaria e perfetta dal punto di vista della forma poiché è valida a prescindere dal contenuto delle sue premesse. La perfezione dell'inferenza risiede interamente nella presenza del termine medio che consente il passaggio formale dalle premesse alla conclusione. Per Abelardo, la prova della perfezione formale di un'inferenza sillogistica categorica sta nella sua 'condizionalizzazione', ovvero nella sua trasformazione in sillogismo ipotetico, laddove è possibile constatare come il valore di verità formale rimanga invariato. Ecco dunque il sillogismo ipotetico con cui è possibile esprimere il sillogismo categorico sopra esemplificato: 'se ogni uomo è un animale, e se ogni animale è un essere animato, allora ogni uomo è un essere animato', ovvero 'se ogni A è B e ogni B è C, allora ogni A è C'. La condizionalizzazione del sillogismo categorico rende ancora più evidente la qualità dell'inferenza resa possibile per il tramite del termine medio 'essere animato' ('C').

¹⁵ Cf. JOLIVET, *Arts du langage*, p. 143–74; CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, « The Logic of the Nominales », *Vivarium*, 30/1 (1992), p. 110–126; Id., *Logic*, in JEFFREY E. BROWER, KEVIN GUILFROY (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, p. 158–199; Id., *The Development of Abaelard's Theory of Topical Inference*, in JOËL BIARD, FOSCA MARIANI ZINI (eds.), *Les lieux de l'argumentation. Histoire du syllogisme topique d'Aristote à Leibniz*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009 (Studia Artistarum, 22), p. 249–270.

¹⁶ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*; Id., *Super Topica Glossae*.

dell'argomento». ¹⁷ Le metafore del *luogo* e della *sede* rimandano essenzialmente all'idea del 'contenere', perché come il luogo materiale è lo spazio fisico che accoglie in sé l'estensione di un corpo, allo stesso modo i *luoghi* dialettici sono le sedi degli argomenti, laddove questi ultimi sono a loro volta principi da cui discende ogni genere di argomentazione. Nondimeno, nell'esordio della *Dialectica* troviamo anche un'altra definizione del *luogo* inteso come *vis inferentiae*; ¹⁸ l'accento è qui posto sul carattere propriamente probativo di un *luogo*, in quanto esso esprime una regola di inferenza semantica. Seguendo da vicino Boezio, Abelardo distingue a sua volta due tipologie di *luoghi*, in riferimento a due elementi di per sé distinti della dimostrazione topica: *luogo* è tanto una *massima proposizione*, quanto la *differenza* della *massima proposizione*, chiamate rispettivamente *locus differentia* e *locus maxima*. Si tratta di strumenti di natura concettuale che consentono di attivare l'*inventio* delle argomentazioni. Il *locus differentia* è definito come « quel termine nella cui relazione a un altro termine risiede la solidità della conseguenza », ¹⁹ mentre la *maxima propositio* è « quella proposizione la quale, contenente il senso di molte conseguenze che conservano in se stesse le proprie differenze, mostra il modo comune della dimostrazione in virtù della medesima forza della relazione ». ²⁰

Per comprendere appieno il significato di queste definizioni, si osservi adesso il seguente esempio. La topica, si è detto, serve a garantire un'inferenza imperfetta che difetta quanto alla forma, sostituendo a una regola di natura formale una regola di natura concettuale. Ora le proposizioni che necessitano di essere garantite attraverso l'inferenza topica per Abelardo sono le proposizioni ipotetiche semplici, ossia le premesse maggiori di un sillogismo ipotetico misto, per esempio: « se qualcuno è un uomo, allora è un animale ». ²¹ Una proposizione

¹⁷ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 253, 21–23; Id., *Super Topica Glossae*, p. 224, 9–11.

¹⁸ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 253, 16: « Locum ergo generaliter definientes vim inferentiae dicimus ».

¹⁹ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 263, 6–8: « ea res in cuius habitudine ad aliam firmitas consecutionis consistit »; cf. Id., *Super Topica Glossae*, p. 207, 4–8: « Locus autem differentia maximae propositionis ille est qui a termino ducitur quaestionis, hoc est qui assumitur in argumentatione ad probandam quaestionem de habitudine per quam recipit terminum quaestionis ».

²⁰ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 263, 12–14: « ea propositio quae multarum consequentiarum continens sensus communem modum probationis, quam in eis suae differentiae tenent, secundum vim eiusdem habitudinis ostendit ». Cf. anche Id., *Super Topica Glossae*, p. 207, 4–8: « Sunt autem maximae propositiones regulae quaedam argumentorum, quae ad hoc institutae sunt ut secundum eas et inveniantur argumentationes et inventae confirmari possint, veluti ea quam supra posuimus: de quocumque praedicatur species, et genus ».

²¹ Il sillogismo è ipotetico quando una o entrambe le premesse sono ipotetiche, pertanto, si chiamerà 'puro' quando entrambe le premesse sono ipotetiche ('Se è A, allora è B; se è B, allora è C; quindi se è A, allora è C'); si dirà invece 'misto' quando solo premessa maggiore è ipotetica mentre la premessa minore contiene o l'affermazione dell'antecedente (*modus ponens*: 'Se è A, allora è B; ma è A, quindi è B') o la negazione del conseguente (*modus tollens*: 'se è A, allora è B; ma non è B, quindi non è A').

condizionale, infatti, è al tempo stesso una proposizione e un' inferenza, ma questa proposizione dice soltanto che una volta posto l' antecedente (« se qualcuno è un uomo ») il conseguente segue immediatamente (« allora è un animale »); in altri termini, la verità dell' antecedente mostra la verità del conseguente, o meglio il conseguente è contenuto nell' antecedente dal punto di vista del nesso logico concettuale (e non anche formale come nel caso dell' inferenza sillogistica che è perfetta): antecedente e conseguente sono dunque inseparabili. L' imperfezione formale consiste qui nell' assenza di un termine medio, l' antecedente è ancora un' ipotesi (« se ») e ha dunque bisogno di essere stabilito affermativamente affinché sia evidente il rapporto d' implicazione posto dalla condizione. Mostrare la verità della proposizione condizionale (« se qualcuno è un uomo, allora è un animale ») implica mostrare la ragione e il senso della relazione semantica che lega *uomo* ad *animale*. È lo stesso Abelardo ad indicare dettagliatamente il modo in cui la strategia topica interviene a convalidare questa inferenza:

Quando vogliamo estrarre l' inferenza di qualsiasi termine da un luogo-differenza e dalla sua massima, esaminiamo prima la relazione dello stesso luogo-differenza con la cosa che vogliamo dedurre; una volta che abbiamo conoscenza di questa relazione nei termini stessi, riflettiamo anche sulla loro modalità di inferenza; perciò designiamo una certa inferenza da una proposizione massima e componiamo immediatamente, secondo questa <massima>, una conseguenza relativa ai termini in questione; la quale <conseguenza>, quando vogliamo confermarla con la relazione del luogo-differenza e della proposizione massima, la assumiamo nella <premessa> e assegniamo ai termini stessi la relazione della stessa inferenza e, infine, concludiamo la conseguenza proposta; ad esempio, quando vogliamo stabilire la conseguenza dell' 'uomo' rispetto ad 'animale', esaminiamo prima il rapporto di questo <termine 'uomo'> con 'animale' e poiché lo avremo visto essere una specie, riflettiamo sul modo comune dell' inferenza *dalla specie al genere*, una proposizione massima che esprimiamo così: 'Di qualsiasi cosa si predica la specie si predichi anche il genere'; e in secondo luogo, per quanto riguarda i <termini> in questione, disponiamo una tale conseguenza: 'Se è un uomo, è un animale' e se qualcuno dubitava su di essa, la dimostriamo attraverso l' assegnazione della relazione e della proposizione massima che è stata già concessa, che assumiamo così: 'ma l' uomo è specie di animale', perciò è vera quella conseguenza: 'Se è un uomo, è un animale'.²²

²² ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 313, 9-29: « Cum enim ex loco differentia et maxima eius propositione quorumlibet inferentiam terminorum extrahere volumus, prius ipsius differentiae habitudinem ad rem quam inferre volumus, consideramus; utque eam in rebus ipsis cognoverimus, modum quoque inferentiae earum cogitamus; quemdam inde maxima propositione designamus, ac secundum hanc statim consequentiam de propositis rebus componimus; quam quidem cum ex loci differentiae habitudine et maxima propositione confirmare volumus, assumimus et assignamus in rebus ipsis inferentiae habitudinem ac demum propositam concludimus consequentiam; veluti cum de homine ad animal consequentiam constituere volumus, prius eius

La strategia topica richiede di avviare innanzitutto l'analisi semantica dei termini presenti nell'antecedente e nel conseguente sotto il profilo universale, laddove « uomo » è considerato come una *specie*, e si va così alla ricerca del suo *genere*, il quale è individuato nel termine presente nel conseguente, « animale ». La specie è un *luogo*, chiamato *locus differentia*, nella misura in cui conserva al suo interno una regola di inferenza universale, chiamata *proposizione massima* (*maxima propositio*) espressa in forma categorica, che afferma « di qualsiasi cosa si predica la specie si predichi anche il genere » (« de quocumque praedicatur species et genus »).²³ Una volta individuata la relazione (*habitudo*) che lega l'antecedente al conseguente, la si può applicare ai termini particolari in questione ('uomo' e 'animale'). È ora possibile disporre il tutto in modo da evidenziare con chiarezza il ruolo dei *luoghi* così intesi:

Proposizione massima (<i>locus</i>)	Di qualsiasi cosa si predica la specie si predichi anche il genere
Assegnazione del <i>locus differentia a specie</i>	ma 'uomo' è specie di 'animale'
Conclusione	quindi di qualsiasi cosa si predica 'uomo' si predichi anche 'animale' ²⁴

La premessa maggiore è interamente costituita dal *locus maxima*, mentre la premessa minore rende esplicita la modalità con cui è stata individuata la relazione tra antecedente e conseguente attraverso l'assegnazione del *locus differentia* (« assignatio loci »), quest'ultimo semplicemente chiamato a *specie* (letteralmente: *dalla specie*), mentre nella conclusione viene posta la proposizione condizionale dubbia che necessitava di essere confermata nel suo statuto di

habitudinem ad animal consideramus, et cum speciem esse viderimus, speciei ad genus communem inferentiae modum excogitamus; quem maxima propositione sic exprimimus: de quocumque praedicatur species, et genus; ac deinde talem de propositis rebus consequentiam disponimus: si est homo, est animal de qua si quis dubitaverit, eam per habitudinis assignationem et maximam propositionem quam iam concesserit, probamus sic assumentes; sed homo est species animalis quare vera est consequentia illa: si est homo, est animal. Il corsivo è mio.

²³ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 258, 27.

²⁴ La conclusione del sillogismo, « quindi di qualsiasi cosa si predica 'uomo' si predichi anche 'animale' », è equivalente alla proposizione condizionale « se qualsiasi cosa è uomo è anche animale », a sua volta equivalente a quella che afferma « se è uomo, è animale »; quest'ultima è la proposizione condizionale che, secondo Abelardo, necessitava di essere confermata, tuttavia, nel sillogismo è stato necessario convertirla sotto la forma categorica, altrimenti non sarebbe stato possibile evidenziare il ruolo che la proposizione massima e la rispettiva differenza svolgono a servizio del processo dimostrativo.

scientificità, e che può adesso andare a costituire la premessa maggiore di un sillogismo ipotetico misto.

Attraverso i *luoghi* dialettici è stato dunque possibile confermare la *consecutio* espressa dalla proposizione condizionale, svelando il principio (*locus differentia a specie*) e la relazione di natura semantica (*locus maxima*) da cui scaturisce la necessità dell'inferenza. Dimostrare la validità dell'inferenza significa dimostrare che la verità dell'antecedente esige la verità del conseguente, o meglio che il conseguente è contenuto nell'antecedente. A ben vedere, infatti, il *locus maxima* (« di qualsiasi cosa si predichi la specie si predica anche il genere ») enuncia in termini universali il nesso concettuale che lega antecedente e conseguente e per questo Abelardo definisce la *maxima propositio* come una « proposizione che contiene il senso di molte conseguenze ». La *differentia* della *maxima propositio*, anch'essa *locus*, è in questo caso la *specie* (e per questo chiamato *locus a specie*), esemplificata dal termine 'uomo', nella cui relazione a un altro termine (in questo caso il genere esemplificato dal termine 'animale') è stato possibile stabilire la *consecutio* (« *habitus loci* »).

Sviluppando una distinzione esposta da Boezio nel *De hypotheticis syllogismis*, Abelardo riconosce nella proposizione condizionale semplice due possibili forme della necessità della *consecutio*:²⁵ una intesa in senso largo, secondo cui l'antecedente non può essere vero senza che il conseguente lo sia pure (per esempio « se qualcosa è un uomo, allora non è una pietra »); l'altra intesa in senso stretto, in cui non solo l'antecedente non può essere vero senza che lo sia anche il conseguente ma l'esige da sé (per esempio « se qualcosa è un uomo allora è un animale »).²⁶ La verità dell'inferenza (*consecutio*) sta nella sua necessità, pertanto, in quest'ultimo caso (« se qualcosa è un uomo allora è un animale ») la significazione concettuale del conseguente è necessariamente contenuta nella significazione concettuale dell'antecedente, in quanto la necessità della *consecutio* non dipende dalla posizione dei termini, perché *uomo* antecede naturalmente e necessariamente *animale*, in quanto, essendo *animale* il genere, esso è causa dell'essenza della specie *uomo*. Questo genere di *consecutio* è chiamata diretta e semplice (« *haec autem recta est et simplex verae consecutionis necessitas* »),²⁷ e la sua necessità consiste nel senso proprio della conseguenza e contiene una verità immutabile (« *quae quidem necessitas in propria consecutionis sententia consistit et veritatem tenet incommutabilem* »),²⁸ perché la sua verità varrebbe anche se non esistesse più alcun uomo. Di contro, la prima forma della necessità della *consecutio* (nell'esempio: « se qualcosa è un uomo, allora non è una pietra »)

²⁵ Cf. ANICIO MANLIO SEVERINO BOEZIO, *De hypotheticis syllogismis*, testo, traduzione, ed. LUCA OBERTELLO, Paideia, Brescia 1969, I, III, p. 6-7.

²⁶ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 283, 35-285, 15.

²⁷ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 284, 10-1.

²⁸ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 284, 2-3.

contiene soltanto il più alto grado di probabilità (« maximam autem probabilitatem in consecutione necessitas ista tenet »),²⁹ perché in questo caso il senso del conseguente non dipende propriamente dal senso dell'antecedente, essendo le *res* in questione ('uomo' e 'pietra') realmente separate e distinte; la *consecutio* consiste qui nell'affermare soltanto che « questo non può esistere senza quello ».³⁰

Conformemente alla distinzione effettuata tra le due differenti forme di inferenza espresse da una proposizione condizionale semplice, anche per ciò che riguarda i *luoghi* dialettici Abelardo li distinguerà in necessari e probabili, laddove soltanto il *locus a specie* (sopra citato) e il corrispettivo *locus a genere* saranno ritenuti in grado di esprimere un'inferenza necessaria, mentre tutti gli altri *luoghi* sono ritenuti meramente probabili.

IV. Il luogo dal minore nel commento all'Epistola ai Romani

L'analisi sin qui condotta ci ha consentito di comprendere la duplice modalità interpretativa del *locus* di Abelardo, la sua funzione, nonché la distinzione da lui effettuata tra *luoghi* necessari, in grado cioè di assicurare la necessità del rapporto di implicazione e di inseparabilità concettuale che lega antecedente e conseguente, e *luoghi* meramente probabili, in grado di attestare soltanto il più alto grado di probabilità. Il *luogo* dal minore (*a minore*) rientra in quest'ultima categoria, ma prima di esaminare la sua applicazione pratica, quale è stata individuata da Abelardo nel commento all'Epistola ai Romani, è bene comprenderne la struttura concettuale.

Sia nella *Dialectica* che nelle *Glossae* Abelardo discute il *locus a maiori* e *a minori* presenti tanto nella lista dei *luoghi* risalente a Temistio quanto in quella appartenente a Cicerone, entrambe trasmesse da Boezio nel *De topicis differentiis*, la sua fonte principale.³¹ Questi due *luoghi* esprimono la relazione che è possibile stabilire tra due termini di cui uno sarà ritenuto maggiore e l'altro minore sulla base di una comparazione. Tuttavia, egli nota come le *proposizioni massime* espone dai due autori differiscono quanto alla loro forma:

Ora Temistio espone le seguenti proposizioni massime:

'se ciò che sembra essere maggiore non accade, nemmeno ciò che sembra essere minore avviene',

²⁹ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 285, 3-4.

³⁰ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 284, 31-34: « Ex sententia autem antecedentis sententia consequentis perpendi non potest, cum scilicet ita rerum essentiae de quibus agitur, in se discretae sint, ut nihil illius insit huius substantiae ».

³¹ Cf. ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 274, 24-276, 2; *ibid.*, p. 440, 25-441, 19; *Id.*, *Super Topica Glossae*, p. 300, 24-36.

‘se ciò che sembra essere minore avviene, anche ciò che sembra essere maggiore accade’.

Pertanto, quando Temistio ricava l'argomento dal maggiore, dimostra una negazione a partire da una negazione, quando invece <ricava l'argomento> dal minore, <dimostra> un'affermazione a partire da un'affermazione, la stessa conseguenza invertita. Tullio invece si serve delle proposizioni in modo indifferente, le cui proposizioni massime sono queste:

‘ciò che vale nella cosa maggiore, vale nella minore’, e al contrario.

Ma questi argomenti si riconoscono a tal punto essere falsi che spesso ciò che viene posto prima sia vero, ma ciò che da esso stesso viene dedotto sia falso. Spesso infatti capita che ciò che sembra minore avvenga, e ciò che sembra maggiore non avvenga.³²

Come è stato detto in precedenza, il nesso di inferenza causale espresso dal *locus a maiori* e *a minori* è interamente di natura probabile, in quanto i termini contenuti nell'antecedente e nel conseguente, il maggiore e il minore, appartengono a due sostanze distinte e separate e quindi non è possibile fondare la necessità della loro *consecutio*. Il *luogo dal maggiore* di Temistio pone, infatti, che « se non c'è il maggiore, allora non c'è neanche il minore », dunque ricava una negazione da una negazione, al contrario il *luogo dal minore* è svolto in senso affermativo, « se c'è il minore, allora c'è il maggiore », e pertanto ricava un'affermazione da un'affermazione. Cicerone invece pone indistintamente un'equivalenza tra il *luogo dal maggiore*, « se c'è il maggiore, allora c'è il minore », e il *luogo dal minore*, « se c'è il minore, allora c'è il maggiore ». Ora per Abelardo: « è probabile ciò che possiede la somiglianza del vero; vale a dire ciò che viene facilmente concesso dall'uditore », ³³ ciò tuttavia non significa che la probabilità ricada esclusivamente all'interno dell'arbitrarietà del giudizio di colui che ascolta, piuttosto la probabilità è equiparata alla verosimiglianza, vale a dire a ciò che è massimamente vicino al vero. Non sarà allora superfluo ricordare la grande importanza attribuita da Abelardo al concetto di verosimiglianza nell'ambito del discorso teologico, laddove

³² ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 441, 7-19: « Tales autem maximas propositiones Themistius protulit: si quod magis videtur esse non est, nec quod minus videtur esse contingit, si quod minus videtur esse contingit, et quod magis videtur <esse> evenit. Cum igitur a maiori Themistius argumentum sumit, ex negatione negationem ostendit, cum autem a minori, ex affirmatione affirmationem, eadem consequentia conversa. Tullius vero indifferenter propositionibus utitur. Cuius hae sunt maximae propositiones: quod valet in maiori, valet in minori, et e converso. Haec autem argumenta ita falsa esse deprehenduntur ut saepe verum sit quod proponitur, falsum autem quod ex ipso infertur. Saepe namque accidit ut id quod minus videtur fiat, et quod magis videtur non fiat ».

³³ ABELARDO, *Dialectica*, p. 272, 2-3: « Est autem probabile quod veri similitudinem tenet; idest quod facile ab auditore conceditur ».

l'impossibilità di cogliere la verità da parte dell'uomo che cerca di comprendere Dio comporta la possibilità di avvicinarsi ad essa proprio attraverso il verosimile.³⁴

Come si avrà adesso modo di vedere, la lezione esposta da Abelardo in sede logica è stata applicata nel campo dell'esegesi e del discorso teologico. È ora infatti possibile ritornare al commento al testo paolino e comprendere in che modo, secondo Abelardo, l'argomentazione paolina possa essere interamente ricompresa nel *locus a minori*. A questo scopo si osservi il seguente schema:

Proposizione massima (<i>locus</i>)	« se ciò che sembra essere minore avviene, anche ciò che sembra essere maggiore accade »
Assegnazione del <i>locus differentia a minori</i>	Ma l'innesto dei rami dell'olivo selvatico sull'olivo buono è (un evento) minore rispetto al reinnesto dei rami naturali nel proprio olivo
Conclusione	Quindi, se tu, dall'olivo selvatico, che eri secondo la tua natura, sei stato tagliato via e, contro natura, sei stato innestato su un olivo buono, quanto più essi, che sono della medesima natura, potranno venire di nuovo innestati sul proprio olivo.

Come si è visto, la relazione di comparazione istituita tra i due termini pone che uno sia considerato minore perché messo a confronto con un altro considerato per ciò stesso maggiore. Nell'allegoria in oggetto, l'argomentazione è ricavata *dal minore* in quanto l'evento per cui « i rami dell'olivo selvatico innestati nell'olivo coltivato » è considerato di *minore* portata straordinaria rispetto al possibile futuro « reinnesto dei rami naturali nel proprio olivo », evento quest'ultimo che, se avvenisse, sarebbe per ciò stesso di *maggiore* portata eccezionale. Pertanto, la relazione del termine minore, presente nell'antecedente, con il termine maggiore, presente nel conseguente, porta a considerare che, se è accaduto l'evento considerato minore, con ogni probabilità, potrà accadere anche l'evento considerato maggiore. Come si è visto, questo *luogo* per Abelardo non è in grado di offrire un'inferenza necessaria, pertanto, la verità della *consecutio* non può trovare conferma, per così dire, *a priori*, ma soltanto *a posteriori*, avviando cioè un'analisi

³⁴ ABELARDO, *Teologia del sommo bene*, ed. MARCO ROSSINI, Bompiani, Milano 2003, p. 115: « A proposito di queste cose non ci impegniamo ad insegnare la verità, che evidentemente non possiamo conoscere né noi né alcun altro mortale, ma ci sembra giusto proporre qualcosa di verosimile, vicino all'umana ragione e non contrario alla Sacra Scrittura. [...] Dichiariamo quindi che tutto ciò che esporremo a proposito di questa altissima filosofia, non è verità ma ombra della verità, non è la cosa ma una certa similitudine di essa. Solo Dio conosce ciò che è vero; io ritengo invece di dover dire ciò che è verosimile e in massimo grado conforme alle ragioni filosofiche per mezzo delle quali veniamo attaccati ».

dei termini e delle *res* per le quali i termini stessi sono stati istituiti. Tale inferenza possiede allora soltanto il più alto grado di probabilità.

L'esegesi topica di Abelardo è tra l'altro pienamente in linea con quanto affermato dall'esegesi contemporanea che ha individuato nel versetto ventiquattro l'impiego da parte dell'apostolo Paolo dell'argomentazione chiamata *kol wa-homer* (letteralmente: *dal più leggero al più pesante* e viceversa) corrispondente, in questo caso, all'argomentazione *a fortiori*, il cui scopo è mettere in rilievo l'aspetto positivo di una situazione, nel contesto in oggetto la salvezza finale d'Israele. Si tratta di metodiche ermeneutiche in uso nell'attività midrashica del rabbينismo del secondo Tempio. Scopo del *midrash* era leggere e interpretare il testo sacro cercando di adattarlo al presente ricavandone un senso profondo che potesse edificare l'ascoltatore, e pertanto, nell'ambito dell'ermeneutica giudaica del I sec. d. C. si era soliti utilizzare alcune regole logiche in grado di riassumere la *ratio* delle argomentazioni presenti nel testo sacro. Paolo, formatosi alla scuola di Gamaliele, ne fece senza dubbio largo uso nel corso della sua attività di predicazione.³⁵

V. Conclusioni

L'esegesi ‘topica’, inaugurata per la prima volta da Cassiodoro nell'*Expositio Psalmorum*, conserva per tutto il corso del Medioevo una tradizione praticamente ininterrotta.³⁶ La terminologia allora in uso, oltretutto abbreviata (*a specie, a minori, a contrariis*, ecc.), con cui Abelardo e gli autori latini più in generale erano soliti indicare i *luoghi* dialettici risulta, per volti versi, un ostacolo al lettore moderno in cerca del loro significato. Difficilmente, infatti, si può intuire lo schema dimostrativo assegnato di volta in volta alle varie unità argomentative presenti

³⁵ Cf. ALETTI, *La lettera ai Romani*, p. 173; DAVID DAUBE, « Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric », *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 22 (1949), p. 239–264; Id., « Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis », in *Festschrift Hans Lewald bei Vollendung des vierzigsten Amtsjahres als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953*, Helbig & Lichtenhahn, Basel 1953, p. 27–44.

³⁶ Cf. GIULIO D'ONOFRIO, « Topica e sapere teologico nell'alto Medioevo », in JOËL BIARD, FOSCA MARIANI ZINI (eds.), *Les lieux de l'argumentation. Histoire du syllogisme topique d'Aristote à Leibniz*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009 (*Studia Artistarum*, 22), p. 141–170; FIORELLA MAGNANO, *La teologia ‘topica’ dell'Expositio Psalmorum di Cassiodoro*, in *XLI Incontro di studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana: La teologia dal V all'VIII secolo fra sviluppo e crisi*, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, Roma 2014 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 140), p. 361–393; EAD., « Cicero's Lists of Topics from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages », *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 22 (2015), p. 85–118. Lo stesso Tommaso d'Aquino utilizzerà i medesimi *luoghi* dialettici per commentare l'*Epistola ai Romani*: cf. TOMMASO D'AQUINO, *Expositio et lectura super Epistolas Pauli Apostoli*, I: *Lettera ai Romani*, ed. B. MONDIN, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, Bologna 1910, p. 738: « Secundo probat idem per locum a minori, dicens nam si tu, gentilis, excisus es ex naturali oleastro, id est ex gentilitate quae naturaliter erat infructuosa, non quidem, prout dominus fecit naturam, sed secundum quod corrupta est per peccatum ».

nella *sacra pagina*, se non si è prima compresa la funzione di tali principi in sede logica.

Come si è visto, il *locus* di Abelardo è inteso primariamente come il potere e la forza dell'inferenza (*vis inferentiae*) della relazione istituita tra i termini (*habitus terminorum*), relazione che si fonda in ultima istanza sulla relazione tra le cose (*habitus rerum*). I *luoghi* dialettici sono dei sostituti delle regole formali della sillogistica, si tratta infatti di regole di natura concettuale, la cui verità risulta manifesta sulla base della loro concreta applicazione a casi particolari, tant'è che per essere scoperte richiedono una certa capacità intuitiva da parte di colui che dimostra. Abelardo segnala numerose volte, nel corso del suo commento, l'impiego da parte dell'apostolo Paolo di quelli che in area latina sono stati chiamati *luoghi* dialettici. Qual è dunque il suo scopo? Sulla base del discorso sul metodo esegetico enunciato nel prologo del *Sic et non*, si deve pensare che il suo intento sia didattico e teologico al tempo stesso: se da un lato, infatti, lo scopo è quello di spiegare e rendere comprensibile il testo paolino agli studenti della scuola cattedrale di Sainte Geneviève nella quale egli allora insegnava, dall'altro lato, egli vuole corroborare la verità trasmessa dall'enunciato di fede lasciando emergere il suo fondamentale accordo con le strutture formali della ragione umana.³⁷ Quanto al contenuto, sappiamo bene invece in quale misura Abelardo limiterà il linguaggio umano nella sua capacità di comprendere ed esprimere Dio, con la conseguenza di voler accentuare la dimensione metaforica del linguaggio attraverso il ricorso a strumenti come la *similitudo* e la *translatio*.³⁸

Pertanto, se in sede logica la topica è utile per la costruzione delle argomentazioni e dunque alla dimostrazione, una volta posta a servizio dell'esegesi del testo sacro la sua funzione è piuttosto di convalidare la verità dell'enunciato di fede, proprio a partire dall'accordo istituito con il patrimonio delle regole di natura concettuale elaborate dalla ragione umana, lasciando così emergere, in buona sostanza, la logica della fede. Il rispetto delle *auctoritates* patristiche continua senz'altro a rimanere per Abelardo il punto di partenza imprescindibile dell'ermeneutica biblica, ciononostante, 'l'esegesi topica' esprime lo spazio di autonomia assegnato alla ragione umana in cerca di un fondamento, se non razionale almeno ragionevole, dell'alto grado di verosimiglianza di quanto trasmesso dalla Rivelazione.

³⁷ Cf. ABELARDO, *Sic et Non*, Prologus, PL 178, 1339A-1350C, ed. BLANCHE B. BOYER, RICHARD MCKEON, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago-London 1976-1977, p. 89-104.

³⁸ Cf. JEAN JOLIVET, *Aspects de la pensée médiévale: Abélard. Doctrines du langage*, Vrin, Paris 1987, p. 225-335; ID., *La théologie d'Abélard*, Éditions du CERF, Paris 1997.

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SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON PSALM 148 IN LATE MEDIEVAL JEWISH EXEGESIS*

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Abstract

Psalm 148 is a hymn inviting all beings in the celestial world and the earthly world to praise God. Even though the Psalm seems simple and easy to understand, two questions have been raised in the history of the exegesis of this Psalm: why are these specific creatures and not others mentioned in the Psalm, and why are they placed in this particular order? In Ancient Judaism, little attention was given to the explanation of this Psalm from a scientific perspective. Abraham ibn Ezra seems to be the first Jewish exegete to have written a systematic commentary on Psalm 148 to demonstrate that the biblical text describes the structure, composition and laws of the universe according to Aristotelian principles. Ibn Ezra's scientific comments on this Psalm were the starting point for future scientific analyses by later exegetes in southern France, such as David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri. The latter interpreted this Psalm in the light of Aristotelian cosmology, and, more specifically, in consonance with scientific ideas set forth in Aristotle's *Meteorology*. It is the purpose of this article to analyze how Psalm 148 was interpreted by these three Jewish exegetes from a scientific perspective, and to examine how later exegetes explained, developed or even refuted the scientific interpretations of their predecessors. It also examines the sources that Ibn Ezra may have used to learn about Aristotle's ideas.

Key Words

Bible exegesis, medieval science, Aristotle, astronomy, philosophy.



I. Introduction

Psalm 148 is a hymn inviting all beings in the celestial world and the earthly world to praise God. The Psalm is normally divided into two parts. In the first part (verses 1–6), the psalmist addresses different beings in the celestial world, such as the angels, the heavenly hosts, and the sun and the moon. In the second

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part (verses 7–14), he addresses different beings in the earthly world, such as the sea monsters and the ocean depths, and atmospheric phenomena, such as fire, hail, snow and smoke. The closing verses of the Psalm are a historical reflection on the relationship between God and the people of Israel. Verse 14 also includes an allusion to the eventual return of the people of Israel to their homeland after exile.

In Ancient Judaism, little attention was given to the explanation of Psalm 148 from a scientific perspective. Abraham ibn Ezra seems to have been the first exegete to make extensive use of the scientific theories of Aristotle in his exegesis of this Psalm.¹ In the thirteenth century, in the context of the reception of Aristotelianism in southern France, David Qimhi² and Menahem ha-Meiri³ interpreted it in the light of Aristotelian cosmology, and, more specifically, in consonance with scientific ideas set forth in Aristotle's *Meteorology*.

It is the purpose of this article to analyze the history of the exegesis of Psalm 148, in order to prove that Abraham ibn Ezra was the starting point of the scientific interpretation of this Psalm, and that his interpretation was later decisive for the comments of David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri on the same Psalm. It also examines the sources from which Ibn Ezra may have drawn these Aristotelian cosmological concepts,⁴ and analyzes how David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri reinterpreted the commentaries of their predecessors by explaining, developing or even refuting their scientific explanations. This analysis will likewise show how these exegetes adapted their exegetical methodologies to the needs of their scientific purposes, in addition to shedding

¹ Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) was a biblical exegete, poet, grammarian, translator, philosopher, astronomer and astrologer. Around 1140, at the age of 50, he left al-Andalus and travelled through Italy, France and England for the rest of his life. In his biblical commentaries, he used his knowledge of Hebrew grammar, philosophy and the sciences to interpret the biblical text.

² David Qimhi (1160–1235) was a grammarian and exegete from Narbonne, Provence. In his biblical commentaries he frequently used philosophy and scientific literature to interpret the text. He was influenced by the rational approach to the Bible of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides. Some of his commentaries also contain a considerable amount of polemics.

³ Menahem ha-Meiri (1249–1315), born in Perpignan, Provence, where he spent his entire life, was a commentator of the Bible and the Talmud. Of his biblical commentaries, only those on Psalms and Proverbs have been preserved. In his biblical exegesis, Meiri followed the Maimonidean philosophical tradition, and frequently adopted a scientific point of view. Some of his comments also reflect the situation of the Jews in exile during his own times.

⁴ With the terms 'Aristotelian' and 'Aristotelianism', I am referring to the medieval corpus of ideas in which truly Aristotelian notions are combined with Neoplatonic doctrines; on the use of these terms in this sense, see COLETTE SIRAT, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge University Press-Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Cambridge-Paris 1993, p. 141.

light on how Ibn Ezra's exegesis was received by the Jewish exegetes of southern France and how Aristotle's *Meteorology* was transmitted in the exegetical context.

II. Exegesis of Psalm 148 Prior to Abraham ibn Ezra

In order to determine when the scientific exegesis of Psalm 148 began, I will first briefly analyze the most important commentaries on this Psalm written before Ibn Ezra.

No comprehensive interpretation of Psalm 148 is found in the Babylonian Talmud. Only some expressions such as *stars of light* or *all His hosts* (Psalm 148:3) are occasionally explained to refer to the heavenly beings (*BPesahim* 2a).⁵ In *BHagigah* 12b, the expression *stormy wind* (Psalm 148:8) is taken to mean « the wind of the storm », as proof that « the storm makes the wind its substance ».

The two pairs *fire and hail*, *snow and smoke* (Psalm 148:8) are quoted to prove that these natural phenomena are connected not to the heavens but to the earth, on which they are to be found (*BHagigah* 12b).

In *BHullin* 139b, there is a controversy on the expression *šippor kanaf* (*winged birds*) (Psalm 148:10). Some consider that *šippor* includes both clean and unclean birds, and that *kanaf* includes locusts. According to others, *šippor* refers only to clean birds and *kanaf* to both unclean birds and locusts.

In *Midrash Tehillim*, Psalm 148 is interpreted in the sense that God created the heavens and the earth and all their creatures on the condition that they sing the praises of God. The midrash stresses the idea that, just as there are many creatures on earth, so too are there many creatures in heaven, and all of them are encouraged to praise the Lord.⁶

The sun and the moon (Psalm 148:3) are interpreted allegorically to mean the Patriarchs and the Matriarchs, and *the stars of light* are taken as referring to the righteous men. The author of the midrash deduces that « every righteous man has his own star in heaven, and that his star shines according to his deeds ».

The expression *heaven of heavens* (Psalm 148:4) proves that there are at least three heavens. The expression *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) refers to the waters of Creation, because the word *šamayim* is equivalent to *ša' mayim* « laden with water ». The expression *for he commanded and they were created* (Psalm 148:5) is taken to mean that it was not a hard task for God to create heaven and earth, for he simply commanded them and they formed by themselves.

⁵ For the English translation of the Hebrew text of Psalm 148, I have mainly followed the *New Revised Standard Version*, Oxford University Press, New York–Oxford 1989, p. 645–646.

⁶ *The Midrash on Psalms*, ed. and trans. WILLIAM G. BRAUDE, Yale University Press, New Haven 1959, vol. II, p. 375–377.

The question of why the sea monsters are mentioned first among the earthly creatures (Psalm 148:7) is posed by the author of this midrash: the reason is that they are larger than the rest of earthly beings. The mention of the *kings of the earth* is followed by *all peoples, princes and judges* because the first to praise the king are the people of the palace, and then the people of the city.

Rashi's commentary on Psalm 148, which comprises only a few lines, follows mainly the Talmud and adds little to it.⁷ Following the Talmud, he explains that the expression *stars of light* (Psalm 148:3) means « stars of night ». The *order or law* mentioned in verse 6 is interpreted as a reference to the sun and the moon, and the boundary that was placed by God between them so that the sun shines during the day and the moon during the night.

However, Rashi provides an explanation on why *fire and hail, snow and smoke* are connected to the earth and not to the heavens, as observed in *BHagigah* 12b. Following the Talmud, Rashi explains that *הדברים הללו היו תחילתם גנוזים בשמים ובה דוד והורידן לארץ, לפי שהם מיני פורעניות ואין נאה להם להיות גנוזים במגוריו של הקדוש ברוך הוא* « these things were originally hidden away in heaven, but David came along and brought them down to earth, because they were various kinds of punishments, and it was not seemly that they should be found in the dwelling place of the Holy One Blessed be He ».⁸ However, Rashi's commentary contains no explanations as to why these specific beings are mentioned in the psalm and in this order.

According to Saadiah Gaon (928–942), three ideas can be derived from this psalm: 1) the psalmist calls on the minerals and many of the animals to praise God, even though they are unable to speak; they are mentioned in the psalm in addition to the angels and humans in order to show God's power and force in both worlds: the heavenly world and the earthly world; 2) God's command to all the existent beings is to praise Him; and 3) when human beings observe the world and come to the conclusion that it has a Creator, they feel obliged to praise Him.⁹

In Karaite exegesis, the Book of Psalms was considered a book of prophetic prayers to be used for all time.¹⁰ It was precisely the biblical text of Psalms that fashioned Karaite liturgy. In consequence, Karaite authors wrote extensive commentaries on Psalms for liturgical reasons.¹¹

⁷ RASHI, *Commentary on Psalms*, ed. and trans. MAYER I. GRUBER, The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 2007, p. 760–761, 860.

⁸ For the Hebrew text of Rashi's commentary on Psalm 148:8, see *Mikra'ot Gedolot Haketer: Psalms*, ed. MENAHEM COHEN, Bar Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 2020, vol. II, p. 242.

⁹ *Tehillim 'im Perush ha-Ga'on Rabbenu Sa'adia ben Yoseph*, ed. YOSEPH KAPAH, American Academy for Jewish Research, Jerusalem 1966, p. 245–247.

¹⁰ URIEL SIMON, *Four Approaches to the Book of Psalms. From Saadia Gaon to Abraham Ibn Ezra*, SUNY Press, Albany 1991, p. 59–111.

¹¹ DANIEL FRANK, *Search Scripture Well: Karaite Exegetes and the Origins of the Jewish Bible Commentary in the Islamic East*, Brill, Leiden 2004, p. 166–170.

In his *'Eshkol ha-Kofer*, written in Byzantium in the mid twelfth century, the Karaite Judah Hadassi quotes the first two verses of this psalm to prove that the angels were created on the first day of creation, and that Moses did not mention them specifically in the account of creation in Genesis 1 because they were included in the statement *in the beginning God created heaven and earth* (Gen 1:1).¹² Hadassi also quotes Psalm 148:1–2 to prove that the angels were created for many benefits, because they continually praise God.¹³

The reception of Aristotelian philosophy and science in medieval Judaism changed the exegetical approaches to Psalm 148. Abraham ibn Daud (c. 1110–1180), one of the first Aristotelian Jewish philosophers,¹⁴ made a brief connection between Psalm 148 and the Aristotelian cosmos. In his *Ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* (*The Exalted Faith*), he cites the expression *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) to demonstrate that some biblical expressions cannot be interpreted according to their literal meaning. This expression, when taken literally, means that there are waters above the heavens. Ibn Daud rejects this interpretation and offers an alternative one by alluding to the structure of the cosmos:

והענין הוא כן כי האדם כאדר הבחין השמים והיסודות מצד מעלה ימצא היותר שפל מאלה הגשמים הארץ ולמעלה ממנה המים האויר ולמעלה ממנו האש ולמעלה ממנו התשעה גלגלים. וכאשר יבחין אותם מצד מטה ימצא היותר עליונה שבהם הארץ ותחתיה המים ותחתיהם האויר ותחתיהם האש ותחתיהם הגלגלים התשעה וכו' יהיה המים למעלה מן השמים ויהיה הירח למעלה משבתאי ולמעלה מגלגל המזלות.

The meaning [of the text] is as follows: [It is the case] that when man probes the heavens and the elements with respect to ascent, he finds [that] the lowest of these bodies is the earth, above it is water, above water is air, above it is fire, and above them are the nine spheres. And when he probes them with respect to descent, he finds [that] the highest of them is earth, below it is water, below it is air, below it is fire, and below them are the nine spheres. In this [way] the waters are above the heavens, the Moon is above Saturn, and it is above the Ecliptic.¹⁵

¹² SIMON, *Four Approaches*, p. 204. For Hadassi's text, see DANIEL J. LASKER, JOHANNES NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, DAVID SKLARE (eds.), *Theological Encounters at a Crossroads. An Edition and Translation of Judah Hadassi's 'Eshkol Ha-Kofer'*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2018, p. 376–377.

¹³ LASKER, NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, SKLARE, *Theological Encounters*, p. 416–417.

¹⁴ NORBERT M. SAMUELSON, « Medieval Jewish Aristotelianism: An Introduction », in DANIEL FRANK, OLIVER LEAMAN (eds.) *History of Jewish Philosophy*, Routledge, London–New York 1997, p. 182–194.

¹⁵ ABRAHAM IBN DAUD, *The Exalted Faith*, ed. and trans. NORBERT M. SAMUELSON, Farleigh Dickinson University Press–Associated University Presses, Rutherford et al. 1986, p. 235 and 307. See also ABRAHAM IBN DAUD, *The Exalted Faith. Translated by Solomon Ibn Lavi and by Samuel Ibn Matut with the Anonymous Commentary*, ed. AMIRA ERAN, Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem 2019, p. 627–629.

Ibn Daud takes the expression *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) as an allegory of the sphere of water, which is above the earth and below the spheres of air and fire.

III. Abraham ibn Ezra

Abraham ibn Ezra, one of the first Jewish authors to use Aristotelian science in his biblical commentaries,¹⁶ wrote a systematic commentary on this Psalm to demonstrate that the biblical text describes the structure, composition and laws of the universe according to the principles of Aristotelian cosmology. In his mind, the division of the psalm into two parts referring to the celestial and the terrestrial worlds coincides exactly with the Aristotelian structure of the cosmos: a great structure divided into several spheres which constitute the two worlds: the upper world and the lower world. The upper world, the world above the moon, is the celestial region, which consists of the spheres of the fixed stars and the planets – the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The lower world, the world below the moon, is the terrestrial region, with the four elements of nature placed in the following order: fire, air, water and earth. The terrestrial or sublunar region is the world of generation and corruption, and of transient changes of all kinds; the celestial or supralunar realm, by contrast, is a region of eternally unchanging cycles. As is well known, scientific matters are frequently discussed and examined in Ibn Ezra's commentaries on the Bible.¹⁷ In the case of Psalm 148, Ibn Ezra developed his exegetical strategies to justify the equivalence between the creatures mentioned in the psalm and the elements of the Aristotelian cosmos.

Abraham ibn Ezra began his commentary on Psalm 148 by defining it as נכבד ויש בו סודות עמוקים « a very important Psalm containing deep secrets ». U. Simon points out that when Ibn Ezra refers to a psalm as נכבד 'important', it means that it contains a significant amount of theological exegesis.¹⁸ In the case of Psalm 148, this label is used to call attention to the fact that the psalm contains

¹⁶ MARIANO GÓMEZ ARANDA, « Aristotelian Theories in Abraham ibn Ezra's Commentaries to the Bible », *Mediterranea: International Journal for the Transfer of Knowledge*, 3 (2018), p. 35–54.

¹⁷ The best monograph on this topic is SHLOMO SELA, *Astrology and Biblical Exegesis in Abraham Ibn Ezra's Thought*, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 1999. See also JAMES T. ROBINSON, « Philosophy and Science in Medieval Jewish Commentaries on the Bible », in GAD FREUDENTHAL (ed.), *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, p. 454–475.

¹⁸ SIMON, *Four Approaches*, p. 211. For an analysis of Abraham ibn Ezra's commentaries labeled as « important Psalms » or « distinguished Psalms », see HERZLIYA WAGNER, « The 'Distinguished Chapters' in Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Book of Psalms: Philosophy and Biblical Exegesis », Ph.D. Diss. Bar-Ilan University 2012. For the Hebrew text of Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on Psalm 148, I have followed Wagner's critical edition in p. 230–237, as well as COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. II, p. 240–245.

issues alluding to scientific matters that can only be understood through scientific knowledge. In this sense, Psalm 19 is labeled as « זה המזמור נכבד מאד » a very important Psalm » for it deals « עם מלאכת השמים » with the work of heavens ». Ibn Ezra adds that only those who have studied the science of astronomy are able to understand the meaning of this psalm.¹⁹ According to Ibn Ezra, Psalm 49 is « זה המזמור הוא נכבד מאד, כי יש בו מפורש אור העולם הבא ונשמת החכמה שלא תמות » a very important Psalm, for it explicitly speaks of the light of the world to come and of the rational soul which is immortal ». ²⁰ He explains that it alludes to the return of the four elements of the human body to their original elements after death, whereas the human soul will cleave to the soul of the heavens; it also alludes to the benefits of wisdom in the world to come. As in the case of Psalm 19, Ibn Ezra affirms at the end of his comments on Psalm 49 that those who do not learn are unable to understand the allusions of the psalm.

Abraham ibn Ezra also affirms that Psalm 148 contains « סודות עמוקים » deep secrets ». At the end of the first chapter of his *Sefer Yesod Mora we-Sod Tora*, Ibn Ezra defines what he considers « סודות עמוקים » deep secrets » to be:

רק היודע חכמת התולדת וכל ראיותיה וחכמת המבטא יוכל לדעת הכללים שהם שמורים כחותם. וחכמת המזלות ידענה בראיות גמורות מחכמת החשבון וחכמת המדות וחכמת הערכים, אז יוכל לעלות גבוה למעלה לדעת סוד הנפש ומלאכי עליון והעולם הבא. ומהתורה ומדברי הנביאים ומדברי חכמי התלמוד יחכם, ויבין סודות עמוקים שנעלמו מעיני רבים, וקצתם אפרש.

Only when one knows the natural sciences and their proofs, learns the categories that are the walls of reason taught by the science of logic, masters the science of astronomy with its absolute proofs based on mathematical knowledge, and comprehends the science of geometry and the science of proportions, can one ascend to the great level of knowing the secret of the soul, the secret of the supernal angels, and the concept of the world to come as taught in the Tora, the Prophets, and by the Sages of the Talmud. Such an individual will grasp and perceive the *deep secrets* – a few of which I will explain – that are hidden from the eyes of most people.²¹

Thus, according to Ibn Ezra, such deep secrets as the human soul, the supernal angels, and the world to come can only be understood through knowledge of the

¹⁹ For Ibn Ezra's comments on Psalm 19:2, see COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 57.

²⁰ COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 152. On this translation, see ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Commentary on the Second Book of Psalms: Chapters 42-72*, trans. H. NORMAN STRICKMAN, Academic Studies Press, Boston 2009, p. 41.

²¹ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Yesod Mora Ve-Sod Torah: The Foundation of Reverence and the Secret of the Torah*, eds. JOSEPH COHEN, URIEL SIMON, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 2007, p. 89–90. For this English translation, ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *The Secret of the Torah*, trans. H. NORMAN STRICKMAN, Jason Aronson, Northvale, NJ–London 1995, p. 34–35.

sciences of logic, astronomy and geometry, among others, and such knowledge is « hidden from the eyes of most people ».

What, then, are these deep secrets in Psalm 148 that are hidden from most people? According to Ibn Ezra, Psalm 148 reproduces the Aristotelian structure of the cosmos. However, Ibn Ezra adapts it to the needs of his exegetical purposes, and describes the heavenly beings in the first part of the psalm in clear contrast with the earthly beings in the second part.²²

Ibn Ezra describes the upper world as *העולם הרחב והגדול* « the wide and large world » and the lower world as *הנקודה במחשבת החושב בעגולה גדולה* « the imaginary point at the center of the big circle ». This description refers to the earth surrounded by the circle of the heavens. Abraham ibn Ezra also uses this terminology in his comments on Job 36:16, where he differentiates between the *raḥab*, which refers to the circle surrounding the earth, and the *muṣaq*, which is the central point, that is, the earth. In his comments on Job 37:10, he explicitly defines the term *muṣaq* as *הארץ, שהיא כנקודה באמצע הגלגלים* « the earth, which stands as the central point of the spheres ».²³

In the case of the *angels* explicitly mentioned in verse 2, Abraham ibn Ezra simply affirms that they are beings *שאינם גופות* « not endowed with bodies »; however, he makes no attempt to identify them with any scientific or philosophical concept.

By contrast with the angels, Ibn Ezra explains that the expression *all His hosts* in verse 2 refers to the heavenly beings as *הם גופות טהורות ולא מורכבות, והם כוכבים* « having pure bodies not composed of the four elements, they are the numerous stars placed at the sphere of the zodiacal signs ». He is referring to the Aristotelian fifth element of which the heavenly bodies are made. *The sun and the moon* in verse 3 represent the seven planets. Ibn Ezra goes on to explain that the reason that only the sun and the moon are explicitly mentioned in the psalm is that they are the *moshelim* (lit. 'the lords', 'the rulers'), that is, they are the dominant astrological influences, because they have stronger influences than the other planets. The expression *stars of light* refers to all seven planets, and is used because they give off more light than the rest of the stars, since the planets are nearer to the earth.

Regarding the expression *heaven of heavens* (verse 4), Ibn Ezra is ambiguous, in the exegetical context, in using it to refer to various indeterminate parts of the

²² For a brief analysis of Ibn Ezra's comments on this Psalm, see GÓMEZ ARANDA, « Aristotelian Theories », p. 36–39.

²³ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *El comentario de Abraham ibn Ezra al libro de Job*, ed. and trans. MARIANO GÓMEZ ARANDA, CSIC, Madrid 2004, p. 70*, 73*, 265, and 276. On the use of this terminology by Ibn Ezra, see SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Ibn Ezra's Special Strategy in the Creation of a Hebrew Scientific Terminology », *Micrologus*, 9 (2001), p. 65–87, esp. p. 78–81.

heavenly realm. It can either refer to the heavens above the firmament,²⁴ or to a holy place in contrast to the other heavens,²⁵ or to the place from which the human soul proceeds,²⁶ or to all the heavens in opposition to the earth,²⁷ or to the abode of God and the angels.²⁸ In his *Book of the Judgements of the Zodiacal Signs*, it is the only occasion in which the expression *heaven of heavens* is used to refer specifically to the sphere of the constellations, the eighth sphere.²⁹

In the particular context of Psalm 148, the expression *heaven of heavens* is taken by Ibn Ezra to refer to *האש שהוא סמוך אל כדור הלבנה* « the sphere of fire, which is attached to the sphere of the moon », that is, it refers to the sphere of elemental fire, which is located immediately below the sphere of the moon. In this specific case, Ibn Ezra provides this explanation to make the biblical text conform to the theory of the structure of the elements in the universe. In his comments on Job 28:24, he also identifies the word *heavens* with elemental fire.³⁰

Ibn Ezra goes on to explain that the next element, the *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4), refers to *כדור הסגריר* « the sphere of *sagrir* ». The term *sagrir*, literally ‘steady rain’ or ‘persistent rain’, is unusual in Ibn Ezra’s terminology, for he never uses it in his scientific treatises. In his comments on Psalm 104:3, Ibn Ezra identifies the *clouds* mentioned in the verse with *כדור הסגריר* « the sphere of *sagrir* ». In his comments on the expression *who builds his upper chambers (ma’alot) in the heavens* (Amos 9:6), Ibn Ezra interprets the word *ma’alot* as a reference to *גלגלי הרוח והאש, כי הם כולם גלגלים זה למעלה מזה, והנה אלה בין הארץ ובין השמים* « the spheres of wind, coolness and fire, which are one above the other between the earth and the heavens ». As U. Simon points out, here Ibn Ezra is referring exclusively to the spheres of air and fire; by contrast, the verse refers to *the earth and the waters of the sea* as part of the terrestrial world.³¹ This is precisely Abravanel’s interpretation of Ibn Ezra’s words: *ראב"ע כתב... שבשמים מעלותי* « Abraham ibn Ezra wrote [...] that *his upper chambers in the heavens* refer to the two elements, namely fire and air, whose spheres are one above the other ». ³² In his *Hay ben Meqqiṣ*, Ibn

²⁴ IBN EZRA’s long commentary on Genesis 1:14.

²⁵ IBN EZRA’s short commentary on Exodus 15:11.

²⁶ IBN EZRA’s commentary on Psalm 102:25.

²⁷ IBN EZRA’s commentary on Psalm 102:26.

²⁸ IBN EZRA’s long commentary on Daniel 10:21 and to Psalm 68:34.

²⁹ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Introductions to Astrology: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the ‘Book of the Beginning of Wisdom’ and the ‘Book of the Judgements of the Zodiacal Signs’*, ed. and trans. SHLOMO SELA, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2017, p. 489 and fn. at p. 559.

³⁰ IBN EZRA, *Comentario al libro de Job*, p. 53* and 205.

³¹ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Two Commentaries on the Minor Prophets: Hosea, Joel, and Amos*, ed. URIEL SIMON, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 1989, p. 260, including fn.

³² ISAAC ABRAVANEL, *Don Isaac Abrabanel y su comentario al libro de Amós*, ed. and trans. GREGORIO RUIZ GONZÁLEZ, Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, Madrid 1984, p. 220–221.

Ezra considers that the sphere of air is the area where rain, wind and hail occur.³³ Therefore, the expression *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) corresponds with the sphere of air in the Aristotelian cosmos, which is immediately below the sphere of fire, as Ibn Ezra points out. Ibn Ezra continues his commentary on Psalm 148:4 by affirming that « the sphere of *sagrir* », that is, the sphere of air, marks the limit of the upper world. According to him, water and earth both belong to the terrestrial realm.³⁴

Ibn Ezra continues his explanations by affirming that the expression *He made them endure forever and ever* in verse 6 means that the heavenly beings are eternal and unchangeable, because they are pure bodies, not composed of the four elements, and therefore not subject to generation and corruption. It is a clear reference to the eternity of the upper world, in consonance with the eternity of the universe in Aristotelianism. In his commentary on Ecclesiastes 1:9, Ibn Ezra uses verses 5–6 and 13 of Psalm 148 to contrast the upper creatures, which were made by God to be eternal, with the earthly creatures, which are subject to generation and corruption since they are composed of the four elements.³⁵

According to Ibn Ezra, the expression *establishing an order which shall not be broken* (Ps. 148:6) refers to the eternal law that regulates the motions of the planets: each planet has a specific orbit around which it circles the earth and, since its motion is cyclical, it has no beginning or end. In consequence, this order *shall not be broken*. In his commentary on Ecclesiastes 3:15, Ibn Ezra explains the expression *that which is, already has been, that which is to be, already is* as an allegory of the eternal motion of the celestial beings around the earth: since time depends on their cyclical motion, time is continuous and shall not cease.³⁶

Abraham ibn Ezra explains that the natural phenomena cited in the verse *fire and hail, snow and smoke, and stormy wind* (Psalm 148:8) have their origin in the earth, not in heaven, and for this reason they are mentioned in connection with the earth. In this sense, he provides a scientific basis for the observation made in the Talmud on these phenomena's connection with the earth instead of with heaven.³⁷ Ibn Ezra also adds that these phenomena are contrary to one another,

³³ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *Iggeret Hay ben Mekitz*, ed. ISRAEL LEVIN, Tel Aviv University Press, Tel Aviv 1983, p. 68–69. For an analysis of this work, see AARON W. HUGHES, « The Three Worlds of Ibn Ezra's *Hay Ben Meqitz* », *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, 11 (2002), p. 1–24.

³⁴ For an analysis of Ibn Ezra's comments on Psalm 148:4, see ESTI EISENMANN, « On the Heavens in Medieval Jewish Philosophy », *AJS Review*, 35 (2011), p. 1–20 (Hebrew Section), esp. p. 3.

³⁵ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *El comentario de Abraham ibn Ezra al libro del Ecclesiastés*, ed. and trans. MARIANO GÓMEZ ARANDA, CSIC, Madrid 1994, p. 14* and 21–22.

³⁶ ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, *El comentario de Abraham ibn Ezra al libro del Ecclesiastés*, p. 31*–32*, and 54–55. On the use of scientific theories in Ibn Ezra's commentary on Ecclesiastes, see MARIANO GÓMEZ ARANDA, « The Meaning of Qohelet According to Ibn Ezra's Scientific Theories », *Aleph*, 6 (2006), p. 339–370.

³⁷ *BHagigah* 12b.

but does not explain any further. He defines *fire* as *הממיתה בריחה* « the fleeing fire which causes death », probably a reference to lightning. In his *Book of the Beginning of Wisdom*, Ibn Ezra connects fire with lightning by affirming that when the sun travels through Aries, which is a fiery sign, it gives rise to thunder and lightning.³⁸

Smoke is defined by Ibn Ezra as *האיד העולה כדמות עשן שהוא חם* « the exhalation arising [from the earth] and resembling hot smoke ». Ibn Ezra uses this definition to prove that the natural phenomena mentioned in verse 8 originate in the earth.

In the case of the earthly beings mentioned in the second part of the psalm (verses 7-14), Ibn Ezra observes that they appear in an order opposite to that of the heavenly beings: whereas the heavenly beings are ordered from highest to lowest, the earthly beings are mentioned from the lowest – *the sea monsters*, mentioned in verse 7 – to the highest – *the people of Israel*, the highest people in rank, mentioned in verse 14.

Ibn Ezra also gives some explanations as to why these specific earthly beings are explicitly mentioned. He observes that several pairs of opposing beings appear in the text, and explains what the element is that distinguishes them. The expression *all sea monsters and ocean depths* (Psalm 148:9) refers to both living and non-living things. The word *ההרים* ‘mountains’ in verse 9 is related to the root *הרה* ‘to conceive’, ‘to be pregnant’, and it means that the mountains « are pregnant » with metals; by contrast, *hills* have no metals.

From the mountains, the psalm moves on to the valleys and mentions *fruit trees and cedars*, the latter of which bear no fruit. *Wild animals* in verse 10 are those which do not live with human beings, while *cattle* are those which do. In the case of human beings, the psalm mentions *kings of the earth*, who are the most honored among human beings, and *all peoples*, who are under the power of the former. The psalm then mentions *princes*, who exert power without considering the law, and *judges*, who apply the law. *Youths and maidens* refer to the distinction between men and women, and *old and young* to the distinction in the passage of time and the changes in human strength. Ibn Ezra concludes that all individuals perish, but the genera persist, and for this reason the biblical text affirms that *His name alone is exalted* (Psalm 148:13). The same idea is expressed in his commentary on Ecclesiastes 1:9.³⁹

³⁸ IBN EZRA, *Introductions to Astrology*, p. 59.

³⁹ IBN EZRA, *Comentario a Eclesiastés*, p. 14*-15*, 21-22, and GÓMEZ ARANDA, « The Meaning of Qohelet », p. 350.

IV. *Ibn Sina and Abu Ma'shar as Sources of Ibn Ezra's Scientific Comments*

As is well known, Abraham ibn Ezra did not have access to the original Greek texts of Aristotle's works, and it is difficult to prove whether he used any of their Arabic translations directly. Rather, Ibn Ezra most probably studied Aristotelian cosmology through the works of medieval Aristotelian authors. One of the possible candidates is Ibn Sina; indeed, that Ibn Ezra was familiar with Ibn Sina's ideas has been demonstrated by several scholars.⁴⁰

Ibn Ezra's ideas of an eternal heavenly region made of the element ether, and not subject to generation and corruption like the beings composed of the four elements in the sublunar world, may have been taken from Ibn Sina's cosmology.⁴¹ Freudenthal has pointed out the possible influence of Ibn Sina on Ibn Ezra's interpretation of the Creation of Genesis, whereby the biblical text would refer exclusively to the creation of the sublunar world, assuming the eternity of the supralunar world. This idea was also followed by Samuel ibn Tibbon. Freudenthal concludes that either both authors drew on Ibn Sina's theory of an eternal world, or that Ibn Ezra inspired Ibn Tibbon.⁴²

By including the angels in the upper world – besides the obvious reason that they are explicitly mentioned in the psalm – Ibn Ezra coincides with Ibn Sina. In explaining the process of existence, Ibn Sina affirms that the existing things proceeding from God are ordered in ranks: the first rank is that of the spiritual angels devoid of matter, then the rank of active angels, then the ranks of the celestial bodies, and then the ranks of the elements in the world of generation and corruption.⁴³ Ibn Sina also explains that the celestial spheres have noncorporeal principles.⁴⁴ In his *Physics*, he specifically mentions « the sun, the moon, and the like » as those beings « whose matter is not subject to change and corruption ». ⁴⁵ In his *Metaphysics*, he also refers to the idea that « the celestial

⁴⁰ See, for example, WARREN Z. HARVEY, « The First Commandment and the God of History: Halevi and Crescas vs. Ibn Ezra and Maimonides », *Tarbiz*, 57 (1988), p. 203–216 [in Hebrew]; STEVEN HARVEY, « Avicenna's Influence on Jewish Thought: Some Reflections », in Y. TZVI LANGERMANN (ed.), *Avicenna and His Legacy: A Golden Age of Science and Philosophy*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009, p. 327–340, especially p. 329; RESIANNE FONTAINE, « 'Happy Is He Whose Children Are Boys': Abraham Ibn Daud and Avicenna on Evil », in DAG NIKOLAUS HASSE, AMOS BERTOLACCI (eds.), *The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–Boston 2012, p. 159–175, esp. p. 164; GÓMEZ ARANDA, « Aristotelian Theories », p. 48–51.

⁴¹ SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, Thames and Hudson, Bath 1978, p. 237.

⁴² GAD FREUDENTHAL, « Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Avicennian Theory of an Eternal World », *Aleph*, 8 (2008), p. 41–129, esp. p. 98–99.

⁴³ AVICENNA, *The Metaphysics of the Healing*, ed. MICHAEL E. MARMURA, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, UT 2005, p. 21–22, 358.

⁴⁴ AVICENNA, *The Metaphysics*, p. 333.

⁴⁵ AVICENNA, *The Physics of the Healing*, ed. JON MCGINNIS, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, UT 2009, p. 7.

bodies have an influence on the bodies of this world through the qualities proper to them, some of which flows to this world », ⁴⁶ a central principle in Ibn Ezra's astrology.

Contrary to Ibn Sina's cosmology, in which the four elements all belong to the world of generation and corruption – the world below the moon ⁴⁷ – Abraham ibn Ezra includes the spheres of fire and air within the limits of the superior world, because they are mentioned in the text of Psalm 148:2–6 in connection with the heavenly beings; on the contrary, earth and water are mentioned in connection with earthly beings and atmospheric phenomena in Psalm 148:7–13. Ibn Ezra here considers the universe as divided into two regions, such that the lower region is formed by the earth and the water which is on it, and the upper region is formed by the spheres of the other two elements (air and fire), the sphere of the moon and those of the other planets, the sphere of the fixed stars, and the celestial world of angels. He stresses the contrast between the two worlds to reinforce the idea that he exposes in the explanation of the following verses: that the celestial beings are eternal and the earthly beings are perishable.

Abraham ibn Ezra also coincides with Ibn Sina in his description of certain meteorological phenomena. Paul Letting has proven that Ibn Sina used Aristotle's *Meteorology*, which was translated into Arabic in the ninth century. Ibn Sina deals with meteorological phenomena in the part of his *Kitāb aš-Šifā'* on natural philosophy. He affirms that all natural phenomena are caused by vapor and smoke that are dissolved from the earth by the celestial heat. He also explains that vapor forms clouds and is the cause of rain, snow, wind and other phenomena which occur in the lower atmosphere.

Abraham ibn Ezra's definition of the biblical *smoke* as « the exhalation arising [from the earth] and resembling the hot smoke » coincides with Ibn Sina's concept of 'smoke' as a type of evaporation different from 'vapor'. In the section of his *Kitāb an-Najāt* dedicated to meteorological phenomena, Ibn Sina explains smoke as the dry and light evaporation rising up from earthly bodies through the heating power of the heavenly sphere; by contrast, vapor is a moist and heavy evaporation. ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ AVICENNA, *The Metaphysics*, p. 337.

⁴⁷ NASR, *An Introduction*, p. 240.

⁴⁸ PAUL LETTING, *Aristotle's Meteorology and its Reception in the Arab World: With an Edition and Translation of Ibn Suwār's 'Treatise on Meteorological Phenomena' and Ibn Bājjā's 'Commentary on the Meteorology'*, Brill, Leiden 1999, p. 54–57, 111–113, 177–182. On the use of Aristotle's *Meteorology* in medieval Judaism, see RESIANNE FONTAINE, « 'Tibbonide Terminology' and Hebrew Meteorological Texts », in REIMUND LEICHT, GIUSEPPE VELTRI (eds.), *Studies in the Formation of Medieval Hebrew Philosophical Terminology*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2019, p. 64–75, especially p. 65–66; « Meteorology and Zoology in Medieval Hebrew Texts », in GAD FREUDENTHAL (ed.), *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, p. 217–229.

In drawing a connection between mountains and metals, Ibn Ezra follows Ibn Sina's explanations in his *Kitāb aš-Šifā'*. In the treatise dealing with geological matters, Ibn Sina explains that mountains play an important role in the formation of metals. Metals are formed by the action of vapor that is enclosed in the earth, and mountains act as a solid alembic that produces distillation. He also affirms that metals are formed in mountains more than in other areas.⁴⁹

Some of Ibn Ezra's ideas expressed in his comments on Psalm 148 point to the possibility that Abu Ma'shar's *Great Introduction to Astrology* was one of the sources from which he drew information on Aristotelian cosmology.⁵⁰ Ibn Ezra cites Abu Ma'shar in his scientific writings, and considers him as the most relevant authority on astrology.⁵¹

Ibn Ezra coincides with Abu Ma'shar in that the spheres of stars possess an eternal circular motion around the earth, the size of which is described by Abu Ma'shar « in its smallness in respect to the highest sphere like a point in respect to a circle ». ⁵² Abu Ma'shar refers to the four elements as terrestrial bodies, which are placed below the sphere of the moon in the following natural order: fire, « which is the highest and most subtle of these four elements, and the nearest to the celestial bodies and the sphere of the moon », air, water and earth. However, he distinguishes between the upward motion of fire and air and the downward motion of water and earth. He also establishes two levels of elements: two are light and high, namely air and fire, and two are heavy and thick, namely water and earth. The separation that Abu Ma'shar makes between the upper elements (fire and air) and the lower elements (water and earth) may have inspired Ibn Ezra to include fire and air in the upper world.⁵³

As we shall see now, Ibn Ezra's scientific explanations of the Psalm were the starting point for future scientific analyses by other medieval Jewish exegetes such as David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri.

⁴⁹ LETTINCK, Aristotle's *Meteorology*, p. 142.

⁵⁰ That Abu Ma'shar's *Great Introduction to Astrology* contains some of the most important characteristics of medieval Aristotelian physics and cosmology was conclusively proven by RICHARD LEMAY, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century: The Recovery of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy through Arabic Astrology*, American University of Beirut, Beirut 1962.

⁵¹ On the connections between Ibn Ezra and Abu Ma'shar, see SHLOMO SELA, « Abraham Ibn Ezra as the Translator of Astrological and Astronomical Texts from Arabic into Hebrew: Sources and Methods », *Medieval Encounters*, 25 (2019), p. 345–380, esp. p. 348–352, and GÓMEZ ARANDA, « Aristotelian Theories », p. 51–53.

⁵² ABU MA'SHAR, *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Ma'shar*, ed. and trans. KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT, Brill, Leiden 2019, vol. I, p. 53 and 83.

⁵³ ABU MA'SHAR, *The Great Introduction*, p. 83, 197, and 199–201.

V. David Qimhi

David Qimhi follows Abraham ibn Ezra's interpretations in his grammatical treatises as well as in his biblical commentaries. Ibn Ezra is quoted by name in David Qimhi's *Sefer ha-Miklol* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, as well as in his commentaries on Genesis and Psalms.⁵⁴

In his commentary on Psalm 148, David Qimhi follows Ibn Ezra to distinguish between the two worlds.⁵⁵ The upper world is described in terms similar to those used by Ibn Ezra: it is העולם הגדול « the large world »; by contrast, the lower world is called העולם הקטן « the small world ».

According to Qimhi, the expression *from the heavens* in verse 1 refers to all the heavenly beings that have their origin in heaven and who are מיסוד השמים, שהוא « made of the heavenly element, which is the fifth element », a clear reference to the Aristotelian fifth element. Qimhi adds that the heavenly beings include pure forms which neither are bodies nor are placed in bodies. As in the case of Ibn Ezra, Qimhi implies that the heavenly beings stand in clear contrast with the earthly beings, composed of the four elements.

David Qimhi follows Ibn Ezra's definition of the *angels* in verse 2 as הם אינם גופות « those beings neither endowed with bodies nor placed in bodies ». But, in addition to this, Qimhi identifies the angels with השכלים « the separate intellects ». It is not the only instance in which he makes this identification. In his comments on Psalm 27:4, David Qimhi explicitly mentions that the separate intellects are the angels of heaven, from which the soul is derived and to which it will return.⁵⁶ In this identification, Qimhi does not follow Abraham ibn Ezra but Maimonides.

Maimonides identified the angels with the 'separate intellects'. In his *Guide of the Perplexed* (1:49),⁵⁷ he affirms: « The angels too are not endowed with bodies, but are intellects separate from matter ». He also expresses that the point of disagreement between him and Aristotle regarding the angels is only a question

⁵⁴ On the influence of Abraham ibn Ezra on David Qimhi, see ABE LIPSHITZ, « Ibn Ezra be-Perushe R. David Qimhi u-bi-Sefarav », *Sinai*, 61 (1967), p. 92–109, and ABRAHAM I. BROMBERG, « R. David Kimhi as a Supercommentator on R. Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Book of Psalms », *Sinai*, 63 (1967), p. 4–12 (Hebrew). Bromberg analyzes David Qimhi's commentaries on several Psalms to conclude that they can be considered as supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's commentaries; however, Psalm 148 is not included among them.

⁵⁵ For the Hebrew text of David Qimhi's commentary on Psalm 148, see COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. II, p. 241–246. For an English translation, see DAVID QIMHI, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Psalms CXX–CL*, eds. and trans. JOSHUA BAKER, ERNST W. NICHOLSON, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1973, p. 154–165.

⁵⁶ COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 85.

⁵⁷ MOSES MAIMONIDES, *The Guide of the Perplexed* 1:49, trans. SHLOMO PINES, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago–London 1963, p. 108.

of terminology: « He [Aristotle] speaks of separate intellects, and we speak of angels » (Guide 2:6).⁵⁸

However, David Qimhi adds another relevant definition of the angels in verse 2. He affirms that they are *השוקי הגלגלים* « those desired by the spheres ». Why are the angels desired by the spheres? To what desire is David Qimhi referring? The formulation used by Qimhi coincides with Maimonides's explanations on the motions of the spheres. In *Guide of the Perplexed* (2:10), Maimonides mentions that the motion of every sphere has four causes: the shape of the sphere; its soul; its intellects, through which it has conceptions; and the separate intellect, which is its beloved. Regarding the fourth and final cause, Maimonides explains that every sphere has a desire inciting it to motion.⁵⁹ Following Maimonides, Qimhi means to say that the desire of the angels is what incites the spheres to move, as they attempt to reach them.

David Qimhi affirms that *all his hosts* in verse 2 are the clear and bright bodies which consist of the constellations and the stars in the eighth sphere. In his explanation of verse 3, David Qimhi reproduces the exact comments of Ibn Ezra: his mention of the sun and the moon includes the other five planets. The planets are called *stars of light* because they give more light to the earth than the stars in the eighth sphere, being nearer to the earth than the latter.

As for verse 4, David Qimhi gives two interpretations. The first one is attributed to « some of our sages », who explain that *heaven of heavens* is a superlative expression meaning the highest of the celestial beings, who are incorporeal forms. He adds that the term 'highest' must be understood qualitatively, not spatially, and refers to the world of souls. The *waters that are above the heavens* are the highest forms from which pure forms are derived.

The second interpretation quoted by David Qimhi is in fact a reinterpretation of Abraham ibn Ezra's comments on this same verse, although Qimhi does not cite him by name. *Heaven of heavens* is *כדור האש שהוא סמוך אל כדור הלבנה* « the sphere of fire adjacent to the sphere of the moon ». The second term of the construct state, that is, *heavens*, refers to the air. *The waters that are above the heavens* are *כדור הקרח, ויש קוראים שמו 'כדור הסגריר'* « the sphere of ice, also called the sphere of *sagrir* ». Qimhi employs the same term used by Ibn Ezra: *sagrir*. But Qimhi expands on Ibn Ezra's explanation by adding that it is situated between the sphere of fire and the air which is near us (i.e., the atmosphere) and represents the furthest place reached by the clouds. Qimhi is probably misinterpreting Abraham ibn Ezra's explanation, identifying the sphere of *sagrir* with the sphere of water instead of the sphere of air. It is not the only instance in

⁵⁸ MOSES MAIMONIDES, *Guide 2:6*, trans. PINES, p. 262. On this identification in Maimonides's thought, see JAMES A. DIAMOND, *Maimonides and the Hermeneutics of Concealment: Deciphering Scripture and Midrash in the 'Guide of the Perplexed'*, SUNY Press, Albany 2002, p. 57–59.

⁵⁹ MOSES MAIMONIDES, *Guide 2:10*, trans. PINES, p. 271.

which Qimhi misinterprets Ibn Ezra's interpretation of the spheres of the elements. In his commentary on Amos 9:6, Qimhi affirms that *ההכם רבי אברהם פירש* « Abraham ibn Ezra interpreted that *the heavens* is the air and *the upper chambers* are the other three [!] elements, placed in spheres one above the other ».⁶⁰ Qimhi is referring to Ibn Ezra's expression « the spheres of wind, coolness and fire », which the former interprets as a reference to the elements water, earth and fire.

However, David Qimhi adds an objection to the interpretation of *the waters that are above the heavens* as the sphere of water. He affirms that *ואין חכמי המחקר מודים בזה, כי אומרים, כי אין בינינו ובין גלגל הלבנה אלא האויר והאש הטבעית* « scientists do not accept this, for they say that there is only air and natural fire between us and the sphere of the moon ». In other words, there is no such thing as a sphere of water. The same objection is found in his commentary on Psalm 104:3. He cites the opinion of those who explain that the *waters* mentioned in this verse allude to the waters that are above the firmament. He adds that scientists reject such an interpretation, because there is no water above the firmament.⁶¹ In the case of Psalm 148:4, Qimhi proposes that the biblical expression *waters that are above the heavens* must be interpreted as the place in the air where the clouds are directed to be formed (והוא מקום תכלית הגעת העבים באויר). He adds that *במקום ההוא מן האויר* « in that place in the air, the clouds are converted into water, and fall in their natural course on the earth ». This is precisely the explanation given by Abraham ibn Ezra in his commentary on Ecclesiastes 1:7: the clouds are formed by the action of the evaporation of the sea, which is then converted into water and returns to the place from which it proceeds: springs originate from the rain, and rivers proceed from springs and flow to the sea; for this reason, the biblical text affirms that *all rivers run to the sea, but the sea is not full; to the place where the rivers flow, there they continue to flow*.⁶² David Qimhi ends his comments by affirming that *the waters that are above the heavens* refers to the air or the atmosphere, which he considers not a pure element but *חלוק באיכותו* « [a body] composed of several qualities ».

David Qimhi's comments resemble some of the explanations found in chapter seven of *Ruah Ḥen (Spirit of Grace)*. The author of this work describes the spherical shells of the four elements below the sphere of the moon according to Aristotelian physics: the first one is fire, which is naturally hot and dry; the next one is air, which is hot and wet; the following one is water, which is cold and wet; and the next one is earth, which is cold and dry. However, the elements are not

⁶⁰ MENAHEM COHEN (ed.), *Mikra'ot Gedolot Haketer: The Twelve Minor Prophets*, Bar Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 2012, p. 141.

⁶¹ COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 106.

⁶² IBN EZRA, *Comentario a Ecclesiastés*, p. 12* and 18–19.

placed in such an ideal set of concentric shells; rather, the motions of the celestial spheres cause them to be intermingled.⁶³ He also explains that it is in the nature of each element to move to reach its natural place in a linear motion. Referring to elemental water, he explicitly states that, *בהיותם על האויר בהכרח*, « as water is necessarily placed in the air or generated from clouds, it will return directly to earth and seas ».⁶⁴ The author implies that water is in the sphere of air together with that from which clouds are formed, and that its natural tendency is to return to the earth and seas from which it proceeds. In fact, he admits that there is air below and above water, and that air is in contact with both elemental fire and elemental earth. David Qimhi is probably alluding to *Ruah Hen* when he quotes the opinion of scientists who affirmed that between the earth and natural fire there is, in fact, only air.

In his interpretation of verse 6, David Qimhi clearly follows Abraham ibn Ezra: *He made them endure forever and ever* (Ps. 148:6) means that the superior beings are eternal, because their internal constitution or substance is not subject to change. However, unlike Ibn Ezra, David Qimhi considers that the superior beings were also created, as with the rest of the creatures.

Regarding the expression *fire and hail, snow and smoke* in verse 8, Qimhi follows Ibn Ezra's comments, expanding upon his explanations with further details: although these natural phenomena take place in the air, they are originally derived from the earth: *והכמי התולדות יקיימו זה בראיות גמורות* « and natural scientists prove this with decisive proofs ». He not only observes that they are two pairs of opposites as Ibn Ezra did, but also explains the meaning of this opposition through reference to their natural qualities: fire is hot and hail is cold, snow is cold and smoke is hot. Following Ibn Ezra, David Qimhi defines *fire* as *הוא אש הברק* « the fire of lightning which kindles the object upon which it alights ». Of *hail* he says that the meaning is evident. His definition of *smoke* is in fact an extension of Ibn Ezra's definition: *והוא האיד העולה מן הארץ, דומה לעשן והוא חם* « the exhalation arising from the earth, and bears a close resemblance to smoke: it is hot and dry ». On the expression *stormy wind fulfilling His command*, Qimhi explains that air moves as a result of a rising exhalation; the reason that it is qualified as *stormy* is due to the fact that *הגבוהים תפיל הארזים* « when it moves about with force, it pulls down tall cedars, buildings, and ships on the sea ». He adds that wind does not function through mere accident, but fulfills God's commands and *היא מתנועעת לעונש המקבלים* « moves about to punish those who receive it ».

⁶³ OFER ELIOR (ed.), *A Spirit of Grace Passed before My Face: Jews Reading Science, 1210–1896*, Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem 2016, p. 251–253.

⁶⁴ OFER ELIOR, *A Spirit of Grace*, p. 251.

On the reason why sea monsters are mentioned first among the earthly beings, David Qimhi explains that it is *כי הם גדולים מהיות היבשה* « because they are bigger than the beasts on earth ». In the case of the rest of the earthly beings mentioned in verses 9–10, Qimhi follows Ibn Ezra's idea that the biblical text mentions several pairs of opposing beings. He coincides with Ibn Ezra in considering that the term *mountains* includes the metals. He remarks that the *creeping things* in verse 10 refer to the lowest orders of the animal kingdom, and *winged birds* to the highest species of dumb animals. This interpretation is not found in Ibn Ezra. Similar to Ibn Ezra, Qimhi concludes that in the case of the earthly beings, *אין גדולתם עמידה וקיום* « their greatness is transient and ephemeral »; for this reason, *כי במעט זמן* « kings of the earth, princes and judges should not pride themselves on their greatness, for in a short time their greatness will have ceased and vanished, so that they will confess that exaltation and greatness pertain to God alone ».

David Qimhi observes that the psalm commands creatures not endowed with intellect to praise the Lord. He explains that the biblical text implies that *אותם* « the creatures which are endowed with intellect should praise Him on their own behalf and on behalf of the other creatures ».

In addition to these interpretations, David Qimhi observes that the arrangement of the verses in Psalm 148, apart from reproducing the Aristotelian cosmos, is parallel to the process of Creation described in Genesis 1. According to David Qimhi's explanation of Gen 1:1, the word *heavens* in the expression *God created the heavens and the earth* refers to the creation of the nine spheres of the constellations of the Zodiac and the planets, which were created on the first day of Creation. Following Maimonides, as he himself affirms, Qimhi sustains that the word *earth* alludes to the four physical elements which were also created on the first day.⁶⁵ In the second verse of Genesis, *the earth was a formless void and darkness covered the face of the deep, while a wind from God swept over the face of the waters*, all the elements – except the earth, which is mentioned first – appear in the biblical verse in correspondence with their natural order: the *darkness* which *covered the face of the deep* alludes to the fire, which is like darkness for it sheds no light; the *wind of God* is the air, and the *waters* over whose face the wind swept is elemental water.

In the case of Psalm 148, Qimhi observes that human beings are placed last in the psalm, because they were the last to be created, *לומר שהוא מושל על כלם, והוא* « as an indication that human beings are to rule over all,

⁶⁵ On Maimonides's interpretation of the account of Creation, see MOSES MAIMONIDES, *Guide* 2:30, trans. PINES, p. 348–359.

since they are the highest complex according to nature ». He also explains that *the waters above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) and *all ocean depths* (Psalm 148:7) allude to the waters above the dry land and the waters below the earth (Genesis 1:7). He adds that the former are mentioned first because they were created first according to the account of Creation.

This is not the only instance where David Qimhi explains a biblical passage according to Aristotelian cosmology. In his comments on the famous episode of Elijah's ascension to heaven (2 Kings 2), Qimhi explains that Elijah went up to heaven passing through the spheres of air and fire. It was in the sphere of fire where his body was consumed and his clothes – except his mantle – were burned. He goes on to say that, as such, only Elijah's spirit continued on to heaven.

VI. Menahem ha-Meiri

Menahem ben Solomon ha-Meiri wrote his *Commentary on Psalms* at the end of his life, between 1300 and 1315. In this commentary, as well as in his other works, Meiri frequently cites Abraham ibn Ezra and David Qimhi's interpretations. He usually cites them anonymously with the expression «there are those who explain ». In his comments on Psalm 22:17, Menahem ha-Meiri reproduces David Qimhi's comments on this same verse almost verbatim.⁶⁶ In his comments on Psalm 16, Menahem ha-Meiri cites, in the name of other exegetes, that מזמור נכבד ומעוטר «this is an important and crowned Psalm », which is precisely Ibn Ezra's opinion of this Psalm. He also coincides with Ibn Ezra in considering that Psalm 19 נכבד מאד «is a very important Psalm».⁶⁷ He sometimes calls Ibn Ezra 'abi ha-'ezari «the father of my help », as in his comments on Psalms 119:126 and in his *Book of Repentance*.

Menahem ha-Meiri describes Psalm 148 as שבח והודאה לאל על חדוש העולם, והמשך «a praise and thanksgiving to God for having created the world, for the continuation of existence, and for having chosen us as His treasured people».⁶⁸ In the case of the *angels*, he identifies them with הצורות הנפרדות «the separate forms », a formulation that clearly follows Qimhi's identification of the angels as «intellects separate from matter ».

⁶⁶ For the Hebrew text of Menahem ha-Meiri's commentary on Psalm 22:17, see COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 71. For an English translation of Meiri's comments, see GREGG STERN, *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture: Jewish Interpretation and Controversy in Medieval Languedoc*, Routledge, London-New York 2009, p. 59. On the influence of David Qimhi on Meiri's commentary on Psalms, see YEHUDAH FRIES-HOREV, «He-'Arot la-Perush ha-Me'iri 'al ha-Tehilim », *Kiryat Sefer*, 14 (1937), p. 16–20, and JOSEPH STEIN, «Zu Meiris Psalmenkommentar », *MGWJ*, 82 (1938), p. 46–56, esp. p. 49–50.

⁶⁷ COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 43 and 57.

⁶⁸ For the Hebrew text of Menahem ha-Meiri's commentary on Psalm 148, see COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. II, p. 241–245.

Abraham ibn Ezra's definition of the *angels* of Psalm 148:2 as those beings not endowed with bodies paved the way for their identification with the separate intellects by David Qimhi and with the separate forms by Menahem ha-Meiri.

According to Menahem ha-Meiri, *all his hosts* are the stars in the eighth sphere. and the *stars of light* are the planets. Apart from the sun and the moon explicitly mentioned in verse 3, Meiri mentions the names of the other five, although not in the order in which they were known in medieval times: Mercury, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Saturn.

Menahem ha-Meiri identifies the *heaven of heavens* in verse 4 with חלק האויר « the part of the upper air », meaning to say the sphere of air, as opposed to the atmosphere, which can be considered the 'lower air'. In this case, Meiri deviates from Ibn Ezra and Qimhi, who identify the *heaven of heavens* with the sphere of fire. The *waters that are above the heavens* are explained by Meiri as החלק האמצעי ממנו, אשר בו יכלה הניצוץ, ויפעלו בו המים « the part between them [*the heavens*] where the rays are extinguished and water is formed ». In this identification, he coincides with both Ibn Ezra and Qimhi. As in the case of Ibn Ezra, Meiri concludes that this is the limit of the superior beings.

Meiri's references to superior and inferior air resemble the terminology of *Ruah Hen*. In chapter seven, the author distinguishes three levels in the elemental air: the lower level, which is in contact with the earth, the intermediate level, and the upper level.⁶⁹ As has been demonstrated by Ofer Elier, *Ruah Hen* was a well-known work in Provence in the thirteenth century. Elier has analyzed the influence of *Ruah Hen* in Solomon ben Moses Melguiri, Gershon ben Solomon, and Menahem ha-Meiri's commentary on Proverbs 6:6–7.⁷⁰

Meiri coincides with Qimhi, and not with Ibn Ezra, in interpreting the expression *He made them endure forever and ever* as meaning that God בראם בריאה קיימת « created them with a permanent creation », that is, they were created to be eternal. On *the order which shall not be broken*, he gives the same explanation as David Qimhi: לא ישתנה סדר מציאותם « their internal constitution is not subject to change ».

Regarding the lower beings, Menahem ha-Meiri observes in his comments on verse 8 that the intention of the Psalm is להזכיר ארבע היסודות, ולא על הסדר « to mention the four elements, but not in their natural order ». *Water* is alluded to by the expression *all sea monsters and ocean depths* (verse 7); after it, *fire* is explicitly mentioned in verse 8; then, *air* is alluded to by the words *hail and snow* (verse 8); next, *earth* is also alluded to by the expression *mountains and all hills* (verse 9). Meiri concludes that the reason that the Psalm refers to the four elements in

⁶⁹ OFER ELIOR, *A Spirit of Grace*, p. 253.

⁷⁰ On the influence of *Ruah Hen* in southern France, see Elier's analysis in OFER ELIOR, *A Spirit of Grace*, p. 62–76; on its influence in Menahem ha-Meiri's commentary on Proverbs, see p. 73–76.

connection with the lower beings is that הוֹמֵר הָעוֹלָם הַתַּחְתּוֹן « they are the matter of the lower world ».

Meiri's comments on the references to the four elements of nature in the text of Psalm 148 must be understood in the context of his opposition to the radical allegorization of the biblical text. In a letter to Abba Mari, Meiri warns him against the extreme allegorization of some preachers who « allegorize as they please in Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, the Midrashim, the aggadot that are related to philosophic matters, and some of the Psalms that are related to physics ».⁷¹ At the end of his commentary on Psalm 36, Meiri affirms that the allegorical interpretation of the Psalm as referring to the two worlds is not consistent with the literal meaning of the verses.⁷² Aware of the risks of allegorical interpretation, Meiri tries to justify that the references to the elements of nature are based on the literal meaning of the biblical words. For this reason, he adds some brief notes to justify the connection between the literal and allegorical meanings: *all sea monsters and ocean depths* (verse 7) refer to *water* because the biblical text intends להפליג גודל הבריות אשר בתוכם « to emphasize the great size of the beings which live in it [water] »;⁷³ *fire* (verse 8) is explicitly mentioned to prove that it is « the superior fire », that is, elemental fire alone; *hail and snow* (verse 8) refer to *air* because these natural phenomena occur in the air. Although not explicitly stated by Meiri, *mountains and all hills* (verse 9) and other similar natural phenomena refer to *earth* because that is what they are made of.

However, Meiri then admits the possibility that the biblical text is not alluding to the four elements, but to the actual natural phenomena that take place in them: that is, that the biblical words must be interpreted literally. If this is the case, the word *fire* in verse 8 refers to אש הברק המתהווה באויר « the fire of lightning that can be seen in the atmosphere [lit. air] », an observation already suggested by Ibn Ezra. Meiri adds this possibility to be consistent with the rabbinic interpretation of the passage in *Genesis Rabbah* 12:11, which he quotes at the end of his comments on verse 8:

אמרו רבותינו: רבי אליעזר אומר: כל דבר שבארץ, אין ברייתו אלא מן הארץ, כדכתיב "הללו את יי מן הארץ" (תהלים קמח,ז). אש וברד וכו', כלומר: דבר שבארץ, שיוֹרֵד בארץ, אע"פ שיוֹרֵד מלמעלה. ועוד חזקו הענין רב הונא בשם רב יוסף: כל דבר שבשמים ובארץ, רוצה לומר, שהוא בשניהם, אין ברייתו אלא מן הארץ. ופירוש 'בשמים' באויר, ו'בארץ' שיוֹרֵד לארץ, כדכתיב "כי כאשר ירד הגשם והשלג מן השמים" (ישעיה נה,י), והם אינם יורדים אלא מן האויר.

⁷¹ STERN, *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture*, p. 128.

⁷² COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. I, p. 115.

⁷³ Meiri explains the word *tanninim* as « the biggest fish » and *tehomot* as « watery depths, where dryness by drought and burning does not reach ».

Our sages said: « Rabbi Eliezer said: all that is on earth was created out of earth, as it is written, *Praise the Lord from the earth* (Ps. 148:7) ». ⁷⁴ *Fire and hail, snow and smoke* are things which happen in the earth, and which come down to the earth from above. This idea was stressed by R. Huna in R. Joseph's name: « all that is in heaven and on the earth » – that is, all that happens in both places – « was created from the earth alone ». ⁷⁵ *In heaven* means 'in the atmosphere' and *on the earth* means 'that which falls on the earth', as it is written, *for as the rain and the snow come down from heaven* (Isa. 55:10), because they come down from the atmosphere. ⁷⁶

In his definition of the term *qīṭor* 'smoke', Menahem ha-Meiri expands the definitions given by Ibn Ezra and David Qimhi – based on Aristotle's *Meteorology* – by using Aristotle's definition explicitly: האיד היבש העולה מן הארץ, בהתהפכות הניצוץ, « smoke is the dry exhalation which rises from the earth, when the sunshine is reflected together with the moist exhalation in one of the areas of the air, and from which winds originate ». In this definition, Meiri combines several ideas expressed in Aristotle's *Meteorology*. He may have had access to this work in Samuel ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation completed in 1210 with the title *'Otot ha-Shamayim*. As proven by Halbertal, Meiri rejects Samuel ibn Tibbon's naturalistic explanation of the gathering of the waters (Gen. 1:9) in his *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah* as well as in his commentary on Psalm 95. In these texts, Meiri exhibits his opposition to the scientists who interpreted the gathering of the waters according to Aristotelian physics. On the contrary, he defends the creation of the world out of nothing and the idea that God changed the laws of nature so that the dry land would appear. In his comments on Psalm 104:2, however, Meiri closely follows Ibn Tibbon's terminology in his interpretation of the gathering of the waters according to Aristotle's *Meteorology*: the dry land appeared as the result of the action of the light that was created on the first day, which produced the evaporation of the waters and the formation of the firmament. ⁷⁷ Meiri's explanations of Psalm 104:2

⁷⁴ *Gen.Rab.* 12:11.

⁷⁵ *Gen.Rab.* 12:11.

⁷⁶ COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. 2, p. 243.

⁷⁷ MOSHE HALBERTAL, *Between Torah and Wisdom: Rabbi Menachem ha-Meiri and the Maimonidean Halakhists in Provence*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 2001, p. 69–75 (Hebrew). On the issue of the gathering of the waters in medieval Jewish thought, see GAD FREUDENTHAL, « The Gathering of the Water as an Issue Differentiating Traditionalist and Naturalist Positions in 13th-Century Jewish Thought: Samuel Ibn Tibbon, Jacob Ben Sheshet, and Menahem Ha-Meiri », *Da'at*, 74–75 (2013), p. 267–298 (Hebrew). On Meiri's exegesis of Psalm 95 in his *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah*, see MENAHEM HA MEIRI, *Ḥibbur ha-Teshuvah*, ed. ABRAHAM SCHREIBER, Kedem, Jerusalem 1976, p. 336–337. On Meiri's comments on Psalms 95 and 104 in his commentary on Psalms, see COHEN, *Haketer: Psalms*, vol. II, p. 85–87 and 105–113.

following the terminology of Aristotelian *Meteorology* are very similar to those given for Psalm 148.

In his *Meteorology* (I:4), Aristotle explains that the exhalation « rising from the earth itself, which is dry, is like smoke »; the other kind of exhalation, called vapor, is that « which rises from the moisture contained in the earth and on its surface ».⁷⁸ In his translation, Samuel ibn Tibbon uses the term *qīṭor* to refer to the ‘dry and hot exhalation’, by contrast with the ‘moist exhalation’ or vapor.⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that, in his Hebrew translation of Jonah ibn Janah’s *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, Judah ibn Tibbon connects the meaning of *qīṭor* in Ps. 148:8 with the smoke of the furnace of Gen. 19:28.⁸⁰

That the cause of both kinds of exhalation is the action of the sunshine on the earth is affirmed in Ibn Tibbon’s translation: הארץ כשתתלהב לתנועת השמש עליה יעלו: והאיד החם הלה כשיהיה בו ממנה מינים מן האידים האחד האד החם היבש כשלא יהיה בו שום ליחות, והאיד החם הלה כשיהיה בו קצת ליחות, והאד הקר הלה כשיהיו המים גוברים עליו « when the earth is heated by the motion of the sun, different kinds of exhalation rise. One is the hot dry exhalation when it contains no moisture; then there is the hot moist exhalation when it contains some moisture, and the cold moist exhalation when water is predominant ».⁸¹ In another paragraph, we read: כשתקרב השמש יגיע חומה לארץ « when the sun approaches, its heat reaches the earth and warms it and from the earth rise both an exhalation of the moisture it contains and the hot dry exhalation ».⁸²

Meiri’s definition also seems to point out the idea that these two kinds of exhalation have different areas in the air, as is found in Ibn Tibbon’s translation: the hot dry exhalation, which is called ‘smoke’ (*qīṭor*), יגיע עד למעלה מפני שהוא חם « reaches the upper sphere since it is hot and dry »; by contrast, the moist exhalation reaches only the lower parts of the atmosphere; this last exhalation « is the one that changes into water and from it clouds are produced ».⁸³

The idea that the dry exhalation is the cause of the winds is also found in Aristotle’s *Meteorology* (II:4). Aristotle affirms that the exhalation « in which moisture predominates is the source of rain, as we explained before, while the

⁷⁸ ARISTOTLE, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, trans. JONATHAN BARNES, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1984, vol. I, p. 559.

⁷⁹ SAMUEL IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim: Samuel Ibn Tibbon’s Hebrew Version of Aristotle’s Meteorology*, ed. and trans. RESIANNE FONTAINE, Brill, Leiden–New York–Köln 1995, p. 20–21.

⁸⁰ JONAH IBN JANAH, *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, trans. JUDAH IBN TIBBON, ed. SAMUEL BACHER, Philo Press, Amsterdam 1969, p. 447. On the use of the term *qīṭor* by Judah, Samuel and Moses ibn Tibbon, see FONTAINE, « Tibbonide Terminology », p. 69–72.

⁸¹ IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim*, p. 40–41.

⁸² IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim*, p. 48–49.

⁸³ IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim*, p. 48–49.

dry one is the source and substance of all winds ».⁸⁴ In Ibn Tibbon's translation we read: ויעלו מן הארץ שני אידים: האחד מהם לח והוא חומר לגשמים ולמימות והאחר יבש והוא « from the earth two exhalations rise: one of them moist – which serves as matter for rain and water – and the other one dry, which is the origin of all winds ».⁸⁵ Ibn Tibbon also adds: השמש כשיזרח על הארץ יעלה ממנה איד יבש בנגבו אותם, והוא יהיה גוף הרוח והתחלתה ושרשה וחמרה. ותשב הרוח בעבורו ותתעורר כשיעור העולה « when the sun shines on earth it makes the dry exhalation rise by drying up the earth, and this exhalation is the body of wind, its origin, its source and its matter. The wind blows because of this dry exhalation: it rises according to its large or small amount ».⁸⁶

The reason Meiri connects the meaning of the dry exhalation or smoke with the formation of winds from it serves him to justify that the expression *stormy wind fulfilling His command* (verse 8) is mentioned in the context of all the natural phenomena occurring in the same area of the Aristotelian cosmos, namely, the air or atmosphere. The reason that it is called *stormy wind* and not simply *wind* implies the religious belief that winds ולהשחית, להפיל ולהעניש, « sometimes are sent by God as a punishment by destroying, ruining and throwing down ». Thus, Meiri's explanation of *stormy wind* is based on David Qimhi's comments.

The scientific interpretation of Psalm 148 is relevant in the case of Menahem ha-Meiri, because he was one of the defenders of the legitimacy of science and philosophy in Judaism in the famous Maimonidean controversy. In his view, Aristotle's natural philosophy was no stranger to Jewish culture, but rather a part of it, such that the teachings of Aristotle can be found in Scripture.⁸⁷

VII. Conclusion

In the history of medieval Jewish exegesis, very little attention was paid to analyzing Psalm 148 from a scientific perspective prior to Abraham ibn Ezra. Abraham ibn Daud, one of the first Aristotelian Jewish authors, was probably the first Jewish exegete to connect the Aristotelian cosmology with a specific verse of Psalm 148. However, since he did not write a commentary on the whole Psalm, we cannot be sure if he considered the rest of the biblical text as reflecting Aristotelian physics.

Abraham ibn Ezra seems to be the first Jewish biblical scholar to have written a systematic commentary on Psalm 148 from a scientific perspective. In his opinion, this Psalm alludes to scientific matters that can only be understood

⁸⁴ ARISTOTLE, *The Complete Works*, vol. I, p. 584.

⁸⁵ IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim*, p. 104–105.

⁸⁶ IBN TIBBON, *Otot ha-Shamayim*, p. 106–107.

⁸⁷ STERN, *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture*, p. 115, 208, and 210.

through scientific knowledge. The biblical text of Psalm 148 describes the structure, composition and laws of the universe according to the principles of Aristotelian cosmology. Even the order of the verses of the Psalm and the beings mentioned in them are parallel to the heavenly beings in the Aristotelian cosmos. The four elements of the lower world – namely, fire, air, water and earth – are alluded to in the psalm in the same order in which they are found in nature. The definition of the smoke in verse 8 also follows Aristotelian natural laws as expressed in the *Meteorology*. He likewise provides scientific reasons to prove that the natural phenomena mentioned in Psalm 148:8 originate in the earth, although they are seen in heaven. Moreover, Ibn Ezra adapts the Aristotelian cosmos to meet the demands of biblical interpretation. Although the angels are not mentioned in the Aristotelian cosmos, Ibn Ezra includes them in the upper world since they are explicitly mentioned in the psalm, and because they are part of the medieval Aristotelian worldview as adopted by Jewish authors. He also includes the sphere of fire and the sphere of air in the upper world, whereas according to Aristotle they belong to the terrestrial region. Ibn Ezra may have derived his knowledge on Aristotelian cosmology from Ibn Sina's works, as well as from Abu Ma'shar's *Great Introduction to Astrology*.

Abraham ibn Ezra's scientific comments on Psalm 148 were the starting point for the future scientific analysis of this psalm by other medieval Jewish exegetes. This includes David Qimhi, who expanded on Ibn Ezra's comments by adding new explanations, probably drawn from both Maimonides and the *Ruah Hen*. Especially relevant is Qimhi's reference to Maimonides's theory of the desire of the spheres: here, the angels of Psalm 148:2 are the separate intellects desired by the spheres.

In some of his explanations, Qimhi exactly reproduces Ibn Ezra's comments, but in other cases he reinterprets Ibn Ezra's words by adding more details. In one case, Qimhi may even misinterpret Ibn Ezra's explanation: Qimhi thought that Ibn Ezra identified the *waters that are above the heavens* (Psalm 148:4) with the sphere of water in the Aristotelian cosmos, whereas Ibn Ezra actually identified them with the sphere of air where water sometimes forms. Qimhi objects to the idea that a sphere of permanent water really exists.

David Qimhi also observes that the arrangement of the verses of Psalm 148 is parallel to the process of Creation as it appears in Genesis 1. This idea, which was only alluded to by Ibn Ezra, is expanded upon in Qimhi's comments.

Menahem ha-Meiri's exegesis of Psalm 148 is in fact a reinterpretation of both Ibn Ezra and Qimhi's comments. However, unlike his predecessors, Meiri justifies the references to the four Aristotelian elements of nature in the psalm by explaining the close connection between the literal and the allegorical meaning of the biblical words, reducing the allegorical interpretation to a minimum. Meiri's naturalistic interpretation of the natural phenomena mentioned in verse

8 reproduces the naturalistic theories on the different kinds of exhalation in Aristotle's *Meteorology*. He may have had access to this work through Samuel ibn Tibbon's translation, entitled *'Otot ha-Shamayim*.

By using Aristotelian cosmology, Abraham ibn Ezra, David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri tried to find logical reasons to explain why certain beings appear in a specific order in Psalm 148. An evolution in the use of more naturalistic explanations can be observed in the interpretations of these three exegetes.

Abraham ibn Ezra's scientific comments on Psalm 148, probably derived from Aristotelian sources such as Ibn Sina's works and Abu Ma'shar's *Great Introduction to Astrology*, contributed to the process of transmission of Aristotelian science to the Jews of France. David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri both continued down this trail blazed by Ibn Ezra, supplementing the information taken from Ibn Ezra with additional Aristotelian sources, such as Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed* and the *Ruah Hen*.

This analysis also reinforces the idea expressed by Tamas Visi that in the thirteenth century Ibn Ezra was received as part of Maimonideanism. The reception of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides by the first post-Maimonidean philosophers and exegetes was closely connected.⁸⁸ In the case of Psalm 148, the fact that Ibn Ezra used Aristotelian ideas in his exegesis in a similar way to those of Maimonides in his *Guide of the Perplexed* contributed to what has been called 'the Maimonidean appropriation of Ibn Ezra'.

Eric Lawee has recently proven that the *Commentary on the Torah* by Rashi became a canonical text because, among other reasons, it attracted hundreds of interpretative glosses and because of its « capacity for sustaining ongoing reading and interpretation ». ⁸⁹ Lawee compares the reception of the commentaries on the Torah by Rashi and Ibn Ezra to conclude that « the two works attracted more supercommentaries than any other expositions of the Torah ». ⁹⁰ The relationship of David Qimhi and Menahem ha-Meiri to Abraham ibn Ezra must be understood in the context of Ibn Ezra's reception by his

⁸⁸ TAMAS VISI, « Ibn Ezra, a Maimonidean Authority: The Evidence of the Early Ibn Ezra Supercommentaries », in JAMES T. ROBINSON (ed.), *The Cultures of Maimonideanism: New Approaches to the History of Jewish Thought*, Brill, Leiden 2009, p. 89–132.

⁸⁹ ERIC LAWEE, *Rashi's Commentary on the Torah: Canonization and Resistance in the Reception of a Jewish Classic*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019, p. 6.

⁹⁰ LAWEE, *Rashi's Commentary*, p. 237–250. On Ibn Ezra's supercommentaries, see URIEL SIMON, « Interpreting the Interpreter: Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Commentaries », in ISADORE TWERSKY, JAY M. HARRIS (eds.), *Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra: Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA-London 1993, p. 86–128; see also the more recent work by HOWARD KREISEL, OFER ELIOR, DAVID BEN-ZAZON, ELIEZER DAVIDOVICH, ORLY SHOSHAN (eds.), *Five Early Supercommentators on R. Abraham Ibn Ezra: The Earliest Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Torah Commentary*, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, Beer-Sheva 2017.

medieval supercommentators. Qimhi and Meiri acted in the manner of Ibn Ezra's supercommentators, and appreciated Ibn Ezra's secret meaning of Psalm 148 and the connections he drew between the biblical text and Aristotelian science. In this sense, Qimhi and Meiri's scientific explanations of this Psalm can be considered as supercommentaries which expand, develop or in some cases even refute Ibn Ezra's comments.

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THE BEES' HONEY: REMARKS ON STUDENTS AS AGENTS OF KNOWLEDGE IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE THROUGH THE CASE OF SIMON CLÜVER (1540–1598)*

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Abstract

This article argues that the notebooks produced by students during their stay abroad can become precious documentary evidence of early modern knowledge creation and organization. From the second half of the fifteenth century an unprecedented availability of paper led students to take notes freely on anything they considered useful or interesting for their education and, more generally, for their future. The case study of the notebooks belonging to a student from Danzig who stayed in Wittenberg in the 1560s, will show how the multi-text documents produced by students contribute to a better understanding of both their educational needs and their original reworking of academic knowledge.

Key Words

Knowledge, education, notebooks, paper, early modernity.



Introduction

Early modern studies of knowledge production have traditionally focused on academic teaching to the neglect of students. Although the student does appear in studies on student migration, there is a tendency to investigate young people historically only as learning subjects, able at best to provide indirect information about their teachers, often well-known humanists or scientists. This article's aim is to reverse the viewpoint from the academics to the traveling students. Were the

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students who crossed Europe during the Renaissance to attend the most renowned universities only beneficiaries of academic knowledge, or did they actively participate in its production? Were they mere witnesses to the creation of the knowledge of their time or protagonists too? This article offers some reflections on the subject and the current state of scholarship by presenting a case study focused on a student from Danzig attending the University of Wittenberg in the 1560s.

As consistent as studies on student migration during the Renaissance have been, the phenomenon of migration itself can be grouped into two areas of research. The first focuses on the itineraries of students and on the cultural, socio-political, religious, and economic reasons behind their mobility. Investigations are often nationally based, observing migration along precise north-south, east-west trajectories.¹ The other research area focuses, instead, on the destination of students, reconstructing their academic life in both institutional and informal environments.² A common ground of investigation for the studies described so far are enrollment records, programs, and educational reports, in which young travelers are evaluated on a statistical basis and generally considered according to group belonging, such as study disciplines and geographic provenance. Evaluated in numbers and through institutional sources, students clearly appear to be passive subjects in the process of creation and transmission of the study disciplines. Yet if one looks more closely at the surviving archival sources, students too left evidence of their university experience upon completion of their studies.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, some extraordinary historical circumstances profoundly transformed students' habits. During this period, the unprecedented availability of paper allowed individual students to produce a large number of documents. In all European learning institutions since the Middle Ages, academic lectures were prepared by teachers and transcribed by professional copyists into units called *pecie*, from the name of the file obtained by folding a whole parchment into square parts. One of the most studied documents by historians and codicologists, *pecie* were sold to students according to rates set by

¹ See HILDE DE RIDDER SYMOENS, « La migration académique des hommes et des idées en Europe », *CRE - Information*, 62/2 (1983), p. 59–80; JACQUES VERGER, « La peregrinatio accademica », in GIAN PAOLO BRIZZI, JACQUES VERGER (eds.), *Le università dell'Europa. Gli uomini e i luoghi secc. XII–XVIII*, Silvana, Milan 1993, p. 107–135.

² Exemplary in this regard are the studies of CYNTHIA KLESTINEC focusing on the faculty of medicine at Padua: « Medical Education in Padua: Students, Faculty and Facilities », in OLE PETER GRELL, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, JON ARRIZABALAGA (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789*, Ashgate, Farnham 2010, p. 193–220.

the universities within a system that was not revised for centuries.³ The spread of paper determined the decline of this practice because students, with easy access to this relatively inexpensive medium, could personally transcribe the content of their lessons along with anything else they deemed useful for their future. These documents were their personal notebooks and contained fragments of scientific treatises, letters, poems, speeches, drawings, and more. As one would expect, we rarely find them preserved in the archives of the universities they attended because students took their treasure trove of knowledge home with them. Instead, they abound in the libraries of the places where they spent their later careers, often becoming a tool for their professional activities.

Philologists and historians of literature have illustrated the crisis of the *pecia* and its reverberation in students' lives.⁴ In some cases it has been pointed out that the students' notebooks are an x-ray of the literary tastes of their creators, and can be used to better understand the spread of Humanism in Europe.⁵ Still, studies of students' opinions of academic disciplines are rare, and even rarer is the attempt to measure a student's contribution to the history of knowledge. In cases where the surviving notes of a particular scientist or thinker have been exploited, predominantly in the fields of the history of science and philosophy, it is to trace his intellectual development. The notebooks of Isaac Newton, John Locke, Francis Bacon, just to name a few well-known examples, contribute to an understanding of the evolution of their thought and doctrines.

Already a decade has passed since Ann Blair, one of the most thoughtful scholars of the phenomenon, asserted that « the history of note-taking has only

³ JEAN DESTREZ, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle*, Éditions Jacques Vautrain, Paris 1935; GRAHAM POLLARD, « The *pecia* System in the Medieval Universities », in MALCOLM BECKWITH PARKES, ANDREW GEORGE WATSON (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries*, Scholar Press, London 1978, p. 145–161; GIOVANNA MURANO, *Opere diffuse per 'exemplar' e pecia*, Brepols, Turnhout 2005.

⁴ LUCIANO GARGAN, « 'Dum eram studens Padue'. Studenti-copisti a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento », in *Libri e maestri tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, Messina 2011 (1st ed. 2001), p. 557–577.

⁵ Pioneering are the studies of LUDWIG BERTALOT, « Humanistisches Studienheft eines Nürnberger Scholaren aus Pavia (1460) », in PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER (ed.), *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, 2 vol., Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1975, p. 83–161. See also AGOSTINO SOTTILI, *Studenti tedeschi e Umanesimo italiano nell'Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento*, Antenore, Padua 1971; ANNALISA BELLONI, *Professori giuristi a Padova nel secolo XV, Profili bibliografici e cattedre*, Klostermann, Frankfurt 1986; TIZIANA PESENTI, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello Studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509*, Lint, Padua 1984; JÜRGEN MIETHKE (ed.), *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1992; VINCENZO COLLI (ed.), *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, V. Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main 2002 (Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, 155); MARIE-DOMINIQUE COUZINET, *Pierre Ramus et la critique du pédantisme. Philosophie, humanisme et culture scolaire au XVI^e siècle*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2015; FABIO FORNER, « Le miscellanee universitarie e la loro diffusione oltralpe », *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 128/1 (2016), p. 71–83.

begun to be written ». ⁶ The notebooks produced by students, particularly those crisscrossing Europe, have not yet received the attention that deserve. In recent years, the attention of scholars is gradually focusing on the contribution of Renaissance students working in particular in the archives of the most important institutions of the time.⁷ In addition to this, some of the current research focuses on the 17th century, seeing a close methodical relationship between notetaking and the scientific revolution.⁸ Although student migrations were intense throughout the 16th century, this period remains largely unexplored, as are the numerous documents of minor figures that abound in archives and libraries.

The law student Simon Clüver (1540–1598) is among them. Three of his notebooks are preserved in the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk.⁹ Produced during his studies at the University of Wittenberg between 1559 and 1565, the notes show several of the young man's interests, some directly related to teaching and others less so. His notebooks are undoubtedly useful sources for the history of culture, but when looking at his notes, his effort at choosing, memorizing, and ordering the transcribed information also emerges. Lessons and fragments of texts are the result of his selection, guided by study interests and curiosity. The information considered most important is also accompanied by notes of various kinds intended to deepen understanding and aid memory. Finally, the notes are given a spatial order on the page and in the collection, which suggests an attempt to build a conceptual hierarchy among the various pieces of transcribed information. In other words, there is a level of original reworking of knowledge waiting to be explored.

I. A Problem of Method: How to Track Down Notebooks

The lack of studies on the 16th century around minor figures is a direct consequence of the difficulty in analyzing resources such as students' notebooks. If they have not been taken into consideration thus far, it is mainly because of the problem of unearthing them in the archives and reading them properly.

⁶ ANN BLAIR, « The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe », *Intellectual History Review*, 20/3 (2010), p. 303–316: 316; see also FREDERIC LAWRENCE HOLMES, JÜRGEN RENN, HANS-JORG RHEINBERGER (eds.), *Reworking the Bench. Research Notebooks in the History of Science*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 2003; URSULA KLEIN, « Paper Tools in Experimental Cultures. The Case of Berzelian Formulae », *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 32 (2001), p. 265–312.

⁷ In this very regard, particularly active is the group of scholars at the University of Louvain, such as Jan Papy, Christoph Geudens, and Raf Van Rooij, with their publications on student notes on logic.

⁸ RICHARD YEO, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2014.

⁹ MSS 2182 (1559), 2257 (1563–1564), 2355 (1563–1565).

They are usually multi-text manuscripts, i.e., anthologies originally designed by their creators to contain many texts, among which the lecture notes obviously stand out. In European archives, there is an abundance of miscellaneous manuscripts which, in turn, are made up of independent units. Defined as 'composite' by philologists, they are collections of texts that were gathered at different times. In the case of a student's notebooks this may have happened at the hands of a later possessor, e.g., an heir or collector, or during his lifetime. This is the case of Clüver too. The Gdańsk library preserves six different notebooks that the author probably had personally bound, three relating to his studies, two preserving notes on his later legal activity, and one collecting letters and political and diplomatic speeches.¹⁰

More frequently, archivists and librarians are the ones who over the course of decades and centuries bind documents of different origin following criteria such as theme, chronology, geographical affinity, or most often, size. Therefore, it is not uncommon for notebooks to be hidden inside macro-collections, or we find them catalogued in a generic and extremely varied way when they have been preserved bound on their own. We can, for example, find them under the name of *silva rerum*, *miscellanea*, *annotationes*, *fragmenta*, *prolegomena philosophica* (or *medicinae*, or *theologiae*), *scripta*, and so on. Being included in larger collections or, when independent, having creative titles, are the main reasons for their inaccessibility and oblivion.

In order to navigate through the varied way in which students' notebooks have been catalogued over the centuries, it is undoubtedly helpful to know that the bibliographical record nearly always indicates the existence of lecture notes within the collection, and often the name of the teacher or the course appears as well.¹¹ However, the main compass for identifying a notebook in the archives and reconstructing its content in its entirety are its material features and, in particular, the paper on which it is written.

In the second half of the 15th century, the new technology of printing had a domino effect on all those industrial and economic sectors involved in the printing process, giving a boost to various manufacturing activities. One thinks, for example, the growth of the jewellery sector in the service of creating movable type. However, the productive activity enjoying the greatest impetus from typography was that of paper, seen for example in the exponential growth of its effects in the university environment. The paper industry is the constitutive basis for the revolution in students' habits, as they experienced the autonomy to create their own set of knowledge thanks to a sufficiently available and economical

¹⁰ MSS 1756, 1859 and MS 1625.

¹¹ The first codicological description of the students' notebooks is by LUCIA GUALDO ROSA, « Censimento dei codici dell'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni, I », in *Manoscritti delle biblioteche non italiane*, Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo, Rome 1993, p. XVI-XVIII.

source. The printed book, especially in the first fifty years after its invention, was not a product accessible to everyone.¹² Moreover, even for the wealthier students who could purchase volumes, it was still useful to transcribe into one's notes only what one considered most important in a text, such as a chapter, a paragraph, or even just a quote of a few words.

Paper was the spark that ignited socio-cultural change in academic communities; however, for researchers today it is also the tool of choice for accurately observing that change. In order to sustain an exploding business, paper mills had to impose rules on themselves and in a European dimension of competition they had to be recognizable. Their product, to use a contemporary term, had to be as traceable as possible. If publishers indicated their own typographic mark on the title page of their books, the paper industry, similarly, impressed a mark on the sheets, which makes it possible to trace the producer and the period in which a certain stock was produced. This is how the use of the watermark was born and spread in the first era of modernity, with the characteristic symbol that every paper mill inserted in the paper changing periodically.

Watermark analysis is a tool commonly used in Renaissance book studies to establish the volumes' place and date of printing, most commonly banned books, where such information is missing.¹³ To support this field of research, there are impressive surveys of all the watermarks used in Europe in the early modern period, where each watermark is provided with data on the paper mill that adopted it and the period of its use.¹⁴ For the study of manuscripts, on the other hand, the use of watermarks is still scarce, despite encouraging results of its application. Its usefulness is evident, for example, in the analysis of medieval monastic codices, in the study of some extra-European manuscript traditions, and in reconstructing the chronology of the activity of historical figures, as in the case of the dating of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's scores.¹⁵

For the study of students' notebooks, the identification of the watermark has an important double function. On the one hand, it provides information about

¹² See PETER PARSHALL, « Introduction: The Modern Historiography of Early Printmaking », in PETER PARSHALL (ed.), *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2009, p. 9–16.

¹³ JOHN BIDWELL, « The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact and Commodity », in PETER DAVISON (ed.), *The Book Encompassed. Studies in Twentieth-century Bibliography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, p. 69–82; NEIL HARRIS, *Paper and Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence*, Institut d'Histoire du Livre, Lyon 2017.

¹⁴ CHARLES-MOÏSE BRIQUET, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vol., A. Jullien, Genève 1907; GERHARD PICCARD, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, 17 vol., Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1961–1997. In this essay I am using the online versions contained in website *The Bernstein Consortium. The Memory of Paper*.

¹⁵ ALAN TYSON, *Mozart: studies of the Autograph Scores*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1987.

where and when the notebooks were made. University lectures are almost always accompanied by details about the place and date of the course, but if the student transcribes other texts, only the dating of the paper guarantees the reconstruction of the notebook in its entirety, that is, the original units and, consequently, the design of its creator. On the other hand, the watermark also becomes a precious compass with which to orient oneself in the archives, since it allows the researcher to find the notebook within larger collections, the already mentioned 'composite' ones. Some might argue that the paleographic evidence of the hand of the writer would alone ensure its identification, but a high risk of including notes in the notebook that the student recorded after his studies, during his professional career and often gathered by his heirs in a single bound volume, would indeed remain. As has been well said, humanism was « among many things, a world of anthologies », and in the vast sea of miscellaneous documents that it originated, the watermark, indicating the same stock of paper produced in a certain area and period, provides objective criteria for bringing the students' notebooks to light.¹⁶

II. *Sum Simonis Kluveri nec alterius esse volo*¹⁷

An analysis of the three notebooks that belonged to the jurist Clüver offers an example of the way in which the new knowledge was selected and ordered. The university notes do not concern lectures or treatises on jurisprudence, the field in which he obtained his academic degree. Instead, each notebook corresponds to specific study interests even though the disciplines all fall within the Arts curriculum. As a prelude to higher studies in law, medicine, and theology, the liberal arts derive from the disciplines of the medieval trivium and quadrivium and in the early modern period include, with some variations depending on the university, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, natural philosophy, arithmetic, geometry (which includes astronomy), and music theory, the latter absent from Clüver's notebooks.

We have very little information regarding Clüver's life other than the fact that he was born in Gdańsk, studied in Wittenberg, and spent most of his career in Nuremberg where he moved in 1586 after traveling through Holland, France, England, Italy, and Hungary. In the university library in Leiden there are traces of his personal book collection, which is there today because of his grandson who resided there and inherited it. Philipp Clüver (1580–1622) was a well-known figure

¹⁶ ARMANDO PETRUCCI, « From the Unitary Book to the Miscellany », in CHARLES M. RADDING (ed.), *Writers and Readers in Medieval History. Studies in the History of Written Culture*, Yale University Press, New Haven–London 1995, p. 1–18; originally published as « Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo », in ANDREA GIARDINA (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, vol. IV: *Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura*, Laterza, Bari 1986, p. 173–187.

¹⁷ Quotation from MS 2182, fol. 177r.

in his time, as he was considered the founder of historical geography and it is in the studies dedicated to him where some information about his uncle appears as well.¹⁸

The internal dating that marks the lessons, the indication of the place and in some cases the name of the teachers, and partially also the paper stocks used for the first two notebooks, MSS 2182 and 2257, confirm that the notes date back to his stay at the University of Wittenberg.¹⁹

I limit myself here to a brief review of their content in order to devote more space to the last notebook because it presents some characteristics that distinguish it from the previous ones. The oldest of the three, MS 2182, is dated 1559 and opens with a transcription by Clüver of the anonymous treatise *Dispositiones rethorice omnis generis epistolarum*.²⁰ This is followed by Bernhard Brummer's *Argumenta* with an earlier date, 1554. We find then a selection of letters in German of various content, to which are added Latin translations collected under titles such as *preceptoris, meum, aliter*.²¹ An oration follows an oration of Melancthon held at the University of Wittenberg, and concluding the notebook is an incomplete transcription of Virgil's *Georgics*.²²

In the second notebook, MS 2257, we move forward a few years because the notes cover the two-year period of 1563–1564, and the content changes to lecture notes on astronomy and geometry as well as material collected directly during the lectures. The first part of it is filled with lectures on geometry and astronomy by Bartholomäus Schönborn (1530–1585), chair of mathematics from 1560.²³ Clüver is one of his students annotating his commentary on the *Theoricæ novæ planetarum* by Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461), to whom we owe the rise of observational

¹⁸ On Clüver's library HULSHOFF POL, *The First Century of Leiden University Library*, Brill, Leiden 1975.

¹⁹ There are three watermarks in these two notebooks, but only one (in MS 2182) is clearly identifiable in German-made paper from around 1560, see Piccard on line DE9150-PO-25798.

²⁰ The work occupies fol. 1–176. The text is initially in German with some additions in Latin, then from fol. 43 to 182 it is in Latin only. See EMIL J. POLAK, *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters*, vol. I: *A Census of Manuscripts Found in Part of Europe*, Brill, Leiden 1993, p. 188.

²¹ Fol. 177–287.

²² The text begins on fol. 284r, is entitled «Philippus Melancthon ad auditorium scholae Vuittebergensis a. 1546 de obitu M.D. Lutheri» and is probably taken from *Historia de vita et actis reverendiss. Viri D. Mart. Lutheri 1549*. The last part of the notebook is occupied by «In Georgica Virgilii M. Casparis Crucigeri Vitemberge», also dated 1559. The author is not Caspar Cruciger (1504–1548), secretary and collaborator of Luther, but certainly his homonymous son who since 1557 was professor of poetry at the *Artistenfakultät* of Wittenberg, where he also lectured on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the *De officiis* di Cicerone. See HEINER LÜCK (ed.), *Martin Luther und seine Universität: Vorträge anlässlich des 450. Todestages des Reformators*, Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wein 1998.

²³ «Explicatio theoricarum Georgii purbachii tradita a Bartholomeo Schonborn [...] 23 ottobre 1563».

astronomy. This is followed by other notes on the same subject and then on Euclidean geometry.²⁴

The handwriting in black ink is hasty, notes and titles are instead in red, while several astronomical images complete the text. These images must have been considered insufficient for the student, who integrated them with a series of additional drawings contained in cartouches. The cartouches are inserted in a regular manner in the folders, having a size much smaller than the mirror of the page. In this way the reading of the text is not interrupted by consultation of the image to which it refers.²⁵

The last notebook, MS 2355, which the catalog places chronologically almost contemporary to the second (1563–1565), introduces novelties both in its content and in the way it is assembled, that is, in the physical characteristics of the compilation. It turns out that Clüver in the same period in which he devoted himself to geometry and astronomy also annotated lessons on Aristotelian dialectics, became interested in Horace, and practiced the Italian language. These studies, except for Italian, are consistent with the liberal arts program, yet some clues point to Clüver's extra care in selecting and organizing the documents.

This notebook is different from the other two in that there are printed texts, excerpts and complete, which alternate with the handwritten manuscript sections. It is not exceptional that in the students' notebooks there are also printed editions which are equally useful in analyzing the choices of the writer.²⁶

In the beginning we find three printed works all of logical-dialectical content: *Compendiosa institutio in universam dialecticam ex Arist[otele] Rivio aliisque auctoribus recentioribus collecta* by Jean Vernerey (1540–1579) printed in Pavia in 1565;²⁷ then the *Congestum logicum* by Michał Falkener of Wrocław (c. 1460–1534) dated 1504;²⁸ and *Georgii Pachimerij in universam Aristotelis disserendi artem epitomen* translated by Giovanni Battista Rasario (1517–1578). In the last of these volumes, the title page lacks the bottom part containing the colophon, so there is no information about

²⁴ *Novæ planetarum, id est septem errantium siderum nec non octavi seu firmamenti*. The other notes are entitled « In theorias planetarum Georgii purbachii [...] 1563 » (fol. 138), « Explicatio primi libri Euclidi » (fol. 238), « De numerandis locorum intervallis in lineis rectis brevis tractatus » (fol. 330).

²⁵ 150 × 170 mm.

²⁶ On student's notebook made by manuscript and printed texts, see ALICJA BIELAK, « A Critical and Distracted Student of Medicine Faculty in Padua. Jan Brożek (1585–1652) and his Notebook », *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* (forthcoming).

²⁷ *Compendiosa institutio in universam dialecticam ex Arist. Rivio aliisque auctoribus recentioribus collecta*, Jean Vernerey, Ercoliano Bartoli, Pavia 1565, in 4°, there are no manuscript notes.

²⁸ This is the 1504 edition in 4° of the *Congestum logicum* printed in Cracow by Jan Haller (c. 1467–1525) and Caspar Hochfeder (d. c. 1517). On Michał Falkener (c. 1460–1534) and his work, LUDWIK NOWAK, *Michael Falkener de Vratislavia, Congestum logicum, Introductonium dialecticae*, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warsaw 1990.

the publisher or the place of printing. However, the typographical mark—two hands holding a scepter with two twisted snakes, two flowers, and four ears of corn—reveals that the printer was Thomas Richard (1547–1568), who worked in Paris and published this text four times around the middle of the 16th century.²⁹ The manuscript notes that follow the printed texts and that contain a detailed commentary on the last of them, the treatise of Georgius Pachymeres (1242–c. 1310), are also of Parisian provenance. The author of the commentary is an unidentified Casparus Sagerius, who in a final note informs the reader that he finished the commentary in September 1567 at the Jesuit College in Paris.³⁰

After Sagerius' commentary and a few blank pages, a new manuscript part entitled *Porphyrii quinque vocum brevis expositio [per] Cruschium Parisiis* begins, followed by a printed section in Greek, the Porphyrian *Isagoge* (233–c. 305), heavily annotated in Latin. As is known, the *Isagoge* of Plotinus' pupil is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle, so it is not surprising to find the printed *Categories* still in Greek and also annotations in Latin, but only in the initial part immediately following the notebook.³¹ Looking at the typographical features of fonts, pagination, and ornaments it is clear that *Isagoge* and *Categories* correspond to the same edition and more precisely they are the first 56 pages of a volume of Aristotle's *Organon* printed in Paris in 1562 by Guillaume Morel.³²

Moving forward in the notebook, handwritten parts and printed sections keep alternating: *In dialecticae aliquot capita expositiones* precedes an edition of *Q. Horatii Flacci epistolarum libri duo*,³³ that contains marginalia written by a hand other than Clüver's. And further still, there are manuscript lecture notes, some *Prolegomena*, namely, an introduction to the poetic art of Horace, with a date in the margin starting on 12 November 1563, and in this case, too, the handwriting is not that of Clüver.³⁴ The fact that there is another person behind the composition of his notebook should not be alarming, as it was common practice among students to take notes in place of a colleague in return for some favor, such as a period of hospitality in the colleague's home.³⁵

²⁹ In 1552, 1554, 1555 and in 1558 in 4° format.

³⁰ The commentary covers fol. 2–101 and is mentioned in CHARLES H. LOHR, « Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors Pi–Sm », *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33/4 (Winter, 1980), p. 623–734: 706.

³¹ Fol. 101. This is followed by blank fol. 101v to 112v, while at fol. 113 begins the commentary text on the *Isagoge*.

³² *Organum Aristotelis. Porphyrii isagoge. Aristotelis categoriae; De interpretatione; Analyticorum priorum libr. II; Analyticorum posteriorum libr. II; Topicorum libr. VIII; Elenchorum sophisticorum libr. II*, apud Guillaume Morel, Paris 1562, 4°. In the USTC (154547), besides this one, only 5 other exemplars are censused, but there is a sixth preserved in the State Library of Lucca.

³³ The first begins at fol. 187, while the printed at fol. 215. Horace's work is a Lotter edition, printed in Lyptzk in 1512.

³⁴ Fol. 251–257 are blank and precede the « Prolegomena in Horatium de arte poetica », which begin at fol. 258.

³⁵ See GARGAN, « Dum eram studens Padue », p. 565–566.

In the last portion of the notebook, however, his hand returns and the library catalog describes this section as « exercises in the Italian language ». The passages contain various corrections and terminological variants for the same term, suggesting that they are exercises in translation, but the transcribed material also presents an evident orientation towards ethical teaching.³⁶ These are historical exempla drawn from various classical authors, for example, passages of Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares*.³⁷ Compared to the other manuscript parts of the notebook, here a horizontal line divides one topic from another, while a Latin titling in the margin of the page describes the moral and rhetorical content with key words, such as *Patientia*, *Amicitia*, *Eloquentia popularis*, *Sermo brevis et efficax*, etc. These titles are precisely the ones that make it possible to identify the text of the Italian language exercises. In fact, they correspond in a punctual way to the *Apophthegmata* by Erasmus of Rotterdam that, from the first printed version by Froben from 1531 onwards, often have the same graphic layout that includes the use of short titles in the margins to orient the reader. Among these editions is one produced by Johann Gymnich in 1538, a copy of which Clüver owned and which is the exact one currently for sale on the antiquarian market.³⁸ Clüver's selection of a number of the texts, including this last one, suggests that he traveled to France and Italy taking classes and also collecting specific documents on that occasion, for example the manuals at the beginning of the notebook.

In this regard, the watermark identification allows for the census of four different paper stocks, from which, however, the three printed texts are excluded, since the watermarks are not clearly identifiable. The first recognizable watermark depicts a capital letter B surmounted by a crown and with an inscription underneath. It is French paper produced in Nancy in the 1560s. It appears in the manuscript commentary on the printed text of Pachymeres that precedes it, continues to appear in subsequent blank pages, in the *Porphyrii quinque vocum brevis expositio*, and, surprisingly, also in the printing of *Isagoge* and *Categories*.³⁹ Since at the time publishers sold the books unbound, the most likely hypothesis is that the person who purchased the folders containing the two printed chapters also purchased a supply of paper that he used for the two manuscript sections preceding the two chapters in the notebook from the printer.

³⁶ The Italian part starts at fol. 321v.

³⁷ CICERO, *Letters to Friends, Volume I: Letters 1–113*, ed. and trans. DAVID ROY SHACKLETON BAILEY, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 2001, p. 256–257, 56 (I.3).

³⁸ Clüver's exemplar is now in the sale catalog of Asher rare books and the specific issue is *Apophthegmatum libri octo cum primis frugiferi, denuò vigilanter ab ipos recogniti autore, non sine lucro novae accessionis*, Johann Gymnich I, Cologne 1538, 8°. After Froben, Gymnich is the first to publish the text in eight books whereas the *editio princeps* included six. The volume was formerly part of Clüver's books collection stored in the University Library of Leiden, see POL, *The First Century of Leiden University Library*, p. 414.

³⁹ BRIQUET, *Les Filigranes*, nr. 8078.

The second watermark instead contains an emblem with a scorpion and corresponds to the next manuscript section that begins on page 187 with the *In dialecticae aliquot capita expositiones*. In this case it is German paper produced around 1560 in the area of Küstrin.⁴⁰ The same watermark appears in some parts of Clüver's notebook with the earliest date that contains notes on epistolography. The paper used for the *Prolegomena in Horatium de arte poetica* containing the watermark of the head of a jester is dated 1563 and is German too, from Koblenz.⁴¹ Finally, the Italian translation of Erasmus's work is written on Italian paper; the watermark contains the profile of an angel and is made in the decade between 1562 and 1571 in Salò.⁴² The three geographical areas of Germany, France, and Italy are confirmed not only by the paper, but also by information contained in the notebook.

In order to have an overview of the selection made by Clüver to compose his notebook, the ten texts reviewed are repeated in a synthetic manner, distinguishing with italics the printed sections from the manuscript ones:

1. *Compendiosa institutio in universam dialecticam ex Arist. Rivio aliisque auctoribus recentioribus collecta*
2. *Congestum logicum*
3. *Georgii pachimerij in universa Aristotelis disserendi artem epitomen*
4. Comment to Pachymeres' work
5. *Porphyrii quinque vocum brevis expositio [per] Cruschium Parisiis*
6. *Isagoge and Categories*
7. *In Dialecticae aliquot capita expositiones*
8. *Q. Horatii Flacci epistolarum libri duo*
9. *Prolegomena in Horatium de arte poetica*
10. *Apophthegmata* in Italian

So far, we find four thematic areas arising from this brief overview of ten texts selected by Clüver: logical-dialectical; rhetorical-stylistic, represented by Horace's texts, which is thematically related to the oldest notebook of the three; ontological, based on Aristotle's *Categories* introduced by Porphyry; and ethical-practical, built on *exempla*.

With regard to the Aristotelian manuals that open the notebook, it is striking that Clüver decided to preserve and comment on three exquisite scholastic works of dialectics which were unusual for the academic context of Wittenberg in those

⁴⁰ It is the same watermark that also appears in MS 2182, see nota 22.

⁴¹ BRIQUET, *Les Filigranes*, nr.15728.

⁴² LEONARDO MAZZOLDI, *Filigrane di cartiere bresciane*, Ateneo di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Brescia 1990, nr. 147 and BRIQUET, *Les Filigranes*, nr. 622. This watermark lacks a complete definition of its details that would allow a more precise datation.

years. For example, the *Congestum logicum* is a manual based on the works of Peter of Spain devoted to the interpretation of Aristotle's logic.⁴³ Its author, Falkener, in addition to being a philosopher, theologian, and rector of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cracow, was indeed a firm Thomist.

If medieval dialectics were focused on refutation, that is, on debate, Renaissance dialectics instead describe an *ars asserendi* that aims to develop and strengthen oratory, that is, the construction of a discourse rich in arguments. Starting from watershed works such as Rudolf Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* (1479), Johannes Sturm's *Partitionum dialecticarum libri* (1539), and Petrus Ramuss' *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543), humanistic manuals on dialectics divide the discipline into theories of *inventio* (which includes *ordo*) and *iudicium*, de facto subordinating the latter to the former. In the second half of the sixteenth century, these kinds of texts were very widespread in Protestant circles, and Wittenberg, the stronghold of the Reformation, was no exception, where Philipp Melanchthon and his followers promoted an anti-scholastic and humanist education.⁴⁴

Despite this, Clüver selected three manuals of dialectics whose main focus was on *iudicium* and on the methods for confutation, and less on *inventio*. He chose to keep for himself treatises that present a medieval approach, the reasons for which one can make several suppositions. A rather trivial one is that he found and collected these works because he was studying far from Wittenberg, as indeed the paper would show. A more intriguing one is the hypothesis that the future lawyer wanted to preserve precisely this type of dialectic because he considered it more useful to the needs of the forum. In court he would certainly have to be able to find arguments and organize them in a topical manner; at the same time, it would also be necessary to be able to refute the opponent's arguments in the hearing.

Isagoge and *Categories*, texts of the so-called medieval *logica vetus*, and which in the geography of the notebook occupy its central part, seem to be the gnoseological framework under which one could ideally order most of the documents. It has a different role than the other printed works in the notebook that expand on aspects of the subject or author in the corresponding notes. Lectures in the form of a commentary on the work Pachymeres, for example, are accompanied by the printed text of the same, and similarly, the epistolary of Horace is added to the lectures on his poetic art.

Instead, the edition of Aristotle in Greek appears as a sort of introduction to the manuals on dialectics in the beginning and a junction between them and the manuscript part that follows, *In dialecticae aliquot capita expositiones*. It is important

⁴³ On him see PAUL W. KNOLL, *A Pearl of Powerful Learning: The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden 2016, p. 318–319.

⁴⁴ See LISA JARDINE, « Humanism and the Teaching of Logic », in NORMAN KRETZMANN, ANTHONY KENNY, JAN PINBORG (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy from the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100–1600*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge p. 797–807.

to read the manuals in connection with these notes, which, though they do not display the internal dating typical of university lectures, would likely have been a document drafted in the classroom. It is probably a series of lectures held by Abdias Praetorius (1524–1573) teaching at Wittenberg in the 1560s.

The structure of the text organized in questions and answers, as well as some textual correspondences, allow indeed its connection with Praetorius' work *Compendium dialectices praecipua rudimenta continens*,⁴⁵ published in 1555 in Magdeburg and again in 1564 in Wittenberg by the printer Johannes Crato (fl. c. 1550–1572). Compared to the printed version, the manuscript part of the notebook contains a greater number of Greek terms and the frequent mention of terminology of the astronomical origin, which is like conducting a lecture in person using a reference text to which the teacher or the student adds information. In the current case, the *Compendium dialectices*, in one of the two printed versions, would have served this function. However, the most striking difference between the notebook and Praetorius's printed books are the quotations in the manuscript, where numerous references to Stoic thought on dialectics appear, again marking Clüver's interest in doctrines that were not the center of attention at that time. On the contrary, the study of Stoic dialectic was rather unusual and one has to wait until 1604, with the edition of the *Dialectica Ciceronis* by Adam Burski, to find the first treatment of the topic for educational scope which, in turn, remained a unique case.⁴⁶

The two printed chapters by Porphyry and Aristotle in Greek, on the other hand, fail to clarify Erasmus' presence in the final part of the notebook, and we can only assume that it concludes the notebook in order to cover the ethical practice of education. Overshadowed by the enormous success of the *Adagia*, the *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum* and the *Apophthegmata Laconica* are both *specula principis*, based on two of Plutarch's works as their main models. Erasmus dedicated his book to the fourteen-year-old William of Cleves, future duke and already dedicatee of *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*. The text consists of a sequence of ancient lessons followed by a brief explanation of how to apply the example to the contemporary context.

In the dedication letter, it is stated that the choice of this mirrors for princes genre meets the needs of princes who, having little time available for study, require condensed knowledge. Abridgment met with great success in the second half of the sixteenth century and we often find its use in political precepts and *specula principis*. Along with it, however, Erasmus added another reason that the

⁴⁵ The section on *definitio* at fol. 197v of the notebook can be compared with page A4r of the volume; similarly on fol. 207 is the title « Liber Secundus De Argumentatione tertia Dialectices parte, id q[ue] praecipue secundum formam eius » which in the volume is on page D2v. I am grateful to Farkas Gábor Kiss who helped me in comparing manuscript and print.

⁴⁶ ADAM BURSKI, *Dialectica Ciceronis*, ed. DOROTA PÓŁCWIARTEK DREMIERRE, Sub Lupa, Warsaw 2020.

genre is most appropriate for students to learn the lessons of moral practice, while also enjoying themselves according to the principle of *miscere utile dulci*. There is evidence that the *Apophthegmata* were used for the education of children and are present in the liberal arts curriculum, but in the context of Clüver's notebook they also have an extra-curricular flavor because they are a partial transcription of the work, and what's more in Italian, certainly uncommon for the university curriculum at Wittenberg.

III. *The Bees and their Honey*

Texts of various genre and topic contained in a student's notebook reveal not only information about the author's biography or the history of his university. The texts themselves become a stimulating ground for an investigation focusing on the dynamic behind their creation and the ordering of one's toolkit of knowledge. In order to understand the logic behind the notebook, one should observe the content of the selected texts, the way they were transcribed (complete or excerpted), their order of succession, their mutual correspondence, as well as quotations, explanations, and comments.

The past few decades of study of Renaissance miscellaneous manuscripts, including those produced by students, has been placing the nature and structure of collections under scrutiny: How should one understand the criterion of text selection and the extent to which it is possible to achieve a more or less coherent system of knowledge? In other words, the scientific book understood as a treatise and a closed product, clearly bounded by premises, digressions, and conclusions, is no longer the exclusive focus of intellectual history. The field of investigation is fruitfully widening to works whose internal structure is not immediately decipherable and whose content seems to have mobile boundaries, not marked by its container, as in the traditional treatise.⁴⁷

To describe the work carried out by students in compiling their notebooks, one should imagine bees flying from flower to flower, a fruitful metaphor adopted by the authors of commonplace books. Employed since classical antiquity, the metaphor has a long history; among its 16th century users we find Erasmus.⁴⁸ As students moving from one university to another are reminiscent of the flight of bees from one flower to the next, a closer look at their notebooks reveals not

⁴⁷ DOMENICO DE ROBERTIS, « Problemi di filologia delle strutture », in *La critica del testo. Problemi di metodo ed esperienze di lavoro*, Salerno Editrice, Rome 1985, p. 383–401. See in particular YEO, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science*, and ANGUS VINE, *Miscellaneous Order. Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2019.

⁴⁸ An exhaustive reconstruction of this metaphor's fortune is in ANN MOSS, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996.

pollen but the end product, honey, that is, knowledge tailored to the individual's needs.

If Clüver's probable migration route to academic circles in Germany, France, and perhaps Italy brings to mind the popular metaphor, his notebook is not tout-court a commonplace book. In it there are traces of choices, 'what' a student of the time considered worthy of being remembered, and then the arrangement of his choices; therefore, 'how' he decided to keep the information. The 'what' is not limited to the preference given to a topic, but also includes, as illustrated by the case of the three logic manuals, a specific author, a work, and a certain edition. The 'how', in turn, opens an even wider interpolation because several factors, both internal and external, contribute to influencing the student. Certainly opportunity and curiosity, stimulated respectively by necessity and pleasure, proceed together in their attempt to construct an architecture of the page and the volume, and it is difficult to establish which one prevails over the other. For example, the multilingualism of Clüver's notebooks, where ancient Greek, German, and Italian appear together with Latin, which is predominant, eludes a clear collocation between the useful and the enjoyable. The final section in Italian of the last notebook seems to belong to extra-academic intellectual stimuli.

Among the external influences exerted by the intellectual environment, one can instead point to at least three different macro-models from which a student like Clüver could ideally draw inspiration. For example the consistent production of manuals that provide students with instructions on how to learn methodically should be borne in mind. Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, and Melanchthon are again among the most influential authors of this didactic genre. In the numerous *De ratione studii* produced in the first decades of the 16th century, a large space is dedicated to techniques for taking notes and the commonplace-book is described as an indispensable tool to support learning.⁴⁹ The development of printing and in particular the *mise en page* also played a role. In the printing houses the structure of the book and its parts was being codified. For those students trying to create their book of knowledge, the rearranged layout of the printed page and other various changes exerted a weight.⁵⁰

Overall however, it is the pedagogical model implemented in the university that decisively affected students' work. These students freely creating their

⁴⁹ See again MOSS, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*, chapter six « Commonplace-Books at School » and ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, ANTHONY GRAFTON, PAUL MICHEL (eds.), *Collectors' Knowledge: What Is Kept, What Is Discarded / Aufbewahren Oder Wegwerfen: Wie Sammler Entscheiden*, Brill, Leiden 2013, especially ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, « Storing to Know: Konrad Gessner's *De Anima* and the Relationship between Textbooks and Citation Collections in Sixteenth-Century Europe », p. 207–242.

⁵⁰ See KARL A. E. ENENKEL, WOLFGANG NEUBNE (eds.), *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*, Brill, Leiden 2004.

notebooks were direct witnesses of an intense academic discussion of a theoretical nature around the *ordo* and *methodus* of knowledge, the arrangement and transmission of the disciplines of study. The problem involved all the most important universities of the time, both the centers of a solidly scholastic tradition, such as Padua and Paris, and the schools of Ramist orientation in England and Central Europe, as well as the Reformed universities of the German area, as the university of Luther and Melanchthon attended by Clüver. Debates and intellectual ferment were guided by a general rethinking of the Aristotelian system, until then dominant in the universities, with a common objective to identify simple and effective procedures, applicable to every discipline, for organizing and transmitting knowledge.⁵¹

Along with the discussion of method, students were also witnessing the rise of humanism as a transformative agent in the university disciplines.⁵² Indeed, if the issue of *paideia* in the formation of man had originated in the context of *studia humanitatis* in the fifteenth century, this became a dominant topic of academic debate in the 16th. On the basis of this assessment, the work of the humanists had not been confined to the literary sphere, but rather played a key role in developing modern learning. Humanism extended its influence to the classification of different kinds of knowledge, to the elaboration of the Ramist method adopted in different universities, to the point of carving out a space within the history of science.⁵³

In such an articulated scenario that varied depending on the academic environment in which the method was debated, identifying a single model that has influenced the construction of student notebooks makes little sense. Sources of inspiration vary as the context of study changes, including the combination of various systems, if not even ad hoc experimental solutions. In fact, if a student attended several universities, as is often the case, the organization of documents would be inspired by different models such as Ramism, the order developed by Philipp Melanchthon for his theological *Commonplaces* (1521), or the system modeled by Johannes Sturm for his school in Strasbourg.

⁵¹ Classical studies are EUGENIO GARIN, *Educazione in Europa (1400–1600): problemi e programmi*, Laterza, Bari 1957; NEAL W. GILBERT, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*, Columbia University Press, New York 1960; CESARE VASOLI, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo. Invenzione e metodo nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo*, Feltrinelli, Milan 1968.

⁵² DANIEL A. DI LISCIA, ECKHARD KESSLER, CHARLOTTE METHUEN (eds.), *Method and Order in Renaissance Philosophy of Nature. The Aristotle Commentary Tradition*, Ashgate, Aldershot 1997, and HOWARD HOTSON, *The Reformation of Common Learning. Post-Ramist Method and the Reception of the New Philosophy, 1618–1670*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2020.

⁵³ ANTHONY GRAFTON, LISA JARDINE, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1986; ANTHONY GRAFTON, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1991.

In Clüver's notes, for example, if we exclude the titling of the *Apophthegmata*, it seems that the system of *loci* left no mark. No part of his notes features a title with a biblical passage and then a descriptive part, yet the system was widely used for teaching at Wittenberg. His notebook also suggests that his author had an interest in a dialectic far removed from humanistic principles and with a focus even on Stoic positions. Not even Ramism seems to have influenced Clüver; tables of synthesis that are often found in the students' notes and that we also find in the printed edition of the *Compendium* of his likely teacher Praetorius are in fact absent from his notebook. In other words, it lacks that process of knowledge visualization that characterizes Ramist thought and underlies its pedagogy.⁵⁴

Yet there is a 'family feeling' present in Clüver's notebooks that links the practices and working methods of Ramism to his notes. The selection and ordering of information always passes through the materiality of the paper on which the student worked by the adding of a printed chapter, handwritten sections, or sometimes inserting a single page or cartouches, as in the notebook containing lessons on astronomy. What appear to be irregularities in the collation actually testify to actions carried out by the creator of the notebook to increase the clarity and organicity of his compendium. It is a type of operation that brings to mind the practice of manipulating the paper, and for the goal of producing and ordering knowledge, at least a couple of well-known examples involving Ramism.⁵⁵ In the first French edition of his dialectics, Ramus explained his method with the image of a jar full of pieces of paper containing all the definitions and precepts of a certain discipline to the reader. The purpose of the method is to reorder those papers by giving them their right place: first we look for the general definition of the subject, finding the corresponding sheet, then we extract the sheet from the jar that contains the partition of the subject and put it in the second position, and so on.

Similarly, but many decades later at the Herborn Academy, one of the major representatives of the so-called second wave of Ramist reception in Germany, Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), used pieces of paper to compile his lexicons. In the funeral oration dedicated to him, he is remembered performing the usual operation of putting sheets of paper cut out from printed works together in alphabetical order. In the Ramist tradition, the description of the ordering of knowledge encompasses a material and practical dimension, as sheets containing content are selected and ordered. What differs is the way of grouping the selected sheets, which can be alphabetical, or based on the etymological and linguistic

⁵⁴ WALTER J. ONG S. J., *Ramus, Method and the Decay Dialogue*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1958, especially the preface to the paper edition (1983). On Ong's text see also the recent volume of HOTSON, *The Reformation of Common Learning*, Chapter 3.3.

⁵⁵ Both examples are drawn from HOWARD HOTSON, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543–1630*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007, p. 174.

roots of the words, or a combination of them. This last case happens in the *Encyclopaedia* of another exponent of Herborn's circle, Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638), who started with the alphabetical ordering and then bypassed the etymological origin of the words. As fascinating as the parallels between the organizational schemes proposed for commonplace books and those adopted for student notebooks are, a careful analysis of each case is necessary. Clüver's notebook, for example, presents objective obstacles due to the lack of biographical information that would allow one to venture some hypotheses about the reasons for his operations. In other words, if the student is the bee in the classical metaphor, his action does not end with the collection of pollen. The bounty of his selection makes a new product with some specific peculiarities that make it a new genre.

There are also specific features linked to the discipline studied by the student which exert some influence. Clüver was probably thinking about his future legal activity, choosing what seemed to him to be the most suitable for it. It would be interesting to compare his choices with those of other law students of the time, from which it might emerge that recurring texts or structures are present, as one sees in the notebooks of medical students that are the current focus of important studies.⁵⁶

Despite specificities and differences, the operation from which the notebooks arise could be defined using a well-known expression of the micro-level intellectual organization of knowledge employed by Peter Burke to describe precisely the *Commonplace* system.⁵⁷ In this case, it is knowledge that is organized with a personal *topica* adopting a system of internal references, but the micro-level also describes something else: it indicates that the notebook was conceived to meet its own needs, but it was also able to mirror the environment in which it is made.

If a key point in the Renaissance university debate was the medieval school system, by then considered inadequate to organize the amount of new knowledge, a series of studies has also demonstrated the *longue durée* of the Aristotelian tradition in the universities of the time.⁵⁸ This field of study is still vital and in

⁵⁶ MICHAEL STOLBERG, « Medical Note-Taking in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries », in ALBERTO CEVOLINI (ed.), *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, Brill, Leiden 2016, p. 243–264 and his « Teaching Anatomy in Post-Vesalian Padua. An Analysis of Student Notes », *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 48 (2018), p. 61–78.

⁵⁷ Well-known expression adopted by Peter Burke in his *Social history of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2000, p. 95–96.

⁵⁸ PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. MICHAEL MOONEY, Columbia University Press, New York 1979; CHARLES B. SCHMITT, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1983, FERDINAND EDWARD CRANZ, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501–1600*, 2nd ed. (with addenda and revisions) CHARLES B. SCHMITT, V. Koerner, Baden-Baden 1984

recent years has focused on the process of vulgarization of Aristotelian works in the Renaissance period and, in general, on the progressive abandonment of Latin in the teaching of university disciplines.⁵⁹ This is a double channel of analysis that integrates the textual examination, with its continuous reworking, with the study of the social context in which a translation is made, a field of investigation shared by both intellectual historians and cultural historians.⁶⁰

The notebooks allow us to read all of these phases again through the students' experience of study and life, giving us a testimony of the ways in which the academic content of the different disciplines were understood and reworked through the filter of culture. In other words, if the debate on scholastic tradition, humanism, and teaching reforms is recognized as the breeding ground for the development of new intellectual models for the elites of early modern Europe, then it is precisely the students who offer an opportunity to observe its early impact and empirical dimensions.

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⁵⁹ LUCA BIANCHI, « Per una storia dell'aristotelismo volgare nel Rinascimento: problemi e prospettive di ricerca », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 15 (2009), p. 367–385, DAVID LINES, « Beyond Latin in Renaissance Philosophy: A Plea for New Critical Perspectives », *Intellectual History Review*, 25/4 (December 2015), p. 373–389; MARCO SGARBI, « Aristotle and the People. Vernacular Philosophy in Renaissance Italy », *Renaissance & Reformation*, 39 (2016), p. 59–109.

⁶⁰ See on this PETER BURKE, RONNIE PO-CHIA HSIA (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, p. 7–38.

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‘QUIDDITY’, ‘DEFINICIÓN’ Y ‘PARTES DE LA DEFINICIÓN’ EN DIETRICH DE FREIBERG: UNA INTERPRETACIÓN DE *METAFÍSICA* VII 10

‘QUIDDITY’, ‘DEFINITION’ AND ‘PARTS OF THE DEFINITION’ IN DIETRICH OF FREIBERG:
AN INTERPRETATION OF *METAPHYSICS* VII 10

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Resumen

Este trabajo se propone considerar la doctrina de la ‘quiddidad’ y la ‘definición’ en Dietrich de Freiberg, en relación con una de sus cuatro tesis medulares: a saber, que la quiddidad de la sustancia compuesta no está constituida sino por la forma substancial, y que son las partes de dicha forma (y no otras) las que la definición significa a través de los términos que la integran. En este sentido, buscaremos evidenciar los elementos doctrinales que motivan la posición de Dietrich, haciendo a la vez hincapié en su modo peculiar de leer a Aristóteles, especialmente en lo que se refiere a las tesis centrales esbozadas en *Metafísica* VII 10.

Palabras clave

Quiddidad, definición, partes de la definición, *Metafísica* VII 10, Dietrich de Freiberg.

Abstract

This work proposes to consider the doctrine of ‘quiddity’ and ‘definition’ in Dietrich of Freiberg, in relation to one of his four core theses: namely, that the quiddity of the compound substance is exclusively constituted by the substantial form, and that it is the parts which are said of form (and not others) that the definition signifies through its constitutive terms. In this sense, we will seek to manifest the doctrinal elements that motivate Dietrich’s position, while emphasizing his peculiar way of reading Aristotle, especially with regard to the central theses outlined in *Metaphysics* VII 10.

Keywords

Quiddity, definition, parts of the definition, *Metaphysics* VII 10, Dietrich of Freiberg.



I. Introducción

La doctrina de la ‘quididad’ (*quiditas*) y ‘definición’ (*definitio*) de las realidades de primera intención¹ en Dietrich de Freiberg constituye una doctrina bien delimitada y coherente, que parece estar fundamentada en una determinada interpretación de la *Metafísica* de Aristóteles, especialmente de algunos capítulos centrales del libro séptimo: a saber, el bloque VII 4–6, en donde se formula el criterio de definibilidad y se establece la identidad de cada ser « por sí » con su propia « quididad » y « substancia »; el bloque VII 10–12, que indaga acerca de las « partes » que integran la definición y acerca de la unidad de los elementos de la definición; y finalmente, el capítulo VII 17, que, aunque no suele quedar referido por parte de los intérpretes modernos al problema de la « definición », no obstante, en Dietrich, ocupa un rol explicativo central en la medida en que le permite establecer con claridad el *definiendum* (i.e., el objeto o ente real al cual refiere la definición) en sentido propio y verdadero. En este sentido, son al menos cuatro las tesis complementarias que el dominico alemán establece en dependencia de los bloques de textos mencionados, y que conforman la doctrina teodoriana de la quididad y definición, a saber: que son las « substancias » las que poseen verdadera quididad (y definición), y no así los « accidentes » (VII 4–6); que, dentro de la categoría de las substancias, son las substancias « compuestas » y no las substancias « simples » las que poseen una quididad (y definición) en sentido propio (VII 17); que la quididad es la forma substancial (llamada *forma partis*), y que la definición de la substancia compuesta sensible – aunque « define » a todo el compuesto – no expresa o « significa » más que dicha forma substancial, por lo que, en la unidad de la definición, las « partes » que la constituyen (i.e., el género y la diferencia específica) no expresan o significan sino las *partes formae*, que Aristóteles llama *ante totum* (VII 10); que dichas « partes » de la definición, en sus relaciones recíprocas, mantienen una unidad « por sí » y « esencial », que excluye toda accidentalidad (VII 12).

Ahora bien, dada la complejidad de la doctrina teodoriana de la ‘quididad’ y ‘definición’, el presente trabajo se abocará al estudio y fundamentación de la tercera tesis esbozada, a saber, aquella referida a la *ratio* de la quididad y al *definitum* (entendido como el ‘objeto intencional’ de la definición), y así también,

¹ En este trabajo, nos referiremos exclusivamente al tema de la quididad y la definición en lo que concierne a las « realidades de primera intención » (*res primae intentionis*), dejando de lado la problemática referida a las « realidades de segunda intención » (*res secundae intentionis*). Mientras las realidades de primera intención pertenecen a algún género categorial del « ente real », las realidades de segunda intención, en cambio, son « entes o realidades de razón », cuya característica es la de ser « predicado » de tal o cual manera. Sobre esta distinción en Dietrich de Freiberg, remitimos a: ALAIN DE LIBERA, « La problématique des ‘intentiones primae et secundae’ chez Dietrich de Freiberg », en KURT FLASCH (ed.), *Von Meister Dietrich zu Meister Eckhart*, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1984, p. 68–94.

al *definiens* (si entendemos por éste, aquella expresión o conjunto de términos significativos que integran la definición de una cosa como sus ‘partes’). En efecto, el alemán sostiene que, en el caso de las definiciones de las sustancias compuestas, aunque la definición « define » (*definiat*) a todo el compuesto (*definiendum*), no obstante, sólo « significa » (*significat*) la « forma substancial » (*definitum*), que constituye la « quiddidad » (*quiditas*) del compuesto:² de allí que las partes de la « definición » (*definiens*), deban también expresar exclusivamente las « partes formales » de la cosa.³ Esta doctrina, sostiene Dietrich, según la cual la quiddidad, y así la definición del compuesto, están constituidas solamente por la forma substancial (y sus « partes »), es la que establece Aristóteles en la *Metafísica*: de allí que están en desacuerdo con el Filósofo y con la verdad (*sentiant contra Philosophum et contra veritatem*) aquellos⁴ que afirman que, en las cosas compuestas

² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De quidditatibus entium* [=DQE], en *Opera omnia* (bajo la dirección de KURT FLASCH), t. III: *Schriften zur Naturphilosophie und Metaphysik*, introducción de KURT FLASCH, ed. JEAN-DANIEL CAVIGIOLI, RUEDI IMBACH, BURKHARD MOJSISCH, MARIA RITA PAGNONI-STURLESE, RUDOLF REHN, LORIS STURLESE, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1983 (Corpus Philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi, 2.3), p. 97–118, p. 112, 8 (4): « (definitio) [...] solam formam significat, quamvis definiat totum compositum ». Tomamos la distinción – sumamente pertinente para el caso – entre *definiendum* (como « ente real al cual se refiere la definición ») y *definitum* (entendido como « objeto intencional de la definición » o aquello que la definición « expresa ») de: MATTEO DI GIOVANNI, « La definizione delle sostanze sensibili nel *Commento Grande* (Tafsīr) di Averroè a *Metafisica* Z 10 », *Documenti E Studi Sulla Tradizione Filosofica Medievale*, 14 (2003), p. 27–63, p. 34. En efecto, Dietrich parece establecer esta misma distinción cuando sostiene que, en la definición de las sustancias compuestas, aunque la definición « significa » (o expresa) sólo la forma (*definitum*), no obstante, « define » a todo el compuesto (*definiendum*).

³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 110, 7 (5): « [...] sunt partes formae et sunt ante totum et propter hoc ingrediuntur definitionem substantiae, ut Philosophus ostendit in VII, puta animal, rationale quantum ad hominem ».

⁴ Entre estos autores estarían reflejados Avicena y los partidarios de su doctrina, puntualmente Tomás de Aquino. Así lo subrayan los traductores en la versión bilingüe francesa del *De quidditatibus entium*, donde señalan que Dietrich, en su crítica, reproduce con ironía los giros y declaraciones del Aquinate contra Averroes y sus seguidores, volviendo la estrategia anti – averroísta de Tomás, contra Tomás mismo: DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *Substances, quiddités et accidents*, ed. CATHERINE KÖNIG-PRALONG, avec la collaboration de RUEDI IMBACH, Introduction de KURT FLASCH, Vrin, Paris 2008 (*Oeuvres choisies*, t. I), p. 161, a; también, CATHERINE KÖNIG-PRALONG, « Dietrich de Freiberg: métaphysicien allemand antithomiste », *Revue Thomiste*, 108 (2008), p. 57–79, p. 63. Acerca del « antitimismo » de Dietrich de Freiberg, relativo a diversos puntos del pensamiento de Tomás de Aquino, se puede consultar: RUEDI IMBACH, « *Gravis iactura verae doctrinae*, Prolegomena zu einer Interpretation der Schrift *De ente et essentia* Dietrichs von Freiberg O.P. », *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 26 (1979), p. 369–425; reimpresso en *Quodlibeta, Ausgewählte Artikel*, Universitätsverlag, Freiburg (Schweiz) 1996, p. 153–207; ID., « L’antithomisme de Thierry de Freiberg », *Revue Thomiste*, 97 (1997), p. 245–258; ID., « Pourquoi Thierry de Freiberg a-t-il critiqué Saint Thomas d’Aquin? Remarques sur le *De accidentibus* », *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* (Separatum), 45 (1998), p. 116–129; ANNE-SOPHIE ROBIN FAVRE, « L’antithomisme de Dietrich de Freiberg dans le *De visione beatifica* », en JOËL BIARD, DRAGOS CALMA, RUEDI IMBACH (eds.),

de materia y forma, la quiddidad (y por implicancia también su definición) comprenden todo el compuesto (de materia y forma).⁵ La quiddidad, sostiene el dominico, no es esta forma que algunos llaman « forma del todo » (*forma totius*) y que abraza toda la substancia de la cosa en cuanto a todos sus principios esenciales (*totam rei substantiam quantum ad omnia principia sua essentialia*), como estos autores dicen de « humanidad » (en el caso del hombre):⁶ por el contrario, la quiddidad es la forma que constituye « una » de « las dos partes » del compuesto (a saber, la

Recherches sur Dietrich de Freiberg, Brepols, Turnhout 2009, p. 165–191. No obstante, cabe a su vez señalar que no sólo Tomás constituye el blanco de las críticas del alemán, sino una serie de posiciones defendidas en la Universidad de París en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII, las cuales convergían a los ojos de Dietrich en una « opinión común » (abstracción hecha de las diferencias entre los diversos maestros): sobre los ataques de Dietrich a los *communiter loquentes* y su evolución hacia una crítica generalizada a toda la teología escolástica parisina, consultar KÖNIG-PRALONG, « Dietrich de Freiberg : métaphysicien allemand antithomiste », p. 57–79. Ver también a este respecto: ANNE-SOPHIE ROBIN FAVRE, « Introduction », en DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *La vision béatifique*, ed. ANNE-SOPHIE FAVRE, avec la collaboration de RUEDI IMBACH, Vrin, Paris 2012 (*Oeuvres choisies*, t. II), p. 11–61, en donde sostiene que en el *De visione beatifica* Dietrich se dirige más bien contra los « herederos » de Tomás o al menos contra aquellos maestros parisinos contemporáneos o posteriores que retoman su doctrina por propia cuenta (p. 40–47).

⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 103, 3 (3): « Ex dictis etiam manifestum est, quod hi, qui dicunt quiditatem comprehendere totum compositum in rebus compositis ex materia et forma, quod etiam in abstracto significatur ut humanitas, ut dicunt, hi, inquam, sentiunt contra Philosophum et contra veritatem ».

⁶ Así, por ejemplo: « Nomen autem significans id, unde sumitur natura speciei cum praecisione materiae designatae, significat partem formalem. Et ideo humanitas significatur ut forma quaedam, et dicitur quod est forma totius, non quidem quasi superaddita partibus essentialibus, scilicet formae et materiae, sicut forma domus superadditur partibus integralibus eius, sed magis est forma, quae est totum scilicet formam complectens et materiam, tamen cum praecisione eorum, per quae nata est materia designari » (TOMÁS DE AQUINO, *De ente et essentia* [=DEE], en *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera Omnia*, t. XLIII, Iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita, cura et studio Fratrum Praedicatorum, Editori di San Tommaso, Roma 1976, p. 362–381, p. 373, c. II, 281–291); « Unde est alia opinio, quam sequitur Avicenna; et secundum hanc forma totius, quae est ipsa quidditas speciei, differt a forma partis, sicut totum a parte: nam quidditas speciei, est composita ex materia et forma, non tamen ex hac forma et ex hac materia individua » (TOMÁS DE AQUINO, *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio*, ed. MARIE-RAYMOND CATHALA, RAIMONDO M. SPIAZZI Marietti, Torino–Roma 1950, p. 358, VII, lect. 9, n. 1469). En este sentido, comenta justamente König-Pralong que el blanco de la crítica de Dietrich a Tomás en el *De quidditatibus entium*, es precisamente la lectura tomasiana del libro VII de la *Metafísica* de Aristóteles, en particular en las *Sententia Super Metaphysicam*. Entre las tesis que Dietrich rechazaría se encuentra justamente aquella según la cual la materia tomada universalmente, a saber, por ejemplo « huesos » y « carnes », entraría en la quiddidad y definición de la substancia compuesta (en este caso, el hombre), junto con la forma (que es el alma): ver, KÖNIG-PRALONG, « Dietrich de Freiberg: métaphysicien allemand antithomiste », p. 69–73. Como mostraremos, Dietrich se opone a esta interpretación de la quiddidad y definición de la substancia compuesta, mostrando que, según la *Metafísica*, dichas partes materiales (como « huesos » y « carnes ») son « partes posteriores al todo », y no deben entrar en la definición.

forma substancial o *forma partis*), como, por ejemplo, el « alma » en los seres animados.⁷

Teniendo en cuenta entonces estas tesis centrales, procederemos según el siguiente itinerario. En primer lugar, efectuaremos algunas discriminaciones terminológicas importantes para el desarrollo de nuestro estudio. En segundo lugar, abordaremos la cuestión de la quiddidad en su *ratio*, buscando determinar con precisión los motivos (tanto doctrinales como histórico-exegéticos) por los que, según Dietrich, la *quiditas* de la substancia compuesta no puede ser sino la « forma substancial », que, por otro lado, es aquello « significado » por la definición (*definitum*): esta consideración servirá de ‘trampolín’ para la tercera sección de nuestro trabajo, en donde abordaremos la cuestión de las « partes » que constituyen la « definición » (*definiens*); en dicha sección entonces, determinaremos cuáles son los diferentes tipos de partes que existen, y mostraremos por qué motivos algunas deben incluirse en la definición, mientras que otras no. Finalmente, enunciaremos nuestras conclusiones.

II. Algunas distinciones preliminares: ‘esencia’ (*essentia*) y ‘quiddidad’ (*quiditas*)

Antes de comenzar nuestro estudio relativo a la noción de ‘quiddidad’, con vistas a determinar a qué principio en la realidad corresponde, resulta útil adelantar ciertas distinciones terminológicas que ayudarán a una mejor comprensión de nuestro análisis posterior. En primer lugar, debe advertirse que « esencia » (*essentia*) y « quiddidad » (*quiditas*) no deben ser tomados como términos sinónimos en el pensamiento de Dietrich. Como señala ajustadamente J. Aertsen, el término *essentia* tiene un carácter « entitativo », y no debe ser entendido en el sentido en que comúnmente se entendía en la filosofía escolástica, esto es, como identificándose con la « queidad » (*die Washeit*) o con el « significado definicional » de un término, esto es, con la « quiddidad » o la « definición » de la cosa.⁸ Al contrario, tal como leemos en el primer capítulo del *De quiditatibus entium*,⁹ la

⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 111, 8 (3): « Igitur quiditas, quae vere et simpliciter quiditas est, non est nisi in substantiis compositis et est forma substantialis, non ea, quam dicunt formam totius, quae complectitur totam rei substantiam quantum ad omnia principia sua essentialia, ut aiunt de humanitate, sed forma, quae est altera pars compositi ut anima in animatis, quae est quiditas animati, non totum animatum ».

⁸ JAN A. AERTSEN, « Die Transzendentalienlehre bei Dietrich von Freiberg », en KARL-HERMANN KANDLER, BURKHARD MOJSISCH, FRANZ-BERNHARD STAMMKÖTTER (eds.), *Dietrich von Freiberg. Neue Perspektiven seiner Philosophie, Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, Grüner, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 1999, p. 23-47, p. 35.

⁹ Acerca del tratado *De quiditatibus entium* y su temática, remitimos a: FLASCH, « Einleitung », en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. XV-LXXXVI; ID., *Dietrich von Freiberg. Philosophie, Theologie,*

noción de « esencia » (*essentia*) está ligada intrínsecamente a las nociones de « ente » (*ens*) y « ser » (*esse*), mientras que la noción de *quiditas* queda referida en cambio a la noción de *quid*. Para comprender esto, resulta necesario atender a la distinción que Dietrich establece entre *ens* y *quid*. En efecto, el alemán sostiene que « ente » es la primera y más simple de todas las *intentiones* formales:¹⁰ esto es, es la primera noción del intelecto, que pertenece a ese género de intenciones que se llaman *communia* o *transcendentia* (i.e., nociones trascendentales).¹¹ A ésta le siguen – según un orden secuencial esencial – las nociones de *quid*, *verum*, *unum*, *bonum*, las cuales agregan algo a la noción de « ente », siempre según la significación en función de sus *rationes* propias.¹² Así, en primer lugar, una cosa es llamada « ente » (*ens*) en la medida en que « dista de la nada », a saber, en tanto que « es »:¹³ de esta manera, aunque no existe un « ente » que no sea un « algo » (*aliquid*), la noción de « ente » responde, no a la pregunta « qué es » (*quid est*) la cosa, sino a la pregunta « si es » (*si est*), según la distinción que establece Aristóteles en los *Segundos Analíticos*.¹⁴ En cambio, la noción de *quid*, que difiere de la noción de *ens* según su *ratio propria*, responde a la pregunta « qué es » la cosa.¹⁵

Naturforschung um 1300, V. Klostermann, Frankfurt, 2007, p. 297–309; ID., « Introduction », en Dietrich de Freiberg, *Substances, quidités et accidents*, p. 7–40; ARMAND MAURER, « The *De Quiditatibus Entium* of Dietrich of Freiberg and its Criticism of Thomistic Metaphysics », *Medieval Studies*, 18 (1956), p. 173–203; reimpresso en *Being and Knowing: Studies in Thomas Aquinas and Later Medieval Philosophers*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1990, p. 175–199; FERNANDA OCAMPO, « Dietrich de Freiberg: la noción de quididad en las realidades de primera y segunda intención », en RUBÉN PERETÓ RIVAS (ed.), *Temas de Metafísica Medieval*, SS&CC Ediciones, Mendoza 2011 (Cuadernos Medievales de Cuyo, 5), p. 97–111.

¹⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, 1 (3): « Ens enim in eo, quod ens, prima et simplicissima omnium formalium intentionum est, qua res primo per essentiam, secundum quod essentia, distat a nihilo ».

¹¹ Sobre el tema de las nociones trascendentales en Dietrich de Freiberg, consultar: AERTSEN, « Die Transzendentalienlehre bei Dietrich von Freiberg », p. 23–47; FERNANDA OCAMPO, « La doctrina general de los trascendentales en Dietrich von Freiberg, y su filiación aristotélico-averroísta », *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía*, 36/3 (2019), p. 659–681.

¹² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 109, 7 (3): « Et quoniam ens et quid et verum et unum et similia sunt transcendentia, et circueunt omnia entia et secundum supposita convertuntur. Quamvis propriis rationibus differant, est tamen in eis aliquis ordo. Ens enim secundum suam propriam rationem omnium est primum, deinde quid est, deinde alia, ut patet ordine essentiali ad invicem disposita ».

¹³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, 1 (3).

¹⁴ « Questiones sunt equales numero quicumque quidem scimus. Querimus autem quatuor, quia, propter quid, si est, quid est » (ARISTOTELES LATINUS, *Analytica Posteriora*, II, 1. Translationes Iacobi, Anonymi sive « Ioannis », Gerardi et Recensio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, ed. LORENZO MINIO-PALUELLO, BERNARDUS G. DOD, Désclée de Brouwer, Bruges–Paris 1968 (AL IV 1–4), p. 321, 89b24–25, [l. 3–4]).

¹⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, 1 (2): « Ubi primo considerationi occurrit, quod ens et quid, quamvis secundum utriusque eorum latitudinem et continentiam secundum supposita convertantur ad invicem – nihil enim est ens, quod non sit aliquid, et nihil est aliquid, quod non

Ahora bien, una cosa « dista de la nada », subraya el dominico, por su esencia en tanto que esencia, y la esencia no es llamada *essentia* sino en cuanto que « es »:¹⁶ esta formulación, que pareciera ser circular, se entiende en la medida en que observamos que, para Dietrich, « ente », « esencia » y « ser » son términos sinónimos, no habiendo una distinción entre ellos, ni real ni según la noción o la significación. Pero, ¿qué significan todos estos términos en verdad? Tal como lo afirma en su *De ente et essentia*,¹⁷ estos tres términos, significan exactamente lo mismo, a saber, « toda la esencia de la cosa » bajo la *ratio* de su « distanciamiento respecto de la nada ».¹⁸ En otras palabras, significan ‘la cosa en tanto que es’, o mejor, la ‘cosa-siendo’, pues la ‘esencia’ no es, en verdad, sino una ‘porción de ser’.¹⁹ Así pues, sólo existe entre los términos que hemos identificado una distinción a nivel de los *modi significandi*: esto es, teniendo éstos el mismo

sit ens –, differunt tamen secundum suas proprias rationes, secundum quod etiam Philosophus distinguit in demonstrativis in libro *Posteriorum* quaestionem ‘si est’ a quaestione ‘quid est’ ».

¹⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, 1 (3): « Ens enim in eo, quod ens, prima et simplicissima omnium formalium intentionum est, qua res primo per essentiam, secundum quod essentia, distat a nihilo. Dico autem ‘essentia in eo, quod essentia’, quia, sicut dicit Augustinus libro *De immortalitate animae*, essentia non dicitur, nisi quia est; idem in VII *De Trinitate* c.10: ‘Quod enim est sapientiae sapere, et potentiae posse et aeternitati aeternam esse, et iustitiae iustam esse, et magnitudini magnam esse, hoc est essentiae ipsum esse’ ».

¹⁷ Acerca del tratado *De ente et essentia* y su temática, remitimos a: KURT FLASCH, « Einleitung », en *Opera omnia* (bajo la dirección de KURT FLASCH), t. II: *Schriften zur Metaphysik und Theologie*, introducción de KURT FLASCH, ed. RUEDI IMBACH, MARIA RITA PAGNONI-STURLESE, HARTMUT STEFFAN, LORIS STURLESE, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1980 (Corpus Philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi, 2.2), p. XIII–XXXI; FLASCH, *Dietrich von Freiberg*, p. 345–409; IMBACH, « Gravis iactura verae doctrinae », p. 369–425; CYRILLE MICHON, ALAIN DE LIBERA, « Introduction », « Glossaire des sources », « Le traité de L’Être et l’essence de Dietrich de Freiberg », en CYRILLE MICHON, ALAIN DE LIBERA (eds.), *L’être et l’essence, le vocabulaire médiéval de l’ontologie. Deux traités De ente et essentia de Thomas d’Aquin et Dietrich de Freiberg*, Seuil, Paris 1996, p. 9–14, p. 15–36, p. 133–161; MAARTEN J. F. M. HOENEN, « Dietrichs von Freiberg *De ente et essentia* aus doxographischer Perspektive », en CHRISTOPHE ERISMANN, ALEXANDRINE SCHNIEWIND (eds.), *Compléments de substance. Études sur les propriétés accidentelles offertes à Alain de Libera*, Vrin, Paris 2008, p. 397–422.

¹⁸ « Nunc de essentia et esse considerandum, et circa ea notandum, quod idem important in sua significatione et idem significant, quod ens et entitas, videlicet totam rei essentiam [...] » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De ente et essentia* [=DEE], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. II, p. 25–42, p. 31, I, 5 (1)). DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 28, I, 2 (2): « Ens significat unamquamque rerum, sed sub prima omnium intentionum, qua res primo distat a nihilo [...] ».

¹⁹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 40, II, 2 (4): « Tertio modo potest intelligi participatio, ut participare dicatur quasi partem capere. Et sic omnis creatura participat suum esse quasi partem capiens illius summi et puri esse, quod est in Deo, quia in creatura est esse determinatum et limitatum et sic quasi contractum in partem, quod in prima causa est secundum totalitatem suam et omnimodam simplicitatem et amplitudinem omnia circumplectens. Ex hoc autem non sequitur, quod essentia creaturae differat a suo esse, immo e converso, quia esse non trahitur sic in partem, sicut dictum est, nisi per aliquid sibi essentielle, quod non invenitur aliud quam essentia rei, in qua et per quam contrahitur et determinatur essentialiter ».

significatum o ‘contenido significacional’, difieren según las voces o los nombres y sus propiedades gramaticales esenciales o secundarias, no existiendo entre ellos más que una distinción ‘nominal’.²⁰ De este modo, mientras *esse* (que es un verbo) significa el « ser » de la cosa bajo el modo del « acto » y de manera « abstracta », *ens* (que es un participio) significa lo mismo, bajo el modo del « estado y reposo », aunque de manera « concreta »; finalmente *essentia* (que es un sustantivo), significa lo mismo, bajo el modo del « estado y reposo », aunque de manera « abstracta ».²¹

Queda claro entonces que para Dietrich, « esencia » (*essentia*) constituye – al igual que *ens* y *esse* – un término de carácter ‘entitativo’ en el sentido de que expresa a la ‘cosa’ en su ‘ser’ o ‘entidad’, y así queda diferenciada de la noción de ‘quididad’ (*quiditas*). En efecto, Dietrich sostiene que *quiditas*, que desciende de *quid*

²⁰ Como advierte I. Rosier-Catach, la noción de *modus significandi* expresa la idea de que una palabra, además de su significación propia y primera (de naturaleza « lexical »), comporta otros componentes de otro orden. Pues bien, son estos componentes los que quedan integrados en la noción de *modi significandi*: estos corresponden, por un lado, a los atributos gramaticales secundarios o accidentales de una parte del discurso (como género, número, caso, tiempo, persona, etc.), que serán llamados *consignificata*, y con posterioridad, « modos accidentales de significar »; y por el otro lado, se tratará de la propiedad definitoria de una parte del discurso, que será llamada *significatum generale*, y después, « modo esencial de significar ». De esta manera, una unidad lexical completa posee tres componentes: (1) su significado lexical o *significatum speciale*, (2) su propiedad esencial de ser sustantivo, verbo, etc. (o *significatum generale*), y (3) sus propiedades gramaticales secundarias (o *consignificata*) (IRÈNE ROSIER-CATACH, « *Res significata et modus significandi*. Les enjeux linguistiques et théologiques d’une distinction médiévale », en STEN EBBESEN (ed.), *Sprachtheorien in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen 1995, p. 135–168, p. 137).

²¹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 31, I, 5 (1–2): « (1) Nunc de essentia et esse considerandum, et circa ea notandum, quod idem important in sua significatione et idem significant, quod ens et entitas, videlicet totam rei essentiam sive in substantiis sive in accidentibus, sicut dictum est supra de entitate et ente, quamvis differant in modis significandi, ut videlicet esse significet per modum actus, idem autem significant ens et entitas per modum habitus et quietis. Et sic etiam differunt essentia et esse. (2) Sed est advertendum, quod secundum differentiam abstracti et concreti non differt essentia ab esse et e converso, quia utrumque eorum hoc, quod significat, significat in abstracto, sicut per se notum est in nomine essentiae. Idem etiam patet de esse, quod est de genere verborum impersonalium, quia est infinitivi modi. De impersonalibus autem dictum est supra, quod significant rem suam in abstracto. Utrumque autem istorum, scilicet tam esse quam essentia, descendit a ‘sum’, ‘es’, ‘est’, quod est verbum personale significans rem suam in concreto. Sed esse descendit ab eo significans idem in abstracto per modum actus. Essentia autem significat idem per modum substantiae cum qualitate, qui modus significandi essentialis reponit in specie partis, quae est nomen secundum Priscianum »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 28, I, 1 (9): « Ex hoc autem iam elicimus propriam significationem huius nominis ‘entitas’, cui competunt idem modi considerandi, qui dicti sunt de ente, sive accipiat in substantialibus sive in accidentalibus, nisi quod ea, quae sunt dicta de ente sumendo ipsum in concreto, eadem conveniunt dici de entitate in abstracto, id est sumendo ipsam entitatem sub modo significandi in abstracto, sicut etiam ipsum nomen indicat ».

en virtud de una abstracción,²² significa una cierta « información » (*informatio*) o principio formal en la cosa, en virtud del cual la cosa es esencialmente un *quid*, a saber, « éste » o « aquél » ente determinado.²³ Esto significa que una cosa es, ‘además’ de « ente », un « algo » (un *quid*), en la medida en que posee un acto o perfección que Dietrich llama *informatio*, y que – como veremos con mayor detalle en lo que sigue –, claramente se identifica con la forma, por la cual la cosa es un determinado ente de una determinada naturaleza: ‘hombre’, ‘caballo’, etc. Así, las nociones trascendentales de *ens* y *quid* no son términos sinónimos, ya que difieren en la medida en que la noción de *quid* « agrega »²⁴ a la de *ens* la referencia a una cierta información por la que la cosa se ‘contrae’ a ‘tal’ o ‘cual’ naturaleza o esencia determinada. Esta « información » es la « quiddidad », que, en términos de los principios reales en la cosa, corresponde a la « forma ». Así pues, en el caso de las sustancias compuestas sensibles, corresponde a la « forma substancial » del compuesto: « [...] in compositis ex materia et forma [...] sola forma est quiditas ».²⁵

De esta manera, y esto es lo que nos interesa principalmente para nuestro propósito en estas consideraciones preliminares, mientras la *quiditas* significa exclusivamente aquel principio que es la ‘forma’, por el cual una cosa o ente es ‘lo que es’, i.e., un *quid* o ‘tal’ o ‘cual’ ente determinado (a saber, por ejemplo, ‘hombre’, ‘caballo’, etc.), la *essentia*, en cambio, que es sinónimo de ‘ente’, no refiere a un principio de la cosa, sino a la cosa misma (i.e., ‘hombre’, ‘caballo’, etc.) pero en cuanto que ‘es’, en cuanto se ‘distancia de la nada’. Esto implica por otra parte que, en el caso de las ‘cosas’ o ‘entes’ que son las ‘sustancias’, y en particular, aquellas sustancias compuestas de materia y forma, mientras la ‘quiddidad’ significa tan sólo la forma substancial del compuesto, sin que haga referencia o mención de la materia, la ‘esencia’, en cambio, significa el compuesto mismo de materia y forma, porque es según el todo compuesto o según « toda la esencia de la cosa », que se

²² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 29, I, 2 (4): « Quiditas autem, quod secundum abstractionem descendit ab eo, quod est quid, solum significat illud formale, quo res est quid essentialiter ».

²³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, I (4): « Ipsum autem quid in eo, quod quid, seu quiditas in eo, quod quiditas, super rationem entis importat quandam rei informationem, saltem quoad modum intelligendi, qua res seu ens determinatur ad talem vel talem essentiam vel naturam, ut res talis non solum sit ens per distantiam eius a nihilo, sed etiam sit hoc vel hoc secundum aliquam informationem, sicut de primo causato, quod est intelligentia secundum philosophos, dicitur in *Libro de causis*, quod ipsa est *hyliatim*, id est ens et forma, saltem quantum ad modum intelligendi. Et caelum et terra, homo et equus non solum sunt entia per distantiam a nihilo, sed per aliquam informationem sui determinantur ad hoc vel hoc ens secundum uniuscuiusque propriam naturam et essentiam ».

²⁴ Este ‘añadido’ es según la significación, pero no en la realidad. DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 29, I, 2 (3): « Secundum rem enim [quid] significat idem quod ens, sed secundum proprietatem significationis addit in significato suo modum essentialem, quo existit, modum, inquam, essentialem in generali, quo formaliter vel qualitative existit essentialiter. Et ita ipsum quid in sua significatione importat totam essentiam rei, et hoc in concreto ».

²⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 29, I, 2 (4).

dice que una cosa « dista de la nada ». Así lo expresa con claridad Dietrich en su *De accidentibus*,²⁶ cuando sostiene que, aunque en las realidades compuestas, la *essentia* implique uno y otro de los componentes de los que la esencia de la cosa está constituida – i.e., la materia y la forma –, sólo la forma es la *quiditas* de la substancia compuesta.²⁷ Y es por esto que el alemán afirma también que, en el caso de las inteligencias o las substancias simples, que son formas puras (sin composición de materia), pueden distinguirse, al menos según el modo de inteligir y significar – esto es, según una distinción conceptual, pero no real –, por un lado la *essentia*, que significa a la inteligencia en cuanto es « ente », y por el otro la *quiditas*, que significa a la inteligencia en su actualidad formal por la que es « tal » ente determinado.²⁸ Pero en verdad, no hay distinción real entre ‘esencia’ y ‘quididad’ a nivel de las inteligencias, porque éstas son « formas puras » (sin materia), y entonces allí la esencia y la quididad coinciden: de allí que la inteligencia sea *hyliatim*, esto es, « ente » (*ens*) y « forma » (*forma*), al menos en cuanto al modo de inteligir.²⁹

Para concluir entonces con estas breves discriminaciones terminológicas que permitirán un mayor entendimiento de las consideraciones subsiguientes, debe decirse entonces que, para Dietrich, mientras « ente » (*ens*), « ser » (*esse*) y « esencia » (*essentia*) – términos sinónimos – significan « toda la esencia de la cosa » bajo la (misma) *ratio* de su distanciamiento respecto de la nada, *quid*, en cambio – noción trascendental convertible con *ens*–, significa también « toda la

²⁶ Acerca del tratado *De accidentibus* y su temática, remitimos a: FLASCH, « Einleitung », en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. xv–LXXXVI; ID., *Dietrich von Freiberg*, p. 253–276; ID., « Introduction », en DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *Substances, quidités et accidents*, p. 7–40; RUEDI IMBACH, « Metaphysik, Theologie und Politik: Zur Diskussion zwischen Nikolaus von Straßburg und Dietrich von Freiberg über die Abtrennbarkeit der Akzidentien », *Theologie und Philosophie*, 61 (1986), p. 359–395, reimpresso en *Quodlibeta, Ausgewählte Artikel*, Universitätsverlag, Fribourg (Schweiz) 1996, p. 251–296; ID., « Pourquoi Thierry de Freiberg a-t-il critiqué Saint Thomas d’Aquin? », p. 116–129; CATHERINE KÖNIG-PRALONG, « Le traité *Des Accidents* de Dietrich de Freiberg. Stratégies exégétiques pour une reconduction de l’accidentel au par soi », en JOËL BIARD, DRAGOS CALMA, RUEDI IMBACH (eds.), *Recherches sur Dietrich de Freiberg*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009, p. 107–129.

²⁷ « [...] Quamvis enim essentia in rebus compositis importet utrumque componentium, scilicet materiam et formam, quibus essentia rei constituitur, sola tamen forma est quiditas substantiae compositae, ut praemissum est » (DIETRICH VON FREIBERG, *De accidentibus* [=DA], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. 53–90, p. 73, 15 (2)).

²⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (5): « Unde et in simplicibus etiam habet locum ratio quiditatis extenso nomine quiditatis secundum dictam generalem rationem quiditatis. Secundum hoc enim dicit Avicenna, quod quiditas simplicis est ipsum simplex. Distinguimus enim et ponimus in ipso simplici saltem quantum ad modum intelligendi et significandi essentiam suam, qua est ens, et actum, quo formaliter est tale vel tale ens determinatum, ut de intelligentia supra dictum est ».

²⁹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 99, 1 (4): « [...] sicut de primo causato, quod est intelligentia secundum philosophos, dicitur in *Libro de causis*, quod ipsa est *hyliatim*, id est ens et forma, saltem quantum ad modum intelligendi ». En el ámbito real, la forma es una ‘porción de ser’, o si se quiere, la ‘forma’ es el ‘ser’ de la inteligencia.

esencia de la cosa », aunque bajo una *ratio* distinta, a saber, en cuanto la cosa es un « algo », i.e., « tal » o « cual » ente determinado (a saber, ‘hombre’, ‘caballo’, etc.). Así, en el caso de las sustancias, y en particular, de las sustancias compuestas, todos estos términos significan la totalidad de la esencia de la cosa, a saber, el compuesto de materia y forma. Por el contrario, el término *quiditas*, que según hemos dicho descende por abstracción de *quid*, significa tan sólo el principio formal de la cosa, ‘por el cual’ la cosa en su totalidad es un « algo » determinado. Esto lo expresa claramente el alemán en su *De ente et essentia*, donde establece que, mientras *quid* significa « toda la esencia de la cosa », y así, el « agregado de materia y forma » – al igual que *ens*, *esse* y *essentia*, aunque bajo *rationes* diversas –, la quiddidad, en cambio, significa exclusivamente la forma.³⁰ En conclusión, la *quiditas* entonces, no sólo difiere de la *essentia* en cuanto significa según una *ratio* diversa – a saber, respondiendo a la pregunta « qué es » y no a la pregunta « si es » –, sino también en cuanto al *significatum* y a la cosa misma significada por ella (*res significata*), al menos en las sustancias compuestas: pues mientras la « quiddidad » significa exclusivamente la « forma substancial » de la cosa, la « esencia » no obstante significa « toda la esencia de la cosa », o ‘todo lo que’ la cosa ‘es’.

III. *Ratio quiditatis y definitum: en qué consiste la « quiddidad » significada por la « definición »*

En esta sección mostraremos primero que, para Dietrich, la « quiddidad » constituye solamente la « forma », y que la « definición » de la cosa, expresa o « significa » exclusivamente esa misma « forma » o « quiddidad » (la cual es el *definitum*), sin mención de materia alguna. Así pues, si nos volcamos en primer lugar al capítulo 2 del *De quiditatibus entium*, en el que Dietrich analiza la *quiditas* según su *ratio* general, la quiddidad de una cosa, sostiene el alemán, constituye un principio intrínseco a la cosa según el acto (*principium intrinsecum rei secundum actum*), y es aquello de donde deriva la noción (*ratio*) de la cosa, que el « nombre » (*nomen*) significa, y que es la « definición » (*definitio*),³¹ tal como afirma el Filósofo en el libro IV de la *Metafísica*.³² En esto se apoya en la autoridad de Averroes, quien, en

³⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 31, I, 3 (8): « Et sic potest dici de quiditate et eo, quod est quid, videlicet quod quiditas solam formam significat, ipsum autem quid etiam in rebus compositis totam rei essentiam, id est aggregatum ex materia et forma ».

³¹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (2): « Quiditas igitur entis cuiuscumque secundum praedicta vult esse aliquod principium intrinsecum rei secundum actum, a quo sumitur ratio rei et secundum rationem essendi et secundum rationem notificandi seu innotescendi. Dico autem rationem rei, quam significat nomen, et est definitio secundum Philosophum IV *Metaphysicae*. Nomen enim semper imponitur rei quantum ad actum suum, ut dicit Commentator Super VII ».

³² « Principium autem ad hos omnes ex diffinitione. Diffinitio uero fit ex ipsos significare aliquid necessarium esse; ratio namque cuius nomen est signum diffinitio fit » (ARISTOTELES LATINUS,

su exposición sobre la *Metafísica*, sostiene que el nombre es siempre impuesto para significar una cosa en cuanto a su acto:³³ « nomen enim non significat rem, nisi secundum quod est in actu ».³⁴ Si esto es así entonces, i.e., si el nombre que significa la noción de la cosa, que es la definición, expresa la cosa solamente conforme a su acto, es preciso determinar cuál es el « acto » a partir del cual es tomada la *ratio rei*. Pero Dietrich comienza, no obstante, por establecer cuáles son aquellas causas o principios que deben ser excluidos de la quiddidad (y así también de la definición que expresa dicha quiddidad), en relación con dos criterios, a saber: si se trata de causas o principios que son o no son intrínsecos, y si se trata de causas o principios que son o no son en acto.

En efecto, puesto que, tal como se ha establecido, la quiddidad de una cosa constituye un *principium intrinsecum*, deben excluirse entonces de dicha « quiddidad », las llamadas « causas extrínsecas »: a saber, la causa eficiente, la causa final, y la « materia », esto es, el principio material a partir del cual son engendradas las cosas por generación, como, por ejemplo, la menstruación en el caso de ciertos animales, como el « hombre » y el « caballo ». Según estas causas extrínsecas, la cosa es constituida no como « ente » en cuanto tal (i.e., no según su *ratio entis*), sino como « ente natural » (*ens naturae*).³⁵ De la misma manera, ya que la quiddidad es un *principium secundum actum*, debe ser excluida también la materia « que es la segunda parte del compuesto, o lo que tiene el modo de la materia en el compuesto ».³⁶ Pues dicha materia no « quidifica » ni « notifica », esto es, no hace conocer la cosa de la cual es principio (intrínseco), ya que la materia es principio en potencia (*principium secundum potentiam*), en conformidad con su propiedad natural. La quiddidad, en cambio, debe ser algo « formal » e « intrínseco » a la cosa

Metaphysica, Lib. I–XIV. Recensio et translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka, ed. GUDRUN VUILLEMIN-DIEM, E. J. Brill, Leiden–New York–Köln 1995, (AL XXV 3.2), p. 90, IV, 7, 1012a22–24 ([l. 627–630]).

³³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (2).

³⁴ AVERROES, *Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libri XIII cum Averrois Cordubensis in eosdem comentariis, liber VIII, comm. 7*, en *Aristotelis opera cum Averrois commentariis*, vol. VIII, (Venetiis apud Iunctas: 1562–1574) [reimp. Minerva, Frankfurt am Main 1962], 215vK.

³⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (3): « Quod autem hic dicitur, quod quidditas est principium intrinsecum, excluduntur causae extrinsecae, scilicet efficiens et finis et materia, ex qua fit in rebus, quae exeunt in esse per generationem ex determinato aliquo principio generationis materiali, cuiusmodi est menstruum in generatione aliquorum animalium ut hominis et equi. Huiusmodi enim principia seu causae, scilicet efficiens, finis et materia ex qua, non sunt quidditas rei. Quiditas enim vult esse aliquod principium intrinsecum rei secundum suam essentiam absolute secundum se, inquantum est ens, a quo circumscribuntur omnes causae extrinsecae, quibus constituitur res non inquantum ens, sed inquantum ens naturae ».

³⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (4): « Quod autem assumitur, quod quidditas est principium secundum actum, removetur materia, quae est altera pars compositi, vel quod modum materiae habet in composito ».

en cuanto al acto de la cosa (*aliquid formale intrinsecum rei quantum ad actum rei*).³⁷ Así pues, se debe afirmar que, en todo aquello que es un cierto ente según el acto (*aliquid ens secundum actum*), hay una quiddidad, por la cual dicho ente es aquello que es según el acto (*est quiditas, qua est id, quod est secundum actum*).³⁸ Como Dietrich dirá más adelante en su *De quiditatibus entium* y en muchas otras obras, esta *quiditas* no es sino la « forma », que, en el caso de las sustancias compuestas, corresponde exclusivamente a una de las dos partes intrínsecas del compuesto, a saber: la « forma substancial ».³⁹

Pero antes de adentrarnos en dicha cuestión, es necesario detenernos en una serie de consideraciones respecto de lo que acaba de ser dicho en relación con la « materia ». En primer lugar, Dietrich ha distinguido entre dos tipos de « materia » que deben ser excluidos de la quiddidad y definición de una cosa, a saber: por un lado, la materia que es « causa extrínseca » y que constituye un « principio material determinado » a partir del cual alguna cosa es « generada » (como la « menstruación » en algunos animales), y por el otro, la materia que es la « otra parte del compuesto » y que, en conformidad con su naturaleza propia, es un principio puramente en potencia, por lo que no « quidifica » ni « notifica ».⁴⁰ Aunque Dietrich no lo explicita en este texto, esta última materia no parece ser sino la « materia prima », que, en cuanto tal, es ente puramente potencial,⁴¹ y que (a diferencia de la materia que es sustrato de la generación), constituye un principio « intrínseco ». Así lo establece con mayor detalle en el capítulo primero de su *De origine rerum praedicamentaliu*,⁴² en donde considera el triple modo en

³⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (4): « Ex hoc enim, quod huiusmodi materiale principium est principium secundum potentiam quantum ad proprietatem suae naturae, nec quidificativum nec notificativum est eius rei, cuius est principium. Quiditas igitur est aliquid formale intrinsecum rei quantum ad actum rei. Et ideo additur, quod ab ipso sumitur ratio rei et quantum ad rationem essendi et quantum ad rationem notificandi seu innotescendi ipsam talem rem ».

³⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 100, 2 (5): « Attendendo igitur dictam generalem rationem quiditatis possumus dicere, quod in omni eo, quod est aliquid ens secundum actum, est quiditas, qua est id, quod est secundum actum ».

³⁹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p.110, 7 (4): « Est autem haec quiditas substantiae, quam etiam significat definitio, forma substantialis [...] ».

⁴⁰ Esta importante distinción entre la materia como « principio determinado de la generación », y la materia como la « otra parte del compuesto », no estaba del todo clara para mí al momento de redactar: FERNANDA OCAMPO, « La concepción teodoriana de la *definitio* relativa a las realidades de primera intención, y su inspiración aristotélico-averroísta », *Scripta Mediaevalia. Revista de pensamiento medieval*, 11/2 (2018), p. 103-137, antecedente del presente trabajo.

⁴¹ « Et sicut tale principium, quod est materia prima, per suam essentiam est ens in potentia – actuatur autem et fit in actu per formam –, ita [...] » (DIETRICH VON FREIBERG, *De corporibus caelestibus quoad naturam eorum corporalem*, [=DCC], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. II, p. 378-385, p. 383, 6 (1)).

⁴² Sobre el tratado *De origine rerum praedicamentaliu* y su temática, remitimos a: KURT FLASCH, « Einleitung », en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. xv-LXXXVI; ID., « Bemerkungen zu Dietrich von

que un « ente » es « originado », en dependencia esencial respecto de sus « principios »:⁴³ de estos tres modos, sólo los dos primeros tienen importancia para nuestro propósito.⁴⁴ En efecto, retomando la doctrina física aristotélica de las cuatro causas (i.e., eficiente, final, material y formal), Dietrich restituye la división establecida por el Estagirita en la *Metafísica*, según el comentario de Averroes,⁴⁵

Freiberg, *De origine rerum praedicamentali* », en Id., (ed), *Von Meister Dietrich zu Meister Eckhart*, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hambourg 1984, p. 34–45; Dietrich von Freiberg, p. 109–165; LORIS STURLESE, *Storia de la filosofia tedesca nel Medioevo. Il secolo XIII*, Leo S. Olshcki, Firenze 1996, p. 185–204; BURKHARD MOJSISCH, « Dietrich von Freiberg: *Tractatus de origine rerum praedicamentali* », en KURT FLASCH (ed.), *Interpretationen, Hauptwerke der Philosophie: Mittelalter*, Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, Stuttgart 1998, p. 318–332; ANDREA COLLI, « Introduzione », en TEODORICO DI FREIBERG, *L'origine delle realtà predicamentali*, ed. ANDREA COLLI, Bompiani, Milano 2010, p. 5–58.

⁴³ « Triplex invenitur modus principiandi sive initiandi aliquod ens, secundum quod hoc ipsum ens ex eo ipso suo principio per essentiam dependet » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De origine rerum praedicamentali* [=DORP], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. 135–202, p. 138, 1 (1)).

⁴⁴ La tesis (Dietrich de Freiberg, DORP, p. 138, 1, (5)) acerca del tercer modo de originarse un ente (*tertius modus innominatus*) conforme al cual algunas cosas – a saber, los accidentes listados por Aristóteles, con excepción de la « cantidad » y la « cualidad » – obtienen su propia *ratio entitatis* sive *quiditatis* a partir del intelecto como principio « causal », y no sin embargo como « realidades de segunda intención » o « entes de razón », sino como *res primae intentiones*, ha capturado la atención de numerosos investigadores (sobre este tercer modo de causalidad, agregado a división aristotélica de las causas, ver, por ejemplo, DOMINIK PERLER, *Theorien der Intentionalität im Mittelalter*, Klostermann, Frankfurt (2002), p. 155–165). Léda dicha tesis junto con los desarrollos de Dietrich en el quinto capítulo del *De origine*, en donde el autor se propone dar cuenta de las características generales de la actividad causal del intelecto respecto de las *res praedicamentales* en su *esse quiditativum*, se ha insistido en la función « constitutiva » del intelecto (*intellectus constituens*), como original antecedente de la modernidad: sobre este punto, ver el interesante artículo de KURT FLASCH, « Kennt die mittelalterliche Philosophie die konstitutive Funktion des menschlichen Denkens? Eine Untersuchung zu Dietrich von Freiberg », *Kant Studien*, (1972) 63, p. 182–206 (también: Id., « Einleitung », en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. LXXXI–LXXXIII; Id., *Dietrich von Freiberg*, p. 137). Para una visión diferente, en donde la excentricidad de la doctrina de Dietrich, junto con la idea del intelecto « fuerte », son matizadas y en parte relativizadas, consultar: PASQUALE PORRO, « Dédution catégoriale et prédicaments relatifs à la fin du XIIIe siècle: le *De origine rerum praedicamentali* de Dietrich de Freiberg et son contexte », *Quaestio*, 13 (2013), p. 197–220. En este trabajo no se profundizará sin embargo en esta cuestión, sino en la medida en que tenga alguna incidencia sobre el asunto que aquí es tratado puntualmente: la exclusión de la « materia » de la quididad de los entes (y de su definición).

⁴⁵ El texto averroísta de referencia es el siguiente: « Vult (i.e. Aristoteles) distinguere secundum quod modos dicitur elementum, quoniam ista nomina sunt propinqua synonymis et communibus appropriatis; elementum enim non dicitur de causis extrinsecis et dicitur de intrinsecis et dignius de materia. Principium autem est dignius dici de causis extrinsecis » (AVERROES, *In Averrois in librum V (delta) Metaphysicorum Aristotelis Commentarius*, ed. RUGGERO PONZALLI, Franke, Bern 1971, comm. 4, p. 83, 1. 29–35 (nr)). Sobre la lectura teodoriciana de este pasaje de Averroes, comenta D. Calma que, mientras Dietrich considera que « principio » es dicho tanto de las causas extrínsecas como de las causas intrínsecas, para Averroes, en cambio, « principio » se dice fundamentalmente en relación con las causas extrínsecas: DRAGOS CALMA, *Le Poids de citation. Études sur les sources arabes et grecques dans l'oeuvre de Dietrich de Freiberg*, Academic Press Fribourg, Fribourg 2010 (Dokimion, 35), p. 27.

entre causas « extrínsecas » e « intrínsecas », según la cual las dos primeras causas (i.e., la eficiente y la final) serían causas extrínsecas, y las dos últimas (i.e., la material y la formal) serían causas intrínsecas (o con mayor propiedad, « elementos »).⁴⁶ Y así, sostiene que según el primer modo de « principiar » u « originar », un ente es causado en su ser a partir de un principio causal exterior que se encuentra « fuera de la esencia » de la cosa (*extra essentiam rei*), como cuando una cosa es constituida en su ser a partir de la causa eficiente o la causa final.⁴⁷ Por el contrario, según el segundo modo de « principiar » u « originar », una cosa es constituida en su ser a partir de principios intrínsecos a su misma esencia (*intra essentiam eius*), gracias a los cuales la cosa subsiste esencialmente (*per essentiam subsistit*): en este sentido, la materia y la forma son los componentes esenciales constitutivos de la substancia compuesta.⁴⁸ Adelantemos por el momento que según el primer modo de principiar, una cosa es constituida en su ser « natural », y así como *ens naturae*, mientras que según el segundo modo de principiar, una cosa es constituida en su ser « absoluto », y así como *ens simpliciter*.

Si consideramos por lo pronto esta división establecida en el *De origine*, resulta claro que la materia « que es la otra parte del compuesto », constituye, tal como Dietrich lo deja entrever en el *De quiditatibus entium*, una causa o principio « intrínseco »: no obstante, sorprende que el alemán no haya mencionado entre las « causas extrínsecas » a la materia « que es principio de la generación », tal como lo hace en el *De quiditatibus entium* – donde, según vimos, establece que es en función de dichas causas extrínsecas (incluido el principio material determinado de la generación), que la cosa es constituida en tanto que « ente natural ». Ahora bien, la temprana omisión y la ulterior incorporación de dicho concepto en la serie

⁴⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 138, 1 (4): « Et haec istorum duorum modorum differentia habetur a Commentatore Super V *Metaphysicae*, ubi distinguit rationem principii et elementi et causae secundum modum, qui dictus est, scilicet quod proprie causae sunt, quae sunt principiantia rem extrinsecus; elementa vero, quae intrinsecus; principia autem sunt communiter et ea, quae extrinsecus, et ea, quae intrinsecus rem initiant ».

⁴⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 138, 1 (2): « Tale, inquam, ens uno modo principiat sive initiat ex aliquo secundum rationem causae; quod quidem fit, cum huiusmodi causale principium sit extra essentiam rei, conducit tamen et constituit rem in suo esse vel per modum principii effectivi vel per modum finis ».

⁴⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 138, 1 (3): « Alio modo principiat res ex his, quae sunt intra essentiam eius, et ex his qualitative componentibus ipsam per essentiam subsistit; cuiusmodi sunt materia et forma in rebus compositis. » Como hemos visto, también se explicita esta doctrina, según la cual materia y forma son los « componentes esenciales » de la substancia compuesta, en otros textos del dominico: « Quamvis enim essentia in rebus compositis importet utrumque componentium, scilicet materiam et formam, quibus essentia rei constituitur, sola tamen forma est quidditas substantiae compositae, ut praemissum est » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 73, 15 (2)); « Et sic potest dici de quidditate et eo, quod est quid, videlicet quod quidditas solam formam significat, ipsum autem quid etiam in rebus compositis totam rei essentiam, id est aggregatum ex materia et forma » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 31, I, 3 (8)).

de causas extrínsecas, que bien podría comprenderse en términos de un perfeccionamiento de doctrina del *De origine* (obra precoz) al *De quiditatibus entium* (obra más tardía),⁴⁹ también podría quizás obedecer a una diversidad de enfoques e intereses en función de la temática y propósito de cada tratado. Para tener una apreciación de esto último, es preciso volver sobre el capítulo primero del *De origine*, en el que Dietrich explica que la noción de « ente » (i.e., la *ratio entis*), según la cual una cosa es constituida en su ser, varía según los diversos modos de « originar » o « principiar » señalados, en función de la diversidad de principios originantes (« causas extrínsecas » y « elementos »).⁵⁰ Así, si consideramos primero la constitución de la realidad en relación con sus « causas extrínsecas », esto es, según el primer modo de « principiar » mencionado por el alemán, se establece entonces la noción de « ente natural ». En efecto, en base a esta modalidad, algo se dice « ente » en la medida en que emana de algún principio productivo (i.e., la « causa eficiente ») en orden a un fin (i.e., la causa final): de acuerdo con esto, el « ente » tiene razón de « ente de la naturaleza » (*ens naturae*), entendiendo por « naturaleza » no sólo el principio del movimiento y del reposo, sino, en sentido lato, todo aquello que sea principio, sujeto o término de una operación real natural, de acuerdo con lo cual incluso también los entes separados (i.e., las sustancias simples o inteligencias) se dicen realidades « naturales ».⁵¹ Este

⁴⁹ En efecto, según la difícil cronología (establecida hasta el momento) relativa a las fechas aproximadas de composición de las obras de Dietrich, el tratado *De Origine rerum praedicamentaliū* podría constituir probablemente el primer escrito (año 1286): ver, MARIA RITA PAGNONI-STURLESE, « Per una datazione del *De origine* di Teodorico di Freiberg », *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, s. III., v. 11/2 (1981), p. 431-445. Para una segunda hipótesis proponiendo una datación posterior del tratado (años 1290/1), aunque anterior al *De quiditatibus entium*, ver: PASQUALE PORRO, « *Res Praedicamenti* e *ratio praedicamenti*. Una nota su Teodorico di Freiberg e Enrico di Gand », en JOËL BIARD, DRAGOS CALMA, RUEDI IMBACH (eds.), *Recherches sur Dietrich de Freiberg*, Brepols, Turnhout 2009, p. 131-144. En todo caso, siendo una obra relativamente precoz, no se trataría no obstante de una obra « juvenil » en su contenido: por el contrario, ésta parece haber sido redactada en un espíritu ya maduro, alimentado por las disputas en el ámbito universitario. En relación con la cronología (« revisable ») general de las obras, consultar la síntesis de CATHERINE KÖNIG-PRALONG: *Le bon usage des savoirs. Scolastique, philosophie et politique culturelle*, Vrin, Paris 2011, p. 254-255.

⁵⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 139, 1 (6): « Secundum hos tres modos diversa est ratio entis [...] ». La diferencia entre « causa », « elemento » y « principio », la establece al comienzo del capítulo primero: « Et haec istorum duorum modorum differentia habetur a Commentatore Super V *Metaphysicae*, ubi distinguit rationem principii et elementi et causae secundum modum, qui dictus est, scilicet quod proprie causae sunt, quae sunt principiantia rem extrinsecus; elementa vero, quae intrinsecus; principia autem sunt communiter et ea, quae extrinsecus, et ea, quae intrinsecus rem initiant » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 138, 1 (4)).

⁵¹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 141, 1 (13): « Si autem consideretur res in ordine ad suas causas, et hoc quoad primum praenominatorum modorum, tunc cadit a praedicta entis ratione. Secundum hoc enim ens dicitur aliquid, inquantum emanans ab aliquo productivo principio in ordine ad

último punto es importante ya que allí sostiene el alemán que cualquier ente (*unumquodque ens*) en orden a sus « causas », se dice realidad natural (*res naturae*), en tanto procede de un acto de la naturaleza, en orden a un cierto fin que es por naturaleza, y en el que participa según su propia operación natural.⁵² Sin entrar aquí en detalles respecto de la manera propia en que tales « entes separados » o « inteligencias » son llamados « entes naturales », diferenciándose del modo propio en que lo son los entes generables y corruptibles,⁵³ entendemos que, puesto que Dietrich en el capítulo primero del *De origine* aborda la constitución del « ente » en su « ser natural » tomando el término « naturaleza » en sentido lato (*extenso nomine naturae*), por lo que también las « inteligencias » son consideradas *res naturae*, por este motivo, quizás, la materia « que es principio de generación natural », no es nombrada entre las « causas extrínsecas » que constituyen al « ente real natural » en cuanto tal. En efecto, las « inteligencias » o « substancias simples » carecen de todo tipo de materia, por lo que sería imposible hallar en ellas

aliquem finem. Et secundum hoc habet et rationem et nomen naturae extenso nomine naturae, ut intelligatur natura non solum, inquantum est principium motus et quietis sicut in *Physicis*, sed dicatur natura, quidquid est alicuius realis operationis principium, subiectum vel terminus, secundum quod etiam entia separata dicuntur res naturae.

⁵² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 141, 1 (13): « [...] unumquodque ens in ordine ad suas causas dicitur res naturae, inquantum videlicet est ab actu naturae in ordine ad aliquem finem, qui est natura, quo participat per suam naturalem operationem [...] ».

⁵³ En términos generales, Dietrich sostiene que las inteligencias o substancias simples son originariamente aptas para estar en relación con un fin y participar de su perfección, en la medida en que estos entes son por esencia principio de su propia operación, y así no se encuentra en ellos ninguna naturaleza extraña a su propia esencia, y en consecuencia ningún accidente: por el contrario, en el caso de aquellos entes que no son originariamente aptos para alcanzar la perfección de su propio fin (i.e., las substancias corpóreas, generables y corruptibles), éstos requieren de algunas naturalezas extrañas a su propia esencia (a saber, los accidentes cantidad y cualidad), que sean principios de los movimientos por los cuales alcanzan la perfección de su fin (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 141–142, 1 (14–15)). En otras palabras, mientras las substancias separadas alcanzan sus propios fines por su propia esencia, las substancias corpóreas alcanzan sus fines mediante disposiciones accidentales añadidas a su esencia. Esta misma idea es expresada por Dietrich en su *De accidentibus*: « (2) His igitur suppositis manifestum est, quod, si sunt aliqua entia, quae per suam essentiam nata sunt attingere suos proprios fines, cuiusmodi entia dicebant philosophi intelligentias et animas caelorum et intellectum agentem, praeter talium entium essentias nulla extranea natura, quae sit accidens, in essentiis eorum invenitur, tum quia sunt simplices et intellectus in actu per essentiam -accidens autem est dispositio habentis partes-, tum etiam quia frustra esset accidens in eis, cum per essentiam suam suos fines attingant. (3) Alia autem entia, quae per suam essentiam proprias operationes suas exercere non possunt, necessario indigent aliquibus extraneis ab essentia sua dispositionibus accidentalibus, quibus exercent suas operationes in attingendo suas finales perfectiones, sicut manifeste apparet in substantiis corporalibus » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 63–64, 8 (2–3)). En este último texto el alemán no sólo incluye entre las substancias simples e *intellectus in actu per essentiam*, las « inteligencias », sino también las « almas de los cielos » y el « intelecto agente » (del hombre).

algún principio material de « generación natural ». ⁵⁴ Sí se observa en cambio una intención por parte de Dietrich de conservar, para los entes separados o las inteligencias, la noción de « ente natural » en relación con las causas « eficiente » y « final » comprendidas según una *ratio* diferente (respecto de aquella relativa a los entes generables y corruptibles). ⁵⁵

En efecto, en el capítulo quinto del *De origine*, cuando Dietrich se propone dar respuesta a ciertas objeciones relativas al tema de la causalidad del intelecto respecto de ciertas realidades, ⁵⁶ el alemán retoma la doctrina de las cuatro causas aristotélicas, sólo que bajo otro criterio de división. Buscando determinar qué tipo de « causa » constituye el intelecto en relación con las realidades de primera intención, Dietrich argumenta que las « causas » son, en efecto, de dos tipos diferentes: algunas son causas en términos de « potencia », como « la materia o lo que tiene la noción y el modo de la materia », ⁵⁷ mientras que otras son causas en términos de « acto », y éstas son la causa final, la causa formal y la causa eficiente. ⁵⁸ Es interesante señalar en relación con estas tres últimas causas según el acto, que Dietrich dice tomarlas, no sólo en cuanto éstas se encuentran en las realidades naturales implicando el movimiento y la materia (*motum et materiam*), sino también según un modo más común (*modo communiore*) en función del cual dichas causas también se encuentran en las substancias separadas según una cierta *ratio* suya, distinta de la *ratio* según la cual se encuentran en las realidades naturales (generables y corruptibles) según Averroes en relación con el « fin » en su comentario al libro III de la *Metafísica*, y en relación con la causa eficiente, en su

⁵⁴ Así lo afirma claramente en DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 139, 1 (8): « De quibus simplicibus essentiis dicit Philosophus in VIII *Metaphysicae*, quod in quibus non est materia, neque sensibilis neque intelligibilis [...] ».

⁵⁵ Si nuestra interpretación es correcta, mientras que, en relación con los entes generables y corruptibles que son las substancias compuestas sensibles, la causa eficiente y final tienen *ratio* de « causas extrínsecas », en relación con los entes simples o substancias separadas, no parece existir dicho extrínsecismo: « [...] Operatio enim est finis intra, per quem ens participat perfectionem finis simpliciter. Si igitur talia entia essent, ut aestimabant philosophi, et ipsa secundum eos per suam essentiam sunt suae operationis principium, non esset in eis aliqua natura extranea ab eorum essentia, cuiusmodi sunt accidentia: frustra enim essent, quod natura non patitur » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 141, 1 (14)). La constitución como « ente natural » no estaría marcada, en el segundo caso, por el extrínsecismo real de las causas eficiente y final que acontece en el caso de los entes generables y corruptibles. O, dicho de otro modo, un poco paradójal: en los entes simples, las causas « extrínsecas » (¿según la noción?), son « intrínsecas » (¿en la realidad?).

⁵⁶ Ver fn. 43.

⁵⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 182, 5 (10): « Quaedam enim sunt causae secundum rationem potentiae, ut materia vel aliquid habens rationem et modum materiae ».

⁵⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 183, 5 (11): « Alio modo sunt causae secundum rationem actus, et hae sunt finis, forma et efficiens ».

comentario al *Acerca del Cielo*.⁵⁹ Nuevamente aquí se observa por parte del alemán la intención de poder aplicar, aunque sea en un sentido lato, las nociones de causa « eficiente » y « final » a las sustancias « separadas » o « simples ». Quizás, esto obedezca, pues, a su propósito de establecer que el intelecto agente del hombre, en su actividad constitutiva del *esse quiditativum* de las realidades de primera intención, tiene razón y modo de causa « eficiente »: por lo cual –en cuanto la causa eficiente no actúa sino bajo la intención del fin – puede serle también atribuida la *ratio* de causa « final », en cuanto el hombre adquiere su propia perfección a través de la operación inteligible (que es propia del hombre en cuanto hombre).⁶⁰ O quizás, esto obedezca a la intención de diferenciar adecuadamente las entidades simples que son las sustancias separadas (a saber, formas puras), de las entidades matemáticas.⁶¹ Sea por el motivo que fuere, Dietrich establece en el *De origine* un

⁵⁹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 183, 5 (11): « Dico autem hic finem, formam et efficiens non modo, secundum quod inveniuntur in naturalibus, quae concernunt motum et materiam, sed modo communiore, secundum quod secundum aliquam sui rationem reperiuntur etiam in separatis, quamvis non eadem ratione sicut in naturalibus, ut dicit Averroes de fine *Super III Metaphysicae*, de efficiente super principium *IV Caeli et mundi* ».

⁶⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 194, 5 (45): « Relinquitur igitur secundum praedicta, quod intellectus respectu rerum primo et per se intelligibilium habeat rationem et modum causae efficientis. Sed quia efficiens non agit nisi sub intentione finis, per consequens potest sibi attribui ratio causae finalis, inquantum homo operatione intelligibili acquirit suam propriam perfectionem, quae est hominis inquantum homo. Dico autem intellectum in constituendo quidditates entium in speculabilibus modo praedicto agere sub intentione finis, non quidem semper per deliberationem et praecogitationem finis, sed modo quodam naturali, sicut etiam alia entia quaedam tendunt in suos fines, non tamen praeconciplentia ipsos fines. Et ideo non oportet, quod in definitione eorum, quae sic sunt ab intellectu, cadat causa finalis, ut aliquis posset obicere ».

⁶¹ Hacia el final del capítulo quinto del *De origine*, Dietrich mismo plantea el problema de la distinción entre la consideración del metafísico (*metaphysicus*), y la consideración del matemático (*mathematicus*), ya que ambos consideran exclusivamente en su objeto, la « causa formal » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 200, 5 (64)). Dietrich señala, no obstante, que mientras el matemático considera el « ente de un género determinado », el metafísico, en cambio, considera el « ente en tanto que ente » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 201, 5 (66)); y mientras el metafísico considera los entes en razón de la « quiddidad » y de la « forma » en cuanto se encuentra en la naturaleza y según el modo de la naturaleza, el matemático, en cambio, considera los entes según la razón de la forma, pero abstrayendo de toda naturaleza y de los principios de la naturaleza (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 201, 5 (67)). En este sentido, si las sustancias simples son « formas puras » carentes de materia, y no existe un modo según el cual puedan considerarse « entes naturales », entonces no podrían distinguirse de las entidades matemáticas. Pero justamente, puesto que se ha establecido que constituyen entes naturales en función de las causas eficiente y final (según el término *natura* entendido *communiter*), por eso mismo Dietrich logra establecer la diferencia entre ambos tipos de entidades: « Differunt autem etiam metaphysica et mathematica in modo subiecti. Metaphysicus enim considerat ea, quae insunt, secundum rationem quiditatis et formae repertae apud naturam et habentis modum naturae. Mathematicus autem considerat ea, quae insunt, secundum rationem formae abstrahentis ab omni natura et principiis naturae secundum determinationem intellectus agentis hunc modum essendi in eis. Numquam enim

concepto amplio de « naturaleza » y de causa « eficiente » y « final », que le permite reagrupar a las « substancias simples » como « entes naturales »: la no inclusión de la materia que es « principio de generación » como causa « extrínseca » que constituye al ente en cuanto *ens naturae*, bien podría estar relacionada con el deseo de salvar la noción de « naturaleza » para dichos entes simples. Esta motivación, no parece estar presente en el *De quiditatibus entium*, en donde los simples apenas tienen una quiddidad.⁶²

Dicho esto, es importante destacar para nuestro propósito que, aunque la materia, que es « principio de generación », no figura en el *De origine* entre las causas « extrínsecas », no obstante, sí figura entre las causas que constituyen al ente « natural » – en sentido propio –, aunque según otro criterio. En efecto, de acuerdo con la división establecida entre causas « según el acto » y causas « según la potencia », dentro de las causas según la razón de potencia (*secundum rationem potentia*) el alemán parece ubicar no sólo la « materia » (que es « la otra parte del compuesto »), sino también la *materia* que es determinada en razón de una cierta forma o disposición (como por ejemplo, en la naturaleza, la « menstruación » para

metaphysicus definiret triangulum, quod esset figura plana, habens unum angulum extrinsecum et cetera: Non enim haec definitio convenit triangulo, secundum quod est ens naturae, ut supra dictum est. Volo autem hic intelligi naturam communiter, sicut etiam entia separata dicuntur et sunt entia naturae » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 201, 5 (67)). De lo contrario, ambos quedarían equiparados. Esto parece sugerir Dietrich en un pasaje en el que el término *natura* es tomado en sentido propio, y así los entes simples no son considerados « entes naturales »: « (2) Assignantur autem quattuor genera causarum communiter nota, scilicet materialis, formalis, efficiens, finalis. Haec autem quattuor genera proprie accipiuntur solum in entibus, quae subiecta sunt transmutationi et motui deservienti generationi et corruptioni rerum, secundum Philosophum in VIII *Metaphysicae*; unde Commentator dicit *Super III Metaphysicae* et *Super IV Caeli et mundi*, quod efficiens causa et finalis non sunt in separatis: sicut enim in mathematicis non est ratio finis, quia non est ibi ratio boni, et per consequens nec causa efficiens, sic in separatis non invenitur ratio boni acquisiti per motum, et sic nec causa finalis et per consequens nec causa efficiens, quae movet intentione boni. (3) Solum igitur huiusmodi causarum quattuor genera inveniuntur, si proprie accipiuntur, in subiectis transmutationi et motui » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De animatione caeli* [=DAC], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. 9–46, p. 14, 3 (2–3)). Por otra parte, si se adujera que la matemática considera el « ente de un género determinado », y así no cualquier forma, no parece que esto sea razón suficiente de diferenciación: « [...] Unde manifestum est, quod huiusmodi ens, scilicet pure mathematicum, habet eum ordinem in suis partibus, quem acquirit secundum illum modum essendi, in quo constituitur per intellectum. Et quia huiusmodi entia abstrahunt ab omni natura et naturae principiis, ideo cadunt extra genus, proprie loquendo, nisi forte secundum logicam considerationem reducantur ad genus, et ad unum genus, quod est quantitas, quod tamen secundum realem considerationem non est unum » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 196, 5 (51)).

⁶² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 102, 3 (2): « [...] Manifestum est igitur, quod in simplicibus non est quidditas. Et per consequens ipsorum non est definitio eo, quod in essentia simplicis non est distinctio alicuius multitudinis nec de eis habet locum quaestio per 'propter quid' vel per 'quare' secundum praedicta ».

los animales, o en las cosas artificiales, el « hierro » para la sierra):⁶³ esta materia no parece ser sino aquel « principio material determinado de la generación », del cual habla el alemán en su *De quidditatibus entium*. En efecto, sostiene Dietrich, como la « generación » (*generatio*) o « producción » (*factio*) de una realidad natural concierne al movimiento (*motus*), que procede de un « determinado principio » en orden a un « determinado fin », la materia, a partir de la cual se produce la generación según la determinación de la forma o disposición que se encuentra en ella, entra en la definición de los « entes naturales » (*cadit in definitione entium naturalium*).⁶⁴ Así lo explicita nuevamente hacia el final del capítulo quinto del *De origine*, en donde advierte que, en las cosas naturales (generables y corruptibles), para la integridad de la definición, es necesario que, junto con la « forma » de la cosa, la « causa eficiente » y la « causa final », concurra también la « materia »: en efecto, puesto que el agente, que realiza una determinada naturaleza en un determinado sustrato en vista de un determinado fin, no actúa sino a partir de un « determinado sustrato o materia », entonces, así también la materia entra en la definición natural.⁶⁵ Y explica que llama « materia » a aquello por lo cual se produce la generación, en lo que concierne a la definición de las substancias « naturales », como la menstruación en el animal, tal como lo advierte el Filósofo en el libro VIII de la *Metafísica*.⁶⁶ En relación con nuestro propósito entonces, queda claro a partir de todo lo dicho que la materia « que es sustrato o principio determinado de la generación », en tanto es « causa extrínseca » (*De quidditatibus entium*, 2 (3)) y « causa según la razón de potencia » (*De origine*, 5 (10)), no puede formar parte de la *quiditas* (*principium intrinsecum rei secundum actum*), según la cual

⁶³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 182, 5 (10).

⁶⁴ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 182, 5 (10): « Quamvis enim determinatis rebus determinetur propria materia secundum rationem alicuius formae, ut in natura menstruum animalibus, in artificialibus ferrum serrae et sic de aliis, hoc tamen est per accidens, inquantum ex huiusmodi est generatio. Per se enim est generatio ex subiecto, quod est ens in potentia secundum propriam rationem; per accidens autem aliquid fit ex forma vel dispositione, quae est in subiecto. Dico autem per accidens quantum ad ipsius rei existentiam, quae subsistit solum ex subiecto et forma, sive etiam quantum ad rei simplicem factionem sive generationem, quae est in instanti. Inquantum autem factio rei concernit motum, qui est a determinato principio ad determinatum finem, sic forma, quae est in subiecto, ex quo fit generatio, est per se; unde secundum hoc materia secundum determinationem talis formae cadit in definitione entium naturalium ».

⁶⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 199, 5 (62): « Non sicut in naturalibus, ubi de substantia demonstratur aliqua res naturae, quam oportet per agens inesse subiecto: Agens autem non facit huiusmodi rem in substantia nisi in ordine ad aliquem finem. Igitur in naturalibus ad integritatem definitionis oportet concurrere cum forma rei causam efficientem et finem. Et quia agens, quod agit determinatam naturam in determinato subiecto ad determinatum finem, non agit nisi ex determinato subiecto vel materia, ideo et materia cadit in definitione naturali ».

⁶⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 199, 5 (62): « Dico autem materiam, ex qua fit generatio quantum ad definitionem substantiarum naturalium, ut menstruum in animali, sicut etiam Philosophus exemplificat in VIII *Metaphysicae* ».

– como veremos – una cosa es constituida, ya no en cuanto « ente natural » (*ens naturalae*), sino en cuanto « ente » (*ens*). Así, tampoco forma parte de la « definición », que significa la cosa en tanto es « en acto ». No obstante, dicha materia (como principio de la generación) sí integra – según hemos visto – la definición de la cosa, en la medida en que dicha cosa es considerada como *ens naturalae*, bajo la perspectiva del « filósofo de la naturaleza ».

Ahora bien, si retornamos, pues, a la consideración del segundo tipo de materia diferenciado por Dietrich, esto es, la materia que es la « otra parte del compuesto » y que, en conformidad con su naturaleza propia, es un principio puramente « en potencia », hemos dicho que, en cuanto constituye un « principio intrínseco » a la « esencia » de la cosa (*intra essentiam rei*), dicha materia – junto con la « forma » – da cuenta de la constitución de la cosa como « ente ». Así pues, según el segundo modo de principiar que habíamos señalado en el primer capítulo del *De origine*, una cosa según sí y de manera absoluta (*secundum se et absolute*), tiene formalmente la noción de « ente » – según la cual una realidad « dista » formalmente de la nada –, en función de sus « componentes esenciales »: a saber, en el caso de las sustancias compuestas, la materia y la forma. En efecto, cada sustancia compuesta subsiste formalmente (*formaliter distat a nihilo*), y así es propiamente « ente », en razón de sus propios principios intrínsecos (*secundum rationem suorum intrinsecorum principiorum*).⁶⁷ No obstante esto, aunque la materia y la forma constituyen la *essentia* de la sustancia compuesta según la cual dicha sustancia « dista de la nada » (según el modo de la « subsistencia »), puesto que la materia no es sino « ente en potencia », no es por sí misma, sino en cuanto unida a la « forma » por su capacidad de recibirla, que puede decirse que es *principium* de la subsistencia.⁶⁸ En efecto, luego de señalar que es por sus componentes esenciales que una cosa subsiste, especifica el alemán que una cosa es llamada *ens*, en razón de « un cierto despliegue formal » (*quaedam formalis explicatio*) de sí misma, según aquel principio intrínseco en virtud del cual « una cosa subsiste formalmente y en razón del acto »: este principio es la « forma » en las sustancias compuestas, o la « esencia simple » según el acto en las sustancias simples (que son las

⁶⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 139, 1 (7); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 140, 1 (12): « Sic igitur patet, quae sit ratio entis, secundum quod consideratur ut subsistens solum secundum rationem suorum intrinsecorum principiorum, scilicet quod secundum hoc solum habet formaliter rationem entis; et hic modus primo et per se convenit substantiae. Unde considerare de hoc ente et eius proprietatibus secundum hanc rationem proprium est primo philosopho ».

⁶⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 169, 4 (2): « Sed sciendum secundum Philosophum in IX *Metaphysicae*, quod ens in potentia nec esse nec definitionem habet nisi secundum rationem actus, ad quem est. Unde virtute actus, cuius iam aliquid participat, et secundum propriam rationem eius huiusmodi ens in potentia habet et rationem entis et quo differat a non ente simpliciter; et ita primo et principaliter et ratio entis et differentiae a nihilo est penes actum ».

inteligencias).⁶⁹ La razón de la prioridad de la forma por sobre la materia en el caso de las substancias compuestas tiene que ver con el hecho de que, aunque sea la substancia completa la que « subsiste » (i.e., el compuesto de materia y forma), la materia sólo es principio de subsistencia en tanto informada por la « forma », ya que sólo ésta es *principium secundum actum*.⁷⁰ Es por este motivo también, por el que sólo la « forma » cumple con los requisitos para integrar la *quiditas* de una cosa, en la medida en que constituye tanto un *principium intrinsecum* como un *principium secundum actum*: no así la materia « que es la otra parte del compuesto », la cual, si bien es *principium intrinsecum*, también, no obstante, constituye un *principium secundum potentiam*.

Por todo lo dicho hasta ahora entonces, en razón de los principios que se han analizado, queda establecido que la « quiddidad » en las substancias compuestas, no puede ser sino la forma substancial, quedando excluidos los restantes principios o causas: así pues, si consideramos la « materia » que es « principio determinado de la generación » (como la menstruación en el animal), ésta es « causa extrínseca » y « principio según la potencia »; si consideramos las causas « eficiente » y « final », aunque son principios « según el acto », éstas son también a la vez « causas extrínsecas »; finalmente, si consideramos la materia « que es la otra parte del compuesto », aunque constituye un « principio intrínseco », ésta es, no obstante, un « principio según la potencia ». No queda entonces sino la « forma substancial » como principio « intrínseco » y a la vez « según el acto ». Ahora bien, esta tesis, a la que hemos llegado por la vía negativa de la exclusión de principios, Dietrich la afirma explícitamente en numerosas ocasiones en su obra, advirtiendo que ésta es

⁶⁹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 139, 1 (7): « Si enim consideretur ens secundum rationem suorum intrinsecorum principiorum, et hoc quoad secundum modum praeordinatum, sic res secundum se absolute habet formaliter rationem entis, quae est omnium intentionum prima, qua res primo formaliter distat a nihilo. Cum enim aliquid dicitur ens, non est nisi eiusdem de se ipso quaedam formalis explicatio secundum illud intrinsecum, quo res formaliter et secundum rationem actus subsistit, quod est forma in rebus compositis vel simplex essentia secundum actum in rebus simplicibus. » En efecto, en relación con las sustancias simples (en las que no se encuentra ni materia sensible ni inteligible), el dominico aclara, siguiendo a Aristóteles en el libro VIII de la *Metafísica*, que es en razón de su propia esencia que cada una de ellas es « ente y una », sin implicar ninguna « causa extrínseca » (al igual que las sustancias compuestas): « De quibus simplicibus essentiis dicit Philosophus in VIII *Metaphysicae*, quod in quibus non est materia, neque sensibilis neque intelligibilis, unumquodque eorum statim est unum et ens sicut ea, quae non sunt in genere: Quod non est aliud, nisi quod unumquodque istorum simplicium secundum rationem suae essentiae est unum et ens non concernendo aliquam causam extrinsecam. Quod similiter verum est et de compositis, in quantum unumquodque ipsorum secundum rationem suorum intrinsecorum principiorum formaliter subsistit » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 139, 1 (8)).

⁷⁰ Cf. ft. 49.

la opinión de Aristóteles en la *Metafísica*.⁷¹ Así, por ejemplo, en su *De origine*, cuando analiza los diversos modos de definir en las diversas ciencias, i.e., la « metafísica », la « filosofía de la naturaleza » y la « matemática », sostiene, comparando las dos « partes » del compuesto, a saber, la « materia » y la « forma », que mientras la materia no « quidifica » a la cosa ni la « da a conocer » (*non quidificat rem, sic nec ipsam notificat*) – y así no integra la « definición » en ninguna de las ciencias mencionadas –, sólo aquello que es « acto » (*actus*) da a conocer la cosa, y de acuerdo con dicho acto, la cosa es formalmente un *quid*: signo de esto es que, casi por todos lados, hablando acerca de la « forma », el Filósofo la llama *id, quod quid est esse* (esto es, aquello por lo cual una cosa tiene el ser algo).⁷² Así es claro que para el alemán, la *quiditas* de las sustancias compuestas no es sino la « forma substancial », que en cuanto tal, es « acto » (*actus*) y « perfección » (*perfectio*) de la materia, que es ente puramente en potencia: « constat autem, quod hoc principium intrinsecum secundum actum [...] non est nisi forma substantialis »;⁷³ « est haec quiditas substantiae, quam etiam significat definitio, forma substantialis ».⁷⁴

Ahora bien, aunque Dietrich no refiera de manera explícita a los pasajes puntuales de la *Metafísica* en los que el Estagirita habla de la « forma » en términos de *quod quid erat esse*, no obstante, si efectuamos un rastreo de dichos pasajes, hay uno que cobra especial relevancia para nuestro propósito: a saber, *Metafísica* VII 10 1035b 15–17, en el que claramente Aristóteles identifica el « alma » de los animales (*anima animalium*), esto es, la « substancia » del ser animado (*substantia animati*),

⁷¹ Así, por ejemplo, en DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DAC, p. 45, 37 (2): « Videndum igitur, ut proprie loquamur vel saltem appropriate de formis essentialibus naturalibus, quod quaelibet ipsarum dicitur actus; ideo dicitur perfectio, in quantum perficit et terminat imperfectionem potentiae subiecti seu substantiae, cuius est actus. Dicitur etiam forma proprie forma, in quantum est quiditas talis substantiae, cuius est forma, ipsum quidificans et notificans, unde tam crebro vocat eam Philosophus *quod quid erat esse*. Dicitur etiam et est ipsa forma qualitas, sed substantialis, ut habetur in V *Metaphysicae* in c. de qualitate, immo ipsi formae substantiali primo impositum est nomen qualitatis, ut dicit ibi Commentator: et secundum hoc forma substantialis est quaedam substantiae substantialis dispositio »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 68, 12 (2): « Quantum autem ex eodem VII colligitur ex textu et Commentatore, quiditas secundum Philosophum in rebus compositis est forma, quam significat definitio; quamvis autem solam formam significet definitio, definit tamen totum compositum. Unde in VIII *Metaphysicae*, ubi distinguit principia substantiae compositae generabilis et corruptibilis, et universaliter ubicumque loquitur de tali forma, semper vocat eam *quod quid erat esse* ».

⁷² DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 199, 5 (62): « Illa enim materia, quae est altera pars compositi, nec apud naturalem nec apud mathematicum cadit in definitione substantiae naturalis [...] Huius autem ratio est, quia materia, quae est altera pars compositi, sicut proprie non quidificat rem, sic nec ipsam notificat, nisi forte loquendo de quiditate secundum logicam considerationem, sicut Philosophus loquitur de quiditate in VII *Metaphysicae*. Solum enim id, quod est actus, notificat rem, et secundum ipsum res est quid formaliter: Cuius signum est, quod fere ubique Philosophus loquens de forma vocat eam *id, quod quid est esse* ».

⁷³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 111, 8 (3).

⁷⁴ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 110, 7 (4).

con la substancia expresada en la noción (*substantia secundum rationem*), la forma (*species*) y la quiddidad (*quod quid erat esse*) de un determinado cuerpo.⁷⁵ Este texto tiene especial importancia por varios motivos. En primer lugar, porque en numerosas ocasiones Dietrich utiliza el ejemplo del compuesto hilemórfico humano para dar cuenta de su tesis según la cual sólo la forma, que es una de las dos partes del compuesto, es la quiddidad de las substancias compuestas: « forma, quae est altera pars compositi ut anima in animatis [...] est quiditas animati »;⁷⁶ « in genere substantiae compositae quiditas est ipsa forma, quae est altera pars compositi, ut anima in re animata »;⁷⁷ « quia animal compositum est ex corpore et anima, quae est forma eius et altera pars compositi, differt in eo quiditas et id, cuius est quiditas, quia sola forma est quiditas ».⁷⁸ En segundo lugar porque, con frecuencia, cuando el alemán utiliza este ejemplo tiene el propósito de señalar la diferencia entre la quiddidad, tal como se encuentra en las substancias compuestas, y la quiddidad, tal como se encuentra en las substancias simples (i.e., las « formas puras »): mientras que en las primeras, la quiddidad está constituida por una « parte » del compuesto (a saber, la « forma substancial ») y así dicha *quiditas* no comporta el « todo » que comporta el *quid*, ya que la forma sola no constituye toda la esencia de la cosa (*tota essentia rei*), en cambio, en los « simples », cuya esencia es simple, la quiddidad constituye el mismo « todo » (i.e., el mismo *quid*) que es el simple, a saber, « forma pura ». Es pues en el contexto de esta distinción, en donde Dietrich parece referir a la última sección del c. 10 de *Metafísica* VII,⁷⁹ arguyendo que allí el Filósofo sostiene que si « animal » fuera « el alma sola », entonces en el « animal », el *quid* (i.e., el « todo ») y la « quiddidad » serían idénticos: lo cual es

⁷⁵ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 150, VII, 10, 1035b15–17 ([l. 523–525]): « Quoniam uero animalium anima (hoc enim substantia est animati) quae secundum rationem substantia et species et quod quid erat esse tali corpori [...] ».

⁷⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 111, 8 (3).

⁷⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De intellectu et intelligibili* [=DII], en *Opera omnia*, (dir. FLASCH), t. I: *Schriften zur Intellekttheorie*, introducción de KURT FLASCH, ed. BURKHARD MOJSISCH, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg 1975 (Corpus Philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi, 2.1), p. 137–210, p. 189, III, 16 (3).

⁷⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 24, I, 2 (4). También, por ejemplo, en su *De magis et minus*: « Et sic se habet substantia ad accidens et anima ad animal, in quibus differt quiditas et id, cuius est quiditas, sicut dicit Philosophus in VII, quod, si animal esset sola anima, tunc in eo non differret quiditas et id, cuius est quiditas, quia dicat, quod illud, quod est formalissimum in re, est quiditas eius et, si res fuerit simplex in sua essentia et non concernat aliquid extra se, quo trahat suam essentiam, in huiusmodi re quiditas et id, cuius est quiditas, sunt idem » (DIETRICH VON FREIBERG, *De magis et minus* [=DMM], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. II, p. 47–68, p. 62, 22 (3)).

⁷⁹ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 152, VII, 10, 1036a16–20 ([l. 559–563]): « Si quidem enim est et anima aut animatum, aut unumquodque quae uniuscuiusque, et circulus quod circulo esse, et rectus quod recto esse et substantia recti: quid quidem et quo dicendum est posterius, puta [...] ».

improcedente en el caso de las sustancias compuestas, ya que dicha identidad acontece sólo en los simples.⁸⁰

Pues bien, en dicha sección, Aristóteles parecería establecer que, si el « alma » es el « animal » o el « ser animado », o si el alma de cada uno es « cada uno », y si el círculo es « lo que es ser para el círculo », y si el ángulo recto es « lo que es ser para el ángulo recto, y la sustancia del ángulo recto », y así sucesivamente, entonces, en este caso – a saber, aquel en el que la « quidditas » se dice ser idéntica con la « cosa misma » o *quid* –, se debe afirmar que « algún todo » es posterior a « alguna parte », por ejemplo, a) a las partes contenidas en la « noción » (que son las partes de la « forma »), y b) a las partes contenidas en *algún* ángulo recto (esto es, las partes materiales en un ángulo recto material singular). En este sentido, es posterior a sus partes (formales y) materiales, el « todo » que es el ángulo recto que implica materia (*cum materia*), y que así es individual: ya sea el ángulo recto de bronce (el cual implica materia sensible), ya sea el ángulo recto conformado por líneas particulares (el cual implica materia inteligible). En cambio, el « todo » que es el ángulo recto que no implica materia (*sine materia*), a saber, ni sensible ni inteligible, es posterior a las partes contenidas en la « noción », i.e., las partes formales, aunque es anterior a las partes materiales contenidas en el ángulo recto singular.⁸¹ Aunque Dietrich no ofrece una explicación acerca de esta argumentación, si nuestra interpretación es correcta, el alemán vería en esta

⁸⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DEE, p. 29, I, 2 (4): « Quiditas autem, quod secundum abstractionem descendit ab eo, quod est quid, solum significat illud formale, quo res est quid essentialiter. Et hoc est, quod communiter dicitur et bene, scilicet quod in simplicibus idem est quidditas et id, quod est quid. Non sic in compositis ex materia et forma, quia ibi sola forma est quidditas. In simplicibus autem ipsum simplex se toto est id, quod formaliter est, secundum quod dicit Philosophus in VIII *Metaphysicae*, quod, si animal esset sola anima, in ipso animali quidditas et id, cuius est quidditas, essent idem. Nunc autem, quia animal compositum est ex corpore et anima, quae est forma eius et altera pars compositi, differt in eo quidditas et id, cuius est quidditas, quia sola forma est quidditas et ipsa non est totum compositum »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DMM, p. 62, 22 (3): « Et sic se habet substantia ad accidens et anima ad animal, in quibus differt quidditas et id, cuius est quidditas, sicut dicit Philosophus in VII, quod, si animal esset sola anima, tunc in eo non differret quidditas et id, cuius est quidditas, quia dicat, quod illud, quod est formalissimum in re, est quidditas eius et, si res fuerit simplex in sua essentia et non concernat aliquid extra se, quo trahat suam essentiam, in huiusmodi re quidditas et id, cuius est quidditas, sunt ídem »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DII, p. 189, III, 16 (3): « Et sic in genere substantiae compositae quidditas est ipsa forma, quae est altera pars compositi, ut anima in re animata. Unde, secundum Philosophum in *Metaphysica*, si animal esset sola anima, animal et sua quidditas essent idem. Unde consequenter in simplicibus ipsum simplex et sua quidditas sunt idem ».

⁸¹ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 152, VII, 10, 1036a16–26 ([l. 559–569]): « Si quidem enim est et anima aut animatum, aut unumquodque quae uniuscuiusque, et circulus quod circulo esse, et rectus quod recto esse et substantia recti: quid quidem et quo dicendum est posterius, puta hiis quae in ratione et quo recto (et enim hic quidem cum materia qui aeuneus rectus, et qui in lineis singularibus); hic autem sine materia hiis quidem quae in ratione posterior, eis vero quae in singularibus partibus prior, simpliciter autem non dicendum. Si vero altera et non est anima animal, et sic haec quidem dicendum haec autem non dicendum, sicut dictum est ».

sección la expresión de Aristóteles de que, estando la quiddidad constituida de « partes », en la medida en que ésta fuera idéntica con el *quid*, entonces el « todo » que es el *quid*, sería « posterior » a la quiddidad y a las partes que la constituyen: esto es, el « todo » mismo estaría constituido por la quiddidad (y sus partes en unidad), siendo en este sentido todas las partes intrínsecas al « todo ». Esto significa que en el *quid* o « todo » que es idéntico con la « quiddidad », no es posible hallar partes « posteriores » al « todo ». Pero esto, advierte Dietrich, no es propio sino de las sustancias simples o las inteligencias, y no de las sustancias compuestas (en las cuales se observan los dos tipos de partes, i.e., las « anteriores » y las « posteriores »). En efecto, sostiene Aristóteles hacia el final del fragmento que, si en cambio el « alma » es algo diferente y no es idéntica con el « animal », mismo entonces, algunas partes deberán decirse anteriores al « todo », mientras que otras no, como ha sido dicho (*sicut dictum est*).⁸² Esta última afirmación remite a las declaraciones previas de Aristóteles en el capítulo 10 de *Metafísica* VII, y a ellas nos referiremos en lo que sigue, pues nos permitirán entender en profundidad lo que se ha dicho, y justificar la tesis teodoriciana de que sólo las « partes formales » o « partes anteriores al todo » constituyen las partes de la « definición », la cual, como hemos visto, « significa » o « expresa » exclusivamente la forma substancial del compuesto.

IV. Las « partes » de la « definición »: el *definiens* según ‘Metafísica’ VII 10–11

Ahora bien, según lo que hemos mostrado hasta ahora, para Dietrich, la quiddidad de la sustancia compuesta no está constituida sino por la forma substancial, quedando excluidas (además de las causas eficiente y final), la materia « que es principio determinado de la generación », y la materia « que es la otra parte del compuesto ». A continuación, mostraremos que las partes de las que la « quiddidad » está constituida (que son partes de la « definición »), no son sino las « partes formales », que, según el decir de Aristóteles en *Metafísica* VII 10, constituyen las *partes ante totum* (excluyendo así – según veremos – las *partes posteriores toto o post totum*). En efecto, si la quiddidad es la forma substancial, que es significada por la definición – pues la definición no « significa » más que la forma, aunque « defina » a todo el compuesto –, las partes que integren la quiddidad y la definición de una cosa, no han de ser más que las « partes » de la « forma ». Así pues, sostiene Dietrich, si se consideran las « cosas » que pertenecen al género de la sustancia (y que son realidades de primera intención), como por ejemplo, el « cuerpo », el « animal » o el « hombre », en este caso, aquello que es significado por el nombre de algún « género », y aquello que es significado por el nombre de la « diferencia » que determina tal género en « especie », son las « partes de la forma » (*partes*

⁸² ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 152, VII, 10, 1036a26 ([l. 569]).

formae) de esa cosa que cae en el género de la substancia, como si se dijera « el hombre es animal racional »: de esta manera entonces, la definición significa la forma, y las partes de esta forma se explicitan mediante las partes de dicha definición.⁸³ La cosa queda así determinada y definida en su *ratio propria*⁸⁴ en función de su quiddidad y forma, según los « principios formales » (*principia formalia*) o « principios de la especie » (*principia speciei*) que son las « partes de la forma », « anteriores al todo », como si, por ejemplo, se definiera al « triángulo » como « figura », « plana », etc.⁸⁵ Así determinada, pues, según sus principios formales, dicha cosa, sostiene Dietrich, es aquello aprehendido por el intelecto posible humano,⁸⁶ el cual está caracterizado por un modo de conocimiento « racional », cuyo *obiectum* es el « universal » (*universale*) que posee « partes según la forma » (*partes secundum formam*), esto es, *partes rationis seu principia secundum rationem*.⁸⁷

⁸³ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DQE, p. 106, 5 (6): « Ad quod dicendum, quod ea, quae ordinantur in línea praedicamentali, dupliciter accipi possunt: uno modo, ut sumantur res ipsae, quae sunt res talis generis, et sint res primae intentionis, puta substantia, corpus, animal, homo. In huiusmodi id, quod significatur nomine alicuius generis, et id, quod significatur nomine differentiae determinantis tale genus in speciem, sunt partes formae eius rei, quae subicitur generi, ut si dicatur, 'homo est animal rationale'. Huiusmodi enim definitio significat formam. Cuius formae partes explicantur per partes dictae definitionis ».

⁸⁴ « [...] propria ratio rei dicens quid est seu ipsae partes formales, ex quibus huiusmodi ratio conficitur, habent rationem principii respectu rei, cuius est propria ratio, principii, inquam, et secundum rationem essendi et secundum rationem innotescendi seu intelligendi » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De visione beatifica* [=DVB], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. I, p. 13–124, p. 109, 4.2.1. (14)).

⁸⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 56, 3 (3): « Sunt autem talia principia generum vel specierum inquantum huiusmodi, id est inquantum genera vel species, non inquantum ex principiis generationis et compositionis naturae ipsa genera vel species determinantur in individua, sed inquantum considerantur secundum suas quidditates habentia secundum hoc quaedam principia formalia, quae sunt partes formae et sunt ante totum, sicut Philosophus nominat et describit ea VII *Metaphysicae*. Has etiam partes formae complectitur definitio formalis cuiuscumque entis, quod secundum rationem suae quidditatis seu formae determinatur et definitur, ut si definiam hominem per animal rationale, et triangulum, quod est figura plana et cetera ». Ver también: DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 57, 3 (5); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DA, p. 69, 12 (4).

⁸⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DVB, p. 98, 3.2.9.7. (3): « Secundum quoad gradum et ordinem naturae in isto genere est hoc, quod invenitur in eo processus et constitutio ex aliquibus principiis, quale est cognitivum seu conceptivum nostrum quoad intellectum possibilem, cui per se proprium est intelligere, id est intus legere, sic, ut non nisi in suis principiis rem apprehendat, quae principia sunt principia secundum formam, id est partes formae, quae sunt ante totum secundum Philosophum in VII *Metaphysicae*, ut animal, rationale, quae proportionaliter se habent in hoc genere entium sicut principia compositionis naturae apud naturam ». Ver también: DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DVB, p. 116, 4.3.2.1. (3). Sobre el « ser quidditativo » (*esse quidditativum*) en cuanto constituido por el intelecto a partir de las « partes de la forma », ver: DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 192, 5, (37); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 199, 5 (58).

⁸⁷ « Obiectum vero cognitivae rationalis est universale habens partes secundum formam, ut habetur a Philosopho in VII *Metaphysicae*, quod eo ipso, quod habet tales partes rationis seu

De esta manera entonces, aquellas otras partes que distingue Aristóteles, a saber, las *partes posteriores toto* o *partes post totum*, que son los « componentes materiales » en los que una cosa se resuelve o divide materialmente, a saber, por ejemplo, los « huesos », las « carnes » y los « nervios » en el caso del hombre, dichas partes (que constituyen en verdad la « materia sensible » de la cosa), quedan entonces también excluidas de la quiddidad y definición de la substancia compuesta. Así lo manifiesta claramente Dietrich en su *De intellectu et intelligibili*, en donde sostiene que la *ratio* de la « individuación » de una cosa consiste en tener partes « después del todo » (*post totum*), que no integran la definición de una cosa: pues sólo aquellas partes que son « antes del todo » (*ante totum*) constituyen las partes de la definición.⁸⁸ En efecto, en numerosos pasajes de su obra el dominico subraya la idea de que la noción o *ratio* de « individuo » consiste en « tener partes posteriores al todo » (*habere partes posteriores toto*):⁸⁹ puesto que dichas partes lo son del « individuo », pero no así de la « especie » – por ejemplo, « mano », « pie » y « cabeza », son partes de « Calias », pero no de « hombre », o el « semicírculo » no es parte del círculo sino de « este círculo » –,⁹⁰ entonces no deben ser puestas

principia secundum rationem, est universale, ut sunt animal, rationale et similia, quae sunt ante totum, ut ibidem dicit Philosophus » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *Quaestio utrum in Deo sit aliqua vis cognitiva inferior intellectui*, en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. 293–315, p. 294, 1.1. (7)).

⁸⁸ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DII, p. 165, II, 26 (3): « Ex his omnibus accipimus, quod ratio individuationis est in habendo partes post totum, quae non ingrediuntur definitionem rei, sed solum illae partes, quae sunt ante totum, ingrediuntur definitionem, ut ibi ostendit [...] ».

⁸⁹ Por ejemplo: DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DMM, p. 55, 11 (4): « [...] quod ratio individui in eo, quod individuum, consistit in habendo partes posteriores toto, quae videlicet sunt post totum, ut verbis Philosophi utar »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DMM, p. 66, 29 (2); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DMM, p. 67, 29 (5); « Praemisso enim in VII *Metaphysicae* de partibus, quae sunt ante totum, in quibus consistit essentia substantiae secundum rationem definitivam suam, et etiam determinato ibi de partibus, quae sunt post totum, in quibus consistit ratio substantiae individualis inquantum huiusmodi [...] » (DIETRICH VON FREIBERG, *De dotibus corporum gloriosorum* [=DDCP], en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. II, p. 267–289, p. 270, 2 (3)); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DCC, p. 381, 3 (2): « [...] natura habet partes posteriores toto, in quo consistit ratio et proprietates individui inquantum individuum, scilicet in habendo partes, quae sunt post totum, secundum Philosophum in VII *Metaphysicae* »; DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DCC, p. 384, 8 (2); « [...] enim in huiusmodi partibus, quae sunt post totum, consistit individuum inquantum individuum [...] » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De luce et eius origine* [=DLEO], en *Opera omnia*, t. IV: *Schriften zur Naturwissenschaft, Briefe*, introducción de LORIS STURLESE, ed. MARIA RITA PAGNONI-STURLESE, RUDOLF REHN, LORIS STURLESE, WILLIAM A. WALLACE, Felix Meiner, Hamburg 1985 (Corpus Philosophorum Teutonicorum Medii Aevi, 2.4), p. 9–24, p. 16, 9 (1)); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DLEO, p. 17, 9 (4); DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DLEO, p. 17, 10 (3); « [...] non ut haec et individua proprie et secundum propriam rationem individuorum, quae consistit in habere partes posteriores toto [...] » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De miscibilibus in mixto* [=DMIM], en *Opera omnia*, t. IV, p. 29–47, p. 33, 4 (3)).

⁹⁰ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DII, p. 164, II, 26 (2): « [...] Differt enim dicere aliquid esse principium individuationis et esse rationem, qua est individuum, sicut tractat Philosophus in VII, ubi dicit, quod semicirculus non est pars circuli, sed huius circuli, et acutus angulus non est pars recti, sed

en la definición, la cual – según hemos dicho – define a la cosa (« hombre », por ejemplo), significando exclusivamente sus principios formales o principios de la especie (*principia speciei*). De hecho, Dietrich observa que el « individuo » en cuanto individuo « agrega algo » a la esencia (*habet se ex additione ad essentiam*), en la medida en que la esencia es considerada bajo la « especie » (y, sin embargo, el individuo implica toda la esencia). Esto sucede de un primer modo – que es el que nos interesa aquí – en cuanto que aquello añadido por el individuo se refiere a ciertas realidades absolutas que tienen la noción de partes absolutas, como la mano, el pie, la cabeza y otras partes semejantes (las cuales son posteriores al todo y no integran la definición): y así, la « especie » es determinada en el « individuo », de modo tal que, aunque el individuo se relaciona con la esencia como una « adición », no obstante, éste dice toda la esencia de la cosa en razón de tales partes (« posteriores »).⁹¹ En otras palabras, si la « esencia » se entiende como « especie » (« hombre », por ejemplo), entonces el individuo se relaciona con la esencia como una « adición », en la medida en que, en conformidad con su *ratio*, el individuo contiene todas las partes materiales posteriores al todo. Una vez más, dichas partes, no integran la definición de la cosa: por ejemplo, la definición de la especie « hombre ».

Ahora bien, queda un punto que no ha sido del todo explicado, y éste se refiere al sentido según el cual hablamos de partes « anteriores » y « posteriores » al « todo »: en efecto, aunque queda claro a partir de lo dicho que las partes « anteriores » son partes « formales » que son explicitadas por las partes de la definición (como, por ejemplo, en el caso de « hombre », « animal », « racional »), y que las partes « posteriores » son aquellas partes « materiales »⁹² en las que una

huius recti, et manus, pes, caput non sunt partes hominis, sed Calliae, id est huius hominis, et in VI, quod senarius non est bis tria, sed semel sex ».

⁹¹ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DII, p. 165, II, 27 (2): « Circa quod advertendum, quod individuum in quantum individuum habet se ex additione ad essentiam, in quantum essentia consideratur sub specie, et nihilominus importat totam essentiam. Sed hoc contingit dupliciter: uno modo, ut illud, quod additur individuo, sint quaedam res absolutae habentes rationem partium absolute ut manus, pes, caput et cetera talia, et tales partes secundum Philosophum in VII Metaphysicae sunt post totum et non ingrediuntur definitionem, sed solum illae, quae sunt ante totum, ut animal, rationale et similes. Et iste est unus modus, quo determinatur species in individuum ita, quod tale individuum non obstante, quod habet se ex additione ad essentiam, ratione talium partium dicat totam rei essentiam ».

⁹² En verdad, no todas las « partes posteriores al todo » son necesariamente partes « materiales » o « cuantitativas », según el alemán. En efecto, Dietrich amplía la noción aristotélica de *partes posteriores toto* a ciertas « partes cualitativas », que son propias de las sustancias espirituales, como el alma humana o el ángel: « Stare enim sub talibus partibus, quae sunt posteriores toto, potest esse vel spiritualiter vel corporaliter; secundum hoc habemus duplicem maneriem entium, videlicet spiritualium et corporalium » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De substantiis spiritualibus et corporibus futurae resurrectionis*, en *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. II, p. 299–342, p. 308, 6 (3)). Sobre este punto, reenviamos a TIZIANA SUAREZ-NANI, *Les anges et la philosophie*, Vrin, Paris 2002 [Études de philosophie médiévale] (especialmente, p. 55–70).

cosa, i.e., una cosa individual (como « Calias », por ejemplo) se resuelve o divide, no obstante, aún no se entiende con claridad por qué ambos tipos de « partes » son puestos en relación con un « todo », frente al cual se dicen « anteriores » o « posteriores ». Para comprender esta cuestión, debemos referirnos a los pasajes principales de *Metafísica* VII 10, en los que Dietrich parece fundamentar su doctrina. En efecto, es en el capítulo 10 del libro VII, en donde Aristóteles aborda el problema de la definición de una cosa sensible y sus partes. Allí el Estagirita plantea dos problemas en torno a esta cuestión: primero, aparece la duda de si la noción de las partes de una cosa debe estar o no incluida en la noción del « todo », y segundo, si las partes deben ser consideradas « anteriores » o « posteriores » al « todo ». En relación con lo primero, Aristóteles manifiesta que, dado que a) la definición (*definitio*) es una noción (*ratio*), b) la « noción » posee « partes », y c) la « noción » se encuentra respecto de la « cosa » (*res*) en la misma relación que la « parte de la noción » (*pars rationis*) respecto de la « parte de la cosa » (*pars rei*), entonces, surge la duda de si la noción de las partes (*ratio partium*) debe o no encontrarse en la noción del todo (*ratio totius*).⁹³ En otras palabras, si la « noción » tiene partes, y esas « partes » son a su vez las « nociones de las partes de la cosa », entonces surge la pregunta de si las nociones de las partes de la cosa deben o no encontrarse en la noción de la cosa misma: así, por ejemplo, si la noción de los segmentos se contiene en la noción del círculo, o si la noción de las letras, se contiene en la noción de la sílaba.

La segunda dificultad, en cambio, se refiere a si las « partes » son (o no) anteriores al « todo » (*si priores sunt partes toto*), como, por ejemplo, si, siendo el ángulo agudo parte del recto, y el dedo, parte del animal, el ángulo agudo es anterior al ángulo recto, y el dedo es anterior al hombre (o viceversa). Aristóteles observa inmediatamente que, al contrario, el ángulo recto y el hombre parecen ser anteriores (al ángulo agudo y al dedo), ya que, según la noción (*secundum rationem*), las « partes » son definidas a partir del « todo », i.e., a partir del ángulo recto y el hombre, los cuales son también anteriores porque pueden existir sin tales « partes ».⁹⁴ Ahora bien, para resolver ambas cuestiones, es preciso distinguir primero entre los « tipos » de « partes » que constituyen una cosa, y a la vez (si la « cosa » es el « todo » constituido por las partes), es preciso discernir en qué consiste esa « cosa », o en qué sentido de « todo » es tomada. Sea como fuere, queda

⁹³ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 148, VII, 10, 1034b20–25 ([l. 463–467]: « Quoniam vero diffinitio ratio est et omnis ratio partes habet, ut autem ratio ad rem et pars rationis ad partem rei similiter se habet, dubitatur iam an oportet partium rationem esse in totius ratione an non. In quibusdam enim videntur esse, in quibusdam non »).

⁹⁴ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 149, VII, 10, 1034b29–32 ([l. 470–473]): « Amplius autem si priores sunt partes toto, et recti acutus est pars et digitus hominis, prior erit acutus recto et digitus homine. Videntur autem illa esse priora; secundum rationem namque dicuntur ex illis, et in esse sine invicem priora »).

claro a lo largo del capítulo, que el Filósofo distingue entre dos tipos de « partes »: a saber, por un lado, las partes materiales (o elementos en los que una cosa se resuelve o divide como en su materia), y por el otro, las partes formales (o elementos que entran en la noción de la forma). Pues bien, el Estagirita parece concluir allí que sólo las partes de la forma son partes de la definición, y que éstas deben ser dichas « anteriores » al « todo ».

En efecto, si nos volcamos a la consideración de las tesis centrales del capítulo, Aristóteles sostiene que la noción de « parte » se dice en varios sentidos, pero que serán las « partes » constitutivas de la « substancia », las que habrán de ser consideradas en este estudio. Ahora bien, puesto que la « materia » (*materia*), la « forma » (*species*), y el « compuesto de materia y forma » (*ex his*), son « substancias », se sigue que la materia en cierto sentido se dice « parte » de la « cosa », mientras que en otro sentido no, a saber: en la medida en que la « cosa » está solamente constituida por los elementos que entran en la noción de la forma (*species*). Así, por ejemplo, la carne no es una parte de la « concavidad » (pues aquélla es la materia en la que ésta se produce), sino que es una parte de la « chatez » (esto es, de la concavidad en la carne – más precisamente, en la nariz): de la misma manera, tampoco el bronce es una parte de la « estatua » considerada como « forma », sino, en todo caso, de la estatua en tanto que « compuesto ».⁹⁵ El estagirita acota que, en efecto, es la forma o la cosa en tanto que tiene forma, lo que debe ser enunciado, y jamás lo material en cuanto tal. Y es así también que la noción de « sílaba » contiene la noción de sus elementos (esto es, las letras), aunque, aclara, sólo en cuanto las letras son parte de la noción de la forma, y no materia: pues, en otro sentido, a saber, en cuanto letras grabadas en la cera o habladas, y entonces, como *materia sensibilis*, no forman parte de la noción de sílaba.⁹⁶

El siguiente ejemplo al que se refiere Aristóteles es de gran importancia, pues está referido al « hombre »: en efecto, sostiene que, aunque el hombre, al ser dividido, se descomponga en huesos, tendones y carnes, no por eso se debe entender que el hombre esté compuesto de estas partes, como de su « substancia »

⁹⁵ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 149, VII, 10, 1035a1–7 ([l. 477–483]): « Si igitur est hoc quidem materia illud vero species, aliud ex hiis, et substantia est materia et species et quod ex hiis: est quidem ut materia pars alicuius dicitur, est autem ut non, sed ex quibus speciei ratio. Ut concavitatis non est pars caro (haec namque materia in qua fit), similitatis vero pars aliqua est. Et totius quidem statuæ pars est es, eius autem quod ut species dicitur statuæ non ».

⁹⁶ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 149, VII, 10, 1035a7–17 ([l. 483–492]): « Dicendum enim speciem et in quantum speciem habet unumquodque, sed materiale numquam secundum se est dicendum. Quapropter circuli ratio non habet eam quæ est incisionum, sed quæ syllabe eam quæ est elementorum. Nam elementa rationis partes sunt speciei et non materia, incisiones vero huius sic partes ut materia in quibus fiunt; propinquius tamen speciei quam es, quando in aere fit rotunditas. Est autem ut neque elementa omnia syllabe in ratione insunt, ut haec cerea aut quæ sunt in aere; iam enim et haec pars syllabæ quasi materia sensibilis ».

(*substantia*), sino más bien, como partes de su materia (*ut ex materia*): de allí que sean partes del « compuesto » (*simul totum*), y no partes de la « forma » (*species*) y de lo cual hay noción (*ratio*). Por lo tanto, estas partes materiales no están incluidas en la *ratio* de tales cosas. El Estagirita contrapone así dos casos: el de las nociones de cosas que incluyen la *ratio* de las partes materiales, y el de las nociones de cosas en donde la *ratio* de tales partes no debe figurar, a saber, cuando la noción no es del « compuesto ».⁹⁷ El caso del « hombre » entonces, parece quedar equiparado al de aquellas nociones que no incluyen las partes materiales, como acontece, por ejemplo, en el caso de la « concavidad » o de la « estatua » en cuanto « forma » – ya que, en éstas, la materia se presenta como algo « exterior » a la forma, y en lo que la forma se realiza. Por el contrario, los « compuestos de materia y forma », como « chatez », « esfera de bronce », « estatua de arcilla », o « Calias », parecen ser ejemplos de nociones de cosas que sí incluyen la *ratio* de las partes materiales. En efecto, concluye Aristóteles, puesto que estos elementos materiales son principios y « partes » de los compuestos (y no así de las « formas »), estas cosas se resuelven en ellos: la « chatez », en la carne, la « estatua de arcilla », en arcilla, la « esfera de bronce », en bronce, « Calias », en carne y huesos, y podríamos agregar (por deducción), la « sílaba de cera », en letras grabadas en la cera.⁹⁸

Ahora bien, luego de haber establecido la distinción entre las partes de la forma, y las partes de la materia y del compuesto, señalando que sólo las partes de la forma entran en la definición propiamente dicha, Aristóteles completa su análisis mostrando qué partes deben ser consideradas « anteriores » y qué partes deben ser consideradas « posteriores » al « todo ». Y así establece que las partes que son de la naturaleza de la materia, y en las cuales una cosa se divide como en su materia, deben ser dichas posteriores al « todo »: al contrario, aquellas que son partes de la noción y de la « substancia » considerada como « forma », deben ser consideradas anteriores al « todo ». Y así, ejemplifica el Estagirita, porque el alma de los animales, esto es, la « substancia » del ser animado, es la « forma » o la

⁹⁷ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 149–150, VII, 10, 1035a17–24 ([l. 492–499]: « Et enim linea non, si divisa in dimidia corrumpitur, aut homo in ossa et nervos et carnes, propter hoc et sunt ex hiis sic ut entibus substantiae partibus, sed ut ex materia, et eius quidem quod simul totum partes, speciei vero et cuius ratio non adhuc; quapropter nec in rationibus. Horum quidem igitur inerit talium partium ratio, horum vero non oportet inesse, si non fuerit simul sumpti »).

⁹⁸ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 150, VII, 10, 1035a24–1035b2 ([l. 499–511]): « Nam propter hoc quaedam quidem ex hiis ut principiis sunt in quae corrumpuntur, quaedam vero non sunt. Quaecumque quidem igitur simul sumpta species et materia sunt, ut simum aut aeneus circulus, haec quidem corrumpuntur in haec et pars ipsorum materia; quaecumque vero non concipiuntur cum materia sed sine materia, ut rationes speciei solum, haec non corrumpuntur, aut omnino aut non taliter. Quare illorum quidem principia haec. Et ideo corrumpitur lutea statua in lutum et spera in aes et Callias in carnem et ossa. Amplius autem circulus in incisiones; est enim aliquis qui concipitur cum materia. Aequivoce namque dicitur circulus: qui simpliciter dicitur et singuli, quia non est proprium nomen singulorum »).

«quididad» de un cuerpo específico, las partes del alma son así anteriores, al animal como tal y a cada animal individual. Por el contrario, el cuerpo y sus partes son posteriores a esta «substancia» (a saber, el alma)⁹⁹, y no es la «substancia», sino el compuesto (*simul totum*), lo que se divide en estas partes como en su propia materia.¹⁰⁰ En efecto, sostiene el Estagirita, aunque las partes del cuerpo o las partes materiales puedan ser consideradas de alguna manera como siendo anteriores al compuesto o al «todo» (en la medida en que los elementos son anteriores al compuesto), no obstante, estas partes son en verdad posteriores, ya que no pueden existir separadas del «todo» al cual pertenecen ni definirse sin relación con él: así pues, por ejemplo, el animal o el hombre son anteriores al «dedo», tanto en el orden de la existencia como en el orden de la definición. Pues como dice Aristóteles, un dedo muerto no es «dedo» más que de manera equívoca: el dedo no puede ser definido independientemente de su función, implicando así el alma informando una materia.¹⁰¹

Si volvemos entonces ahora a la posición de Dietrich respecto de este asunto, si nuestra interpretación es correcta, el alemán entiende que, para el Estagirita, existen dos tipos de partes: las partes formales anteriores al todo, y las partes materiales posteriores al todo. Mientras las primeras forman parte de la noción y definición de una «cosa» («hombre», por ejemplo),¹⁰² en la medida en que

⁹⁹ Ya que el alma debe necesariamente ponerse en la definición del cuerpo y en la de cualquiera de sus partes (como en la del «dedo» de un animal, por ejemplo). Un «dedo» muerto no es verdaderamente un «dedo».

¹⁰⁰ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 150–151, VII, 10, 1035b11–1035b23 ([l. 519–531]: «Quare quaecumque sunt partes ut materia et in quae dividitur ut in materiam, sunt posteriora; quaecumque vero ut rationis et substantiae secundum rationem, priora aut omnia aut quaedam. Quoniam vero animalium anima (hoc enim substantia est animati) quae secundum rationem substantia et species et quod quid erat esse tali corpori (uniuscuiusque enim pars si diffiniatur bene, non sine opere diffiniatur, quod non existet sine sensu), quare huius partes priores aut omnes aut quaedam simul toto animali; et secundum unumquodque itaque similiter. Corpus vero et huius partes posteriora sunt hac substantia est dividitur in haec ut in materiam non substantia sed simul totum».

¹⁰¹ ARISTÓTELES, *Metaphysica*, p. 151, VII, 10, 1035b23–1035b25 ([l. 531–534]): «Eo quidem igitur quod simul totum priora haec, est ut, est autem ut non. Neque enim possunt esse separata; non enim qui quocumque modo se habens digitus animalis, sed equivocus qui mortuus».

¹⁰² Como hemos dicho, para Dietrich, aunque la definición no «signifique» más que la forma, «define», no obstante, al compuesto. Así, por ejemplo, «animal racional», define «hombre». Esto significa que, para el alemán, el objeto de la definición propiamente hablando (esto es, el *definiendum*) es el «compuesto», y no la «forma substancial». En efecto, la definición de la forma, si es que posee alguna (ya que no es una cosa definible por sí), parecería ser a los ojos de Dietrich una definición «por adición» (esta vez sí, de la materia *post totum*): «In definitione autem formae substantialis, qualiscumque sit illa definitio, non enim est proprie res definibilis per se, cadit materia; nec tamen adhuc illa materia, quae cum eadem forma est altera pars compositi, sed illa, quae est posterior toto, cuiusmodi sunt partes totius, quae rationem et modum materiae habent,

corresponden a las partes de la « forma » (i.e., las partes del alma), las segundas, en cambio, que pertenecen a un « compuesto *individual* » (como « Calias », por ejemplo) y constituyen aquellas partes materiales en las que dicho compuesto se divide o resuelve, no pueden ser puestas en la definición de la « cosa » (« hombre »). En la perspectiva de Dietrich, la contraposición establecida por Aristóteles en *Metafísica* VII 10 se daría entre las partes que entran en la *ratio* de la « cosa » (i.e., la « especie »), y las partes que entran en la *ratio* del individuo: a saber, las partes formales, por un lado, y las partes (formales y) materiales, por el otro. Aristóteles no estaría aquí oponiendo entonces la « forma » y sus partes, al « compuesto individual » y sus partes, sino el « compuesto » en cuanto a sus partes formales (i.e., la « especie »), al « compuesto individual » y sus partes: así pues, los términos de la comparación no serían « alma-Calias », sino « hombre-Calias ». Por ello, si acertamos en nuestra interpretación, Dietrich sostiene, en consonancia con la tesis recién esbozada, que, aunque la definición de la cosa no expresa o « significa » más que la forma substancial del compuesto, no obstante, « define » a todo el compuesto.¹⁰³ De este modo, « animal racional », aunque expresa o significa exclusivamente la forma substancial, « define » a « hombre », que en cuanto tal es un « compuesto de materia (prima) y forma »: así pues, « animal racional » es la definición de « hombre », y no la definición del alma (i.e., de la forma).

Por otra parte, quisiéramos destacar un segundo punto. Hemos dicho que la definición expresa la quiddidad, y la quiddidad no puede ser sino un principio intrínseco y en acto de la cosa definida. Pero las partes que son « posteriores al todo », si bien son actuales o en acto (pues participan de la actualidad del « todo »),¹⁰⁴ no son sin embargo partes o principios « esenciales intrínsecos » a la cosa o al « todo » (que es la « especie »), sino que, al contrario, parecen presuponerlo, pues se « derivan » del « todo » o le son « consecuentes »: así, por ejemplo, el « dedo », no puede « existir » fuera del « animal » o del « hombre »,

ut dicitur in VII *Metaphysicae*, ut sunt caro et os sive organa, quae sunt partes animatorum, quae cadunt in definitione animae » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DORP, p. 200, 5 (62)). Esta lectura de la doctrina de Aristóteles contrasta con la interpretación de *Metafísica* VII 10–11, por parte de otros autores, quienes ven en la « forma » el verdadero « objeto » de la definición en sentido principal y primario: a este respecto, ver GABRIELE GALLUZZO, « Il problema dell'oggetto della definizione nel commento di Tommaso d'Aquino a *Metafísica* Z 10–11 », *Documenti E Studi Sulla Tradizione Filosofica Medievale*, 12 (2001), p. 417–465; MICHAEL FREDE, « The Definition of Sensible Substances in Met. Z », en DANIEL DEVEREUX, PIERRE PELLEGRIN (eds.), *Biologie, Logique Et Metaphysique chez Aristote*, Editions du CNRS, Paris 1990, p. 113–129.

¹⁰³ Esta tesis es la que Dietrich remarca en numerosas ocasiones, y la que desarrolla, apoyándose en *Metafísica* VII 17, especialmente en el capítulo 3 del *De quidditatibus entium*: allí se propone mostrar que el propio y verdadero objeto de la definición, esto es, el *definiendum*, es el « compuesto ».

¹⁰⁴ « [...] caro et os, manus et pedes sunt partes in actu; quamvis sint entia in potentia, quia stant sub ratione et integritate totius, sunt tamen, ut dictum est, partes in actu » (DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *Quaestio utrum substantia spiritualis sit composita ex materia et forma*, en: *Opera omnia* (dir. FLASCH), t. III, p. 325–340, p. 333, II (20)).

como se ha dicho. Pues bien, bajo la perspectiva de Dietrich, esas partes, que « sobreentienden » al « todo », no pueden sino ser el « resultado » de una composición, o de un « todo » compuesto de « partes » o « principios » esenciales: pues es claro que un « todo » que fuera absolutamente simple, no tendría partes posteriores a él. Es esto lo que Dietrich habría buscado señalar con respecto a los « simples » que son las « inteligencias », cuando observa – según vimos – que, un ente cuya quiddidad (i.e., aquello « por lo cual » es « lo que » es) fuera idéntica al *quid* (i.e., a « lo que » él mismo « es »), no implicaría ninguna otra realidad fuera de sí (*extra se*), esto es, fuera de su esencia simple.¹⁰⁵ Por el contrario, un ente cuya quiddidad no fuera idéntica con el *quid*, esto es, un ente constituido de quiddidad *más* « otra cosa », sí sería susceptible de tener otras partes además de las que tiene en razón de su quiddidad: a saber, en el caso de las sustancias compuestas sensibles, las partes que surgen o se derivan de la unión de la forma (que es la quiddidad de la sustancia compuesta) con la materia (que es la « otra parte del compuesto » y que es pura potencia).¹⁰⁶ En definitiva, si hay « partes posteriores » al todo compuesto, no es sino porque *hay* « todo compuesto »: lo cual implica la unión o composición de « algo » con « algo » (a saber, en este caso, la forma con la materia). Por este motivo, estas partes materiales posteriores al todo, tampoco integran la quiddidad de la cosa, sino que más bien, la suponen: aún más, suponen ambos « principios intrínsecos esenciales », a saber, la forma, que es la quiddidad, y la materia, en unidad de composición, sin lo cual no tendrían existencia.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DVB, p. 88, 3.2.9.2. (4): « Secundum intellectum enim habent suae essentiae principium principia separata, si qua sunt, puta intelligentiae, quae sunt intellectus in actu per essentiam, quarum quaelibet intellectualiter fluit a suo principio intelligendo ipsum et per consequens sua intellectione, qua intelligit suum principium et se ipsum, formaliter figitur in sua essentia, ut supra satis dictum est. Et ex hoc ulterius consequenter habetur, quod essentia in eo, quod essentia, caret partibus posterioribus toto et per consequens caret accidentibus, quae non sunt nisi dispositio substantiae habentis partes posteriores toto. Abstrahit enim essentia inquantum huiusmodi sua formalitate et simplicitate, quae trahit ex suis formalibus principiis, ab hic et nunc et ab omni proprietate individuali ».

¹⁰⁶ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, DVB, p. 89, 3.2.9.2. (5): « Substantia autem inquantum substantia, ut appropriate loquamur, non sic se habet. Ratio enim substantiae inquantum huiusmodi consistit in habendo principia compositionis naturae, ut sunt materia et forma, quo substantia iam sit ens naturae subiectum naturalibus transmutationibus. Ex quo necessarium est ipsam constare ex partibus posterioribus toto deservientibus motui seu transmutationi vel activae vel passivae, et per consequens necessarium est ipsam in se habere et recipere aliquas dispositiones seu formas accidentales, secundum quas attenditur transmutatio. Ista est sententia Philosophi, sicut innuit VII *Metaphysicae*, ubi dicit: ‘Rectum est igitur, ut animal sit aliquid habens sensum et non est sine motu et ideo non est sine partibus’ ».

¹⁰⁷ DIETRICH DE FREIBERG, *De intellectu et intelligibili*, p. 165, II, 27 (2): « Circa quod advertendum, quod individuum inquantum individuum habet se ex additione ad essentiam, inquantum essentia consideratur sub specie, et nihilominus importat totam essentiam. Sed hoc contingit dupliciter: uno modo, ut illud, quod additur individuo, sint quaedam res absolutae habentes rationem

V. Conclusión

Hemos buscado en el presente trabajo abocarnos al estudio y fundamentación de la tercera tesis teodoriana esbozada en nuestra introducción, esto es, aquella referida a la *ratio* de la quiddidad y al *definitum* (entendido como el « objeto intencional » de la definición), y así también, al *definiens* (entendiendo por éste, aquella expresión o conjunto de términos significativos que integran la definición de una cosa). Dicha tesis puede ser resumida de la siguiente manera: la *quidditas* de una substancia compuesta no es sino la forma substancial, cuyas partes la definición significa en sus términos. Así pues, en relación con la *ratio* de la « quiddidad », hemos mostrado que, para Dietrich, en la medida en que el nombre (*nomen*), que significa la noción de la cosa (*ratio rei*) es impuesto a la cosa en cuanto al acto (*actum*) de la cosa, la quiddidad, de la cual deriva la *ratio rei*, no puede ser sino un principio intrínseco y en acto. Esto conduce a Dietrich a rechazar que la « materia » (en cualquiera de sus modos) pueda integrar la quiddidad y así la noción o definición de una cosa: en efecto, ni la materia que es « sustrato de la generación » (e.g., la menstruación), ni la materia que es la otra « parte del compuesto » (i.e., la materia prima), ni, finalmente, la « materia sensible » o materia *post totum*, cumplen con el requisito establecido en torno a la quiddidad, a saber, el constituir un principio *intrinsicum* y *secundum actum*. Sólo resta entonces la « forma substancial », y esto es lo que, según Dietrich, sostiene Aristóteles en numerosos lugares de la *Metafísica*. Ahora bien, puesto que la definición no significa entonces sino la forma substancial, hemos mostrado también que las « partes » de la definición, no son sino las partes de la forma o partes formales que Dietrich identifica con las partes *ante totum* según el decir de Aristóteles. En este punto, hemos buscado evidenciar la lectura particular que el alemán realiza de *Metafísica* VII 10, y que se encuentra en el fundamento de su doctrina de la definición: a saber, que las partes *posteriores toto* son la « marca » del individuo, y que no sólo no integran o constituyen la quiddidad, sino que más bien la suponen (junto con la otra « parte » que, en la substancia compuesta, es la materia prima) como una condición de su propia existencia.

partium absolute ut manus, pes, caput et cetera talia, et tales partes secundum Philosophum in VII *Metaphysicae* sunt post totum et non ingrediuntur definitionem, sed solum illae, quae sunt ante totum, ut animal, rationale et similes. Et iste est unus modus, quo determinatur species in individuum ita, quod tale individuum non obstante, quod habet se ex additione ad essentiam, ratione talium partium dicat totam rei essentiam ».

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THEMATIC SECTION

LAYING A FRAMEWORK FOR ARABO-GREEK STUDIES: THE TRANSLATION OF ARABIC SCIENTIFIC TEXTS INTO GREEK BETWEEN THE NINTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

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This collection of articles is the culmination of a fruitful two-day workshop on « The Translation of Arabic Scientific Texts into Greek between the 9th and 15th Centuries » (26–27 February 2021). The conference was organized under the auspices of the Gutenberg International Conference Center at Mainz as part of the Mainz History Talks, with support from Princeton University’s Committee for the Study of Late Antiquity and Program in Medieval Studies. We heard not only a number of fascinating papers, but also, especially in the discussions, an emerging consensus regarding the need for hitherto scattered research impulses to coalesce into a more concrete framework for the development of what might be termed Arabo-Greek Studies. We hope to model Arabo-Greek Studies on the established field of Graeco-Arabic, especially in its dual usage of philological and historical approaches in analyzing the Greco-Arabic translations produced in ‘Abbasid Baghdad and elsewhere.

Our conception of Arabo-Greek Studies is dedicated to the medieval translations of Arabic works into Greek, a phenomenon that we can begin to trace from the ninth century, and which continued through the fall of the Byzantine Empire. In the contributions in this issue, dedicated to scientific translations from Arabic to Greek, we see that Arabo-Greek translation was built on Graeco-Arabic foundations. Arabo-Greek translation occurred in many of the same subjects in which translations from Graeco-Arabic translations had already occurred and on subjects, like astrology, medicine, and alchemy, where the Greek tradition formed

a cornerstone of the Arabic discipline. Thus, once Arabic scientific works were translated into Greek, they could easily be incorporated into medieval Greek manuscripts and read side-by-side with ancient and medieval Greek texts.

We were fortunate to have a strong array of papers presented in our workshop, substantially edited, altered, and reviewed for publication here. As will be clear, these papers use a number of distinct methodologies from the codicological to the philological to the historical. We think that these diverse approaches together model some of the many ways in which Arabo-Greek Studies can and should be done as it develops in the future.

Our collection of articles is inaugurated by Alexander Treiger's contribution, which paints a rich picture of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in 'Abbāsīd Baghdad from the perspective of competition between the caliphate's various Christian confessions. These groups used their expertise in Greek, which had suddenly become much in demand in the context of the need to translate classical texts into Arabic, as an asset to enhance the status of their respective communities. Though the Melkites, with their strong connections to the Greek culture of the Byzantine Empire, were well-suited to take advantage of this new situation, several figures belonging to the 'Nestorian' Church of the East were also very active in the movement, and thereby hoped restore the privileged position their community had enjoyed under the Sasanian Empire. Yet, as Treiger demonstrates, the role of the caliphate's Christians in the translation movement was not exclusively marked by confessional competition, but also, at least in some cases, by cooperation.

The second contribution, by Joe Glynias, provides context to the large-scale Middle Byzantine translation of Arabic astrological texts into Greek by analyzing the manuscript evidence. Glynias analyzes three Greek astrological manuscripts whose compendia can be dated to the Middle Byzantine period: Vatican gr. 1056, Paris gr. 2425, and Paris gr. 2506. He argues that a large number of Arabic astrological texts were translated into Arabic in an intellectual phenomenon likely connected to the Melkite Greco-Arabic translation movement of eleventh-century Antioch, a movement which resulted in the formation of a Byzantine Christian patristic corpus in Arabic. These compilations show that by the twelfth century, Arabo-Greek astrological translations were being incorporated into the Byzantine tradition, often excerpted side-by-side with ancient, late antique, and medieval Greek texts. The integration of Arabo-Greek translations was aided by the fact that Byzantine and Islamic astrology had a shared heritage of ancient Greek texts. Glynias considers the evidence provided in these manuscripts for which Arabic authors were translated into Greek by this time, whether excerpts or complete texts of theirs were translated, and the ways in which they became a part of Byzantine science of the period and led to further Arabo-Greek scientific translations.

The focus of the third contribution, written by Luca Farina, likewise remains on astrology. At the center of the examination are the Greek textual witnesses of the astrological works, written in Arabic, of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī (d. 815) and Abū Ma'shar al-Balḥī. The most important manuscript for the Greek translations of their works is Vat. gr. 1056, which Farina argues was written in the thirteenth century, rather than the fourteenth, as previously assumed. Like the contribution of Marie Cronier and Antoine Pietrobelli below, redating plays a key role in the study. In addition to a comprehensive list of the mentions in Greek manuscripts of these two astrologers, Farina also provides an edition of texts attributed to them in Vat. gr. 1056.

The fourth contribution in our special issue is authored by Marie Cronier and Antoine Pietrobelli. While Treiger's study focused on Baghdad under the 'Abbāsids, the authors here concentrate on one of the principal milieux of Arabo-Greek translation activity, namely Antioch in the eleventh century. The key figure in this study is Symeon Seth, and much of the contribution is devoted to an attempt to establish his intellectual links with the Islamicate world, in particular to the person of Ibn Buṭlān. By presenting a reevaluation of the chronology of Seth's life, they shift his main period of intellectual productivity into the last quarter of the eleventh century, roughly three decades later than earlier scholarship had assumed. This redating also would allow the possibility that Seth could have been a disciple of Ibn Buṭlān during the 1060s, during his extended stay in Antioch, or at least influenced by the intellectual climate engendered by the polymath's presence. This would account for the strong influence of contemporaneous medicinal knowledge from the Islamicate world – evident, for instance, in Ibn Buṭlān's texts – in Seth's own works.

In the fifth article, Thibault Miguet gives a taste of what can happen as scholars begin to look for Arabo-Greek translations, many of which remain waiting to be discovered in manuscripts easily accessible in European libraries. Miguet introduces the unicum of a previously unknown Palaiologan translation of a large portion of 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Majūsī's « Royal book », found in Paris suppl. gr. 638. He identifies the translator, a certain John *dioiketes* of Constantinople, and proves that this manuscript is actually the translator's autograph, and delves deeply into the history of this manuscript, using its codicology and information on how it came to the BnF to scrutinize the context in which the codex—and the autograph of the translation it contains—was produced. This article sets the stage for Miguet's edition of the text, his further study of the manner in which it was translated from Arabic to Greek, and for future study on the translation of Arabic medical works into Greek, a topic of which scholars are only beginning to scratch the surface.

In the final piece of this thematic section, Christine Roughan provides a foundation for studying Palaiologan Arabo-Greek astronomical translations by

investigating the context where many Islamic texts that were translated were composed and taught; that is, the thirteenth/fourteenth-century Ilkhanid capital of Tabriz and at the nearby famous astronomical observatory of Maragha. Roughan investigates how the astral sciences were taught, studied, and written about there. She looks at the multicultural authors, teachers, and students associated with both places, a large list of figures including Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Gregory Chionides, and Bar Hebraeus, and analyzes uses students' writings to show what texts were being taught. Roughan demonstrates that even as teachers were composing new *zīj*es (astronomical handbooks), they were still predominantly teaching an older, established curriculum based on ancient Greek authors, in addition to newer manuals written in Persian. This article provides a remarkably comprehensive introduction to the efflorescence of Ilkhanid astronomy, makes key observations about the specifics of Arabo-Greek scientific translation, and displays the large influence of the observations and teaching of astronomers in Maragha and Tabriz in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian traditions.

Seeing as Arabo-Greek Studies is still in its infancy, we present here on the basis of the papers and the ensuing discussion at the conference, the following catalogue of some salient issues that merit further consideration as the contours of the field of Arabo-Greek Studies are delineated.

Because most Arabo-Greek translations are anonymous, we are led to question when they were translated, in what context, and by whom. Our information about most Arabo-Greek translation comes from late medieval manuscripts, giving us a *terminus ante quem* for many translations from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. The Palaiologan era was rich in Arabo-Greek translations and we can identify a number of figures associated with Arabo-Greek translation in the period, like Gregory Chionides or John Dioiketes. Some Arabo-Greek translations, like those associated with Symeon Seth, were made much earlier. As manuscripts of Arabo-Greek translations are catalogued – an effort that has already begun at Mainz – it will be a challenge of the field in the future to determine when certain texts were translated and in what contexts.

One of the most important tasks for this nascent field of study will be to circumscribe a geography of translation: where were translations of Arabic works into Greek made? While the multilingual environment of Palestine and its monasteries is a likely candidate for some translations, the role of Syria, and in particular Antioch, was much less emphasized until recently, thanks to a number of scholars, including some in attendance at our workshop in February 2021. The eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire in general appears to have played a pivotal part in this translation movement. Greek-Arabic bilingualism and knowledge of Arabic science was widespread there, and surprisingly rare elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire. This is particularly the case at an early stage

of Arabo-Greek translation, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when these areas remained part of the Byzantine empire. Less well-understood is the role of Constantinople in this process: can we connect translations with the numerous Arabic-speakers who were to be found within the « Queen of Cities » and its mosque(s), embassies and trading communities?

Perhaps even more murky than the capital's role in the translation process is that of Anatolia. A number of factors connect the phenomenon of translation from Arabic into Greek to Anatolia, though its conditions were significantly different from those of Northern Syria. Most importantly, Arabic seems to have found little purchase in the rather Persianate context of Islamic Anatolia before the fourteenth century. Indeed, the first dated Islamic manuscript written in Anatolia, completed in 1116 at Erzurum, contained a Persian medical textbook, al-Akhawaynī Bukhārī's *Hidāyat al-Muta'allimīn fī al-Ṭibb*. As in the case of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, which in reality was a multilingual movement in which Syriac and Persian played important parts, this situation calls us to consider the multilingual aspects of the context of Arabo-Greek translation, in which translation into and from Persian, Syriac, and Latin were all aspects of the larger story—as, in different instances, the contributions of Glynias and Roughan allude to. By the Palaiologan period, Trebizond appears to have played an outsized role in the Byzantine reception of Islamic science, at least to judge on the basis of well-known individuals like Chioniades.

As important as drawing the contours of a geography of translation is identifying the translators, their patrons and collaborators. Who were the translators themselves? Several times during the workshop it was posited that perhaps all translators of Arabic texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were Melkites, at least in the north Syrian context. These scholars benefitted from growing up in a bilingual Greek-Arabic environment, in which translation from Greek to Arabic for the sake of the Antiochene translation movement was already common. While Melkites and other Eastern Christians may have been the prime translators in the early period, it remains to be seen whether this continued to be the case in the late and post-Byzantine era, where there are examples of both native Greek-speaking scholars learning Arabic and Muslim Arabic-speaking scholars learning Greek.

What can we say about the motives of the translators? The texts translated were often aimed at professional practitioners and one must assume were deemed useful. It is clear that economic and practical interests played a part, for instance, in the translation of alchemical texts. Likewise, translations of medical and astrological texts in many cases filled gaps in practical knowledge and were integrated into scientific practices. Religious factors seem, by contrast, less fully explored: was the translation of scientific texts understood in some sense as a pious act or connected with specific religious or philosophical movements? How

were texts written in Arabic by non-Christians received by a Byzantine audience? The question of motives can also be extended to the translators' patrons: in the cases where translations were commissioned, what possible motivation can be discerned? In cases such as horoscopes, the motive seems relatively clear, but the benefit that patrons might acquire from the translation of more recondite tracts is perhaps more inscrutable.

As we compile the places and persons involved in the translation of scientific texts from Arabic into Greek, can we identify not just scholars, but environments in which the conditions for such translation were especially propitious? The city and monasteries outside of Antioch in the tenth and eleventh centuries seems to be one such time and place, but were there other key moments in history of these translations? Can we identify pedagogical environments, like the Circle of John Abramios, in which Greek and Arabic knowledge and Arabo-Greek translation were cultivated simultaneously?

We hope all of these questions and more will foster the growth of Arabo-Greek studies, as scholars develop it and further establish it as a scholarly discipline.

FROM AL-BIṬRĪQ TO ḤUNAYN: MELKITE AND NESTORIAN TRANSLATORS IN EARLY ʿABBĀSID BAGHDAD

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Abstract

The present study examines the social history of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement from the perspective of the Christian communities that participated in it. Special attention is given to Melkite and Nestorian translators active in ʿAbbāsīd Baghdad – from the late eighth-century Melkite translator al-Biṭrīq to the famous ninth-century Nestorian translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq – and to the complex interactions between Melkites and Nestorians, which involved both competition and scholarly collaboration.

Key Words

Graeco-Arabic translation movement; ʿAbbāsids; Melkites; Nestorians (Church of the East); al-Biṭrīq; the circle of al-Kindī; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.



By the time of the Muslim conquests of the Middle East in the seventh century CE, Middle Eastern Christianity had split into three factions:¹

- (1) Chalcedonians, who accepted the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and its « two natures in Christ » (dyophysite) formula and maintained liturgical communion with the imperial Church of Byzantium;

¹ An earlier version of this study was presented at the online workshop « The Translation of Arabic Scientific Texts into Greek between the Ninth and the Fifteenth Centuries » (26 February 2021), organized by Johannes Pahlitzsch (Mainz), Joe Glynias (Princeton), and Zachary Chitwood (Mainz). I am deeply grateful to Professor Pahlitzsch for his thought-provoking response to, and comments on, my paper and to Joe Glynias and the participants for their helpful comments and suggestions.

- (2) Anti-Chalcedonians, who rejected the Council of Chalcedon and adhered to the « one nature in Christ » (monophysite or miaphysite)² formula – they were called « Jacobites » in Syria (after the sixth-century Syrian bishop Jacob Baradaeus) and « Copts » (literally: « Egyptians ») in Egypt, though the term « Jacobites » was often applied generically to both groups;³
- (3) The Church of the East, the main Christian group in the territories of the Persian Sasanian Empire – its followers were often called « Nestorians » (because in the wake of the Council of Ephesus in 431 they sided with the archbishop of Constantinople, Nestorius, who was condemned and deposed by that council).⁴

In the seventh century yet another schism rocked the Chalcedonian faction:

- (1.1) After the Council of Constantinople (680–681), those Middle Eastern Chalcedonians who accepted the council's « two wills in Christ » (dyothelete) formula came to be known as « Melkites » (royalists), because they remained in communion with the imperial Byzantine Church;

² In modern terminology, a distinction is often drawn between « monophysitism » (the belief that Christ has one divine nature – this view is characteristic of Eutyches and was rejected not only by the Council of Chalcedon but also, eventually, by the anti-Chalcedonian faction) and « miaphysitism » (the belief that Christ has one nature, which is both divine and human). « Miaphysitism » is, of course, a neologism: in Greek, compounds with the meaning « one » or « single » are always formed with the prefix *μovo-*, not *μια-*. For opposing views on the admissibility of the term « miaphysitism », see PHILIPPE LUISIER, « Il miafisismo, un termine discutibile della storiografia recente: problemi teologici ed ecumenici », *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 35/1 (2014), p. 297–307; SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « Miaphysite, not Monophysite! », *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 37/1 (2016), p. 45–54 (and other articles in the same volume).

³ The Copts frequently called themselves « Jacobites ». For an early example, see the tenth-century Copto-Arab author Macarius of Manūf al-ʿUlyā's *Epistle on Chrism* – MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ar. 100, fol. 173v [left-to-right numbering]: نحن الارتدكسية البعاقبة القبط; French trans.: LOUIS VILLECOURT, « La lettre de Macaire, évêque de Memphis, sur la liturgie antique du chrême et du baptême à Alexandrie », *Le Muséon*, 36 (1923), p. 33–46, at p. 34: « nous les Coptes Jacobites orthodoxes ».

⁴ On the term « Nestorians » as a self-designation, see ALEXANDER TREIGER, « The Christology of the *Letter from the People of Cyprus* », *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 65/1–2 (2013), p. 21–48, at p. 44–46, with multiple examples from the eighth to nineteenth centuries. See also NIKOLAI N. SELEZNYOV, « Nestorius of Constantinople: Condemnation, Suppression, Veneration, with Special Reference to the Role of His Name in East-Syriac Christianity », *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 62/3–4 (2010), p. 165–190, which offers important correctives to SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « The Nestorian Church: A Lamentable Misnomer », *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 78/3 (1996), p. 23–35.

- (1.2) Those Middle Eastern Chalcedonians who favoured the « one will in Christ » (monothelete) formula and, as a result, broke communion with the imperial Byzantine Church came to be known as « Maronites » (after their spiritual centre, the monastery of Mar Maron in Syria).⁵

Members of these four factions – the Melkites, the Maronites, the Jacobites (including the Copts), and the Nestorians – were interacting with Muslim administrations: first, the Umayyad government in Damascus, then – in the wake of the ‘Abbāsīd revolution – with the ‘Abbāsīd court in the newly founded capital Baghdad, and subsequently with Sunnī and Šī‘a dynasties that controlled various territories in the Middle East: the Fāṭimids, the Ḥamdānids, the Būyids, the Selḡūqs, the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūks, and eventually the Ottomans.

This intra-Christian sectarian diversity was a key factor affecting both Christian intellectual life and Christian communities’ relations with their Muslim overlords. It is therefore a legitimate – though rarely asked – question whether this factor played a role in the history of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. I believe that it did. In the present contribution, I shall offer some preliminary observations on this topic by focusing on Melkite and Nestorian translators in ‘Abbāsīd Baghdad and their competition and cooperation.

I. Introduction

Dimitri Gutas’s ground-breaking monograph *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (1998) has demonstrated that the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, which spanned two centuries and a half (c. 750–c. 1000) and revolutionized the intellectual life in the Middle East, was not the result merely of the caliphs’ zeal for Greek learning or of Christian intellectuals’ altruistic desire to make such learning accessible to Muslim patrons. Instead, the translation movement was the effect of an intricate network of social and cultural factors that ranged from the ‘Abbāsīds’ dependence on Iranian, still to a large extent Zoroastrian, elites to interreligious polemic. Gutas has masterfully reconstructed the climate within the Muslim society that both made the Graeco-Arabic translation movement possible and enabled it to have a lasting effect.⁶

⁵ On the early history of the Maronites, see HARALD SUERMANN, *Die Gründungsgeschichte der maronitischen Kirche*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1998.

⁶ DIMITRI GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, Routledge, London 1998; see also DIMITRI GUTAS, « The Rebirth of Philosophy and the Translations into Arabic », in ULRICH RUDOLPH, ROTRAUD HANSBERGER, PETER

A complementary network of factors must have been at play among the Middle Eastern Christian communities that participated in the translation activity.⁷ Just as the Muslim patrons – and Muslim society generally – had an interest in promoting the translation movement, so the Christian translators – and Middle Eastern Christian society generally – must have had reasons to collaborate. It is true that the remuneration offered for philosophical and scientific translations (at least those of the highest academic calibre) was remarkably high and provided a strong incentive to Christian intellectuals to participate in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement.⁸ At the same time, these Christian translators did not only seek to meet economic demand. They must have regarded themselves as partners in a joint enterprise, which *both* intertwined societies – the Muslim (still a minority in the Middle East) *and the Christian* (still the majority) – supported for their own reasons. For such a « symbiotic » relationship between the Muslim elites and the Christian intellectuals to have been forged, not only select individuals on both sides but the two intertwined societies must have had their vested interests. It is therefore imperative to investigate how the Christian communities in general and the ecclesiastical authorities in particular viewed the translation movement and what motivated them to encourage their members to participate in it.

George Saliba has made a pertinent and insightful observation: according to him, the Christians who became involved in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement were striving to maintain their hegemony as state officials in the Islamic polity in the wake

ADAMSON (eds.), *Philosophy in the Islamic World, Volume I: 8th–10th Centuries*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2017 [= PIW], p. 95–142.

⁷ For the Christian context, see George Saliba, « Revisiting the Syriac Role in the Transmission of Greek Sciences into Arabic », *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 4 (2004), p. 27–32; SIDNEY H. GRIFFITH, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2008, p. 106–128; SARAH STROUMSA, « Philosophy as Wisdom: On the Christians' Role in the Translation of Philosophical Material into Arabic », in HAGGAI BEN-SHAMMAI, SHAUL SHAKED, SARAH STROUMSA (eds.), *Exchange and Transmission across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism and Science in the Mediterranean World (Proceedings of an International Workshop Held in Memory of Professor Shlomo Pines)*, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 2013, p. 276–293; ALEXANDER TREIGER, « Palestinian Origenism and the Early History of the Maronites: In Search of the Origins of the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle* », in Damien JANOS (ed.), *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*, Brill, Leiden 2015, p. 44–80.

⁸ The Banū Mūsā paid Hunayn, Ḥubayš, and Ṭābit ibn Qurra (presumably, each) 500 dinārs a month « for full-time translation » – see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 133 and 138; GUTAS, « Rebirth », p. 104–105. The vizier Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn) al-Zayyāt (d. 847) reportedly spent 2000 dinārs a month commissioning translation of Greek works – see JAMES E. MONTGOMERY, « al-Ġāhiz and Hellenizing Philosophy », in CRISTINA D'ANCONA (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 443–456, at p. 449.

of the Arabicization of the bureaucracy under the Umayyads. In this climate of intense interreligious competition, philosophical, medical, and scientific knowledge became a valuable commodity that was exploited by those with access to it. In fact, as Saliba notes, it was owing to this climate of competition that Middle Eastern Christians reached back to the scientific books of the Greeks that their predecessors knew existed but had less incentive to peruse.⁹

Saliba's observation leads us to consider the rivalry *between* the various Christian communities of the Middle East. Though all these communities conflicted with each other, by far the most significant cultural divide separated the « Westerners », i.e., the Christians of the former Byzantine provinces of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (who were Melkites, Maronites, and Jacobites, including Copts), on the one hand, and the « Easterners », i.e., the Christians of the former Sasanian Empire (Nestorians / the Church of the East), on the other.

Until the 'Abbāsid revolution, the « Easterners » seem to have remained on the losing side of this competition. As a result of the collapse of the Sasanian Empire, the Church of the East lost the privileged status that it had enjoyed under the Sasanians. Its doctrinal archenemies, the Jacobites gained ground by expanding their ecclesiastical hierarchy to the East (the « maphrianate of Tikrīt ») and establishing monasteries in northern Iraq.¹⁰ The Melkites, too, held on to power, insofar as it was the Melkite elites in Damascus – notably, the family of John of Damascus – that continued to control the state apparatus under the Umayyads.¹¹ Similarly to the

⁹ GEORGE SALIBA, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 2007, p. 27–72.

¹⁰ GEORGE A. KIRAZ, « Maphrian Catholicos », in SEBASTIAN P. BROCK et al. (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, Gorgias, Piscataway, NJ 2011, p. 264–265. Nestorian authors frequently complained that after the Sasanian regime collapsed, Muslim authorities abandoned the Sasanian discrimination policies between different Christian denominations. This allowed the rival Jacobite community to flourish. See MICHAEL G. MORONY, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1984, p. 346: « one of the things Yōḥannan bar Penkayē [the friend and contemporary of the catholicos Ḥnānīšō' I (r. 686–693)] complained most bitterly about was the way the new rulers allowed both Nestorians and 'heretics' (Monophysites) to survive the conquest. He particularly deplored the demoralizing consequences of indiscriminating toleration in the reign of Mu'āwiya, when 'there was no difference between pagan and Christian; the faithful was not distinct from a Jew' ».

¹¹ On John of Damascus's family background, see SEAN W. ANTHONY, « Fixing John Damascene's Biography: Historical Notes on His Family Background », *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 23/4 (2015), p. 607–627; SIDNEY H. GRIFFITH, « The Maṣṣūr Family and Saint John of Damascus: Christians and Muslims in Umayyad Times », in ANTOINE BORRUT, FRED M. DONNER (eds.), *Christians and Others in the Umayyad State*, The Oriental Institute, Chicago 2016, p. 29–51.

Jacobites, the Melkites took advantage of the changed political situation and expanded their hierarchy eastward, establishing the « catholicosate of Romagyris ». This catholicosate was initially located in the former Sasanian city of Wēh-Andiok-Ḥosrow (« Ḥosrow's Better Antioch ») in the vicinity of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, commonly known in Persian as Rūmagān and in Arabic as al-Rūmiyya. When in 762 the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–775) transferred the population of Rūmagān / al-Rūmiyya all the way to Šāš (near modern Tashkent), Šāš became the new location of the catholicosate of Romagyris, while a second Melkite catholicosate was eventually established in Baghdad.¹²

¹² On Wēh-Andiok-Ḥosrow, the catholicosate of Romagyris, and the catholicosate of Baghdad, see MARIE-LOUISE CHAUMONT, « Antioch (1) », in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* [= Elr], vol. II.2, p. 119–125; online version: <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/antioch-1-northern-syria>> (Accessed May 2021); WASSILIOS KLEIN, « Das orthodoxe Katholikat von Romagyris in Zentralasien », *Parole d'Orient*, 24 (1999), p. 235–265; JEAN-MAURICE FIEY, « 'Rūm' à l'est de l'Euphrate », *Le Muséon*, 90 (1977), p. 365–420; JOSEPH NASRALLAH, « L'Église melchite en Iraq, en Perse, et dans l'Asie centrale », *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 25 (1975), p. 135–179; 26 (1976), p. 16–33; 27 (1977), p. 71–78, 277–293; JOSEPH NASRALLAH, « Réponse à quelques critiques récentes au sujet des catholicosats melchites de Bagdad et de Romagyris », *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 33 (1983), p. 160–170; JEAN DAUVILLIER, « Byzantins d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient au moyen âge », *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 11 (1953), p. 62–87; NEOPHYTOS EDELBAY, « Note sur le catholicosat de Romagyris », *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 2 (1952), p. 39–46; KEN PARRY, « Byzantine-Rite Christians (Melkites) in Central Asia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages », in ELIZABETH KEFALLINOS (ed.), *Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation* [special edition of *Modern Greek Studies* (Australia and New Zealand), 2012], p. 91–108; KEN PARRY, « Byzantine-rite Christians (Melkites) in Central Asia and China and Their Contacts with the Church of the East », in LI TANG, DIETMAR W. WINKLER (eds.), *Winds of Jingjiao: Studies on Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, Lit, Vienna 2016, p. 203–220; WOLFGANG HAGE, *Das orientalische Christentum*, W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2007, p. 84; KLAUS-PETER TODT, *Dukat und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (969–1084), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2020, p. 447–453. On Melkite presence in Central Asia, see also ROBERT GRIVEAU (ed.), *Martyrologes et ménologes orientaux XVI-XVIII: Les fêtes des Melkites, par al-Birouni, Les fêtes des coptes, par al-Maqrizi, Calendrier Maronite, par Ibn-al-Qola'i*, Firmin-Didot, Paris 1914 (Patrologia Orientalis X.4, No. 49); DANIEL GALADZA, « Liturgical Byzantinization in Jerusalem: al-Biruni's Melkite Calendar in Context », *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 3rd series, 7 (2010), p. 69–85; and the following two studies of a Greek-Sogdian Psalm fragment (likely, of Melkite provenance) from Bulayīq near Turfan: NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, « A Greek-Sogdian Bilingual from Bulayīq », in *La Persia e Bisanzio*, Accademia nazionale dei lincei, Rome 2004, p. 623–631; NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS, « A New Fragment of the Book of Psalms in Sogdian », in DMITRIJ BUMAZHNOV, EMMANOUELA GRYPEOU, TIMOTHY B. SAILORS, ALEXANDER TOEPFEL (eds.), *Bibel, Byzanz und christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, Peeters, Leuven 2011, p. 461–465. On the role of Syriac among Central Asian Melkites, see MIKLÓS MARÓTH, « Ein Brief aus Turfan », *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 12 (1985), p. 283–287; cf. WERNER SUNDERMANN, « Byzanz und Bulayīq », in PETR VAVROUSEK (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European Studies: Memorial Volume of Otakar Klíma*, Enigma Corporation, Prague 1994, p. 255–264, at p. 258; ADRIAN C. PIRTEA, « The Syriac and Sogdian Prefaces to the Six Books on the Dormition of the Virgin Mary: Marian

The Melkite Church's expansion to Iraq necessitated forging relationships with 'Abbāsīd elites, while its members' linguistic prowess, especially their facility with Greek, provided them with a ready means of doing so. Before long, Melkite scholars became indispensable as translators of Greek philosophical and scientific literature who – unlike other Christians at the time – could work directly from the Greek original. This is why we find Melkite scholars at the forefront of translation activity, especially in the early stages of the translation movement (c. 770s–c. 830s), after which they gave the central place – though never surrendered the stage completely – to the Nestorians. This is the period on which we shall focus below.

II. Melkite Translators

What was the role of the Melkites in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement? This is a question that has not been systematically addressed because the standard narrative of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement privileges the role of Nestorian translators (Ḥunayn and his school); this, in turn, has to do with the fact that Nestorian Christians were the dominant Christian group in Baghdad and that most primary sources – notably Ḥunayn's famous *Risāla* – focus on Nestorian translation activities.¹³

Based on the lists of translators provided by Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, Gérard Troupeau estimated that Nestorians constituted c. 62% of all the known translators (38 out of 61), while Melkites constituted only 18% (11 out of 61).¹⁴

Traditions between the Eastern Mediterranean and Central Asia » (forthcoming in an edited volume on Syriac and Iranian Christianity, edited by CHIARA BARBATI and VITTORIO BERTI, to be published with the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna – I am grateful to Adrian Pirtea for sharing this article with me prior to publication).

¹³ On Ḥunayn's *Risāla*, see GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Brockhaus, Leipzig 1925; GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER, *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, Brockhaus, Leipzig 1932; JOHN C. LAMOREAUX, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq on His Galen Translations*, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, UT 2016 (cf. DIMITRI GUTAS, « A New 'Edition' of Ḥunayn's *Risāla* », *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 28 (2018), p. 279–284); DIMITRI GUTAS, « Scholars as Transmitters of Philosophical Thought », Section 2.1: « Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq », in PIW, p. 680–704.

¹⁴ GÉRARD TROUPEAU, « Le rôle des syriaques dans la transmission et l'exploitation du patrimoine philosophique et scientifique grec », *Arabica*, 38/1 (1991), p. 1–10, at p. 4–5: « Du fait que 25 traducteurs sont communs aux deux listes [i.e., the lists of translators provided by Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a], que 11 sont propres à Ibn al-Nadīm et que 14 sont propres à Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, c'est un total de 61 traducteurs que nous fournissent les deux listes. Ces 61 traducteurs se répartissent de la manière suivante: 48 sont des syriaques (38 nestoriens, 9 jacobites et 1 maronite); 11 sont des byzantins melkites; 1 est sabéen et 1 est persan. Les traducteurs syriaques représentent donc 78% des traducteurs, et ce sont les nestoriens qui se taillent la part du lion avec 62%. Cette statistique vient

However, it is important to point out that only translators with identifiably Greek names were tallied as Melkites; translators with Arabic names whose confessional affiliation is left unspecified in the sources were catalogued as Nestorians *by default*; clearly, this procedure is unfavourable to Melkites (and others), as they too could bear Arabic names in the period under discussion. This casts a shadow of doubt over Troupeau's confessional breakdown of the translators; moreover, Troupeau's figures may be skewed for yet another reason: the primary sources from which they derive seem to be better informed about Nestorian translators than about translators from rival Christian groups. Based on these considerations, it is possible that the Melkites' share in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement – especially in its early stages – is underestimated. More pertinently for our purposes, we need a clear explanation of how Melkite translators fit into the general narrative of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. This is a significant scholarly lacuna that ought to be addressed.¹⁵

The earliest Melkite translator known by name is a certain al-Biṭrīq (literally: « the Patrikios », though the Arabic term *biṭrīq* was often used generically for Byzantine dignitaries).¹⁶ Al-Biṭrīq's son Yūḥannā, or Yaḥyā, ibn al-Biṭrīq – the sources refer to him as a *mawlā*, « client, freedman, or loyal associate », of the caliph al-Ma'mūn¹⁷ – was likewise active as a translator, as we shall discuss below.¹⁸ According to the *Fihrist*

confirmer ce dont on se doutait déjà, à savoir le rôle prépondérant des syriaques en général et des nestoriens en particulier, mais il était bon de préciser et de chiffrer exactement ce rôle ».

¹⁵ For a useful survey, which, however, does not include all the Melkite translators and, on the other hand, includes some translators who were clearly not Melkites, see JOSEPH NASRALLAH with RACHID HADDAD, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, 5 vol. in 8 parts, Peeters, Louvain 1979–2017, vol. II.2, p. 74–91; see also FIEY, « Rūm », p. 414–417.

¹⁶ For some examples, see ALEXANDRE M. ROBERTS, « al-Manṣūr and the Critical Ambassador », *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 60 (2011), p. 145–160.

¹⁷ On the term *mawlā* in this period, see DANIEL PIPES, « Mawlas: Freed Slaves and Converts in Early Islam », in ROBERT HOYLAND (ed.), *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, Routledge, London–New York 2017, p. 277–322. Yūḥannā, or Yaḥyā, ibn al-Biṭrīq would seem to fall within the category of *mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn*, which, according to Pipes (p. 298 [153]–301 [156]), does not necessarily imply conversion to Islam.

¹⁸ DOUGLAS M. DUNLOP, « The Translations of al-Biṭrīq and Yaḥyā (Yūḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq », *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 91/3–4 (1959), p. 140–150; NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 81–86. On Yūḥannā (or Yaḥyā) ibn al-Biṭrīq, see FRANÇOISE MICHEAU, « Yaḥyā (or Yūḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq », *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition [= EI²], vol. XI, p. 246 (the translator is called « probably a Mālīkī », instead of Melkite!). Micheau provides a complete list of translations attributed to him; she also indicates that he was part of the team that went to Byzantine territory in search of manuscripts. Gerhard Endress suggests that he belonged to the circle of al-Kindī – see GERHARD ENDRESS, « The Circle of al-Kindī: Early Arabic Translations from the Greek and the Rise of Islamic Philosophy », in GERHARD ENDRESS, REMKE KRUK (eds.), *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism: Studies on the Transmission of Greek*

of Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Biṭrīq worked under the auspices of the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–775), who commissioned him to translate « some of [or: some material from] the ancient books » (*ašyā' min al-kutub al-qadīma*).¹⁹

Ibn al-Nadīm also claims that al-Biṭrīq translated Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* for the Persian astrologer 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān al-Ṭabarī (d. after 812).²⁰ If this information is correct, 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān's *tafsīr* of the *Tetrabiblos*, completed in 812 and extant in MS Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek 203, would have to be based on al-Biṭrīq's translation.²¹ It is, however, possible that 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān's version or paraphrase of the *Tetrabiblos* (if this is how the word *tafsīr* is to be understood) is derived from Middle Persian sources, as argued by several scholars.²² This remains to be verified. There is perhaps also a third, harmonizing solution: 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān's *tafsīr* of the *Tetrabiblos* may be derived, by and large, from Middle Persian sources, but in producing this *tafsīr* he could have consulted al-Biṭrīq, who may have provided translation of select passages from the original Greek and/or helped resolve difficulties in the Middle Persian sources. If this last solution is to be adopted, this would imply that al-Biṭrīq was still alive in the early ninth century (more on this possibility below).

Philosophy and Sciences Dedicated to H.J. Drossaart Lulofs on His 90th Birthday, Research School CNWS, Leiden 1997, p. 43–76, at p. 55–58; GERHARD ENDRESS, « Building the Library of Arabic Philosophy: Platonism and Aristotelianism in the Sources of al-Kindī », in D'ANCONA (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, p. 319–350, at p. 332.

¹⁹ IBN AL-NADĪM, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, Abul-Farağ Muḥammad ibn Ishāq Composed at 377 AH*, ed. AYMAN FU'ĀD SAYYID, al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, London 2009, vol. II.1, p. 144; cf. BAYARD DODGE (trans.), *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, 2 vol., Columbia University Press, New York-London 1970, vol. II, p. 586.

²⁰ IBN AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, vol. II.1, p. 232; trans. DODGE, vol. II, p. 649–650.

²¹ For a description of the manuscript, see KARL VILHELM ZETTERSTÉEN, *Die arabischen, persischen, und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., Uppsala 1930–1935, vol. I, p. 94–96. On the Arabic *Tetrabiblos*, see FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* [= GAS], 16 vol., Brill, Leiden 1967–2015, vol. VII, p. 41–44 (refers to the Uppsala manuscript on p. 43, yet argues confusingly that 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān's commentary on the *Tetrabiblos* is not extant; cf. p. 113); GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 109.

²² DAVID PINGREE, « 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān al-Ṭabarī », *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. XIII, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1970, p. 538–539, at p. 538; CHARLES BURNETT, « The Certitude of Astrology: The Scientific Methodology of al-Qabīṣī and Abū Ma'shar », *Early Science and Medicine*, 7/3 (2002), p. 198–213, at p. 201. On 'Umar ibn al-Farruḥān al-Ṭabarī, see also DAVID PINGREE, « The Ṣābiāns of Ḥarrān and the Classical Tradition », *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 9/1 (2002), p. 8–35, at p. 21–22, criticized by KEVIN VAN BLADEL, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science*, Oxford University Press, Oxford–New York, 2009, p. 100, fn. 157.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a argues that al-Biṭrīq was a prolific and good translator, though inferior to Ḥunayn (*lahu naql kaṭīr ḡayyid, illā annahu dūna naql Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*); he also claims that he saw many medical works by Hippocrates and Galen in al-Biṭrīq’s Arabic versions.²³ One of al-Biṭrīq’s Hippocrates translations is indeed extant in MS Istanbul, Ayasofya 3632: the *De alimento* / *Kitāb al-ḡidā’* (fol. 106v–110r).²⁴ At least one Galenic translation is extant as well: Book VI of Galen’s *On the Faculties and Powers of Simple Drugs* / *Fī l-adwiya al-mufrada* (MS Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III 2083), though the translator’s name is not indicated in the manuscript.²⁵ Several other Galenic translations ascribed to al-Biṭrīq are mentioned in medieval sources.²⁶ Curiously enough, despite his involvement in medical translations, al-Biṭrīq is never mentioned in Ḥunayn’s *Risāla*.²⁷

I should now like to call attention to a hitherto unnoticed Syriac source, which possibly refers to al-Biṭrīq. This is a section of Bar-Hebraeus’s *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* that deals with the early years of Timothy’s tenure as catholicos of the Church of the East (i.e., the early 780s). According to Bar-Hebraeus, a certain Joseph, the Nestorian metropolitan of Merv, who had been publicly convicted of « sodomy » (*sḏōmāyūtā*), converted to Islam and plotted against the Christians. He claimed that the Nestorians were, effectively, the « fifth column » who prayed day and night for Byzantium’s victory over the Muslims. A certain Byzantine *patrikios* was then summoned before the caliph, who, being aware of this allegation, helped refute it. Here is the relevant passage:

²³ IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI‘A, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqat al-aṭibbā’*’, ed. NIZĀR RIḌĀ, Dār Maktabat al-ḥayāh, Beirut [1965], p. 282; online edition, section 9.31: <<https://dh.brill.com/scholarlyeditions/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-ed-ara1:9.31>> (Accessed May 2021).

²⁴ JOHN N. MATTOCK (ed. and trans.), *Kitāb Buqrāṭ fī ‘l-akhlāt / Hippocrates, On Humours and Kitāb al-ghidhā’ li-Buqrāṭ / Hippocrates, On Nutriment*, W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge 1971; online: <<https://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/single-text/text/mattock-122.html>> (Accessed May 2021).

²⁵ PETER E. PORMANN, « The Development of Translation Techniques from Greek into Syriac and Arabic: The Case of Galen’s *On the Faculties and Powers of Simple Drugs*, Book Six », in ROTRAUD HANSBERGER, M. AFIFI AL-AKITI, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *Medieval Arabic Thought: Essays in Honour of Fritz Zimmermann*, The Warburg Institute, London 2012, p. 143–162 (partially edits al-Biṭrīq’s version in a tabular form along with the Greek original, Sergius of Rēš‘aynā’s Syriac version, and a later Arabic translation probably by Ḥunayn).

²⁶ DUNLOP, « Translations », p. 142–143; NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 82.

²⁷ See, for example, Ḥunayn’s discussion of Galen’s *On Simple Drugs*: LAMOREAUX, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*, p. 66–69 (work No. 53). The following phrase may be an oblique reference to al-Biṭrīq’s translation: « Yuḥannā ibn Māsawayh asked me to collate for him the second part of this book and correct it, which I did, although it would have been more accurate to translate it [anew] » (§56.11).

There was there [i.e., in Baghdad] a certain Roman [i.e., Byzantine] *patrikios*, an honourable man, who was a prisoner (*ṭṭ (h)wā tamman paṭrīq (')nāš rūmāyā gabrā myaqqrā d-asīr*). The caliph summoned him in and asked him about the Nestorians, what [the Byzantines] thought of them. The *patrikios*, having heard of the accursed Joseph's libel, wanted to confute him, and so responded as follows: « In our view, the Nestorians are not even Christians, and if any of them is present in [our] lands, we do not allow him to enter any of our churches. In truth, they are closer to the Arabs than to us ». In this way the caliph's anger was calmed.²⁸

Bar-Hebraeus's source for this information seems to be contemporary with the events described: this may have been Timothy's lost letter to the people of Gondēšāpūr, in which he addressed Joseph of Merv's affair, or some other eighth-century document.²⁹ If the Byzantine *patrikios* (Syr. *paṭrīq(ā)*) mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus is, in fact, our translator al-Biṭrīq, as seems quite likely, this would serve to confirm an important point: that al-Biṭrīq was a prisoner of war.

The chronological setting of Bar-Hebraeus's report in the early 780s suggests that al-Biṭrīq may have been among the prisoners captured in 780 during the Muslim siege of Ṣamālū (Gr. τὸ Σηματοῦχος κάστρον = Cemele / modern Çayağzı midway between Caesarea / Kayseri and Ancyra / Ankara).³⁰ The campaign against Ṣamālū was led by the sixteen-year-old prince Hārūn – the future caliph Hārūn al-Rašid (r. 786–809) – under the auspices of the Barmakids Ḥālid ibn Barmak (d. 781/2) and his son Yaḥyā ibn Ḥālid (d. 806), then Hārūn's tutor. The Ṣamālū garrison – « ten households together with the *komēs* » (‘*ašarat abyāt fihim al-qūmis*), as al-Balāḍurī informs us – surrendered on the condition that their lives be spared and that they not be separated; they were then re-settled in the al-Šammāsiyya quarter in Baghdad.³¹ Significantly, al-Šammāsiyya had been given by the caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–785) as a fief (*iqṭā'*) to Ḥālid

²⁸ BAR-HEBRAEUS, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. and trans. JOANNES BAPTISTA ABBELOOS, THOMAS JOSEPHUS LAMY, Section II, vol. III, Maisonneuve, Paris-Peeters, Louvain 1877, col. 173–174; DAVID WILMSHURST (ed. and trans.), *Bar Hebraeus, The Ecclesiastical Chronicle*, Gorgias, Piscataway, NJ 2016, p. 360–363; the translation from Syriac is my own, though I have borrowed a few phrases from Wilmshurst. This passage is briefly referenced in FIEY, « Rūm », p. 373, fn. 43, but he does not draw the connection to al-Biṭrīq. The caliph mentioned in this passage is probably al-Mahdī (r. 775–785).

²⁹ JEAN-MAURICE FIEY, « Chrétientés syriaques du Ḥorāsān et du Ségestan », *Le Muséon*, 86 (1973), p. 75–104, esp. p. 83–84; cf. RAPHAËL J. BIDAWID, *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City 1956, p. 50.

³⁰ On the location of Ṣamālū, see FRIEDRICH HILD, MARCELL RESTLE, « Semaluos Kastron », *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantistik*, 23 (1974), p. 263–270.

³¹ FIEY, « Rūm », p. 374–376.

ibn Barmak.³² The possibility that some of the Ṣamālū prisoners of war became involved in translations in Baghdad – an activity sponsored by the Barmakids³³ – was raised by Jean-Maurice Fiey and was then imaginatively developed by Benjamin Jokisch.³⁴ Jokisch even attempted to identify al-Biṭrīq with Gregorios Mousoulakios, the *komēs* of Opsikion (the Byzantine theme in the northwestern Asia Minor), who also held the title of *patrikios*.³⁵ Though this identification – along with many other of Jokisch’s extravagant theories – is to be rejected, the possibility that some of the Ṣamālū prisoners became involved in Graeco-Arabic translations ought to be considered seriously. If al-Biṭrīq was a prisoner of war, as suggested by Bar-Hebraeus’s report, he may well have belonged to this group.

Of course, if this should be the case, we would need to modify al-Biṭrīq’s *floruit*: he can no longer be considered as active during the reign of al-Manṣūr (r. 755–775), but during the second half of the reign of al-Mahdī (r. 775–785) and the reigns of his sons al-Hādī (r. 785–786) and Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 786–809). This would help resolve the chronological difficulty arising from the fact that the *floruit* of al-Biṭrīq’s son Yūḥannā (or Yaḥyā) ibn al-Biṭrīq is placed by the sources as late as the reign of al-Ma’mūn (r. 813–833). This would also help explain how al-Biṭrīq could have collaborated with ‘Umar ibn al-Farruḥān on a *tafsīr* of the *Tetrabiblos* completed in 812, as discussed above.

We know of yet another Barmakid-sponsored Graeco-Arabic translation project. According to an important note in the preface to the Arabic translation of Vindonius Anatolius of Berytus’s *Collection of Agricultural Practices* (the « Anatolius B » version in Carlo Scardino’s classification), « this [text] is [part] of the wisdom which the patriarch of Alexandria, the metropolitan of Damascus, and the monk Eustathius / Arsenius / Eusebius (?) extracted for Yaḥyā ibn Ḥālid ibn Barmak and translated from Greek into

³² IHSAN ABBAS, « Barmakids », in *Elr*, vol. III, p. 806–809; online: <<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barmakids>> (Accessed May 2021); FIEY, « Rūm », p. 375; BENJAMIN JOKISCH, *Islamic Imperial Law: Harun-Al-Rashid’s Codification Project*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2007, p. 84.

³³ On the Barmakids’ sponsorship of translations (not only from Greek, of course, but even more so from Middle Iranian languages and Sanskrit), see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 114 and 128–129; KEVIN VAN BLADEL, « The Bactrian Background of the Barmakids », in ANNA AKASOY, CHARLES BURNETT, RONIT YOELI-TLALIM (eds.), *Islam and Tibet: Interactions along the Musk Routes*, Ashgate, Farnham and Burlington 2011, p. 43–88, esp. p. 74–86.

³⁴ FIEY, « Rūm », p. 386 and 415; JOKISCH, *Islamic Imperial Law*, p. 81–90.

³⁵ JOKISCH, *Islamic Imperial Law*, p. 83–88; for a detailed refutation of Jokisch’s arguments, see WOLFRAM BRANDES, [Review of JOKISCH, *Islamic Imperial Law*], *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 103/1 (2010), p. 216–230, esp. p. 224–225.

Arabic; this took place in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal [MS G] / Rabīʿ al-Āḥar [MS S] of the year 179 [AH] », i.e., 795 CE.³⁶

In this team of Melkite clerics, the patriarch of Alexandria must be Politianus (patriarch 140–186 AH / 757–802 CE).³⁷ Indeed, as we know from Eutychius, Politianus, who was a physician by training, visited Baghdad and healed Hārūn al-Rašīd's concubine; this is supposed to have taken place c. 796.³⁸ Though Eutychius's report suggests that Politianus was specifically summoned to Baghdad to heal the concubine, it is more likely that he had arrived in Baghdad earlier on ecclesiastical business – to plead with the caliph to restore to the Melkites church buildings appropriated by the Jacobites, which is the goal specifically mentioned by Eutychius – and stayed there long enough to participate in the Anatolius translation project completed in 795 and to heal the concubine c. 796.³⁹

We do not know who was the Melkite metropolitan of Damascus in 795,⁴⁰ but it is very tempting to identify him with the translator Basīl al-Muṭṭarān mentioned in the

³⁶ CARLO SCARDINO, *Edition antiker landwirtschaftlicher Werke in arabischer Sprache, Band I: Prolegomena*, Walter de Gruyter, Boston–Berlin 2015, p. 201–204. Scardino provides a critical edition of the preface based on the only two known manuscripts of the text: G = MS Madrid, Gayangos 30 and S = MS Aleppo, Salem, Ar. 377 [olim Sbath 1200]; I thank the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library for facilitating access to the Aleppo manuscript: <<https://www.vhmdl.org/readingRoom/view/501336>> (Accessed May 2021). I am reproducing the Arabic text here with two corrections (explained below): وهو من الحكمة التي استخرجها بطرك الإسكندرية ومطربليط* دمشق وأوستني** الراهب ليحيى بن خالد بن برمك وفسروه من الرومي إلى العربي، وذلك في شهر ربيع الأول / الآخر من سنة تسع وسبعين ومائة. At (*) G reads مكرليط, which is, obviously, a corruption of مطربليط; S reads مطران: clearly, مطربليط was the original reading, which became corrupted in G and was replaced by a less archaic term in S. At (**) G reads أوسيح; S reads أويسح, which is then corrected to أويسي: clearly, the final /ḥ/ in both manuscripts is a misreading of the original final /y/ with the tail pointing backwards. أوسثي (Eustathius – more commonly, however, spelled أرسني, (Arsenius), and أوسبي (Eusebius) are possible readings. Scardino corrects the text to أوسطات (Eustathius), following Sbath's conjecture; cf. ENDRESS, « Building the Library », p. 348, fn. 85.

³⁷ Politianus's dates are given by Eutychius as « four years into the caliphate of [al-Manṣūr] » (i.e., 140 AH / 757–8 CE) till « sixteen years from the caliphate of [Hārūn] al-Rašīd » (i.e., 186 AH / 802 CE); he is said to have been patriarch forty-six years (lunar years are clearly meant here) – see EUTYCHIUS, *Eutychii patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, ed. LOUIS CHEIKHO, vol. II, Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, Louvain 1960 (CSCO 51 / Scriptores Arabici 7), p. 49:14–15 and 52:12–16. von Gutschmid proposed a revised chronology, according to which Politianus died in 197/813 – see ALFRED VON GUTSCHMID, « Verzeichniss der Patriarchen von Alexandrien », in FRANZ RÜHL (ed.), *Kleine Schriften von Alfred von Gutschmid*, Teubner, Leipzig 1890, vol. II, p. 395–525, at p. 484; this revised chronology is often cited and accepted.

³⁸ EUTYCHIUS, *Annales*, p. 51:20–52:11.

³⁹ On Melkite temporary visitors to Baghdad, see FIEY, « Rūm », p. 385–387.

⁴⁰ For a fairly complete listing of all the known Melkite metropolitans of Damascus, see KLAUS-PETER TODT, « Griechisch-Orthodoxe (melkitische) Christen im zentralen und südlichen Syrien: Die Periode von

Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm and by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a.⁴¹ The monk Eustathius / Arsenius / Eusebius (?) is otherwise unknown. It is, however, possible, that he is the superior of the Melkite Egyptian monastery Dayr al-Quṣayr (south of modern Cairo) and the future patriarch of Alexandria Eustathius, who took office after Politianus’s death. This conjecture, originally put forward by Paul Sbath,⁴² is strengthened by two facts: (1) Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī (d. 980) in his *Kitāb al-Muršid* cites the *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-rūmiyya* and claims that it was translated into Arabic by (or under the auspices of) « the patriarch Eustathius » (*Uṣṭāṭ al-baṭriyārḥ*);⁴³ (2) Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalifa (d. 1657) names a certain Eustathius (spelled Uṣṭās) among the Arabic translators of the closely related *Kitāb al-Filāḥa al-rūmiyya*.⁴⁴ Whatever the case might be, this Eustathius (if this is the correct reading of his name) must be differentiated from the translator Uṣṭāṭ, who – some forty years later – worked for al-Kindi.

Whatever the exact identification of the translators involved in the Anatolius project, we have evidence of three Melkite clergymen collaborating on a Graeco-Arabic translation under Barmakid patronage. Moreover, the heading of « Anatolius

der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Verlegung der Patriarchenresidenz nach Damaskus (635–1365) », *Le Muséon*, 119/1–2 (2006), p. 33–88, at p. 68–70 and 73.

⁴¹ IBN AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, vol. II.1, p. 146; trans. DODGE, vol. II, p. 587; IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI‘A, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā*’, p. 281; online edition, section 9.18: <<https://dh.brill.com/scholarlyeditions/reader/urn:cts:arabicLit:0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-ed-ara1:9.18>> (Accessed May 2021). To stay on the side of caution, this Basil (spelled Basīl) should perhaps be distinguished from another Basil (spelled Bāsīl), who served al-Ṭāḥir ibn al-Ḥusayn Dū l-Yamīnayn (see IBN AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, vol. II.1, p. 148; trans. DODGE, vol. II, p. 588), given that Ibn al-Nadīm includes both Basils in the same list of translators; some scholars, however, conflate the two Basils – see, e.g., GERHARD ENDRESS, « Die wissenschaftliche Literatur », in WOLFDIETRICH FISCHER, HELMUT GÄTJE (eds.), *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1982–1992, vol. II, p. 400–506 and vol. III, p. 3–152, at vol. II, p. 424, fn. 60. It is unclear which of the two Basils translated the first four books of Porphyry’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics* – the *Fihrist* (IBN AL-NADĪM, *Fihrist*, vol. II.1, p. 167; trans. DODGE, vol. II, p. 603) simply says « Basīl translated it »; the spelling with the short /a/ seems to point to Basīl al-Muṭṭrān, but the absence of « al-Muṭṭrān » makes this less certain.

⁴² PAUL SBATH, « L’ouvrage géoponique d’Anatolius de Bérytos (IV^e siècle): Manuscrit arabe découvert par le R. P. Paul Sbath », *Bulletin d’Institut d’Égypte*, 13 (1931), p. 47–54, p. 49; cf. PAUL SBATH, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Imp. « Au Prix Coûtant », Cairo 1934, vol. III, p. 61 (description of MS Sbath 1200 = the present MS Aleppo, Salem, Ar. 377).

⁴³ MS London, British Library, Or. 9010, fol. 47v: *وضع كتاب الفلاحة* *واضع كتاب البيروتي* *بن أناتوليس البيروتي* *ذكرهما يونيوس بن أناتوليس البيروتي* *واضع كتاب الفلاحة* *الرومية في المقالة السابعة من كتابه هذا وهو الذي تولى ترجمته ونقله من اليوناني إلى اللسان العربي أسطاط البطريرخ*. This reference was unearthed by Ullmann – see MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Übersetzung*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2011–2012, vol. II, p. 17 (I was unable to consult the manuscript). On al-Tamīmī, see also MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die Medizin im Islam*, E. J. Brill, Leiden–Köln 1970, p. 269–270.

⁴⁴ SCARDINO, *Edition*, p. 238.

B » implies that the same team produced other Graeco-Arabic translations as well: « Anatolius B » is said to be « [part] of the wisdom » (*min al-ḥikma*) which the team « extracted for Yahyā ibn Ḥālīd ibn Barmak and translated from Greek into Arabic » (*istaḥrağaha ... li-Yahyā ibn Ḥālīd ibn Barmak wa-fassarūhu min al-rūmī ilā l-‘arabī*).⁴⁵

With the onset of the ninth century, the Melkites continued to play an important role in Graeco-Arabic translations. At least two Melkite translators worked for the ‘Abbāsid general and governor al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, nicknamed « the ambidextrous » (*Ḍū l-Yamīnayni*) for his ability to wield a sword with either hand. These are:

- (1) a certain Basil (spelled Bāsīl), who may or may not be identical with the aforementioned Bāsīl al-Muṭrān and may or may not be the one to whom a translation of the first four books of Porphyry’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics* is ascribed; we do not know what specifically this Basil translated for al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn (this *could* be Porphyry’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics* or something else);⁴⁶
- (2) the famous Melkite theologian Theodore Abū Qurra, who translated the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De virtutibus animae*.⁴⁷ This translation was probably prepared c. 816, when al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn was stationed in the north-Syrian city al-Raqqā (the ancient Callinicum) and when, according to Michael the Syrian’s testimony, he engaged in the study of philosophy.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ According to Sonja Brentjes, « the preface to one of the two extant Arabic manuscripts of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Nayrīzī’s (d. ca. 922) commented edition of the *Elements* report[s] that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭār translated the *Elements* either for the Abbasid caliph al-Hārūn [sic] al-Rashīd (r. 786–809) or on order of his vizier Yahyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī (ex. 805) » – see SONJA BRENTJES, « An Exciting New Arabic Version of Euclid’s *Elements*: MS Mumbai, Mullā Firūz R.I.6 », *Revue d’histoire des mathématiques*, 12 (2006), p. 169–197, at p. 171. If so, this may be another Graeco-Arabic project conducted under Barmakid patronage. The situation with the Arabic Euclid, however, turns out to be extremely complex – see SONJA BRENTJES, « Who Translated Euclid’s *Elements* into Arabic? », in JAAKKO HÄMEEN-ANTILA, ILKKA LINDSTEDT (eds.), *Translation and Transmission: Collection of Articles*, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2018, p. 21–54.

⁴⁶ See fn. 41 above.

⁴⁷ MECHTHILD KELLERMANN, « Ein pseudoaristotelischer Traktat über die Tugend: Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen Fassungen des Abū Qurra und des Ibn at-Ṭayyib », Ph.D. Diss., Friedrich-Alexander-Universität zu Erlangen–Nürnberg 1965. On Theodore Abū Qurra, see JOHN C. LAMOREAUX, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, UT 2005; ALEXANDER TREIGER, « New Works by Theodore Abū Qurra, Preserved under the Name of Thaddeus of Edessa », *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 68/1–2 (2016), p. 1–51.

⁴⁸ KELLERMANN, « Ein pseudoaristotelischer Traktat », p. 24–25.

Most significantly, the Melkites seem to have played a central role in the « circle of al-Kindī » – a workshop of Christian translators, founded, directed, and financed by the Arab Muslim aristocrat and prominent philosopher al-Kindī (d. c. 870), who was a tutor to prince Aḥmad, son of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 833–842).⁴⁹ Owing especially to Gerhard Endress’s research, we are well-informed about the activity of the circle of al-Kindī.⁵⁰ Its literary output included Arabic translations and adaptations of such works as Plotinus’s *Enneads* IV–VI (translated by ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā‘ima al-Ḥimṣī and transmitted in three texts, the most important of which is the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*),⁵¹ sections of Proclus’s *Elements of Theology* and other works,⁵² Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* (translated by a certain Eustathius / Uṣṭāṭ),⁵³ and several others. The translator Yūḥannā (or Yaḥyā) ibn al-Biṭrīq, the son of al-Biṭrīq the Byzantine *patrikios* mentioned earlier, may have also belonged to the circle of al-Kindī. He is credited with an Arabic paraphrase of Plato’s *Timaeus* (no longer extant), Arabic translations of Aristotle’s *De caelo*, *Meteorology*, and some zoological works, an Arabic paraphrase of Aristotle’s *De anima*, and Arabic translations of several medical works.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ PETER ADAMSON, *al-Kindī*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007; PETER ADAMSON and PETER E. PORMANN, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012.

⁵⁰ ENDRESS, « The Circle of al-Kindī »; ENDRESS, « Building the Library ».

⁵¹ FRITZ W. ZIMMERMANN, « The Origins of the So-Called *Theology of Aristotle* », in JILL KRAYE, WILLIAM F. RYAN, CHARLES B. SCHMITT (eds.), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts*, The Warburg Institute, London 1986, p. 110–240; MAROUN AOUAD, « La *Theologie d’Aristote* et autres textes du Plotinus Arabus », in RICHARD GOULET (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* [= DPA], 7 vol. in 9 parts, CNRS, Paris 1989–2018, vol. I, p. 541–590; PETER ADAMSON, *The Arabic Plotinus: A Philosophical Study of the Theology of Aristotle*, Duckworth, London 2002.

⁵² GERHARD ENDRESS, *Proclus Arabus: Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio theologica in arabischer Übersetzung*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Beirut–Wiesbaden 1973; CRISTINA D’ANCONA COSTA, *Recherches sur le Liber de Causis*, J. Vrin, Paris 1995; ELVIRA WAKELNIG, *Feder, Tafel, Mensch: al-‘Āmirīs Kitāb al-Fuṣūl fī l-Ma‘ālim al-ilāhīya und die arabische Proklos-Rezeption im 10. Jh.*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2006; GERHARD ENDRESS, « Proclus de Lycie: Œuvres transmises par la tradition arabe », in DPA, vol. V.2, p. 1657–1674; DRAGOS CALMA (ed.), *Reading Proclus and the Book of Causes*, 2 vol., Brill, Leiden–Boston 2019–2021.

⁵³ AMOS BERTOLACCI, « On the Arabic Translations of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* », *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 15 (2005), p. 241–275. Though it is sometimes argued that Eustathius / Uṣṭāṭ – the translator of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* from Greek into Arabic – was a Jacobite, based on the fact that there is a ninth-century Jacobite apologetic work in Arabic, ascribed to a certain « monk Uṣṭāṭh » (MARK N. SWANSON, « ‘Our Brother, the Monk Eustathius’: A Ninth-Century Syrian Orthodox Theologian Known to Medieval Arabophone Copts », *Coptica*, 1 (2002), p. 119–140; ZIMMERMANN, « Origins », p. 136), the identity of the two Uṣṭāṭs – Uṣṭāṭ the translator and Uṣṭāṭ the apologist – is questionable, especially as Uṣṭāṭ’s apology does not exhibit familiarity with Greek philosophy.

⁵⁴ DUNLOP, « Translations »; NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 82–86; MICHEAU, « Yaḥyā (or Yūḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq »; ENDRESS, « The Circle of al-Kindī », p. 55–58; RÜDIGER ARNZEN, *Aristoteles’ De anima: Eine verlorene*

All of al-Kindī's Christian translators seem to have been « Westerners » rather than « Easterners » – and most of them, it would seem, were Melkites.

In the case of one of them, 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī, both the Melkite and the Maronite scenarios seem possible. I have explored this subject in an earlier study entitled « Palestinian Origenism and the Early History of the Maronites: In Search of the Origins of the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle* ». ⁵⁵ There, I attempted to trace the confessional and educational background of 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī. In the absence of substantial biographical information about him, I had to rely on the only five known facts: (1) he was a Christian from the city of Homs in western Syria; (2) he worked for al-Kindī; (3) he translated directly from Greek rather than Syriac, ⁵⁶ though he may have known Syriac as well; ⁵⁷ (4) he had access to a Greek manuscript of Plotinus (and may have been operative in procuring it for al-Kindī); (5) he produced a sophisticated Arabic adaptation of Plotinus.

My argument can be summarized as follows: 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā'ima's provenance from Homs makes it certain that he was a « Westerner » (i.e., a Melkite, a Maronite, or a Jacobite) rather than an « Easterner » (a member of the Church of the East). The fact that he translated from Greek rather than Syriac makes it unlikely that he was a Jacobite. ⁵⁸ We are therefore left with two scenarios: that he was a Melkite or that he was a Maronite. In either case, the fact that he produced a sophisticated Arabic adaptation of Plotinus indicates that he had a strong background in philosophy, including Neoplatonism.

Building on Sebastian Brock's path-breaking article « A Syriac Intermediary for the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle*? In Search of a Chimera », I suggested that the best way to

spätantike Paraphrase in arabischer und persischer Überlieferung: Arabischer Text nebst Kommentar, quellengeschichtlichen Studien und Glossaren, E. J. Brill, Leiden–New York 1998, esp. p. 145–174.

⁵⁵ TREIGER, « Palestinian Origenism ».

⁵⁶ SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « A Syriac Intermediary for the Arabic *Theology of Aristotle*? In Search of a Chimera », in D'ANCONA (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, p. 293–306; cf. ZIMMERMANN, « Origins », p. 115.

⁵⁷ It is possible, but not entirely certain, that al-Ḥimṣī knew Syriac. Ibn al-Nadīm indicates that al-Ḥimṣī translated Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* [from Greek] into Syriac, and subsequently Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūš translated his translation into Arabic while correcting it. This information may or may not be correct. It is significant that the oldest extant Arabic translation of the *Sophistical Refutations* is attributed to « al-Nā'imī », i.e., presumably, 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī; however, it makes no mention of Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūš and is possibly translated directly from Greek rather than Syriac. For an overview of the Syriac and Arabic transmission of the *Sophistical Refutations*, see HENRI HUGONNARD-ROCHE, « Les *Réfutations Sophistiques* », in DPA, vol. I, p. 526–528; GERHARD ENDRESS and PIETER S. HASPER, « The Arabic Tradition of Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi* », *Studia Graeco-Arabica*, 10 (2020), p. 59–110.

⁵⁸ TREIGER, « Palestinian Origenism », p. 59–62.

account for ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā‘ima’s philosophical expertise, as well as for the fact that he had access to a Greek manuscript of Plotinus – in the ninth-century Middle East a rare commodity indeed – is a background in Christian Platonism: the intellectual movement which had been condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 under the umbrella of « Origenism ». Consequently, the question of ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā‘ima’s philosophical training can be redefined in terms of a survival of Christian Platonism (« Origenism ») after the Fifth Ecumenical Council all the way to the ninth century. I have argued that such a survival is possible and, indeed, plausible among the Chalcedonian Christians of the Middle East: both Melkites and Maronites. Though – despite some tantalizing clues⁵⁹ – we are still very much in the dark about the historical specifics of this survival, I would argue that the very fact of Neoplatonism’s resurgence with al-Kindī can be regarded as a testimony to a continuous Platonizing trend among contemporary Middle Eastern Christians.⁶⁰

In another recent study, I have presented further evidence of Chalcedonian / Melkite involvement: one passage from al-Kindī’s *Book of Definitions* originates from Gregory of Nyssa’s *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. This is the famous definition of ‘išq (=ἔρως) as *ifrāt al-maḥabba* (« excess of love »), which is derived from Gregory of Nyssa’s phrase ἐπιτεταμένη γὰρ ἀγάπη ὁ ἔρως λέγεται (« for eros is said to be excessive / intense love »).⁶¹ I am calling this definition famous, because in its Arabic garb it appears in a wide variety of Muslim and Jewish authors, e.g., philosophers of the Kindian tradition (al-Saraḥsī and Miskawayh), the tenth-century Jewish Neoplatonic philosopher Isaac Israeli of Kairouan, the *Epistles* of the Brethren of Purity,

⁵⁹ TREIGER, « Palestinian Origenism », p. 62–66.

⁶⁰ On the so-called « Kindian tradition » in Arabic philosophy, see PETER ADAMSON, « The Kindian Tradition: The Structure of Philosophy in Arabic Neoplatonism », in D’ANCONA (ed.), *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, p. 351–370; HANS-HINRICH BIESTERFELDT, ELVIRA WAKELNIG, GERHARD ENDRESS, CLEOPHEA FERRARI, « The Beginnings of the Islamic Philosophy in the Tradition of al-Kindī », in PIW, p. 221–380. On Ismā‘īlī reception of Neoplatonism, see PAUL E. WALKER, *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya‘qūb al-Sijistānī*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993; cf. PAUL E. WALKER, « Platonisms in Islamic Philosophy », *Studia Islamica*, 79 (1994), p. 5–25.

⁶¹ ALEXANDER TREIGER, « From Dionysius to al-Ġazālī: Patristic Influences on Arabic Neoplatonism », *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 9/1–2 (2021), p. 189–236, at p. 219 – see GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Homily 13, *Patrologia Graeca* [= PG], vol. XLIV, col. 1048C; HERMANN LANGERBECK (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni in Canticum canticorum*, E. J. Brill, Leiden 1960 (Gregorii Nysseni Opera, 6), p. 383, l. 9; cf. JEAN DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme et théologie mystique: Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nyse*, Aubier, Paris 1944, p. 206; ROBERT BEULAY, *La Lumière sans forme: Introduction à l’étude de la mystique chrétienne syro-orientale*, Éditions de Chevetogne, Chevetogne 1987, p. 128; ILARIA L.E. RAMELLI, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*, Brill, Leiden 2013, p. 395.

III. Nestorian Translators

The Melkites' main rivals in the translation business were scholars of the Church of the East. The 'Abbāsid revolution and the founding of Baghdad provided this Christian community with a much-needed opportunity to regain its influence at the caliphal court and reassert itself as the dominant, quasi-official form of Christianity in the

[illegible]

⁶⁴ TAMAR Z. FRANK, « Al-Kindi's *Book of Definitions*: Its Place in Arabic Definition Literature », Ph.D. Diss., Yale University 1975, p. 58–59. John of Damascus's main source for this section is Maximus the Confessor's *Opuscula theologica et polemica*.

Islamic empire.⁶⁵ It is for this reason that Timothy I, catholicos of the Church of the East for over forty years (r. 780–823), relocated his patriarchal residence from the old Sasanian capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon to Baghdad. He quickly established himself as the pre-eminent Christian official of the Caliphate and in this capacity engaged in presenting the Christian faith to the Muslim rulers, as evidenced by his famous disputation with the caliph al-Mahdī (r. 775–785).⁶⁶

As is well known, al-Mahdī commissioned Timothy to prepare an Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Topics*. The way Timothy himself tells the story in one of his Syriac letters written c. 782/3 is quite remarkable:

The royal command required us to translate the *Topika* of the philosopher Aristotle from Syriac into the Arabic tongue. This was achieved, with God's help, through the agency of the teacher Abū Nūḥ [al-Anbārī]. A small part was done by us as far as the Syriac is concerned, whereas he did it in its entirety, both Syriac and Arabic; the work has already reached a conclusion and has been completed. And although there were some others who were translating this from Greek into Arabic – we have written to inform you how and in what way it happened that all this took place – nevertheless (the king) did not consider it worth even looking at the labours of those other people on the grounds that they were barbaric, not only in phraseology, but also in sense, whether because of the natural difficulty of the subject [...] or as a result of the lack of training of those who approached such things. For you know the extent and magnitude of the toils and labours such a task requires. But (the king) entirely approved of our labours, all the more so when from time to time he compared the versions with each other.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For the status of the Church of the East under early Islamic, especially 'Abbāsīd rule, see CÉCILE CABROL, *Les secrétaires nestoriens à Bagdad (762–1258 AD)*, CERPOC, Beirut 2012; MARIJKE METSELAAR, *Die Nestorianer und der frühe Islam: Wechselwirkungen zwischen den ostsyrischen Christen und ihren arabischen Nachbarn*, P. Lang, Frankfurt am Main 2009; SILKE ABELE, *Der politisch-gesellschaftliche Einfluss der nestorianischen Ärzte am Hofe der Abbasidenkalifen von al-Manšūr bis al-Mutawakkil*, Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg 2008.

⁶⁶ For the original Syriac text and English translation of the dialogue, see ALPHONSE MINGANA, *Woodbrooke Studies*, W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge 1928, vol. II, p. 1–162; the Syriac text is now available in a critical edition with a German translation: MARTIN HEIMGARTNER, *Timotheos I., Ostsyrischer Patriarch, Disputation mit dem Kalifen al-Mahdī*, 2 vol., Peeters, Louvain 2011 (CSCO 631–631 / *Scriptores Syri* 244–245); Arabic version (an early medieval translation from Syriac) and French translation: HANS PUTMAN, *L'église et l'islam sous Timothée I (780–823): Étude sur l'église nestorienne au temps des premiers 'Abbāsides avec nouvelle édition et traduction du Dialogue entre Timothée et al-Mahdī*, Dār al-Mašriq, Beirut 1975.

⁶⁷ I am citing the letter in Sebastian Brock's translation – see SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « Two Letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the Late Eighth Century on Translations from Greek », *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 9 (1999), p. 233–246, Letter 43, §2, p. 235–236; cf. commentary, p. 240–241. For the Syriac text, see MARTIN HEIMGARTNER, *Die Briefe 42–58 des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I.*, 2 vol., Peeters,

Who were those hapless « others » involved in the translation of the *Topics* (and presumably other philosophical and scientific works) about whom Timothy speaks with triumphalism? Given that they worked *from Greek* (as opposed to Syriac) into Arabic, it seems evident that these « others » were Melkites – such as Timothy’s contemporary al-Biṭrīq. Timothy’s scornful remark about the « barbaric » style of their translations is surely in reference to their language, which must have been the Melkite Middle Arabic of the time, far removed from Classical Arabic standards.⁶⁸ His comment about the translators’ « lack of training » must refer to the fact that they were still – in these early stages of the translation movement – simple Melkite clerics, monks, and (as we have seen) prisoners of war who lacked thorough training in philosophy and the sciences. When Timothy was commissioned to prepare an Arabic translation of Aristotle’s *Topics*, he must have seized this opportunity not in the least with a view to demonstrating to the caliph that professionals of the Church of the East could outdo their ecclesiastical rivals. Interestingly, however, Timothy also acknowledges his debt to the future Melkite patriarch of Antioch Job (patriarch before 799–c. 839) for his assistance with some difficult Greek terms.⁶⁹ Competition with Melkite translators thus did not exclude cooperation. We shall see further examples of such interconfessional cooperation below.

Providing valuable services to the caliphal court and the Muslim elites – like the translation of the *Topics* – was thus, for the Church of the East, an important instrument of regaining its influence and prestige in an atmosphere of intense rivalry between Christian groups. It is no doubt for the same reason that a few generations later the Church of the East maintained and supported what might be called an « academic translation workshop » under the leadership of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq – a bilingual (Syriac-Arabic) Nestorian Christian from al-Ḥīra, who had come to master

Louvain 2012 (CSCO 644-645 / Scriptorum Syri 248-249), Syriac text: vol. I, p. 65–66 / German trans.: vol. II, p. 47–49 (sections 43,1–4). For the social context, see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 61–69.

⁶⁸ On the « inferior style » (i.e., Middle Arabic register) of early translations, see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 137–138. On Christian Middle Arabic, see JOSHUA BLAU, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*, 3 vol., Secrétariat du CSCO, Louvain 1966–1967 (CSCO 267, 276, 279 / Subsidia 27–29); JOSHUA BLAU, « A Melkite Arabic Literary *lingua franca* from the Second Half of the First Millennium », *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 57/1 (1994), p. 14–16; but cf. JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, « Some Remarks on the Use of *Garšūnī* and Other Allographic Writing Systems by the Melkites », *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 7 (2019), p. 278–298, at p. 280 (with reference to Johannes den Heijer’s and Samir Khalil Samir’s research – these scholars are skeptical of this notion of a specifically Melkite or Christian Middle Arabic variety).

⁶⁹ BROCK, « Two Letters », p. 239, 242, and 246. On the patriarch Job of Antioch, cf. ALEXANDER TREIGER, « The Beginnings of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic Melkite Translation Movement in Antioch », *Scrinium*, 16 (2020), p. 306–332, at p. 306–311.

Greek.⁷⁰ Though several of Ḥunayn's patrons were Muslims, others were Nestorian Christians, particularly physicians, whose preferred language was Syriac and who therefore commissioned translations from Greek into Syriac rather than Arabic.

Like Timothy before him, Ḥunayn, too, frequently found fault with other Christian translators: in his case it was often a matter of criticizing – and revising – earlier translations of Galen into Syriac and Arabic, prepared by specialists from rival ecclesiastical factions.⁷¹ Ḥunayn's son Ishāq and other members of Ḥunayn's team were active in revising philosophical translations as well as preparing new ones with a view to supplanting earlier versions. Thus, Ishāq's Arabic translation of Aristotle's *De anima* – to take just one example – may have been attempted with the specific goal of supplanting the Arabic paraphrase of the *De anima* translated by Yūḥannā (Yahyā) ibn al-Biṭrīq as well as an earlier version of the *De anima* (the so-called « Pseudo-Ishāq ») and of producing a « definitive » translation of this Aristotelian treatise.⁷²

From the perspective of intra-Christian ecclesiastical politics, Ḥunayn's translation workshop functioned, in many ways, as a Nestorian competitor of the circle of al-Kindī. This dovetails well, and sheds further light on, the fascinating examples, pointed out by Endress, of the bitter rivalry between al-Kindī on the one hand and

⁷⁰ In the early 'Abbāsid period, Greek was more readily available to the Melkites, who still maintained it in their Church services, and to a lesser degree to the Jacobites and the Maronites, than it was to the Nestorians. The Nestorians, in fact, had to make a special effort to familiarize themselves with Greek. On Hunayn's acquisition of Greek, see GOTTHARD STROHMAIER, « Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq: An Arab Scholar Translating into Syriac », *Aram*, 3 (1991), p. 163–170, at p. 165–166. For more on Ḥunayn's and his team's translations, see the references provided in fn. 13 above.

⁷¹ Notably, Sergius of Rēš'aynā (6th century) and Ḥunayn's older contemporary Job of Edessa (Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī, d. after 832) – see SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « The Syriac Background to Ḥunayn's Translation Techniques », *Aram*, 3 (1991), p. 139–162, esp. p. 141–142. Job of Edessa is often considered to be a Nestorian (and this much is affirmed by Bar-Hebraeus), but his Edessene origin makes this somewhat unlikely, and it is for this reason that Alphonse Mingana, the editor of Job's only surviving Syriac work, *The Book of Treasures*, assumed that he was a Melkite or a Jacobite who converted to the Church of the East at some point in his life – see BARBARA ROGGEMA, « Job of Edessa », in DAVID THOMAS et. al. (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* [= CMR], 16 vol. to date, Brill, Leiden 2009–in progress, vol. I, p. 502–509, here p. 503. The question of Job of Edessa's confessional affiliation merits a special investigation.

⁷² On Ishāq's translation of the *De anima*, see ALEXANDER TREIGER, « Reconstructing Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's Arabic Translation of Aristotle's *De anima* », *Studia Graeco-Arabica*, 7 (2017), p. 193–211. (For reasons unknown to us Ishāq's translation remained incomplete: it reached only as far as 431a14, i.e., near the middle of *De anima*, III 7.) On the Arabic paraphrase of the *De anima*, see ARNZEN, *Aristoteles' De anima*. On the earlier Arabic version of the *De anima* (curiously, misattributed to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn in the manuscript – hence « Pseudo-Ishāq »), see ARNZEN, *Aristoteles' De anima*, p. 690–707.

Ḥunayn's Muslim sponsors, the three mathematicians Banū Mūsā on the other.⁷³ Al-Kindī was an Arab Philhellene and, for this reason, got along particularly well with Melkites.⁷⁴ The Banū Mūsā, by contrast, were Iranians of Ḥurāsānī origin, sympathetic to the Persian nationalist Šu'ūbiyya movement; their Christian collaborators were thus, predictably, members of the Christian community that had had a long history in Iranian lands: the Nestorian Church of the East.

This rivalry between Melkite and Nestorian translators is echoed in the much-discussed passage by the Muslim scholar al-Šafadī (d. 1363) contrasting the literal (*ad verbum*) method of translation with translation according to sense (*ad sensum*).

The translators use two methods of translation. One of them is that of Yuḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq, Ibn an-Nā'imah al-Ḥimšī and others. According to this method, the translator studies each individual Greek word and its meaning, chooses an Arabic word of corresponding meaning and uses it. Then he turns to the next word and proceeds in the same manner until in the end he has rendered into Arabic the text he wishes to translate. This method is bad for two reasons. First, it is impossible to find Arabic expressions corresponding to all Greek words and, therefore, through this method many Greek words remain untranslated. Second, certain syntactical combinations in the one language do not always necessarily correspond to similar combinations in the other; besides, the use of metaphors, which are frequent in every language, causes additional mistakes. The second method is that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, al-Jauharī and others. Here the translator considers a whole sentence, ascertains its full meaning and then expresses it in Arabic with a sentence identical in meaning, without concern for the correspondence of individual words. This method is superior, and hence there is no need to improve the works of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq.⁷⁵

While the contrast between the two methods of translation does not hold water, and in this sense the passage just cited has been rightly characterized as misleading, it is nonetheless remarkable for another reason: the two supposed examples of the « bad » *ad verbum* method (Yuḥannā ibn al-Biṭrīq and 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn Nā'ima al-Ḥimšī) are scholars affiliated with the circle of al-Kindī, while of the two « good » *ad sensum* translators one (Ḥunayn) was a Nestorian Christian, and the other (al-Ġawharī), a

⁷³ ENDRESS, « The Circle of al-Kindī », p. 45–49.

⁷⁴ This contrasts with, and complements, what Dimitri Gutas has discussed under the heading of « anti-Byzantinism as Philhellenism » – see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 83–95.

⁷⁵ I am citing the passage in Rosenthal's translation – see FRANZ ROSENTHAL, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, trans. EMILE and JENNY MARMORSTEIN, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1975, p. 17; cf. GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 142; BROCK, « Syriac Background », p. 147–148.

Persian Muslim.⁷⁶ Leaving al-Ġawharī aside as a non-Christian, we can readily discern in al-Ṣafadī an echo of the Church of the East's marketing of its translation methods as superior to those of their ecclesiastical rivals.

Of course, criticism went both ways. For example, a member of the circle of al-Kindī, probably a Melkite Christian, criticized the « confusion of thoughts (Heb. *šibbāš maḥāšābôt*) of Ḥabīb ibn Bahriz the Nestorian, who translated [Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to Arithmetic*] from Syriac into Arabic for al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn the ambidextrous (Heb. *ba 'al šanê hay-yāmînîm* = Ar. *dū l-yamīnayni*) ».⁷⁷

Despite this rivalry, however, Melkite and Nestorian translators collaborated as well. We know of two Melkite translators, the brothers Iṣṭifān ibn Baṣīl and Taḍārī (or Tiyādūrus) ibn Baṣīl (probably sons of one of the two Basils mentioned earlier), who collaborated closely with Ḥunayn and submitted their translations to him for revision.⁷⁸ Iṣṭifān ibn Baṣīl is mentioned numerous times in Ḥunayn's *Risāla*. For

⁷⁶ The mathematician and astronomer al-ʿAbbās ibn Saʿīd al-Ġawharī (d. after 843) is meant here; on his superb knowledge of Greek (quite unusual for a Muslim scholar), see GUTAS, *Greek Thought*, p. 139 (based on a passage in the Melkite scholar Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's polemical letter to Ibn al-Munaġġim). Al-Ġawharī is also credited with a translation of Šānāq al-Hindī's *Book of Poisons* from Pehlevi into Arabic (see GAS, vol. V, p. 243–244; cf. vol. III, p. 193–197; vol. VI, p. 138–139).

⁷⁷ Ḥabīb ibn Bahriz's translation was subsequently edited by al-Kindī; presumably, after al-Kindī's death, a member of his circle (who, I presume, was a Melkite Christian) added a prologue and restored the missing first section of the translation; the resulting text is lost in the original Arabic, but is preserved in a fourteenth-century Hebrew translation – see GAD FREUDENTHAL, TONY LÉVY, « De Gérase à Bagdad: Ibn Bahriz, al-Kindī, et leur recension arabe de l'*Introduction arithmétique* de Nicomaque, d'après la version hébraïque de Qalonymos ben Qalonymos d'Arles », in RÉGIS MORELON, AHMAD HASNAOUI (eds.), *De Zénon d'Élée à Poincaré: Recueil d'études en hommage à Roshdi Rashed*, Peeters, Louvain–Paris 2004, p. 479–544, at p. 514–515; cf. GAD FREUDENTHAL and MAURO ZONTA, « Remnants of Ḥabīb ibn Bahriz's Arabic Translation of Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to Arithmetic* », in Y. TZVI LANGERMANN, JOSEF STERN (eds.), *Adaptations and Innovations: Studies on the Interactions between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century, Dedicated to Professor Joel L. Kraemer*, Peeters, Paris–Louvain–Dudley, MA 2007, p. 67–82; GAD FREUDENTHAL, « The Tribulations of the Introduction to Arithmetic from Greek to Hebrew via Syriac and Arabic: Nicomachus of Gerasa, Ḥabīb Ibn Bahriz, al-Kindī, and Qalonymos ben Qalonymos », in IRENE CAIAZZO, CONSTANTINOS MACRIS, AURÉLIEN ROBERT (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2022, p. 141–170.

⁷⁸ On Iṣṭifān ibn Baṣīl, see NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 79–81; ROGER ARNALDEZ, « Iṣṭifān b. Baṣīl », in EI², vol. IV, p. 254–255; MANFRED ULLMANN, *Untersuchungen zur arabischen Überlieferung der Materia medica des Dioskurides*, mit Beiträgen von RAINER DEGEN, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 21–24. The name is spelled اصطفن, but it is typically assumed that the last vowel is long (*scriptio defectiva*); I follow this convention here. On Taḍārī ibn Baṣīl, the Arabic translator of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, see TEDDY J. FASSBERG, « Prolegomena to any Future Edition of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*: Theodore's Arabic Translation », *Classical Philology*, 116 (2021), p. 247–266 (I am deeply grateful to Joe Glynias for a

example, in the entry on Galen's *On the Causes of Breathing* (work No. 37), Ḥunayn writes:

Ayyūb⁷⁹ produced a translation of it [into Syriac], which was unintelligible. Iṣṭifān also translated it into Arabic. Abū Ġa'far [Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, Ḥunayn's patron] asked me to do the same thing he had asked for regarding the previous book [i.e., go over the Greek and correct any mistakes in the translation], and he ordered Iṣṭifān to collate [it] with me. I corrected both the Syriac and the Arabic at the same time, until the Syriac text became intelligible, with no shortcomings, because I wanted to keep a copy [of it] for my son, and [I did] the same for the Arabic, though it had been, to begin with, much more accurate than the Syriac.⁸⁰

Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl also produced Graeco-Arabic translations of Dioscurides's *Materia medica*⁸¹ and (possibly) Menander's *Statements* (in the version Men. ar. I).⁸² My own research indicates that the Arabic citations of Plato's *Phaedo* in al-Bīrūnī's *India* are similar in their terminology to the Arabic Menander (Men. ar. I).⁸³ If the Menander

reference to this article and to Teddy Fassberg for sharing it with me prior to publication). Fassberg's article demonstrates conclusively that Taḏārī (the translator of the *Prior Analytics*) could not have been Theodore Abū Qurra, as maintained by some scholars in the past.

⁷⁹ This is Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī (Job of Edessa) – see fn. 71 above.

⁸⁰ LAMOREAUX, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*, p. 53 (the translation is my own).

⁸¹ ULLMANN, *Untersuchungen*; MARIE CRONIER, « L'apport de la traduction arabe de Stéphane à l'établissement du texte grec du *De materia medica* de Dioscoride », *Galenos*, 2 (2008), p. 15–33; ALAIN TOUWAIDE, « Traducción y transliteración de nombres de plantas en la versión árabe de Hunayn b. Ishāq e Iṣṭifān b. Bāsil del tratado *De materia medica* de Dioscórides », *al-Qantara*, 30/2 (2009), p. 557–580.

⁸² MANFRED ULLMANN, *Die arabische Überlieferung der sogenannten Menandersentzenen*, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden 1961; MANFRED ULLMANN, « Bemerkungen zu den arabischen Übersetzungen der sogenannten Menandersentzenen », *Der Islam*, 42 (1966), p. 79–88; RUDOLF FÜHRER, *Zur arabischen Übersetzung der Menandersentzenen*, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart 1993. More recently, Ullmann has expressed reservations about the attribution of the Arabic translation of Menander's *Sentences* to Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl – see MANFRED ULLMANN, *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2002, p. 56–57: « Ich habe auch einige Beispiele aus den arabischen Menandersentzenen aufgenommen, die von einem 'Iṣṭifān' übersetzt wurden. Da die Thematik beider Texte [=Menander and Dioscurides] aber ganz verschieden ist und demzufolge auch der Wortschatz differiert, ließ sich nicht feststellen, ob der Übersetzer der Menandersentzenen und Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl identisch sind ».

⁸³ The following features are common to Men. ar. I (critical edition: ULLMANN, *Die arabische Überlieferung*, p. 17–59; abbreviated: M, followed by sentence number) and al-Bīrūnī's citations from the *Phaedo* (critical edition: GEOFFREY J. MOSELEY, « Plato Arabus: On the Arabic Transmission of Plato's Dialogues – Texts and Studies », Ph.D. Diss., Yale University 2017, p. 37–91; abbreviated: Ph, followed by

translation was indeed produced by Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl, we would have to attribute to him al-Bīrūnī's quotations from the *Phaedo* as well.

Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl's brother Taḏārī (or Tiyyādūrus) ibn Basīl is the Arabic translator of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*. According to the testimony of the *Fihrist*, he « showed » his translation to Ḥunayn, and Ḥunayn « corrected » it (*'araḏahu 'alā Ḥunayn fa-aṣlahahu*).⁸⁴ Thus, Taḏārī acted in much the same way as his brother Iṣṭifān – he submitted his Arabic translation to Ḥunayn, who corrected it, probably also improved its style, and put the finishing touches on it.

It is remarkable that the type of Melkite-Nestorian collaboration on display here is quite different from the one observed some seventy years prior with Timothy's (and his assistant Abū Nūḥ's) translation of Aristotle's *Topics*: while Timothy believed his skills to be superior to those of Melkite translators (such as Timothy's contemporary al-Biṭrīq), he nonetheless had recourse to Melkite informants, because they were native Greek speakers and had a better grasp of rare Greek terms. Here, by contrast, we observe two Melkites – and presumably native Greek speakers – Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl and his brother Taḏārī, to the contrary, come to the Nestorian translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq for assistance.

Though the Melkites continued to be involved in Graeco-Arabica in the late ninth and tenth centuries – the translators Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī (d. 912), who was also an accomplished physician, philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician,⁸⁵

fragment number): (1) δίκη ~ *ḥqm*: δίκην τίνουσai, 81d8 ~ نقمة تنتقم منها, Ph 3; διδόντες δίκας, 113d8 ~ انتقم منهم, Ph 6 (cf. M 15, 100); (2) λύπη ~ *ḥzn*: ὅτι ψυχὴ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκάζεται ἅμα τε ἡσθῆναι σφόδρα ἢ λυπηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ, 83c5–6 ~ نفس كل إنسان تفرح وتحزن للشيء, Ph 1 (cf. M 3, 103, 194, 197, 198, 295, 296, 342; this rendering probably depends on colloquial Greek: in Modern Greek λυπημένος means « sad »; this strengthens the assumption that the translator was a native Greek speaker); (3) ἀδικέω ~ *ẓlm*: ἡδίκουν ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν τῷ θανάτῳ, 63b9 ~ لكان تركي الحزن على الموت, 63b9 ~ ظلمنا, Ph 4; καθαιρόμενοι τῶν ... ἀδικημάτων, 113d7 ~ نقوا من الظلم, Ph 6; ἀδικίας, 82a4 ~ ظلم, Ph 3; φόνους ἀδίκους, 113e3–4 ~ القتل بظلم وتعمد, Ph 6 (cf. M 7, 29/30, 227); (4) μέγας ~ *'azīm*: ἱεροσουλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, 113e3 ~ غصب الأموال العظيمة, Ph 6 (cf. M 13, 182, 239, 316, but M 163 *kibār*); (5) τιμὴ ~ *karāma*: τιμάς, 113e1 ~ كرامات, Ph 6 (cf. M 159, 215, 299; this rendering appears also in al-Bīrūnī's citations of Plato's *Laws*); (6) φόβος ~ *ǧaza*: φόβων, 81a7 ~ الجزع, Ph 10; φόβω (+gen.), 81c11 ~ لجزعها (من), Ph 3 (cf. M 86, no Greek original, but cf. the Slavonic given in the footnote); (7) κακός ~ *ẓrr*: τῆς ... τροφῆς κακῆς οὕσης, 81d8–9 ~ لرداءة غذائها, Ph 3; τῶν κακῶν, 114b2–3, 81a7 ~ الشرور, Ph 6, 10 (cf. M 65, 179, 252); (8) use of *tark* for negations: ἡδίκουν ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν τῷ θανάτῳ, 63b9 ~ لكان تركي الحزن على الموت ظلماً, Ph 4 (cf. M 16, 184).

⁸⁴ IBN AL-NADīm, *Fihrist*, vol. II.1, p. 162; trans. DODGE, vol. II, p. 599. See FASSBERG, « Prolegomena », p. 249–250.

⁸⁵ For his translations, see especially HANS DAIBER, *Aëtius Arabus: Die Vorsokratiker in arabischer Überlieferung*, Steiner, Wiesbaden 1980; cf. NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 57–64, 67–70; GERRIT BOS, Qusṭā

Yumn (mid-tenth century),⁸⁶ presumably the latter's son Naẓīf ibn Yumn the Melkite priest (*al-qass al-rūmī*) (d. 990),⁸⁷ and Yūḥannā the Greek priest and geometer (*al-qass al-yūnānī al-muhandis*) known as Ibn Fatīla (late tenth century)⁸⁸ deserve mention – the Nestorians maintained their pre-eminence, having permanently secured for themselves, despite initially less immediate access to Greek sources, a central place in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement.

ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj, Brill, Leiden 1992. On his theological œuvre, see MARK N. SWANSON, « Qusṭā ibn Lūqā », in CMR, vol. II, p. 147–153, with detailed references.

⁸⁶ This Yumn, who was a son of an old Greek (*rūmī*) man, assisted the historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 961) in translating a historical work in Yumn's father's possession from Greek into Arabic: وهذه التواريخ أخذتها عن رجل رومي كان فزاشاً لأحمد بن عبد العزيز بن دلف فوقع عليه السباء وهو رجل كبير يقرأ ويكتب بالرومية وكان لا ينبعث في النطق بالعربية إلا بجهد وكان له ابن من جند السلطان منجم فهُم يُقال له يُمن فترجم لي عن لسان أبيه أملاً من كتاب له – see ḤAMZA AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X*, ed. and trans. IOSEPHUS M. E. GOTTLWALDT, 2 vol., Leopold Voss, Saint Petersburg–Leipzig 1844–1848, vol. I, p. 70; cf. NASRALLAH, *Histoire*, vol. II.2, p. 76.

⁸⁷ JOSEPH NASRALLAH, « Naẓīf ibn Yumn: Médecin, traducteur et théologien melchite du X^e siècle », *Arabica*, 21 (1974), p. 303–312; JOEL L. KRAEMER, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival of the Buyid Age*, Brill, Leiden 1986, p. 132–134 (and Index, p. 321); BERTOLACCI, « On the Arabic Translations », p. 248–249 and *passim*. On his theological œuvre, see MARK N. SWANSON, « Naẓīf ibn Yumn », in CMR, vol. II, p. 464–468, with detailed references to which the following can be added: NIKOLAI N. SELEZNYOV, « 'Послание о единстве' багдадского мелькита в составе энциклопедического «Свода» арабоязычного копта XIII века » [A Baghdad Melkite's « Epistle on Unity » as Part of a Thirteenth-Century Arabophone Copt's Encyclopedic Compilation], *Государство, религия, церковь в России и за рубежом*, 3 (2010), p. 151–156; reprint: NIKOLAI N. SELEZNYOV, *Pax Christiana et Pax Islamica: Из истории межконфессиональных связей на средневековом Ближнем Востоке* [Pax Christiana et Pax Islamica: On the History of Interconfessional Ties in the Medieval Middle East], Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow 2014, p. 33–42.

⁸⁸ He collaborated with Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūš on an Arabic version of Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi* – see ENDRESS and HASPER, « Arabic Tradition », p. 68. We know this from Ibn Suwār's colophon in the famous Paris Organon manuscript (MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ar. 2346, fol. 380v): « I have got information that Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūš translated this book from Syriac into Arabic and that he cooperated with Yūḥannā the Greek priest and geometer known as Ibn Fatīla in revising parts of it from the Greek; this has not become available to me »; for the Arabic text, see 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN BADAWĪ (ed.), *Manṭiq Aristū*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo 1948–1952, p. 1018; reprint: Wakālat al-maṭbū'āt, Kuwayt 1980, p. 1054.

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RECONSTRUCTING MIDDLE BYZANTINE ARABO-GREEK ASTROLOGY FROM LATER GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

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Abstract

This paper sheds light on one aspect of the large-scale influx of Arabic scientific knowledge into Byzantium through an analysis of three Byzantine astrological compendia that contain texts originally written in Greek as well as those translated from Arabic to Greek. While written c. 1200–1400, each manuscript contains a compilation that was assembled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The paper first considers the dating of each of the three compilations and shows the utility in using these late Byzantine manuscripts to study Middle Byzantine astrology. Second, it analyzes the Arabic texts translated in these compilations and uses them to explain the chronology and the scale of the translation of astrological material from Arabic to Greek. Third, it considers how the Arabic and Greek material is combined within these manuscripts, and what the resulting synthesis says about Middle Byzantine astrology writ large.

Key Words

Astrology, Arabo-Greek, Byzantine manuscripts, translation movement, transmission of ancient science.



While the scholarly field of Graeco-Arabic studies has emerged as a substantial field dedicated to the study of the scientific works and achievements resulting from the large-scale ‘Abbasid Translation Movement centered in Baghdad from the eighth to tenth centuries, the subsequent translations from Arabic to Greek – and indeed the accomplishments of Byzantine scientists as a whole – have long been relegated to the dustbin of history. In recent decades, however, through labors spearheaded by Maria

Mavroudi, Arabo-Greek has begun to grow as a field, with scholars recognizing the persistent interest in Arabic knowledge in Byzantium in the Macedonian era, while attempting to insert Byzantium into modern narratives of medieval intellectual history that often omit it.¹ Starting in the tenth century, we begin to see the composition of Greek texts using Arabic sources and the translations of Arabic texts in part and as a whole, indicating awareness among Byzantines of a variety of genres of Arabic science.²

Based on the limited evidence of contact and influence in the ninth and tenth centuries, scholars have often explained this phenomenon as a result of diplomatic

¹ The foundational text of Arabo-Greek studies is the mammoth book of Mavroudi: MARIA MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources*, Brill, Boston 2002. Mavroudi has further elucidated the historical accidents that have led to this differential treatment of medieval Greek, Latin, and Arabic science – and the relationships between them: MARIA MAVROUDI, « Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition », *Speculum*, 90/1 (2015), p. 28–59; MARIA MAVROUDI, « The Modern Historiography of Byzantine and Islamic Philosophy: A Comparison », *Al-Masāq* (2020), p. 1–18. Mavroudi is responding to arguments that portray Byzantium as historically relevant only insofar as it preserved the classical tradition, in contrast to how medieval Arabic intellectual history has been inserted into the narrative of Western Civilization via the Greco-Arabic translation movement and Arabo-Latin translation movement. She shows how negative assumptions about Byzantium derived from Gibbon and other eighteenth-nineteenth-century European scholars persist among scholars today. She disagrees particularly with the arguments of Dimitri Gutas that treat Byzantine philosophy as not worthy of being called philosophy (in opposition to Arabic philosophy), and the arguments of Anthony Kaldellis that separate Byzantine philosophy from theology in seeking to craft a secularized Byzantine philosophy free of Christian tarnish. These ideas about what Byzantine philosophy is and is not are well-represented in the contributions by Kaldellis, Siniosoglou, and Gutas in ANTHONY KALDELLIS, NIKETAS SINIOSOGLU (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017.

² PAUL MAGDALINO, « The Road to Baghdad in the Thought-World of Ninth-Century Byzantium », in LESLIE BRUBAKER (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Birmingham, March 1996, Ashgate, Brookfield 1998 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, 5), p. 195–213; MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*, p. 392–429; PAUL MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VII^e–XIV^e siècle*, Lethielleux, Paris 2006, p. 55–107; DAVID PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology: From Babylon to Bīkāner, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa et l'Oriente*, Rome 1997, p. 63–77; CHARLES BURNETT, « Astrological Translations in Byzantium », in MARTIN HAUSER, IOANA FEODOROV, NICHOLAS V. SEKUNDA, et al. (eds.), *Actes du Symposium internationale. Le livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe*, vol. III: *Latinité orientale*, Biblioteca Bucureștilor, Bucarest 2012, p. 178–183. Dimitri Gutas has recently published a catalogue of translations made from Arabic to Greek that is a good starting point, but is incomplete and must be used with scrutiny: DIMITRI GUTAS, « Arabic into Byzantine Greek: Introducing a Survey of the Translations », in ANDREAS SPEER, PHILIPP STEINKRÜGER (eds.), *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, De Gruyter, Boston 2012 (*Miscellanea mediaevalia*, 36), p. 246–264.

contacts between Byzantium and Islamic polities, as the intervention of peculiar figures like Leo the Mathematician and Stephen of Alexandria, and as Byzantine responses to the 'Abbasid translation movement and the concurrent Islamic claims to the inheritance of the Greek past and to cultural supremacy over Byzantium.³ However, even if there was some scholarly contact that impacted the course of Baghdadi Greco-Arabic translation, there is extremely limited evidence of Arabo-Greek activity in the ninth or early tenth century. I argue that Byzantine Arabo-Greek began in earnest only in the later tenth century and accelerated after the turn of the millennium, as a result of a historical contingency that has not yet been given its proper due: the integration of large numbers of Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians into the Byzantine polity due to the expansion of the Byzantine eastern frontier, culminating in their reconquest of Antioch (969).⁴ It is no coincidence, I contend, that Arabo-Greek translation took off in this period, when bilingual Melkite scholars were likely the prime transmitters of Arabic scientific texts into Byzantium.⁵ The Arabic texts which these bilingual scholars began to render into Greek were ideally suited for Byzantine consumption, as they had been based on a similar ancient and late antique textual tradition (translated into Arabic) as that current in Byzantium (extant in the

³ MAGDALINO, « The Road to Baghdad in the Thought-World of Ninth-Century Byzantium »; DIMITRI GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)*, Routledge, London–New York 1998, p. 175–186; MAVROUDI, « Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic »; COLEMAN CONNELLY, « Contesting the Greek Past in Ninth-Century Baghdad », Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University 2016.

⁴ Mavroudi is more concerned with arguing for Byzantine contact with Islamicate scholarship contemporary to the Greco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad (i.e., the ninth and tenth centuries). She sees eleventh and twelfth-century Arabo-Greek scholarship as growing from an already vibrant engagement with the Arabophone world in the ninth and tenth centuries: MAVROUDI, « Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic »; MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*, p. 392–429. While Mavroudi often characterizes the *Oneirokritikon* of Pseudo-Aḥmad as if it were composed in the late ninth century, her dating of the work places it between Photios and the late eleventh century. Within this range, I find a late tenth or early eleventh-century date more likely. Indeed, the only Arabo-Greek scientific translations she points to as occurring before 1000 are those astrological translations discussed by Pingree, regarding which this paper argues *contra* Pingree that there is little evidence that they were completed by 1000, even if they began to be rendered into Greek at some time around then.

⁵ On the large-scale Greco-Arabic and Arabo-Greek translation activities in tenth and eleventh-century Byzantium, see Parts II and III, respectively, of my forthcoming dissertation. As in the case of Melkite Greco-Arabic and Greco-Syriac translation in the region of Antioch, the conquest of Antioch catalyzed nascent translation activity of Greek patristic works into a large-scale translation movement: see ALEXANDER TREIGER, « The Beginnings of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic Melkite Translation Movement in Antioch », *Scrinium*, 16 (2020), p. 306–332.

original Greek). As a likely extension of Antiochene Arabo-Greek, Antioch would also be an early important center of the transmission of Arabic knowledge into Latin in the early twelfth century, including works related to the astral sciences.⁶

In studying this Middle Byzantine Arabo-Greek phenomenon, this paper will focus on the filtration of Arabic astrological knowledge into Byzantium. Scholars have long recognized that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, bilingual intellectuals transmitted Arabic astrological knowledge into Greek both through Greek compositions that used Arabic sources and through their translations of Arabic astrological texts into Greek.⁷ However, our knowledge of this phenomenon remains hazy. Almost nothing is known about the translators, which texts were translated and to what extent, and the historical context in which translation occurred. I aim to show that even before philological studies on specific astrological translations occur, we can gain a better understanding of the chronology and scope of these translation projects by examining the manuscripts in which they are represented. In so doing, I hope to forge a path forward by which we can give historical context to Arabo-Greek astrological translation and to the afterlife of these translations as they were read and integrated into the Byzantine astrological canon.

In attempting to historicize Middle Byzantine Arabo-Greek astrological translation, we face an unfortunate issue: Greek astrological manuscripts are almost uniformly from the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries. Our only evidence that certain Arabic texts were translated in the middle Byzantine period rather than in the late Byzantine period comes in the form of late manuscripts that preserve compilations made earlier, including fragments of Arabic translations. Here, I discuss three of the most important such manuscripts, which were copied from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries but contain compilations put together in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In

⁶ CHARLES BURNETT, « Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries », in ANNE TIHON, ISABELLE DRAELANTS, BAUDOUIN VAN DEN ABELE (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades: actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, Brepols, Turnhout 2000, p. 1–78; CHARLES BURNETT, « The Transmission of Arabic Astronomy via Antioch and Pisa in the Second Quarter of the Twelfth Century », in JAN P. HOGENDIJK, ABDELHAMID I. SABRA (eds.), *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, MIT Press, Cambridge 2003, p. 23–51; DIRK GRUPE, « Stephen of Pisa's Theory of the Oscillating Deferents of the Inner Planets (1h. 12th C.) », *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 71/5 (2017), p. 379–407.

⁷ E.g., cf. PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 63–77; ANNE TIHON, « Les textes astronomiques arabes importés à Byzance aux XI^e et XII^e siècles », in ANNE TIHON, ISABELLE DRAELANTS, BAUDOUIN VAN DEN ABELE (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades: actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, Brepols, Turnhout, p. 313–324; MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 91–107.

investigating their contents, I revise David Pingree's claim that a large group of translations can be dated to around the year 1000,⁸ arguing instead that these manuscripts indicate that, in the tenth-twelfth centuries, some Arabic texts were translated in full into Greek, others were translated as part of Arabic compilations, and still others were translated as particular excerpts. This redating has large implications on Middle Byzantine Arabo-Greek as a whole, since it is one of the few datable aspects of the phenomenon. I consider Arabo-Greek to primarily be a phenomenon of the late tenth to twelfth centuries, that is thus posterior to the Baghdad Greco-Arabic translation movement rather than contemporary with it.

While these astrological codices reveal only limited information about the process of Arabo-Greek translation, they are revealing about the inclusion of translations from Arabic into medieval Greek astrological compendia, where they were excerpted and put side-by-side with Greek texts written from antiquity through the Byzantine era. The resulting compilations that had been supplemented by Arabo-Greek material were aimed at Byzantine astrologers for their practical use. Rather than lamenting how these compendia fractured ancient and medieval texts, we should recognize how they were fundamentals of the Byzantine scientific tradition, which would then be transmitted to early modern Europe and serve as the basis for understanding the long history of Greek science.

Thus, in this paper, I pose and answer three questions. I first explain how three unique Byzantine astrological compilations can be used to discuss and date Middle Byzantine astrological translations from Arabic. Then I investigate which excerpts of Arabic texts are found in these manuscripts and what larger translation projects they hint at. Finally, I consider how works originally written in Arabic and Greek were integrated alongside one and other in these compilations, thereby forging a middle Byzantine astrology that synthesized texts composed in Greek and Arabic.

Before beginning, I should give two disclaimers: first, because these manuscripts are massive and complex compilations full of texts that are unedited and often unattributed, this is still a work in progress. My research is ongoing, and my conclusions are tentative.⁹ Second, I approach this topic as a historian of medieval

⁸ This thesis, found across his articles with reference to most Arabic texts in the three manuscripts I am discussing today, is explained best in PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 66–74.

⁹ Because this article takes a macro perspective, I can only give concise analyses of specific texts and issues. I hope to follow this introductory article with studies that analyze, edit, and translate texts and sections from these manuscripts and others mentioned here that are relevant to Arabic influence on Middle Byzantine astrology. Thus, the reader will note several occasions where I point to further work that I aim to accomplish.

Arabic and Greek intellectual history rather than as a historian of astrology. This was a period of intensive Greco-Arabic contact as a result of the Byzantine reconquest of Syria, in which the patriarchate and monasteries of Antioch played host to a massive translation movement of the Greek patristic canon into Arabic, while Arabophone scholars living in Antioch like Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, Ibn Buṭlān, and Symeon Seth marketed their knowledge of Arabic science and medicine in Antioch and Constantinople. I contend both here and in my larger work that the Arabo-Greek astrological translations and Christian Greco-Arabic translations were related intellectual movements.¹⁰

I. How can later Greek astrological manuscripts inform us about the eleventh century?

An advantage of studying astrological texts is that their very nature enables us to contextualize them, as dates and other information can be gleaned from horoscopes and tables. Following on the work of the editors of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (i.e., the CCAG), Pingree argued that certain Palaiologan manuscripts contain compilations that were made in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, because they contained grouped dated examples from that era.¹¹ Here, I focus on three such manuscripts that are vital witnesses to twelfth-century Arabo-Greek astrology: MS Vatican City, BAV gr. 1056 (V), MS Paris, BNF gr. 2425 (P₁), and MS Paris, BNF gr. 2506 (P₂).

I.1 A Magnum Opus of Middle Byzantine Arabo-Greek Astrology: MS V

V, perhaps the most important manuscript for understanding Arabic influence on middle Byzantine astrology, is a complex compilation of texts in 244 folios made by a number of different scribes who fill the main text and margins with collated excerpts. Much of it deals with interrogational astrology, and likely represents the oldest Byzantine interrogational collection.¹² Scholars have long labeled this manuscript a fourteenth-century compilation based on a twelfth-century exemplar because of the presence of materials dated to the tenth-twelfth centuries and the lack of texts

¹⁰ I address this topic in my forthcoming dissertation. Furthermore, see MAVROUDI, « Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic ».

¹¹ PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 66–74.

¹² ANNE-LAURENCE CAUDANO, « Astrological Practices in the Handbooks of the Komnenoi Period », in MICHAEL GRÜNBART (ed.), *Unterstützung bei herrscherlichem Entscheiden: Experten und ihr Wissen in transkultureller und komparativer Perspektive*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2021 (Kulturen des Entscheidens, 5), p. 48–49.

present in the manuscript written after 1200.¹³ Fol. 52v contains a version of the Horoscope of Constantinople, cast c. 990 in Constantinople, perhaps by the astrologer Demophilos.¹⁴ Two chapters from the *Methods of Computing Various Astronomical Hypotheses*, a late eleventh-century Greek text that uses Arabic sources,¹⁵ are written in the margin of 15r. A short text on 32r that gives the coordinates of certain stars that have astrological impacts is attributed to « that Seth »; this is likely excerpted from a work of the late eleventh-century astrologer Symeon Seth.¹⁶ Star lists on 30v–33r are dated to 1155/1156 and 1160/1161.¹⁷ On fol. 6v and 7r, V contains horoscope charts that give the dates of the proclamations of the Komnenian emperors Alexios I and Manuel I, and references to Manuel Komnenos's death in 1180.¹⁸ This and a single folio (23r–v) of an astrological poem written by the twelfth-century John Kamateros, are the latest identifiable works in the manuscript.

While these datable examples make it clear that the compilation come together in a Komnenian context, it is additionally likely that V was written in the twelfth century, rather than being an apograph of a manuscript from that time. The fact that these eleventh-twelfth century materials are written by a multiplicity of hands, rather

¹³ CCAG V.3, no. 20 (p. 7–64). PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 67–71; TIHON, « Les textes astronomiques arabes importés à Byzance aux XI^e et XII^e siècles », p. 321–322.

¹⁴ DAVID PINGREE, « The Horoscope of Constantinople », in YASUKATSU MAEYAMA, WALTER G. SALTZER (eds.), *Prismata: Naturwissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studien. Festschrift für Willy Hartner*, Steiner, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 305–315.

¹⁵ ALEXANDER JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, J.C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1987 (Corpus des astronomes byzantins, 3). See below for a further discussion of this text.

¹⁶ The editor of the compilation explains that he only lists from Seth nine stars that are not found in Abū Ma'shar's star catalogues which are found alongside it in V. The text was originally edited as Appendix 11 in DAVID PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », *Viator*, 7 (1976), p. 192. Magdalino made some editorial changes and translated it as Appendix III in PAUL MAGDALINO, « The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology », in CATHERINE HOLMES, JUDITH WARING (eds.), *Literacy, education and manuscript transmission in Byzantium and beyond*, Brill, Boston 2002, p. 53–54.

¹⁷ ANNE TIHON, « Tables Islamiques à Byzance », *Byzantion*, 60 (1990), p. 405–410; PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Die arabische Herkunft von zwei Sternverzeichnissen in cod. Vat. gr. 1056 », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 120/2 (1970), p. 281–287.

¹⁸ DAVID PINGREE, « Gregory Chioniadēs and Palaeologan Astronomy », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 138 fn. 29. While other sources indicate that Manuel died in 1180, the forecast gives a date for September 24, 1179; this can be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the maker of this forecast was using a calendar year that started October 1st rather than September 1st, as various Eastern groups including Melkites do, and thus may indicate that the maker of this horoscope was not a Byzantine Roman. On Melkite calendars, see JOSEPH NASRALLAH, « La liturgie des patriarchats melchites de 969 à 1300 », *Oriens Christianus*, 71 (1987), p. 169. V also contains a chart for the death of Alexander, which has not yet been successfully dated or identified.

than a single later copyist, make it even more plausible that the manuscript was produced in the earlier era.¹⁹ It is plausible that this manuscript was the product of the efforts of multiple twelfth-century scribes working together, with later scribes adding supplementary material. As the hands change throughout the codex and its margins, the table of contents, written by two of the main hands present in the manuscript's main text, gives order and numbering to texts that occur throughout the first 200-plus folios.²⁰ With all this said, we cannot say for certain whether the manuscript was produced in the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century before V receives a proper codicological and paleographical study.²¹ Nevertheless, whether the manuscript is a Komnenian original or a later apograph, its source material was compiled in the Middle Byzantine period. That this manuscript represents a late Komnenian compilation provides the *terminus ante quem* for a large swath of Arabo-Greek astrological translation, for as discussed below, V is one of the most important witnesses of Arabo-Greek astrological material.

While the compendium inset within this manuscript was meant to be consulted for specific chapters, its compiler also intended it to make an overarching argument: that Arabic astrology was not only acceptable according to Byzantine Christian dogma, but was beneficial and thus needed to be taught and practiced. The compilation begins with a text attributed to Stephen the Philosopher, *On the Mathematical Art*.²² This

¹⁹ E.g., (i) the hand of the Table of Contents (fol. 2r–6r) that also begins the main text from fol. 8r; that of the horoscopes (fol. 6v–7r); that which adds notes to the Table of Contents and writes chapters from the *Methods* on fol. 15r; that of the Kamateros excerpt (fol. 23r–v); that found on fol. 24r–27v. Numerous hands appear and return throughout the manuscript. Detailed study of this manuscript will hopefully distinguish the hands and establish how the codicology of the manuscript relates to the paleographical variation.

²⁰ Further indeed, materials in the manuscript are related to each other, such as the tables for the *klima* of Rhodes (fol. 36–38) referred to by the author of the treatise on the astrolabe translated from Arabic: TIHON, « Tables Islamiques à Byzance » p. 410.

²¹ Unfortunately, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I did not have the opportunity to study the manuscript in person in the writing of this article. I hope that my colleague Luca Farina, who intends to study the materiality of this codex in detail, will be able to determine when the manuscript was produced.

²² The text is found on V, fol. 8r–11r. Although the folia between the end of the table of contents and this text contain horoscopic diagrams (fol. 6v and 7r), it is clear that *On the Mathematical Art* was intended as the beginning of the manuscript: it is written in the same hand as the main hand within the table of contents, where it is also placed first. The full title of this work is simply the titles of its chapters joined together, is *On the Mathematical Art and on Those Heathens using it; to those who say that it is sinful; about the fact that the one who does not accept it, sins; about its usefulness, and about the fact that it is more honorable than all other arts*. The text has been edited by Franz Cumont from MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335 in CCAG II, p. 181–186, where it is given the title « Stephani philosophi de arte mathematica ». Cumont's transcription of the Marciana manuscript does not take the older

treatise makes an argument about the usefulness of astrology that is remarkable by Byzantine standards. Stephen says that he has come to Constantinople from Persia (i.e., the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate), where the ancient practice of astronomy and astrology was carefully cultivated. He was disappointed to find these scholarly fields in Byzantium utterly lacking, a problem he attributed to the difficulty in establishing astronomical tables and the perception that it was sinful. So, Stephen says that he created new tables for the *klima* of Constantinople that take into account the displacement of the sun in the heavens over the centuries since Ptolemy’s tables, and that use the Byzantine calendar, rather than the ancient Egyptian one used by Ptolemy or the Islamic calendar used by the *neoteroi*, i.e., Islamicate scholars.²³

Most of the treatise revolves around Stephen’s arguments in favor of Christians studying the heavens. He explains that the association of the « mathematical art » with contemporary Muslims need not disqualify its study, as the discipline had been passed to them through a long line of caretakers: Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Persians, and Chaldaeans, who had begun the study of the stars through the influence of Seth, the biblical patriarch and son of Adam.²⁴ He argues that the study of this art is essential for all other sciences, and eminently useful for a variety of human endeavors, providing prognostic information for subjects like when and how to deal with runaway slaves, illnesses, waging war, or going on journeys.²⁵ It should be noted that it is precisely these sorts of questions for which the interrogational astrological compendium in codex V provides methods.²⁶ Yet most importantly, he contends that

recension provided in V into account, which in addition to textual differences, contains additional sentences at the conclusion of the final chapter. I hope to publish an edition, translation, and study of this intriguing text rectifying this situation. For present purposes, I will reference this text both by referring to CCAG II and to the relevant folio in V. Though the treatise has not yet been edited or translated in full, Paul Magdalino’s discussion of it paraphrases or translates the transcription from the CCAG: MAGDALINO, *L’orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 19–22.

²³ CCAG II, p. 181–82; V, fol. 8r–v.

²⁴ CCAG II, p. 82; V, fol. 8v. Since Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, 2.3), Adam’s son Seth was typically regarded as the father of astrology; Stephen was not alone among Byzantine authors in using Seth to establish the biblical pedigree for the study of the heavens; see WILLIAM ADLER, « Did the Biblical Patriarchs Practice Astrology? Michael Glykas and Manuel Komnenos I on Seth and Abraham », in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d’or, Geneva 2006, p. 245–263. Pingree has pointed out that Abū Ma’shar gives a similar genealogy of astrological knowledge but without Seth in his *Mudhākarat*, as present in its Greek translation – which is also present on V, fol. 193v–221v: DAVID PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), p. 227, 339.

²⁵ CCAG II, p. 184–185; V, fol. 9v–10r.

²⁶ On runaway slaves, V, fol. 77v–79r; on illness, fol. 72r–73v; on waging war, fol. 86r–89v; on journeying, fol. 92v–94r.

astronomy and astrology are branches of Christian wisdom that are not only acceptable for the Orthodox to participate in, but actually inappropriate to deny. Stephen intersperses references to the bible,²⁷ and contradicts arguments that astrology is sinful and deterministic, saying that because God created the heavens and manages their movements by his will for the benefit of his animal creations, especially man. He goes so far as to say that astronomy is the noblest art (*techne*), and that one who does not accept this art, commits the gravest sin, as he denies God's creation and his foreknowledge (*pronoia*), and thus « he would immediately become a denier of the wisdom of God ».²⁸

While I have thus far treated *On the Mathematical Art* as a composition of Stephen the Philosopher, its authorship and time of composition both deserve scrutiny. Scholars have attributed it to Stephen because it was thus labeled in MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335, the fourteenth/fifteenth-century manuscript from which Franz Cumont published the text in the CCAG. However, in the older codex V, the main scribal hand that wrote this text, the table of contents, and that can thus be associated with this Komnenian compilation, ascribed it to an anonymous « certain most wise man, » while the name of Stephen the philosopher is only scrawled in V by a later hand.²⁹ The identity of Stephen the Philosopher – and his connection with Stephen of Alexandria (or Athens), the famous polymath from the time of Heraclius³⁰ –

²⁷ He makes two references the Synoptic Gospels: one to the Parable of the Talents (CCAG II, p. 182; V, fol. 8r; Matthew 25:25), and the other to Christ's statement that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is an unforgivable sin (CCAG II, p. 184; V, fol. 9r; Matthew 12:31 / Luke 12:10).

²⁸ Greek: « εὐθὺς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας ἀρνητὴς γίνεταί » (CCAG II, p. 183; V, fol. 9r).

²⁹ Greek « σφωτάτου τινὸς » (V, fol. 2r, 8r). The later attribution to Stephen is found only after the title of the text on 8r, not in the table of contents.

³⁰ Scholars have long pointed to the large number of texts across genres like astronomy, alchemy, and medicine attributed to philosophers named Stephen often said to be from Alexandria or Athens. I will only weigh in on this debate here to say that *On the Mathematical Art* was likely pseudonymously attributed to Stephen of Alexandria – and to the « Stephen the Philosopher » who after 775 authored the horoscope of Islam published by Hermann Usener. On the writings attributed to Stephen of Alexandria, see HERMANN USENER, *De Stephano Alexandrino*, A. Marcum, Bonn 1880; PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia »; WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS, « Stephanos d'Athènes et Stephanos d'Alexandrie: Essai d'identification et de biographie », *Revue des études byzantines*, 47/1 (1989), p. 5–89; TIHON, « Tables Islamiques à Byzance »; MARIA PAPATHANASSIOU, « Stephanos of Alexandria: A Famous Byzantine Scholar, Alchemist and Astrologer », in PAUL MAGDALINO, MARIA V. MAVROUDI (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'or, Geneva 2006, p. 163–203; JEAN LEMPIRE, « D'Alexandrie à Constantinople: le commentaire astronomique de Stéphane », *Byzantion*, 81 (2011), p. 241–266; MOSSMAN ROUECHÉ, « Stephanus the Philosopher and Ps. Elias: A Case of Mistaken Identity », *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 36/2 (2012), p. 120–138; STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA, *Le commentaire*

is disputed. Pingree suggested that he was a Christian astrologer named Stephen active c. 800, who was a student of Theophilus of Edessa who brought his teacher's texts and ideas about political astrology and astrological history to a receptive Byzantium. He assigns *On the Mathematical Art* and two other texts attributed by manuscripts to Stephen of Alexandria that show knowledge of the Islamic world – one of which can be dated to the late eighth century – to this Stephen the philosopher, whom he suggests may have also been from Alexandria.³¹ While some have accepted Pingree's distinction of these two distinct astrologers named Stephen of Alexandria, others have convincingly argued against the assignation of this text to this second Stephen, or even the existence of such a figure, saying that the enduring fame of Stephen of Alexandria caused scribes to pseudonymously attribute to him anonymous occult and scientific texts.³²

I contend that doubt in Stephen's authorship of *On the Mathematical Art* is warranted, as it was likely an anonymous text later attributed to Stephen in MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335 and by a late hand in V, after Stephen of Alexandria had become (pseudonymously) well-known for his knowledge of Islam. Anne Tihon, Paul Magdalino, and Jean Lempire have alleged that *On the Mathematical Art* was written in the eleventh century rather than c. 800, as this would better fit the five-degree displacement of the sun from the tabulated calculations of the ancients,

astronomique aux Tables faciles de Ptolémée attribué à Stéphanos d'Alexandrie, ed. and trans. JEAN LEMPIRE, Peeters, Louvain-La-Neuve 2016 (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain, 68).

³¹ PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia »; PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 59–66; DAVID PINGREE, « From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology », *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 8/1 (2001), p. 12.

³² Many scholars accept some version of this second Stephen's existence and his authorship of this text, e.g., WOLSKA-CONUS, « Stephanos d'Athènes et Stephanos d'Alexandrie », p. 12–15; GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p. 180–186. With that said, doubts have been raised on different points, e.g., philological arguments that point to their different word choices and Greek styles, or internal criteria that place *On the Mathematical Art* in the eleventh century rather than c. 800: ANNE TIHON, « L'astronomie à byzance à l'époque iconoclaste (VIII^e–IX^e siècles) », in PAUL LEO BUTZER, DIETRICH LOHRMANN (eds.), *Science in Western and Eastern civilization in Carolingian times*, Birkhäuser Verlag, Basel–Boston 1993, p. 183–190; MAGDALINO, « The Road to Baghdad in the Thought-World of Ninth-Century Byzantium », p. 210–213; MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 19–25; LEMPIRE, « D'Alexandrie à Constantinople: le commentaire astronomique de Stéphanos », p. 261–262; ROUECHÉ, « Stephanus the Philosopher and Ps. Elias: A Case of Mistaken Identity ». None of these scholars, however, have connected their doubts about *On the Mathematical Art* to the fact that the earliest witness to this text, V, only contains the name Stephen in a later hand. This sort of pseudonymous attribution to a famous scientist is unsurprising, particularly in the occult sciences; e.g., the attribution of the Arabo-Greek *Oneirokritikon* to Aḥmad ibn Sīrīn: MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*, p. 32–41.

and as it appears to describe a well-developed Islamic astrological context.³³ While astrology was still a novel Arabic discipline c. 800, by the eleventh century, Arabic was undoubtedly the major language of astrology in the Mediterranean, as made clear in the multitude of translations of eighth to tenth-century Arabic astrological texts found in V. Stephen's labeling of Arabic scholars as *neoterioi* would be the earliest known attestation of this term by centuries, but fits well within an eleventh-century context.³⁴ Magdalino was hesitant to place *On the Mathematical Art* in eleventh-century Byzantium because Pseudo-Stephen claimed to be renewing Byzantine astrology according to Arabic norms – a project that Magdalino considered to better fit the iconoclast era.³⁵ However, I consider this rhetoric of scholarly reformation based on an improved source base to be typical of Byzantine intellectualism of the era: e.g., Psellos's arguments that he was renewing philosophy, the claims of John Mauropous and Emperor Constantine Monomachos to be reforming Byzantine legal practice by revitalizing Roman legal education, or Symeon Seth's invocation of eastern source material to advance Byzantine pharmacology.³⁶ Indeed, Seth also furnished a defense

³³ Pingree read Pseudo-Stephen's mention of the five-degree solar displacement that resulted from Byzantine usage of ancient tables, in relation to his desire to make new tables that used the Byzantine era rather than the Egyptian calendar, as Byzantines were forgetting to include the five epigonal days of the Egyptian calendar that have to be added to each solar year. Tihon finds Pingree's explanation an unsatisfactory attempt to date this text c. 800, and argues that it was likely written later: PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », p. 238; TIHON, « L'astronomie à byzance à l'époque iconoclaste (VIII^e–IX^e siècles) », p. 183–190. Magdalino argues for an eleventh-century date, but hedges his discussion and does not firmly conclude when to date it. Lempire used the *Devplo* program developed by Raymond Mercier to calculate the solar displacement, stating with assurance that a five-degree displacement fits the eleventh century but not the eighth century: MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 19–25; LEMPIRE, « D'Alexandrie à Constantinople: le commentaire astronomique de Stéphane », p. 261–262.

³⁴ Although Caudano points out that references to the *neoterioi* occur commonly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but not before, she does not question the dating of *On the Mathematical Art* to the eighth century in her discussion of the usage of the term *neoterioi*: CAUDANO, « Astrological Practices in the Handbooks of the Komnenoi Period », p. 40–44.

³⁵ MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 23–24.

³⁶ On Psellos, e.g., ANTHONY KALDELLIS, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2007, p. 191–224; STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, p. 29–50; DAVID JENKINS, « Michael Psellos », in ANTHONY KALDELLIS, NIKETAS SINOSSOGLOU (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, p. 447–461. On this eleventh-century reformation of law, ZACHARY CHITWOOD, *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition*, 867–1056, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, p. 150–203; SPYROS TROIANOS, « Η Νεαρά Κωνσταντίνου του Μονομάχου: ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει καὶ προβολῇ τοῦ διδασκάλου τῶν νόμων », *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 22 (2012), p. 243–263; LUDWIG BURGMANN, « Die

of the astral sciences, whose argument bears remarkable similarity to *On the Mathematical Art*; like Pseudo-Stephen, Seth employs his knowledge of Arabic apologies for astrology in *On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies*, while arguing in a Christian guise that the heavens illustrate the providence inherent in God's creation.³⁷ In the eleventh century, Pseudo-Stephen would be one of a number of Arabophone Christians marketing Islamicate scientific knowledge to Greek-speaking Byzantines.³⁸

On the Mathematical Art was an ideal introductory text for codex V, presenting the Arabs as the modern caretakers of the useful discipline of astrology, from whom it was an Orthodox responsibility to learn as much as possible about God's creation. It leads ideally into the proceeding text – a treatise on how to use an astrolabe taken from a « Saracen writing » that I discuss below – and into the codex's proceeding astronomical tables and interrogational astrology compendium that draws heavily and openly on Arabic sources. Indeed, it functions in a remarkably similar way to the apology for astrology placed at the end of the introduction of the *Book of Nine Judges*, an influential Latin astrological compilation made in Aragon whose Arabic source base bears remarkable similarity to that of V.³⁹ Like V, the *Book of Nine Judges* was a twelfth-

Gegenwart der Vergangenheit im byzantinischen Recht », in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto Medioevo*: 16–21 aprile 1998, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1999 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 46), p. 591–612. On Seth's *On the Faculties of Foods*, see FREDERICK LAURITZEN, « Between the Past and the East: Symeon Seth's Nutritional Advice to Michael VII Doukas », in BRIGITTE PITARAKIS (ed.), *Hayat kısa, sanat uzun: Bizans'ta şifa sanatı = Life is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, Pera Museum, Istanbul 2015, p. 124–134; GEORG HARIG, « Von den arabischen Quellen des Simeon Seth », *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, 2/3–4 (1967), p. 248–268; MARC-ÉMILE-PROSPER-LOUIS BRUNET, *Siméon Seth médecin de l'empereur Michel Doucas, sa vie, son oeuvre*, Faculté de médecine et de pharmacie de Bordeaux, Bordeaux 1939.

³⁷ Edited in SYMEON SETH, « Syméon Seth: Conspectus rerum naturalium; De utilitate corporum caelestium », in ARMAND DELATTE (ed.), *Anecdota atheniensia*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Liège 1927 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 88/II), p. 1–127. While this text has been the subject of very little study, its argument – and source material – is the topic of Chapter 9 of my dissertation.

³⁸ For further discussion of this, see Part III of my dissertation.

³⁹ CHARLES BURNETT, « A Hermetic Programme of Astrology and Divination in mid-Twelfth-Century Aragon: The Hidden Preface in the *Liber Novem Iudicum* », in CHARLES BURNETT, WILLIAM F. RYAN (eds.), *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, Warburg Institute–Nino Aragno Editore, London–Turin 2006 (Warburg Institute Colloquia, 7), p. 99–118; BURNETT, « Astrological Translations in Byzantium ». *The Book of Nine Judges* uses al-Kindī, Sahl ibn Bishr, Abū Ma'shar, Māshā'allāh, 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān, Abū 'Alī al-Khayyāt, and Dorotheos (in his Arabic form), in addition to the mysterious figure George and pseudonymous judgments to Aristotle. On the latter, see CHARLES BURNETT, « Aristotle as an Authority on Judicial Astrology », in JOSÉ FRANCISCO MEIRINHOS, OLGA WEIJERS (eds.), *Florilegium mediaevale: études*

century compilation that treated these Arabic astrological authorities as hallowed figures in the astrological pantheon, equal to the ancients, whose techniques thus ought to be followed.

I.2. P₁ and P₂: Two Middle Byzantine Arabo-Greek compendia in Paris

Two fourteenth-century manuscripts in the BNF reproduce compilations assembled in the eleventh century. MS Paris, BNF gr. 2425 (P₁), a fourteenth-century apograph of what appears to be an eleventh-century manuscript,⁴⁰ is divided into six books: the first four are Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, Book Five is what Pingree has labeled Epitome III of the *Treasures* of Antiochos made by Rhetorios in the early seventh century, while Book Six contains additional material of Rhetorios that was edited and supplemented c. 1000, perhaps by Demophilos.⁴¹ An addendum to Book Six comprises a series of astronomical tables and the only complete version of the aforementioned Arabo-Greek *Methods of Computing*.⁴² This treatise was written by an anonymous astronomer in Constantinople in the 1060s and 1070s using Arabic sources like the *Zīj al-Dimashqī* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (d. 869) and the *Zīj al-Sindhī* of al-Khwārizmī (d. c. 850), a translation of which he quoted without citation in chapters 60–61 on solar eclipses.⁴³ The fact that this text represents one of the foremost datable examples of eleventh-century Arabo-Greek astrology renders this manuscript essential for historicizing the impact of Arabic sources in Byzantine astrology.

offertes à Jacqueline Hamesse à l'occasion de son éméritat, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Louvain-la-Neuve 2009 (Textes et études du moyen âge, 50), p. 39–62.

⁴⁰ CCAG VIII.4, no. 82 (p. 22–42). The manuscript is written by a single hand. It was dated to this period by Alexander Jones, who noticed datable watermarks on the codex's paper, as it had previously been dated to the fifteenth century; JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, p. 20.

⁴¹ See DAVID PINGREE, « Antiochus and Rhetorius », *Classical Philology*, 72/3 (1977), p. 203–223; PINGREE, « From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology ».

⁴² The scribe restarted his chapter numbering to write out this last major section of the manuscript. The tables are numbered as Chapters 4–27 (fol. 238v–257v) and the 42 chapters of the treatise are numbered 28–69 (fol. 257v–280r). While this is the only complete version of the treatise, its chapters are somewhat out of order and certain chapters are added that do not belong to the treatise; e.g., Chapters 46–48 and 49–50 ought to have been switched in the original text, based on the dates given within the examples; see JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, p. 14–15.

⁴³ OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Commentary on the Astronomical Treatise Par. gr. 2425*, Palais des Académies, Brussels 1969 (*Mémoires de la Classe des lettres* 59/4); JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*. He appears to mention the former by name in chapter 36, calling it the table of *Chaspe* (κανὼν τοῦ Χασπέ). For a discussion of the direct quotation from al-Khwārizmī, see JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, p. 165–167.

A second fourteenth-century manuscript from Paris, MS Paris, BNF gr. 2506 (**P**₂), has been identified as an eleventh-century compilation because of the late tenth and early eleventh century horoscopes it contains,⁴⁴ which show their author to have been a politically astute observer of his contemporary Constantinople. Chapter 219 of the compilation gives a forecast taken for a bishop of the city of Euripos in Euboea from 21 September 1001.⁴⁵ The astrologer's analysis explains why the bishop was exiled to Italy seven years later on 18 April 1009, before seeking asylum in Hagia Sophia for two years and only then being allowed return to his diocese.⁴⁶ Chapter 236 contains a horoscope of the famous general and rebel against Basil II, Bardas Phokas.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this text has been corrupted in transmission into the fourteenth-century **P**₂: the date of the original forecast according to the Byzantine era given is incorrect by exactly a century, giving the date as 7 May 1077, if the horoscope can be calculated to fit 7 May 977, according with when Phokas was recalled from exile.⁴⁸ A further textual issue makes it difficult to date the second horoscope given in the text, i.e., the omission of a line that contained the fourth-to-tenth places within the zodiac. As a result, it is difficult to understand what the astrologer was arguing based on his comparison of these two horoscopes that doubtless corresponded to historically significant moments.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, we see clearly here the political role being played

⁴⁴ CCAG VIII.1, no. 10 (p. 74–115); PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 66–67; HEPHAESTIO OF THEBES, *Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae Quattor*, ed. DAVID PINGREE, vol. II, De Gruyter, Berlin–Boston 1974 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. v–viii. As Pingree notes, this eleventh-century compilation may only include the first 148 folios, especially seeing as a fragment from John Kamateros appears as Chapter 500 on fol. 192r. Nevertheless, even if the final recension of this manuscript was made in the Komnenian age like codex V, there seems to be an eleventh-century compilation set within it.

⁴⁵ The chapter is entitled « How it is necessary to prove annual inquiries in forecasts » and is found on fol. 74. The author gives the date according to the Byzantine calendar, and produces a corresponding horoscope which matches the disposition of the heavens at that time within a few degrees.

⁴⁶ This forecast is transcribed from **P**₂ in CCAG VIII.1, 253–255.

⁴⁷ The chapter is entitled « On the good fortune of different people », and is found on fol. 84r.

⁴⁸ Pingree mentions the date of this horoscope, but gives no further information and does not discuss the interesting historical context, associating it with chapter 235 rather than 236: ABŪ MA' SHAR, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, ed. DAVID PINGREE, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1968 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. viii, fn. 3. However, since he correctly gave the year as 977 rather than 1077, he must also have calculated the date of the horoscope and preferred it to the date written in the manuscript. This example was also copied from **P**₂ onto MS Paris, BNF gr. 2424, fol. 95v. See CCAG VIII.1, 69–70.

⁴⁹ The horoscope thus only gives the location of Saturn, the Lot of Fortune, and the Midheaven, and contains no corresponding Byzantine date. My attempt to date it based on these features have thus far proven fruitless. Though further textual difficulties render the interpretation of the text

by this astrologer in contemporary Byzantine politics, a role which accords with Skylitzes's report that astrological predictions were circulating that one of the Bardases (Phokas or Skleros) would successfully rebel against Basil II.⁵⁰ Chapter 335 is a rare Byzantine *dodekaëteris*, i.e., a prediction of a twelve-year cycle of climactic variations, dated 996.⁵¹ While its date makes this clearly the work of a Byzantine author, his technique in formulating this text, while ultimately based on Mesopotamian precedents that associated the places of the zodiac with each year in a fashion similar to the Chinese zodiac calendar, clearly comes from a Julio-Claudian source, as made clear by the names of the months (e.g., Ἀγρίππαιος, Νερώναιος, Δρούσαιος, and Ἀγξίσαιος).⁵² It is worth noting in relation to this text that P₁ contains a description of a *dodekaëteris* attributed to an Egyptian (Erimarabos), and an Indian (Phoredas), which may have come from an Arabic substrate.⁵³

Based on these and other datable exempla from the late tenth/early eleventh century, Pingree attributed the first 148 folios of the compilation in P₂ to Demophilos, active c. 1000.⁵⁴ However, because the manuscript contains two horoscopes taken in

uncertain for now, I hope to try to solve some of them in future work on P₂. I thank Dave Jenkins and Darin Hayton who have worked through some of this with me.

⁵⁰ JOHN SKYLITZES, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. HANS THURN, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 1973 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 5), p. 338–339; JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. JOHN WORTLEY, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010, p. 320–321. On the importance of political astrology in this period in Byzantium, see PAUL MAGDALINO, « The Year 1000 in Byzantium », in PAUL MAGDALINO (ed.), *Byzantium in the year 1000*, Brill, Boston 2003 (*The Medieval Mediterranean*, 45), p. 233–270.

⁵¹ P₂, fol. 129r–132r. This text deserves a great deal of further study. A version of the text found in manuscripts associated with the later school of John Abramios from MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 324 and MS Paris, BNF gr. 2420, is discussed and edited in CCAG II, p. 139–150.

⁵² Franz Boll discusses this calendar – and its dating – in his introduction to his edition of it (CCAG II, p. 138–144). On the *dodekaëteris*, see FRANZ BOLL, « Dodekaeteris », in GEORG WISSOWA (ed.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. V.1, J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung, Stuttgart 1905, p. 1254–1255. Magdalino has argued that the crafting of this particular *dodekaeteris* at this time ought to be viewed in relation to apocalyptic prognostications about the millennium: MAGDALINO, « The Year 1000 in Byzantium », p. 261–262.

⁵³ P₁, fol. 222r, edited by Franz Cumont in CCAG VIII.3, p. 91–92. While, as Pingree notes, the story given in the text was likely somewhat mythical, it is nevertheless probable that this was an Arabic story based on Sasanian sources, both because of its purported knowledge of Indian astronomy and because of its place within this particular manuscript: PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 169–170.

⁵⁴ Other examples of given dates are fol. 77r (October 11, 984) and fol. 80v–81r (September 15, 1006). See PINGREE, « The Horoscope of Constantinople »; PINGREE, « Antiochus and Rhetorius », p. 222; PINGREE, « From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology », p. 11–12.

1064 and 1065, the latter of which is attributed to a Theodosios known only through this text, Pingree considers this Theodosios the final compiler of Demophilos's compilation.⁵⁵ Regardless of whether Demophilos or Theodosios did work to make these compilations,⁵⁶ these compendia show the burgeoning practice of astrology in the tenth and eleventh centuries in which a number of astrologers were participating. For example, though Pingree assumes Theodosios wrote the horoscope for 1064 as well as that for 1065, we know that Symeon Seth and the compiler of the Arabo-Byzantine *Methods* text were active at this time in Constantinople. Like the eleventh-century compiler behind **P**₁, both were very familiar with Arabic source material.⁵⁷ Though **P**₂ does not attribute any of its chapters to Arabic authors, it includes Arabic source material, as discussed below, it includes chapters from Abū Ma'shar's *Book of Judgments* and chapters attributed to Arabic authors in the fourteenth-century compilations of Eleutherios Zebelenos.

In summary, both **P**₁ and **P**₂ contain compilations that contain Arabic translations that appear to have been partially formulated around the turn of the millennium and again, in the 1060s–1070s, and **V** contains a compilation from the twelfth century. While Pingree may be correct that Abū Ma'shar's *Book of Judgments* was translated c. 1000,⁵⁸ little evidence points to that date as the time by which other Arabic

⁵⁵ These are found on fol. 95v and 57r respectively; the text written by Theodosios is also found in MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 334, fol. 64v and MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335, fol. 193v, from which it is edited in CCAG II, p. 213.

⁵⁶ Pingree credits Demophilos with most astrological activity during the reign of Basil II. However, Magdalino rejects Pingree's association of dated astrological texts from the reign of Basil II with Demophilos, pointing to the unlikelihood of this classicizing name in this era and the possibility that Demophilos was simply the name of another antique astrologer excerpted in the compilation: MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 88; PINGREE, « The Horoscope of Constantinople ». The name of this astrologer is not of the greatest concern to my work because, regardless, the compilation was clearly edited or supplemented by an astrologer working in this period.

⁵⁷ At many times in dealing with these manuscripts, we are faced with the unfortunate problem that our many anonymous examples could either have been written by one individual or a number of individuals. Philological study of these passages may make the identification of these authors possible, through the detection of the style and word choices used by specific authors. This tactic also should be used to identify Arabo-Greek translators.

⁵⁸ Pingree had two key pieces of evidence for dating Abū Ma'shar's *Book of Judgments* to that time: apparent references to it in dated materials c. 1015 in **P**₂, and references made to it by Eleutherios Zebelenos (b. 1040). However, Pingree later argued that Eleutherios Zebelenos was not born in 1040, but was actually identical with Eleutherios of Elis (fourteenth c.) and quoting an astrologer who was from the eleventh century. While Magdalino disagrees with this assessment, a horoscope attributed to Eleutherios does seem to give him a fourteenth-century date. Regardless, Pingree undercut one of his key pieces of evidence, and never actually proved the usage of the *Book of Judgments* by the

translations found in **P**₁, **P**₂, and **V** were translated. However, these manuscripts do give us a *terminus ante quem* of the Arabo-Greek translations found within them of between 1100 and 1200 depending on whether they are found in **V** or one of the Paris manuscripts. While Arabo-Greek translation may have occurred from the tenth to twelfth centuries, it seems likely that the eleventh century was the primary period, correlating with the time of Greco-Arabic translation in Antioch. As a result, by the time when **V** was compiled in the twelfth century, Arabic astrological translations were widely available. In the following section, I explore what these manuscripts reveal about the extent of Middle Byzantine translation of Arabic astrological works.

II. Understanding Middle Byzantine Translation from Arabic

It is notable that these manuscripts, especially **V**, integrate excerpts of translations from Arabic alongside texts originally written in Greek, indicating that the compilations were not translated as a whole from Arabic but were made by compiling Greek texts alongside already existent Greek translations of Arabic texts. Thus, the middle Byzantine Greek scribes who compiled these compendia were likely working with already translated Arabic texts of two sorts: (i) relatively complete versions of Arabic astrological texts, and (ii) translated compendia of Arabic astrology arranged according to topic.

One case where it is clear that these manuscript compilers excerpted a text that had already been translated can be found in the Greek translation of Abū Maʿshar's *Book of Judgments of the Revolutions of the Years of Nativities*.⁵⁹ **P**₂ contains two small fragments of the text, which are derived from different manuscript traditions of the Greek translation; one fragment is not attested in other manuscripts of the Greek translation, and the other provides readings superior to those preserved in more complete later witnesses.⁶⁰ Of the host of Arabo-Greek translations found in **V**, some are shared by other Greek manuscripts in more complete forms and some are unique to it. Pingree has argued that a compendium of sayings translated as part of the sayings of Abū Maʿshar in Latin, was translated from a Greek version that had been

astrologer working c. 1015 in a text that I hope to investigate in the future. See ABŪ MAʿSHAR, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, p. VIII-IX; PINGREE, «The Horoscope of Constantinople»; MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 101.

⁵⁹ ABŪ MAʿSHAR, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*.

⁶⁰ ABŪ MAʿSHAR, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, p. IX-XIII. These are found on fol. 156r-158v and 173v-175v respectively.

translated from Arabic, which is now only present in V.⁶¹ The Latin translation of the Greek text was already circulating by the 1260s, when Stephen of Messina used it.⁶² Pingree further pointed to the Greek translations of parts of what he concluded were three different texts of Māshā'allāh in this manuscript, which are only fractionally extant in Arabic and/or Latin.⁶³ V here either excerpts larger translations of these works, or draws from compendia of Arabic material translated into Greek; we will only determine which of these is the case through comparison of the fragments to other Greek manuscripts.

Indeed, numerous fragments ascribed to other Arabic authors are present in the main text and margins of V, P₁, P₂, and in other manuscripts like MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335. Beyond the copious citations of Abū Ma'shar, Māshā'allāh, and the group of quotations from Sahl ibn Bishr, V features texts attributed to Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī,⁶⁴ Abū 'Alī al-Khayyāt,⁶⁵ 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī,⁶⁶ Ibn Hibintā,⁶⁷

⁶¹ DAVID PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar in Arabic, Greek, and Latin », in VALERIA SORGE, GIANCARLO MARCHETTI, ORSOLA RIGNANI (eds.), *Ratio et superstitio: Essays in honor of Graziella Federici Vescovini*, Brepols, Louvain-la-Neuve 2003 (Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge, 24), p. 49–50. This text could not actually have been written by Abū Ma'shar, as it included a horoscope for the year 939 well after his death.

⁶² PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar in Arabic, Greek, and Latin », p. 54.

⁶³ See DAVID PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Masha'allah on Interrogational Astrology », in PAUL MAGDALINO, MARIA V. MAVROUDI (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'or, Geneva 2006, p. 231–244. Pingree here corrects some of his earlier conclusions expressed in DAVID PINGREE, « Māshā'allāh: Greek, Pahlavī, Arabic and Latin Astrology », in AHMAD HASNAWI, ABDELALI ELAMRANI-JAMAL, MAROUN AOUD (eds.), *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque. Actes du colloque de la SIHSPAI, Paris, 31 mars-3 avril 1993*, Peeters, Leuven 1997, p. 123–136. One of these texts, the bibliography written by Māshā'allāh which was attached to one of his lost works, is preserved only here and in the Latin *Liber Aristotilis: MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, The Liber Aristotilis of Hugo of Santalla*, Warburg Institute, London 1997 (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 26).

⁶⁴ V, fol. 76v, 110v, 111v, 158v, 171v, 172r, and 172v.

⁶⁵ V, fol. 1r, 147v, 171r, 211r, and 234v. He is called Ἀλεῖμ ὁ Ὑῖος τοῦ Ῥάπτου or ὁ Ῥάπτης in Greek, with *rhaptēs* being a translation of *khayyāt*, meaning « weaver » as identified by Pingree: PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 69–70.

⁶⁶ V, fol. 144v, 172r, 208v. GAS VII, 166. From his *nisba* – transliterated in Greek as Ἐμμένης, Ἐμμε, and ἐν Μπένη – he was identified by PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 70.

⁶⁷ From the name of his work, *Kitāb al-mughnī fī aḥkam al-nujūm*, he receives his name found in the Greek tradition, Μούγνης; PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », p. 236. This large and important compilation contains among other materials, the only extant remnants of Māshā'allāh's astrological history: DAVID PINGREE, EDWARD S. KENNEDY, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1971 (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science, 5).

‘Umar ibn al-Farrukhān,⁶⁸ and an as yet unidentified figure, Elioun the Jew.⁶⁹ The works and loci from which most translations were excerpted remain unidentified. Star tables within the manuscript depend on the *Zīj al-Mumtaḥan* of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr, though the compiler mentions the *Zīj al-Jamī* of Kushyār ibn Labban, the *Zīj al-Ḥākīmī* of Ibn Yūnus, and a third text simply attributed to an Egyptian as his sources.⁷⁰

Other Arabic sources in **V** are not explicitly identified. At times the Arabic word for scholar, *‘ālim*, is translated into Greek as Ἀλεῖμ, providing a convenient way of referring vaguely to Arab scholars.⁷¹ Many of the opinions in the manuscript attributed to Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians likely also derive from Arabic.⁷² About half of the texts excerpted in **V** have no attributed author. Some were likely translated from Arabic sources, especially those that match texts in other Arabic-heavy manuscripts like MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335 and the codices associated with the school of John Abramios. A number of texts – both anonymous and attributed to Greek and Arabic authors – are said to have been extracted from « Saracen » books, i.e., from Arabic.⁷³

One such text is a unique anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, entitled, *Different Methods Extracted from a Saracen Book about Casting a Horoscope with an Astrolabe and the Remaining Places of the Thema, and to Understand All the Things Written on the Astrolabe*.⁷⁴ This as yet unedited work provides evidence of the Middle Byzantine interest in Islamicate astrolabe practice, providing context for the only dated Byzantine astrolabe from the time, one belonging to Sergios the Persian, *hypatos* and

⁶⁸ **V**, fol. 1r; the text is unfortunately fragmentary because the right side of the folio is missing.

⁶⁹ **V**, fol. 86r.

⁷⁰ KUNITZSCH, « Die arabische Herkunft von zwei Sternverzeichnissen in cod. Vat. gr. 1056 ».

⁷¹ This word can be confusing in Greek, as it may also be used to indicate the name ‘Alī or indeed, the scholar Ibn A‘lam (d. 985). When put with a Greek genitive, this also is used to figure an Arabic patronymic. On 31v, both usages of Ἀλεῖμ occur. See ANNE TIHON, « Sur l’identité de l’astronome Alim », *Archives internationales d’histoire des sciences*, 39 (1989), p. 3–21.

⁷² E.g., the compilation on fol. 151v–155r that likely represents a translation from Arabic that attributes opinions to these groups, discussed by Pingree: PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma‘shar in Arabic, Greek, and Latin », p. 49. Various opinions are attributed to Indians, e.g. on fol. 48v, 71v, and 72v: see PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts ».

⁷³ A non-exhaustive list of this usage occurs on **V**, fol. 83v, 84r, 106v, 154r, 172v, 173r, 235r.

⁷⁴ Greek text (**V**, fol. 15v): Παρεξεβλήθησαν μέθοδοι διάφοροι ἀπὸ βιβλίου Σαρακηνικῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστρολάβου ὥροσκόπον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοῦ θέματος τόπους. ἐπιγνῶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ ἀστρολάβῳ.

protospatharios, dated 1062.⁷⁵ While *Different Methods* is the only known Greek Astrolabe treatise since that of Philoponos and before the 13th century,⁷⁶ it seems to have been aimed at a Greek-speaking audience that already had an astrolabe in hand, and perhaps, was exposed to some level of instruction from contemporary Byzantine scholars in how to use it. In opposition to many other astrolabe treatises, *Different Methods* gives no description of the parts of an astrolabe or how to build one.⁷⁷ Additionally, in an effort to translate all Arabic words into Greek terms, it is replete with Hellenized vocabulary that do not always match the antique technical terms employed by Philoponos, but rather have more in common with other Arabo-Greek astrolabe treatises.⁷⁸ I hope soon to publish the first edition and translation of this

⁷⁵ ORMONDE M. DALTON, *The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia*, H. Milford, London 1926. For a survey of Byzantine treatises on the astrolabe including this one, see ANNE TIHON, « Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe », *Physis*, 32/2–3 (1995), p. 323–357.

⁷⁶ Tihon mentions as chronologically prior to this the discussion of the astrolabe in John Kamateros's astrological poem, which is not an astrolabe treatise per se, and was likely composed later than or contemporary to the translating of *Different Methods*. See TIHON, « Traités byzantins sur l'astrolabe », p. 323–332.

⁷⁷ E.g., the treatises of John Philoponos, al-Farghānī, or Pseudo-Māshā'allāh: JOHN PHILOPONUS, *Traité de l'astrolabe*, ed. and trans. CLAUDE JARRY, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2015 (Collection des universités de France. Série grecque, 512); JOHN PHILOPONUS, *De usu astrolabii eiusque constructione*, ed. ALFRED STÜCKELBERGER, de Gruyter, Berlin 2015 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana); AL-FARGHĀNĪ, *On the Astrolabe*, trans. RICHARD LORCH, Steiner, Stuttgart 2005 (Boethius, 52); PSEUDO-MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, *Pseudo-Māshā'allāh, On the Astrolabe: A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with English Translation* [online], ed. and trans. RON B. THOMSON, Version 1.6, Toronto 2020, <<https://shareok.org/handle/11244/14221.2>>, (accessed October 2021). Notably, the Greek translation of Pseudo-Māshā'allāh also skips the portion of the text that explains how to construct an astrolabe, moving immediately into its use: PSEUDO-MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, *Une version byzantine du traité sur l'astrolabe du pseudo-Messahalla*, ed. and trans. RÉGINE LEURQUIN, CLAUDY SCHEUREN, ANNE TIHON, Bruylant-Academia, Louvain-la-Neuve 2001 (Corpus des astronomes byzantins, 10).

⁷⁸ The translator of *Different Methods* predominantly uses standard Greek astronomical vocabulary, in addition to some of the same astrolabe-specific words employed by Philoponos: e.g., δίοπτρα (i.e., the alidade). However, he uses other terms like πῆταλον (« plate ») and κάγκελον (« spider ») that differ from those used by Philoponos and by the translator of Pseudo-Māshā'allāh. See the glossaries of terms used by Philoponos and the Greek Pseudo-Māshā'allāh: JOHN PHILOPONUS, *Traité de l'astrolabe*, p. 59–63; PSEUDO-MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, *Une version byzantine du traité sur l'astrolabe du pseudo-Messahalla*, p. 79–83. The thirteenth-century astrolabe treatise written by Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (i.e., Siamps the Persian), however, does use the term πῆταλον for plate in the introduction to his as yet unedited treatise: ELIZABETH A. FISHER, « Arabs, Latins and Persians Bearing Gifts: Greek Translations of Astrolabe Treatises, ca. 1300 », *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 36/2 (2012), p. 170. More study of the vocabulary employed in Arabo-Greek astrolabe translations, some of which I hope to produce in my study of *Different Methods*, will yield further fruitful points of comparison.

text, while also analyzing its Arabic source material and its relation to other astrolabe treatises in Arabic and Greek.⁷⁹

Some of the Arabic translations found in manuscripts connected to the group of fourteenth-century astrologers around Abramios reproduced Middle Byzantine translations also found in the three manuscripts under discussion, while others were made later.⁸⁰ The three-book *Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'shar* in MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, which Pingree associates with Abramios's collaborator Eleutherios of Elis, contains a number of texts also found in V, like the Greek translation of Abū Ma'shar's *Mudhākarāt* in the recension of his student Shādhān.⁸¹ Some of the texts of Sahl, al-Kindī, al-ʿImrānī in V are also found in MS Angel. gr. 29 and other manuscripts associated with Abramios.⁸² Several anonymous chapters in V and P₂ are identical to those attributed by Eleutherios to Palchos⁸³ – i.e., either Abū Ma'shar or another astrologer from Balkh – while several others in P₂ are identical to those attributed by Eleutherios to Aḥmad the Persian. Investigations into the substance – and Greek style – of these chapters may reveal if Palchos and Aḥmad

⁷⁹ I have not yet identified an Arabic source text for this translation from « a Saracen book ». It is quite likely that it is either no longer extant or not yet edited, as many treatises on astrolabes were written in the 8th–11th centuries CE; see FRANÇOIS CHARETTE, PETRA G. SCHMIDL, « Al-Khwārizmī and Practical Astronomy in Ninth-Century Baghdad. The Earliest Extant Corpus of Texts in Arabic on the Astrolabe and Other Portable Instruments », *SCIAMVS*, 5 (2004), p. 101–198; TARO MIMURA, « Too Many Arabic Treatises on the Operation of the Astrolabe in the Medieval Islamic World: Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī's Treatise on Knowing the Astrolabe and His Editorial Method », *Medieval Encounters*, 23/1–5 (2017), p. 365–403; JOHANNES THOMANN, « Astrolabes as Eclipse Computers: Four Early Arabic Texts on Construction and Use of the Ṣafīḥa Kusūfiyya », in JOSEFINA RODRÍGUEZ-ARRIBAS, CHARLES BURNETT, SILKE ACKERMANN, et al. (eds.), *Astrolabes in Medieval Cultures*, Brill, Leiden 2018, p. 8–44. Though it is clearly a distinct text, *Different Methods* does have affinities with published Arabic astrolabe treatises such as those written by ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā and al-Khwārizmī.

⁸⁰ Pingree associates a number of manuscripts with this manuscript tradition: MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 324, MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, MS St. Petersburg (BAN) Inostrannykh rukopisej O N° 128, MS Torino C. VII. 10, (now lost in a fire), MS Florence, BML Plut. 28, 16, MS Florence, BML. Plut. 28, 14, etc. See DAVID PINGREE, « The Astrological School of John Abramius », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 25 (1971), p. 189–215.

⁸¹ This text, found on V, fol. 194r–206v, matches the first part of Book 2 of the *Book of Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'shar* PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar in Arabic, Greek, and Latin »; PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia ». As Pingree details in the tables spread across « The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar », the text has been partially edited in the CCAG from both manuscript traditions.

⁸² PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 74.

⁸³ E.g., texts on V, fol. 111v, 116r, 117v, 120r, 163r; P₂, fol. 57r–58v.

were fictitious fourteenth-century creations of Eleutherios, as Pingree suggests, or earlier identifiable Arabic authors.⁸⁴

I raised the question earlier whether the compilers of **V** translated excerpts piecemeal or excerpted them from already-made Arabo-Greek translations. The answer, unfortunately, depends on the text. Indeed, with regard to the dating and extent of the translation of works by Sahl ibn Bishr, an author well-represented in **V**, one could argue both sides. It is difficult to compare the Greek fragments of Sahl, found in **V** and other manuscripts, with the Latin and Arabic texts, since Sahl's texts in Arabic and their Latin translations still predominantly require critical editions, though both versions have recently been translated.⁸⁵ However, the version of Sahl quoted *in extenso* in **V** appears to come from a corpus of texts similar to the five-text corpus of Sahl translated into Latin c. 1200, though with a slightly different breakdown of the texts, as both Greek and Latin were clearly made from the Arabic.⁸⁶ The beginning of

⁸⁴ PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 74–77. The fact that excerpts of the two compilations are present in **V** and **P**₂ indicates that at the very least, Eleutherios was not the author, but the editor of these texts.

⁸⁵ Stegemann discusses only certain sections in **V**, as his particular focus is on Sahl's *Introduction*, for which he provides what will be very useful analysis of the translation style for any future comparisons of the Greek and Latin translations: VIKTOR STEGEMANN, *Dorotheos von Sidon und das sogenannte Introductorium des Sahl ibn Bisr*, Orientalisches Institut in Prague, Prague 1942 (Monographien des Archiv orientáli, 11), p. 29–87. My working list of the extant fragments, are **V**, fol. 72v (marg.), 144r–145v; 145v (marg.); 146r–148v; 147v (marg.); 148v–149r; 149v–150r; 173r; MS Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 108, fol. 203r–204v (chapter 26); MS Florence BML Plut. 28, cod. 14, fol. 303; MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 324, fol. 316; MS Madrid, El Escorial I. R. 14, fol. 200vbis (as part of a diverse collection attributed to Theophilus of Edessa and others). Other manuscripts in this tradition include MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, MS Paris, BNF gr. 2056, MS Paris, BNF suppl. gr. 1211, MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana B.38 suppl., MS Madrid, El Escorial 1, R 11, MS Madrid, El Escorial 1, Φ, 5). See GAS VII for the Arabic texts. His *De Electionibus* has been edited in Arabic, Latin, and translated: CAROLE MARY CROFTS, « *Kitāb al-İktiyārāt 'alā l-buyūt al-İtnai 'ašar* by Sahl ibn Bišr al-İsrā'īlī with its Latin translation *De Electionibus* », Ph.D. Diss., University of Glasgow 1985. *De interrogationibus* has not benefitted from the same treatment. The Arabic text has been translated from an impressive group of manuscripts, though unfortunately without a published Arabic edition: SAHL IBN BISHR, *The Astrology of Sahl B. Bishr, Volume I: Principles, Elections, Questions, Nativities*, trans. BENJAMIN N. DYKES, Cazimi Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota 2019. The five-book corpus has been translated into English from the 1493 incunabulum of the Latin translation published in Venice: SAHL IBN BISHR, *The Introduction to the Science of the Judgments of the Stars*, trans. JAMES HERSCHEL HOLDEN, American Federation of Astrologers, Tempe 2008. The Latin incunabulum is accessible online: <<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ip01089000>> (Accessed July 2021).

⁸⁶ FRANCIS J. CARMODY, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin translation: A Critical Bibliography*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1956, p. 40–46; STEGEMANN, *Dorotheos von Sidon und das sogenannte Introductorium des Sahl ibn Bisr*, p. 26–34. Stegemann convincingly argues that neither the Greek nor Latin appear to depend on each other.

the large chunk of text from Sahl from fol. 144r–150r says that « these things were extracted from the second and third book of the wisest Jew, Sahl ibn Bishr ». These « second » and « third » books match the Latin *50 Precepts* and his *Book of Interrogations* respectively.⁸⁷

The word for « extracted » here, *παρεξεβλήθη*, is used in this aorist passive form nine times in *V*, in almost every case explicitly in reference to an excerpt from an Arabic text.⁸⁸ Texts were said to be extracted from « Saracen » texts, like the aforementioned astrolabe treatise, *Different Methods Extracted from a Saracen Book*. It is unclear whether the word *παρεξεβλήθη* is indicating that these were passages translated directly from Arabic manuscripts, or passages pulled out of already rendered Arabo-Greek translations. It is further still uncertain whether the compiler is drawing a distinction between these « extractions » and the numerous quotations from Arabic authors like Abū Maʿshar, Māshāʾallāh, or al-Kindī, where the Arabic author is explicitly quoted.⁸⁹ While it is possible that only excerpts of Sahl's works were translated into Greek, perhaps for the express purpose of inclusion in the compilation represented by *V*, he was well known enough by the mid-twelfth century that John Kamateros made two different references to « the book of Sahl » in his more concise astrological poem, one of which specifically refers to Sahl's expertise on the twelve houses, the subject of the *Book of Elections*, the fourth in his five-book corpus.⁹⁰ This, along with the fact that *V* includes excerpts from Sahl's *Introduction*, the first of his five-book corpus, after the excerpts from book two and book three without

⁸⁷ Stegemann treats the *50 Precepts* as the second part of the first book in the Latin corpus – however, it is treated as the second book in Latin and Arabic texts: STEGEMANN, *Dorotheos von Sidon und das sogenannte Introductorium des Sahl ibn Bishr*, p. 29–34; SAHL IBN BISHR, *The Introduction to the Science of the Judgments of the Stars*; SAHL IBN BISHR, *The Astrology of Sahl B. Bishr, Volume I: Principles, Elections, Questions, Nativities*.

⁸⁸ These references occur on fol. 15v, 31v, 34v, 70r, 84r, 106v, 144r, 154r, and 155v. The only two which are not explicitly stated to be Arabic sources are fol. 34v and 70r, both of which, I think, do come from Arabic sources. The word *παρεκβάλλω* had a wide contemporary valence, that included both excerpting and commenting, e.g., in its usage by Eustathios of Thessaloniki: ATHANASIOS KAMBYLIS, *Eustathios über Pindars Epinikiendichtung: ein Kapitel der klassischen Philologie in Byzanz*, Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Hamburg 1991 (Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Jahrg. 9/1), p. 14–18.

⁸⁹ In time, these questions may be answered as these instances – and the many quotations from Arabic authors that are spliced throughout *V* – receive serious scholarly investigation.

⁹⁰ In both cases he is called Σέλεχ, with the χ and λ switched as occasionally occurs in versions of his name in Greek manuscripts. See JOHN KAMATEROS, « Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et de Jean Camatère », ed. E. MILLER, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 23/2 (1872), p. 376 and 1149.

identifying the text indicates that, perhaps, Sahl's whole five-book corpus had been translated into Greek before the copying of **V**, from which passages were excerpted in a group in the manuscript.⁹¹ Further study of **V**'s compilation may help answer these questions.⁹²

To sum up, it is far from clear what Arabic texts the scribes of **V** could draw on, but it seems likely that they had access to a few different sorts of texts: (i) full translations of texts made from Arabic, like Abū Ma'shar's *Book of Judgments*; (ii) collections of excerpts on specific topics, like certain sources of **V** that grouped opinions of Arabic sages on topics within interrogational astrology; and (iii) Arabic texts which were translated expressly for inclusion in this compilation, like, perhaps, the text on the astrolabe « extracted » from an Arabic source. If the scribes included texts not yet translated into Greek, that means, of course, that at least one of them knew Arabic and had access to Arabic manuscripts. This, in turn, should lead us to question who these bilingual scribes were and where they had access to both Greek and Arabic astrological manuscripts; I suggest that the answer likely lies in bilingual Melkites educated in the Byzantine East, working in either Constantinople or Antioch. Scholars will have to establish the Arabo-Greek translation history of each text by (i) examining compiling practices in these manuscripts, (ii) comparing the Arabic fragments in the three

⁹¹ This passage, which goes from 148v–150r, discusses the twelve houses: STEGEMANN, *Dorotheos von Sidon und das sogenannte Introductorium des Sahl ibn Bisr*, p. 31; SAHL IBN BISHR, *The Astrology of Sahl B. Bishr*, vol. I: *Principles, Elections, Questions, Nativities*, p. 44.

⁹² Two passages in particular may weigh in on this discussion: on fol. 68v, the end of a text quoted from a Greek translation from Māshā'allāh cuts off and refers the reader to a chapter at the end of Māshā'allāh's work; the scribe of **V** follows this up by mentioning that he is leaving space to eventually copy this from the book of Māshā'allāh when he finds it – which he never seems to have: PINGREE, « Māshā'allāh: Greek, Pahlavi, Arabic and Latin Astrology », p. 131. Pingree assumes that this indicates that a larger Greek translation of Māshā'allāh was made c. 1000 and was available to the collator of the Komnenian compilation that **V** merely reproduces. However, it is also possible that the compiler of **V** (perhaps in the Komnenian era) was using a compilation which had only excerpted Māshā'allāh as part of a series of Arabic translations from interrogational astrology. This compilation could have been translated from Arabic to Greek, rather than full texts which were then excerpted in Greek. More research is required on this matter. A second passage, found on fol. 235r, says that « After Hellenizing from a Saracen [i.e., Arabic] book the figure of the house and this *apotelesma*, we find in another book in the Roman language [i.e., Greek] this figure of the house and we sketched this also here ». This is accompanied by a horoscopic figure. This scribe is different than the main one attested in the manuscript, though his hand is detectable elsewhere, e.g., on fol. 6v–7r, giving horoscopes relating to the emperors Alexios and Manuel Komnenos. On fol. 235r, the scribe seems to be indicating that he himself translated from Arabic – that is, unless he copied this whole statement from an earlier manuscript.

manuscripts under discussion alongside others, and (iii) working to identify translators based on their translation technique.

III. *The Integration of Greek and Arabic Materials in V, P₁, and P₂*

In the last section of my paper, I consider the Greek texts in these compilations, showing how translations from Arabic became integrated into the Middle Byzantine astrological canon. Far from purely being repositories of Arabic knowledge, these manuscripts are important witnesses to Greek astrological texts written from antiquity through the Middle Ages. Byzantine scholars were reading Arabic translations in concert with the Greek texts from which Arabic astrological knowledge had been built, in addition to texts written in Greek by intellectuals who knew Arabic, like Symeon Seth, Theophilus of Edessa, and Pseudo-Stephen the Philosopher.

References to renowned Greek astrological authorities are present across all three manuscripts in texts originally written in both Greek and Arabic.⁹³ Repeated references to Ptolemy in all three manuscripts – in addition to P₁'s complete recension of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* that holds an important place within the text's stemma⁹⁴ – are accompanied by quotations from ancient and late antique astrologers like Maximos of Ephesos, Paul of Alexandria, Manetho, Anubio, Serapion, Hermes, and many others. It is remarkable how often these codices feature prominently in collections of the fragments of eminent ancient astrologers, as it is not uncommon for these manuscripts to provide the earliest witness of a text, or at least, of a particularly early tradition.⁹⁵ A particularly interesting example in V is found in a text attributed to a certain Dionysios writing to King Philip about measuring the time from the length of a shadow using shadow tables, a Hellenistic practice.⁹⁶ Some of these texts represent important fragments of these ancient scholars' works, while others are of doubtful authenticity, or indeed, were translated from Arabic. Regardless, Arabic authors were

⁹³ E.g., in V, Ptolemy is cited on fol. 99r and 157v; P₁, fol. 149v–150r and 154r; P₂, fol. 44r and 113v.

⁹⁴ It is referred to as codex Y; see PTOLEMY, *Apotelesmatika*, ed. WOLFGANG HÜBNER, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart 1998 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. XIX–XLII.

⁹⁵ E.g. see the Byzantine Paraphrases of Maximos (V and P₂) and Paul of Alexandria (both P₁ and P₂): MAXIMOS, *Le parafrasi bizantine del Περὶ καταρχῶν di Massimo: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note di commento linguistico-filologico*, ed. PAOLA RADICI COLACE, Edizioni Dr. A. Sfameni, Messina 1988 (Letteratura e civiltà bizantina, 4), p. 17–53; PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Eisagōgika. Elementa apotelesmatica*, ed. OTTO NEUGEBAUER, EMILIE BOER, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1958 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. VII–XVI.

⁹⁶ V, fol. 44v; another text of this sort, attributed to Sextus the *horokrator*, is edited in CCAG VII, p. 187–190. On this genre, see OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, vol. II, Springer-Verlag, New York 1975 (Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences, 1), p. 737–746.

integrated in these compendia as part of a newly cultivated Byzantine astrological canon alongside texts written by and attributed to many of the greatest names in Greek astrology.

The presence of texts attributed to Dorotheos, Antiochos, and Valens in these manuscripts is particularly worthy of note as all three were bedrocks of Arabic genethliological and interrogational astrology, though the transmission of each into Arabic is a complex story involving late antique compilers.⁹⁷ The three manuscripts discussed here depend on versions of texts made by two compilers in particular, Hephaestio and Rhetorios. Pingree argued that the Greek compilations of Hephaestio and Rhetorios were important source bases for Arabic astrology, which were reinjected along with the Greek texts of Theophilus of Edessa by Stephen the Philosopher into Byzantine manuscripts c. 800.⁹⁸ While Stephen's role and dates have been rightly doubted by some – indeed certain of the texts attributed to him may actually have been written in the eleventh century as discussed above – we see in **V**, **P₁**, and **P₂** how Byzantine scholars worked to combine the Arabic and late antique Greek astrological traditions by adding Arabic sources to older compilations. **V** is the basis for the second Epitome of Hephaestio of Thebes, a widespread version of the text finalized in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁹⁹ Both Theophilus of Edessa and Māshā'allāh made use of a version of Rhetorios's aforementioned Epitome III of the *Treasures* of Antiochos, copied as Book 5 in codex **P₁**. In addition to Antiochos, this Epitome collates excerpts attributed to Antiochos, Ptolemy, Dorotheos, Kritodemos, and Valens. **P₁**'s Book VI continues this collection,¹⁰⁰ adding in valuable texts from astrologers whose work is only preserved in fragments like Balbillus, Serapion, and Julian.¹⁰¹ The first 24 folios of **P₂** contain the prime version of Epitome IV of Antiochos's *Treasures*, a tenth-century epitome drawing on many of the same late antique materials as Epitome III.¹⁰² While it is easy to get lost in these textual layers, it is

⁹⁷ PINGREE, « From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology »; PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia »; DAVID PINGREE, « The Byzantine Tradition of Vettius Valens's *Anthologies* », *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), p. 532–541; PINGREE, « Antiochus and Rhetorius ».

⁹⁸ PINGREE, « From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium. The Transmission of Astrology ».

⁹⁹ Pingree argues this, showing two Horoscopes inset within the compilation, dated 1007 and 1106 respectively: HEPHAESTIO OF THEBES, *Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae Quattor*, p. XXI–XXIII.

¹⁰⁰ PINGREE, « Antiochus and Rhetorius », p. 210–212.

¹⁰¹ For this reason, a number of these texts are edited in the CCAG entry for this manuscript (CCAG VIII.4, p. 225–252). **P₂** likewise contains valuable fragments of Julian: LEVENTE LÁSZLÓ, « Julianus of Laodicea and His Astrological Fragments », *Mnemosyne*, 74 (2021), p. 1–20.

¹⁰² PINGREE, « Antiochus and Rhetorius », p. 216–219.

evident that the compilations in these manuscripts represent a Byzantine astrology that had learned from both the Greek late antique heritage and the Greco-Arabic translation movement. Greek astrological texts that were used by Islamicate scholars were placed side-by-side with Greek translations of the texts produced by those same Islamicate scholars.

As a consequence of the Arabic influence on Middle Byzantine astrology, we see not only a reinvigoration of interest in older Greek authors, but the spread of pseudonymous texts in their names, many of which come from Arabic. This phenomenon is particularly evident in V. A false horoscope attributed to Valens for the Prophet Muhammad on fol. 151v was actually translated from the Arabic *Kitāb al-mughnī* of Ibn Hibintā.¹⁰³ Excerpts of the *Karpos* pseudonymously attributed to Ptolemy, a text whose Arabic commentary by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf – and indeed, perhaps even the text itself – was translated into Greek from Arabic, are present in two places within the manuscript; if this manuscript can be dated to the twelfth century, it would be the earliest attestation of this work in Greek.¹⁰⁴ Two short texts attributed to Euclid may also derive from Arabic translations as they match no known text of his in Greek.¹⁰⁵ While most references to Dorotheos in V come from Hephaestio, certain were translated from ‘Umar ibn al-Farrukhān’s Arabic translation of Dorotheos, made from an earlier Middle Persian translation.¹⁰⁶ This version of Dorotheos had been

¹⁰³ PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », p. 236; PINGREE, « The Horoscope of Constantinople », p. 314.

¹⁰⁴ fol. 52r = Chapter 81; fol. 175r = Chapters 60, 19. The earliest known manuscript otherwise, according to the *Pinakes* database, is MS Oxford, Bodleian Auct. T. 5. 4, datable to the thirteenth century. Lemay argued that the text was originally composed in Arabic by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, though this is by no means certain: RICHARD LEMAY, « Origin and Success of the Kitāb Thamara of Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm: From the Tenth to the Seventeenth Century in the World of Islam and the Latin West », in AHMAD Y. AL-HASSAN, GHADA KARMI, NIZAR NAMNUM (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science, April 5-12, 1976*, vol. II, Aleppo University Press, Aleppo 1978, p. 91–107; JEAN-PATRICE BOUDET, « The Medieval Latin Versions of Pseudo-Ptolemy’s Centiloquium: A Survey », in DAVID JUSTE, BENNO VAN DALEN, DAG NIKOLAUS HASSE, et al. (eds.), *Ptolemy’s Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages*, Brepols, Turnhout 2020 (Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus – Tools and Studies, 1), p. 282–304. Regardless, the existence of the Arabic commentary that is present, e.g., in the Oxford manuscript, indicates that this text was at the very least reinterpreted under the influence of Arabic astrology in the Byzantine world. Hopefully the ongoing work on the *Karpos* by Maria Mavroudi and Darin Hayton may solve some of the issues related to this intractable text.

¹⁰⁵ These are on fol. 166v and 184v.

¹⁰⁶ It is explicitly stated that a saying of Dorotheos is excerpted « from a Saracen book » on fol. 154r. Pingree says that certain other texts attributed to him throughout the manuscript, both in the main text and the margins, were also translated from Arabic: PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 69. This seems plausible, but requires further study. Particularly, scholars must weigh whether these

transformed in this complex transmission from describing astrological elections to Arabic-style interrogations.¹⁰⁷ Here, it should be noted that Arabo-Greek astrology necessarily contained Indian and Persian materials via quotations from astrologers like Māshā'allāh, al-Qabīṣī, Zoroaster, and Buzurgmihr, in addition to the Greek texts of Theophilus of Edessa. Pingree has pointed to various bits of Indian astrological knowledge in **V** that came from Arabic both via quotations of Arabic astrologers like Māshā'allāh and al-Qabīṣī¹⁰⁸ and of Indian astrologers like Buzurgmihr.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, from Theophilus of Edessa and texts written in Arabic, Middle Byzantine astrologers had access to other ideas of Persian astrologers, seen in the excerpts in **V** attributed to Anempodistos and Zoroaster.¹¹⁰

It is useful to consider how these layered compilations worked in practice. While **P**₂ was much less forthright in its usage of Arabic sources than either **V** or **P**₁, passages that appear to have come from an Arabic work are integrated into its eleventh-century compilation. Chapter 145 of the compilation, attributed to a certain Theodosios, explains how to predict the day on which someone will die, and contains an example dated 1065.¹¹¹ While the chapters before and after it do not bear the names of Arabic

quotations from Dorotheos that are interspersed throughout **V** alongside quotations from Arabic authors come from Greek translations of 'Umar's text or from Greek prose versions of it, like the *Apotelesmatica* of Hephaestio.

¹⁰⁷ CAUDANO, « Astrological Practices in the Handbooks of the Komnenoi Period », p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ Pingree discusses this phenomenon and **V**'s role in particular in transmitting Indian astrological ideas through Arabic translations passim PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts ».

¹⁰⁹ He is called in Greek Πορζοζόμχαρ, and the fragment attributed to him in the margin of **V**, 81v–82r is published by PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 187.

¹¹⁰ Anempodistos is not otherwise known but occurs as a name in Greek as one of the Persian martyrs (see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. « Akindynos, Pegasios, and Anempodistos »). The Middle Persian astrology text attributed to Zaradusht comes from the third century and was translated into Arabic c. 750 and was used, in part, in Greek works of Theophilus of Edessa: DAVID PINGREE, « The Ṣābians of Ḥarrān and the Classical Tradition », *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 9/1 (2002), p. 11–12; PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 44–47; PINGREE, « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », p. 236–237; PAUL KUNITZSCH, « The Chapter on the Fixed Stars in Zaradusht's *Kitāb al-Mawālīd* », *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 8 (1993), p. 241. It remains to be seen if the Greek texts attributed to Zoroaster derive from the Persian-to-Arabic translation made by Sa'īd ibn Khurāsānkhurra, if they represent the Greek text from which the Middle Persian was derived, or if they are unrelated. The lack of an edition of the Arabic translation (*Kitāb al-Mawālīd*) renders a comparison difficult.

¹¹¹ This text is edited in CCAG II, p. 213, from on **P**₂ (fol. 57r) and MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. Z. 335, fol. 193v.

authors, a number of them are identical to those found in compilations made by the figure identified by Pingree as Eleutherios, and thus likely come from Arabic sources. For example, Chapters 146 to 149, all appear within Eleutherios's compilation attributed to Palchos.¹¹² Others, like Chapter 145, are found in other compilations made by Eleutherios, e.g., within his version of Abū Ma'shar's *Mysteria*, occasionally in adapted forms.¹¹³ Future scholars interested in the eleventh-century compilation of *P*₂ will have to study the fourteenth-century compilations associated with Eleutherios and the Abramios school in concert, to distinguish Arabo-Greek translations and later adaptations of texts translated from Arabic and originally written in Greek. While each astrological compendium is unique, their compilers often took from the source material, crafting comparable collections of passages – often stripped of their authors and contexts – as their aim was not historical preservation of a given author's oeuvre, but were practically aimed at indicating astrological techniques.

In contrast to *P*₂, the compilers of *V* were much more interested in the authority of the authors associated with each inserted passage, and were pleased to connect Greek and Arabic sages on the same topics, and openly advertise authors' Arabic origins. The main text of *V*, fol. 170v–171r, contains chapters five, six, and seven of Book III of *Epitome II* of Hephaestio of Thebes, three chapters entitled, « on shipbuilding », « on going abroad », and « on going abroad and otherwise in more detail », respectively.¹¹⁴ While Hephaestio had not been translated into Arabic, his main sources like Dorotheos and Valens were.¹¹⁵ Three marginal comments on 170v and six on 171r, relating to the

¹¹² While this whole section is included in both *P*₂ and the Palchos compilation, they are not in the same order in each. Chapter 146 (*P*₂, fol. 57r, « About discord, civil wars, and slaughter »), = MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, fol. 126v (Chapter 93); Chapter 147 (*P*₂, fol. 57v, « About good fortune »), = MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, fol. 126v (Chapter 92); Chapter 148 (*P*₂, fol. 57v, « About dignities, glory, and honor »), = MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, fol. 127v (Chapter 102); Chapter 149 (*P*₂, fol. 57v, « About action »), = MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, fol. 127v (Chapter 103).

¹¹³ An adaption of Chapter 145 made by the figure identified by Pingree as Eleutherios has been published: PINGREE, « The Horoscope of Constantinople », p. 312. Chapter 141 (*P*₂, fol. 56r, « On hearing if [something is] true and if it is good or bad »), matches with slight differences the text found in Eleutherios's compilations in MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica gr. 29, fol. 30v (Chapter 113) and MS Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria C, VII, 10 (B, VI, 12), fol. 60 (MS no longer extant). It should be noted that the chapter in the Biblioteca Angelica manuscript is written in a different hand than the rest of the codex, and thus may not properly belong to the place within Abū Ma'shar's *Mysteria* where it is placed in the codex.

¹¹⁴ HEPHAESTIO OF THEBES, *Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae Quattor*, p. 100–103.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Chapter 5 = Dorotheos, Chapter 17: DOROTHEUS, *Carmen astrologicum*, ed. DAVID PINGREE, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1976 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. 401. It is likely that the other two chapters were also derived from earlier Greek astrologers, though

topics discussed by Hephaestio, are attributed to Dorotheos, Abū Maʿshar, Theon of Alexandria, and al-Khayyāṭ. As neither the Dorotheos or Theon quotes are known otherwise, it is likely that both were translated from Arabic – especially since the continuation of chapter seven in the following folios' margins contains two quotes from Dorotheos explicitly said to come from Arabic.¹¹⁶ These folios are additionally accompanied in the margins by excerpts attributed to Abū Maʿshar, al-Kindī, al-ʿImrānī, and Sahl.¹¹⁷

Here, we see how the Greek and Greco-Arabic astrological traditions come together: the compilers of V accompanied the epitome of Hephaestio's Greek astrological compilation with supplementary texts that had been translated from Arabic. These included both Arabic scholars who were using the same Greek sources as Hephaestio, and new Greek versions of lost originally Greek sources made from Arabic. Thus, in Arabo-Greek translation, Byzantine astrology came full circle by integrating Arabic thinkers working in the Greek tradition, and reintegrating materials from Greek authors that were no longer extant in non-epitomized versions by the eleventh century. In these practically-minded compendia, we can catch a glimpse of how Middle Byzantine astrologers aimed their work at present circumstance, by borrowing from and building on forebearers whose works had been transmitted across the Greek and Arabic traditions.

Conclusions

I have argued against Pingree's claim that many translations were produced around 1000, postulating instead that these three compendia show how a variety of Arabic astrological texts were translated into Greek in the late tenth through twelfth centuries in part, in whole, and *ad hoc*. This was part of a larger transmission of Arabic knowledge into Greek in this period, rendering Arabic scholarship that had been

Hephaestio's sources here have not yet been identified. Elsewhere, the three chapters on fol. 175r from Book III of Epitome II of Hephaestio (Chapter 13–15), come from Dorotheos and Valens and were thus available in Arabic. For Chapters 13–14 (« on surgeries », « on vomit and cleansing » = 32 and 34), see *Ibid.*, p. 419–420. For Chapter 15 (= and « on coming together [i.e. sexually] and about bearing male children and bearing female children »), see VETTIUS VALENS, *Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. DAVID PINGREE, Teubner, Leipzig 1986 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. 351–352.

¹¹⁶ These two quotes that are translated from the Arabic Dorotheos are found in the margins of V, fol. 173r and 173v.

¹¹⁷ Each author is quoted as follows: Abū Maʿshar (fol. 171v, 172r, 173r), al-Kindī (fol. 171v, 172r, 172v), al-ʿImrānī (fol. 172r), and Sahl ibn Bishr (fol. 173r).

produced in the wake of Baghdad's Greco-Arabic translation movement into Greek. These manuscripts illustrate extensive attempts to integrate preeminent 'Abbāsid astrological authorities who had often worked from translated versions of ancient and late antique Greek sources into the Byzantine canon. These Arabic astrological authors were no black sheep in comparison to older and greater Greek authorities. Far from it. In a similar manner to the Latin *Book of Nine Judges*, we see particularly in V how « the wisest » Abū Ma'shar, Māshā'allāh, and Sahl were referred to in the same breath as Ptolemy, Dorotheos, or Valens. Yet even as astrology thrived under eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantine imperial patrons, culminating in the court of Manuel Komnenos, it was challenged by those who were skeptical of its conformity with Byzantine Orthodoxy, claiming it to be deterministic.¹¹⁸ The consciously foreign wisdom encapsulated within astrological manuscripts both lent it authority and put it under more severe scrutiny for its apparent disagreement with Christian practice. In the three manuscripts considered here, we see different ways in which Arabic knowledge was integrated into Greek astrological compendia by different compilers: whether without mention of Arabic authors as in P₂, with some separation between originally Greek and Arabic texts as in P₁, or openly and proudly in conjunction with Greek authors as in V. It is not a coincidence that V was compiled at astrology's apogee in Middle Byzantium, in the late Komnenian period.

Though these manuscripts do not predominantly preserve full versions of Arabo-Greek translations, we should recognize that compilation was a feature – not a bug – of Byzantine intellectual practice. While certain texts of Arabic authorities like Māshā'allāh or Sahl may primarily have been available to eleventh-century Byzantines in epitomized or excerpted versions, the same was the case for Greek authorities like Dorotheos or Julian of Laodikeia. Rather than lamenting what is lost in transmission, we should view compilation as a productive way of organizing and canonizing knowledge to make it accessible to contemporary scholars. Both in Byzantium and in Early Modern Europe – where these manuscripts ended up – Arabic authors were read in Greek alongside Greek authorities they themselves had used. We should embrace the wealth of Byzantine scientific compilations for what they tell us about how texts and translations functioned in medieval intellectual culture.

¹¹⁸ MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 109–132; PAUL MAGDALINO, « Astrology at the Court of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) », in MICHAEL GRÜNBART (ed.), *Unterstützung bei herrscherlichem Entscheiden: Experten und ihr Wissen in transkultureller und komparativer Perspektive*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2021 (Kulturen des Entscheidens, 5), p. 160–170; ANNE-LAURENCE CAUDANO, « An Astrological Handbook from the Reign of Manuel I Komnenos », *Almagest*, 3/2 (2012), p. 46–65; CAUDANO, « Astrological Practices in the Handbooks of the Komnenoi Period ».

In my larger work, I explore what this large-scale transmission of astrological ideas from Arabic to Greek means for the stories of Antiochene Greco-Arabica, Byzantine intellectual history, and intercultural contact between Greek and Arabic-speakers in the Byzantine Empire. This story fits into a larger attempt to transmit scientific knowledge from Arabic to Greek that took off in the tenth century in the wake of the Greco-Arabic translation movement and continued in waves for five centuries, until the fall of Byzantium, and needs to be looked at in a broader Mediterranean context. Arabo-Greek astrology bears remarkable similarities and connections to Arabo-Latin astrological translation, including the translations of similar texts and authorities and the production of similar Arabic-based astrological compendia.¹¹⁹ Moreover, some of the key early translators into Latin worked in formerly Byzantine contexts in Antioch and southern Italy.¹²⁰ While Arabo-Greek astrological translation does not seem to have become a translation movement to a similar extent as Arabo-Latin in crafting a corpus in the target language replete with complete astrological texts, nevertheless, as I hope to have shown, we still only have a miniscule idea of Arabo-Greek translation's extent and context. Translations must be catalogued, late manuscripts must be investigated for earlier layers they contain, and more work remains to be done.

¹¹⁹ On the translation of similar texts, see PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar in Arabic, Greek, and Latin »; PINGREE, « Māshā'allāh: Greek, Pahlavī, Arabic and Latin Astrology »; ABŪ MA'SHAR, *The Great Introduction to Astrology*, ed. KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT, DAVID PINGREE, Brill, Boston 2019 (Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, 106). On comparable compilations, see BURNETT, « A Hermetic Programme of Astrology and Divination in mid-Twelfth-Century Aragon: The Hidden Preface in the *Liber Novem Iudicum* ».

¹²⁰ CHARLES BURNETT, « Translation and Transmission of Greek and Islamic Science to Latin Christendom », in DAVID C. LINDBERG, MICHAEL H. SHANK (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. II: Medieval Science, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, p. 341–364; BURNETT, « Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries »; BURNETT, « The Transmission of Arabic Astronomy via Antioch and Pisa in the Second Quarter of the Twelfth Century »; GRUPE, « Stephen of Pisa's Theory of the Oscillating Deferents of the Inner Planets (1h. 12th C.) ».

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THE GREEK FRAGMENTS OF THE WORKS OF MĀŠĀ'ALLĀH IBN AṬARĪ*

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Abstract

This article provides an overview of the Greek mentions of the Arabic astrologers Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī and Abū Ma'šar al-Balḥī, together with the edition of the Greek fragments explicitly attributed to Māšā'allāh, based on all their known witnesses. Moreover, a general introduction to the Greek tradition of the two astrologers and a discussion of their mentions in the MS *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1056* are supplied.

Key Words

Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī, Abū Ma'šar al-Balḥī, Astrology, Manuscripts, Arabic into Greek.



Introduction

The present contribution offers a preliminary survey of the dissemination of Arabic astrology in Byzantium by focusing on the mentions of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī (d. 815) and Abū Ma'šar al-Balḥī (d. 886).¹ In addition to this, it supplies

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¹ For a summary of the life and works of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « Māšā'allāh », in CHARLES GILLISPIE (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 9, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1974, p. 159–162; FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, Brill, Leiden 1979, p. 102–08; DAVID PINGREE, « Masha'allah: Greek, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Latin Astrology », in AHMAD HASNAOUI, ABDELALI ELAMRANI-JAMAL, MAROUN AOUAD (eds.), *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque. Actes du colloque de la SIHSPAI, Société Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences et de la Philosophie Arabes et Islamiques*, Paris, 31 mars–

the edition of the fragments explicitly attributed to Māshā'allāh in the Greek manuscript tradition. The main goal of the article therefore is to make available a corpus of Greek translations of Arabic astrological material to better grasp the interests Byzantine scholars had in such a branch of knowledge. On one hand, the studies carried out by David Pingree – together with the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (i.e. CCAG) that was compiled between 1898 and 1953 –² had a pivotal role in the development of this field of study, but a comprehensive and systematic overview is still a *desideratum*.³ On the other hand, it is difficult to access Greek translations of Arabic texts: both because of their abstruseness and, most importantly, because they still often lie in manuscripts.

To clarify the presence of the above-mentioned scholars from the Islamicate world in Byzantium, the obliged starting point is the analysis of the astrological Graeco-Arabic manuscript corpus (thirteenth-seventeenth century) that has come down to us. The following tables list the occurrences of Abū Ma'shar's and Māshā'allāh's works in the Greek tradition, together with the mention of their names, to the extent I am aware.⁴ The first table concerns Abū Ma'shar's works; the

3 avril 1993, Peeters Publisher-Institut du monde arabe, Leuven-Paris 1997 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 79), p. 123–136 and, more recently, Id., « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », in MARIA MAVROUDI, PAUL MAGDALINO (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'Or, Geneva 2006, p. 231–243. On Abū Ma'shar al-Balḥī, cf. at least SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, p. 139–151; CHARLES BURNETT, « Abū Ma'shar », in KATE FLEET, GUDRUN KRÄMER, DENIS MATRINGE, JOHN NAWAS, EVERETT ROWSON (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2008; Id., « Abū Ma'shar (AD 787–886) and his Major Texts on Astrology », in GHERARDO GNOLI, ANTONIO PANAINO (eds.), *Kayd. Studies in History of Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology in Memory of David Pingree*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome 2009 (Serie Orientale Roma, 102), p. 17–29 and the previous bibliography recorded there; the proceedings of the conference CHARLES BURNETT (ed.), *Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī: a 'Philosophus' in Ninth-Century Baghdad*, Warburg Institute, London, 27 October 2018 (forthcoming).

² See at least the CCAG, which provides extensive descriptions of the contents of Greek astrological manuscripts, together with the edition of many excerpts. Cf. also DAVID PINGREE (ed.), *Albumasaris, De revolutionibus nativitatum*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1968 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Auctores Graeci); Id., « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », *Viator*, 7 (1976), p. 141–195; Id., « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), p. 227–239; Id., « Masha'allah: Greek, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Latin Astrology », DAVID PINGREE, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, The Warburg Institute, London 1997 (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 26) and PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », which offers in-depth, although often labyrinthine, analyses.

³ An important contribution to the field is the article by Joe Glynias in this same issue.

⁴ The tables are still provisional: they aim to be a starting point – in combination with the information given by the CCAG and <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>> – for the study of Arabo-Greek astrological arguments. The *diktyon* of each manuscript is specified in correspondence of its first occurrence. Online reproductions and a preliminary analysis of the codices here mentioned can be found through *Pinakes*. For reason of space, the overview of the Greek manuscript tradition

second one focuses on the excerpts of the collection entitled *Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'šar* (i.e. the *Mysteries*) as contained in the rich *marginalia* of the manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1056 – a codex particularly relevant for the present study, and for the study of Arabic astrology in Greek *tout court*, both for its dating and for its contents –;⁵ and the third one is about Māšā' allāh's works and mentions.

This article is laid out as follows: (I) after sketching an overview of Abū Ma'šar's and Māšā' allāh's Greek occurrences and briefly presenting the Byzantine translations of their works, (II) it will focus on the importance of *Vat. gr.* 1056 by giving a concise description of the codex, (III) and then it will supply the text of the Greek fragments of Māšā' allāh's works. The appendices contain two additional texts that have been mentioned in the article.

Shelfmark	Folia	Contents
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1577 (gr. 173) (c. 14 th –15 th) [Diktyon, 9478]	136r	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ γινώσκουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῶν.
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632 (305) (c. 1440) [Diktyon, 9761]	272r–273v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. γ'–δ', η'–ιβ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρκθ'–ρλβ', ρλζ'; <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. οε', μζ', π', ρμγ'–ρμδ', ρμζ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρνα', ρνε'–ρνζ'
	280r–281v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. κθ'–λ', ρηη'–σ'; <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρλζ', ρνα', ρξδ', ιδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηη', σζ'–σιε', ρα', ρκ'–ρκη'
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Φ.I.5 (gr. 183) (16 th > 1542) [Diktyon, 15137]	210r–316v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρηγ'–ρηη', ρκς' <i>om.</i> ; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηβ' (part.); <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. κδ'–κη' <i>om.</i>
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, R.I.14 (gr. 14) (15 th) [Diktyon, 15286]	191r, 192r–192v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ξζ'–οα', οζ'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,	233r–v	Περὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν Σελήνην ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά.

that is supplied here cannot be analysed thoroughly. For more information about the codices, cf. the corresponding catalogue's entries, together with the ones in the CCAG.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 247–249.

<i>plut.</i> 28.14 (14 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 16195]		
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>plut.</i> 28.33 (1542) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 16214]	3r-192r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'-ρξδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'-σκα'; <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. α'-ξη'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>plut.</i> 28.36 (15 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 16217]	1r-91v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'-ρξδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'-πβ'
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. <i>gr.</i> F° 9 (16 th -17 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 38017]	1r-8r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'-λη' (ch. θ': different ending; some variations in the last chapters)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 38 sup. (<i>gr.</i> 88) (15 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 42310]	1r-93r	<i>Mysteries</i> α' (ch. ριγ'-ριη' <i>om.</i>); <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηβ' (part.); <i>Mysteries</i> γ', (ch. κδ'-κη' <i>om.</i>)
	146v	Mention in subscription
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 2 inf. (<i>gr.</i> 1030) (16 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 42845]	262r	Mention
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <i>Cod. graec.</i> 287 (1491) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 44734]	1r-2r	Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως. Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων ὁποῖον βούλει. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνικίου (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πρ(άσεως). Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως. Περὶ γάμων. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀπολρισιαρίων (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ τόπου (<i>sic</i>) δεῖ ἐπάρειν βοήθημα. Ὅταν ἡ Σελήνη μόνη ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ζῳδίοις.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 94 (15 th -16 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 47381]	68r-75v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'-λη' (ch. κε'-λη' are added by a later hand)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 12 (15 th -16 th) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 47802]	400-401	Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολεύοντος καὶ διέπον (<i>sic</i>) ἐπὶ πάσης καταρχῆς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι φυλάττειν τὴν τε πρώτην καὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν τῶν δύο τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμερῶν, τῆς δ' καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, cf. <i>Introductio et fundamentum astrologiae</i> by Ahmed the Persian.

		Περὶ τοῦ ποῖος τετράγωνος τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης οὐκ ἔστι βλαπτικός τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ. Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ πῶς ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τοῖς φρέασιν οὔσα οὐ βλάπτεται ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖται. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἄν τύχη ὁμοιον σημαιομένη Ἄρει ἡ Σελήνη.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 109 (15 th) [Diktyon, 48177]	158r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρνα'</i>
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 110 (1428) [Diktyon, 48178]	17r–18r	Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως. Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων, ὅποιον βούλει. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνικεῖσαι (sic) ἐν τόπῳ. Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πράσεως. Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως. Περὶ γάμου. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀποκρισιαρίων. Περὶ τόπου (sic) δεῖ ἐπάρειν βοήθημα. Τῆς Σελήνης μόνης οὔσης ἐν τοῖς ζῳδίοις.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2381 (c. 1371) [Diktyon, 52013]	71v	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. νζ'</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2417 (13 th) [Diktyon, 52049]	4r, 8r	<i>Mysteries β', ch. ρλε', ρμθ'</i>
	25r–26v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ξζ'–οα', οζ' (different ending)</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2419 (15 th) [Diktyon, 52051]	37r–v	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἀπόμαξάρ (sic) κεφάλαια ἀνανκαιῶτατα (sic).
	71v–72r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. ιζ'–ιη'</i>
	137v–139r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. ιδ', ιθ'–κ', ιβ'–ιγ'; Mysteries α', ch. ρμβ', ρμα'; Mysteries β', ch. π'; Mysteries α', ch. ρμη'</i>
	278v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρνζ'</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2504 (16 th) [Diktyon, 52136]	35r	Mention: attribution of the anonymous commentary of Ptolemy's <i>Tetrabiblos</i> : Ἀπομάσσαρος τοῦ παλαιτάτου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν Τετράβιβλον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.
	156r–158v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum (229–239)</i>
	160r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ε'</i>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2506 (14 th) [Diktyon, 52138]	173v–175v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (170–182)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2507 (14 th) [Diktyon, 52139]	62r–63r	Περὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν Σελήνην ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Περὶ ἐπανόδου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπὸ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδήμου. Περὶ συγκοπῆς καὶ φορήσεως ἱματίου. Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων τῆς Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζῳδίων. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνοικιῶσαι (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ ὀρυγῆς φρέατος καὶ πακτεύσεως ὑδάτων. Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ἀγορασίας ψυχαρίων. Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ δουλείας ἀερικῆς (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ ἀγορασίας καὶ πράσεως. Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως. Περὶ γάμου. Περὶ συνελύσεως χάριν γονῆς παιδίων ἀρρένων. Περὶ ἀπογαλακτίσεως βρέφους. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ λουτροῦ. Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίου καὶ ἐνδύσεως αὐτοῦ. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραμμάτων καὶ ἀποκρισιarioῦ. Περὶ βοηθημάτων.
	79r–101v, 113v–123v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2509 (16 th) [Diktyon, 52141]	95v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρνζ', ρνς'
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 1148 (16 th) [Diktyon, 53805]	133v	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ γινώσκουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῶν.
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 29 (1388) [Diktyon, 55936]	10r–39v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–ρξδ' (ρζ' <i>om.</i> , some chapters are in the wrong order)
	39v–67v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'–σκα'

	68r–91r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. α'–ξη'</i>
	237v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. δ' (longer version)</i>
Saint Petersburg, академия наук, О N° 128 (1448) [Diktyon, 56834]	194r–201r, 1r–2r	<i>Mysteries β', ch. α'–λη'</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 127 (15 th) [Diktyon, 64675]	114r	Εἶδον ἐν Περσικῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ὁ ὠροσκόπος τῆς ἐναλλαγῆς τοῦ ἔτους. Εἶδον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐὰν εὗρης ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔτους ἐναλλαγῇ.
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. gr. 312 (15 th –16 th) [Diktyon, 66044]	17v–18r	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἀπομαζὰρ κεφάλαια ἀναγκαιότατα.
	116r	cf. <i>Mysteries β', ch. δ'</i>
	160v	Mention
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 191 (13 th –14 th) [Diktyon, 66822]	248v–286v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1056 (13 th) [Diktyon, 67687]	1r	Mention
	31r–32r	Mention
	33r	Mention
	46r–v (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι παρῆν ἐγώ. Κρίσις τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ.
	64v (marg.)	Ἐρωτηθεῖς (sic) ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τῆς ἐρωτήσεως.
	69v–71r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρβ', ξ'–ξδ'</i>
	72v (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἀπὸ πείρας ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς τέχνης βιβλίων ἔγνωμεν τοῦτο. Ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ' τόπου – τὸν κύριον τοῦ η'.
		Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι μὴ ἀποτελέσεις περὶ θανάτου – θανεῖται ὁ νοσῶν.
	74v (marg.)	Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου – καὶ τῆς Σελήνης.
	75v (marg.)	Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος.
	80v (marg.)	Περὶ κλοπῆς λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ.
	89r (marg.)	Ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ὀλίγα περὶ πολέμου, ὅσα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ εἶπον, εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο – περὶ τοῦ ζ' καὶ τοῦ η'.
		Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ἐρωτηθεῖς (sic) οὗτος, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' – ὅπερ οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι.

		Εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου — νικᾷ ὁ ἀντίδικος.
	90r	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. σκ'
	94v (marg.)	Περὶ τοῦ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς ὡς εἰ ἔστιν ὁ δεῖνα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ μετέβη, λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ — λέγε ὅτι ἐξῆλθε.
	101r (marg.)	Περὶ ἄρχοντος πεσόντος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ.
	106r, 107v–108r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρη', ρθ'–ριβ'
	111r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ριθ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξβ'
	111v (marg.)	Περὶ φήμης εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ βούλει γινῶναι — καὶ ἐφορᾷ αὐτόν.
	152v	Ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ εἰ θέλεις ἰδεῖν — μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου τούτων.
	155v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ια', ρο' (part.); <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. με' (part.); cf. <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ριε'; <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ια'
	170v–172r (marg.)	Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅταν εἰσέρχηται τις — καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ. Περὶ ἀποδημίας. Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ· εἰ βούλει ἐκβαλεῖν τινα ἐπὶ πόλεμον — τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον. Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀποδημία — τὴν κοσμικὴν διαίρεσιν.
	173r (marg.)	Ἀπομάσαρ λέγει ὅτι ἡ Σελήνη ἀεὶ ἡττημένη — εἰς τὰς μεγάλας ἐκλογάς.
	174v (marg.)	Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ἄξιον λόγου καὶ πάνυ τῶν αἰρετῶν — ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθοποιῶν.
	193v	Mention
	194r–221v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'–σζ'
	221v–234r, 24r–27v	<i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. α'–ζ', ι'–ιδ' a–d, ις' (beginning), ιη'–κ', κγ'–κδ', κβ', κε'–λς' (part.), με' (part.)–νς', ζς'–ζζ', κα'
	234v	Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων.
	235v–236r	Κεφάλαια ἀναγκαῖα κατ' ἐρώτησιν τοῦ Γασάμη καὶ ἀποκρίσις τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ.
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.	1r–101v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–ρξδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'–σκα'; <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. α'–ξη'

gr. 1057 (1542) [Diktyon, 67688]		
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr. 1058</i> (15 th) [Diktyon, 67689]	454r-457v	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. κα'</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr. 1066</i> (15 th) [Diktyon, 67697]	103v-124r	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (ch. 3.9-4.7)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr. 1698</i> (15 th) [Diktyon, 68327]	86r-104r, 104r-106r	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (ch. 245-273.33; 167-170.5)
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, <i>gr. Z. 324</i> (coll. 640) (14 th) [Diktyon, 69795]	231v	cf. <i>Mysteries β', ch. δ'</i>
	326r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. με' (part.)</i>
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, <i>gr. Z. 334</i> (coll. 553) (13 th -14 th) [Diktyon, 69805]	38v	Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ταῦτα τὰ τετράγωνα.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, <i>gr. Z. 335</i> (coll. 645) (14 th -15 th) [Diktyon, 69806]	125v	Περὶ ἄρχοντος πεσόντος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς.
	208r-211v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'-θ'</i>
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <i>hist. gr. 122</i> (16 th) [Diktyon, 70999]	33r-43r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'-κα'</i>
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <i>phil. gr. 108</i> (15 th) [Diktyon, 71222]	205r-207v	Καὶ περὶ κλήρου τύχης ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ζωδίοις.
	267v-268v	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἀπομαξὰρ ἀναγκαιότατα κεφάλαια ἀπὸ δοκιμασιῶν.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <i>phil. gr. 115</i> (13 th) [Diktyon, 71229]	117r-120r	Περὶ τῶν ὑποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ φήμης. Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ περὶ ὥροσκόπου εἰσελεύσεως ἀπὸ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδήμου ἀπὸ ἐρωτήσεως. Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως ἐν ὑγείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

		Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζῳδίων. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνοικίου. Περὶ ὀρυγῆς πηγᾶδων καὶ πακτεύσεως ὑδάτων. Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας Περὶ ἀγορᾶς ψυχαρίων. Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ δουλείας ἀερικῆς (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πράσεως. Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ συκιάσεως (<i>sic</i>). Περὶ γάμου. Περὶ συνελεύσεως χάριν γονῆς παιδὸς ἀρρένου. Περὶ ἀποκοπῆς βρέφους ἀπὸ τοῦ γαλακτισμοῦ. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ λουτροῦ. Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίου καὶ ἐνδύσεως αὐτοῦ. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραμμάτων καὶ ἀποκρισιarίων. Περὶ βοηθήματος.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <i>phil. gr.</i> 262 (15 th) [Diktyon, 71376]	152v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. δ' (?)

Table 1

Mysteries α'

Folia	Chapter
45v	πδ', πθ'
53r	ρκζ'
66v	π' (part.)
68r	ιζ', ρκς'
69v	ρα' (2 nd half)
70r	ρνε'
77r	νζ'
77v	οβ'

Mysteries β'

Folia	Chapter
45r	νζ' (Ἄλλως)
71v	ρλη'
72r	ρλε' (abbrv.), ιη', π'
	Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ Ἥλιος κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου — οἱ β' συνοδεύοντες.
73r	ρμζ'
73v	ρμθ'

78r	ογ'
80v	μ'
81v	μδ'
82r	με', μζ', μζ'
82v	με', νβ', μη'
83v	μθ'
84r	μβ'
84v	να'
90r	ρλα'
93v	ρκ'
94v	ρζ'–ᾗλλωζ, ρκγ' (cf.)
97r	ρμθ'
100v	ιβ'
101v	ρκη'
104r	ρκδ'
111r	ριθ'
166v	νθ'
173v	ρκα'
175r	ριζ'
177v	οε'
180r	νζ'
184v	νη'
193r	ζ'

75r	ρλζ', ρλδ', ρλζ', ρλε'
75v	οδ'
87r	λη'
91v	σιθ'
93r	ση'
95r	ρλδ'
100r	οθ'
111r	ξβ'
111v	σκα'
166r	ρη'
180r	ρνδ'
180v	ρλ', ρλβ'

Mysteries γ'

<i>Folia</i>	Chapter
144v	με' (part.)

Table 2

Shelfmark	<i>Folia</i>	Contents
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Φ.I.5 (<i>gr.</i> 183) (16 th > 1542) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 15137]	235r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	252r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	261v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ξ'
	266r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>Plut.</i> 28.33 (1542) [<i>Diktyon</i> , 16214]	49r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	78v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	95r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ξ'
	103v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	23r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	37r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 38 <i>sup.</i> (gr. 88) (15 th) [Diktyon, 42310]	44v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	48v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II.C.33 (15 th) [Diktyon, 46079]	403r	Mention
	406v	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	410r-v	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 94 (15 th -16 th) [Diktyon, 47381]	100v	Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 12 (15 th -16 th) [Diktyon, 47802]	436	Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φίλων. Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φιλίας.
	437	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔσται τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
	441-442	Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
	445	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	446	Περὶ τοῦ ε' τόπου.
	447-449	Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden <i>Supra</i> 17 (14 th -15 th) [Diktyon, 48462]	114r	Mention
	117v	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	120r	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔσται τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2424 (14 th) [Diktyon, 52056]	205v	Mention
	206v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔσται τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 29 (1388) [Diktyon, 55936]	30r	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρβ'
	43v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	50v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	54r	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	68v-69r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 3r
	152v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 23v
	153v-154r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 22r-v
	157r-v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 2v; 21v; 23v-24v
	167v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 13r-v
	170v-171r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 7v-11v
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1056 (13 th) [Diktyon, 67687]	48r-v	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	48v-49r	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	49v-50r	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	64r	Mention
	67r	⟨Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς⟩.
	68v	Περὶ χρέους.
	68v-69r	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	69v	Mention (<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρβ')

	70r	Περὶ παιδὸς γίνεται ἡ οὖ.
	70v	⟨ἡ Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς ἄρα ἀληθὴς ἐστι ἢ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής⟩.
	73r (marg.)	Περὶ ἰατρείας.
	74r-v	Περὶ δούλου εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ μεταβήσεται πρὸς ἐτέραν δεσποτεῖαν.
	74v-75r	Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος γίνεται ἡ οὖ γίνεται.
	75r (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα — γενήσεται αὐθις.
	86r (marg.)	Τὸν Μασάλα ἐρώτησιν — παρὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου σοφοῦ Μασάλα.
	90v-91r	Περὶ ἀποδημίας γίνεται ἡ οὖ.
	95v (marg.)	Τὸ τοιοῦτον θεμάτιόν ἐστιν — ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.
	97r	Περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐρωτῶντος εἰ προσληφθήσεται παρὰ βασιλέως ἢ ἐξουσιαστοῦ.
	100v (marg.)	Λέγει ὁ Μασάλα — ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ ὥροσκόπου μέρεσιν.
	106r	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐστὶ τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐναντίον.
	111r-112r	Περὶ φήμης εἰ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδής.
	195v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	202v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	205v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ιγ'
	234v	Mention
	242r-v	Λόγος τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μασάλα — τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν τοιοῦτων βιβλίων.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 334 (coll. 553) (13 th -14 th) [Diktyon, 69805]	148v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔσται τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 335 (coll. 645) (14 th -15 th) [Diktyon, 69806]	310v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔσται τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
	394r	Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.
	Pinax	ρζ' Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr. 122 (16 th) [Diktyon, 70999]	81r-87v	Περὶ χρόνου ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἀπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν δώδεκα τόπων τοῦ Μασάλα. Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐνὶ ἀγαθὸν τινὶ ἢ κακόν.

Table 3

I. *Status Quaestionis*

Before presenting some astrological sections found especially in *Vat. gr.* 1056, it is useful to briefly summarize which works by Abū Maʿšar al-Balḥī (Ἀπομάσαρ) and Māšāʾallāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī (Μασάλλα)⁶ were translated from Arabic into Byzantine Greek, and to make some remarks about the above-mentioned Vatican manuscript. From the list of the occurrences of their works, it appears clear that the former is far more widespread than the latter. From a quantitative point of view, it has been possible to find forty-three codices dated from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. They are distributed as follows: three dated to the thirteenth century; two to the thirteenth-fourteenth century; eight to the fourteenth century; three from the fourteenth-fifteenth century; fifteen to the fifteenth century; three to the fifteenth-sixteenth century; eight to the sixteenth century and one to the sixteenth-seventeenth century. Therefore, their works are attested from the thirteenth century onwards, and the interest Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) scholars nourished towards them grew over time, booming in the fifteenth century.

The epitomized translations of three complete works by Abū Maʿšar are well known: the *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities* (*Kitāb fī taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd*, Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐτῶν ἐναλλαγῆς), the *Book of the Great Introduction to Astrology* (*Kitāb al-mudḥal al-kabīr ilā ʿilm al-ḥkām al-nuḡūm*, Ἡ εἰσαγωγή τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ)⁷ and the *Dialogues on Astrology* (*Mudākarāt fī ʿilm al-nuḡūm*, Ἡ β' ἀποτελεσματικὴ βίβλος τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ).⁸ The last two of them are preserved

⁶ There is no univocal agreement on the transliteration into Greek of neither Māšāʾallāh's name nor Abū Maʿšar's. Nevertheless, for the former the most common are Μασάλλα, Μασάλα and Μασάλης, while for the latter are Ἀπομάσαρ, Ἀπομάσσαρ, Ἀπομάζαρ, Ἀπομαζάρ and Ἀπομάσσαρος.

⁷ On the title of this work, cf. PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Albumasariana », *Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'*. *Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, 62 (2002), p. 19–28. For its critical edition and English translation, cf. KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Maʿšar*, with an Edition of the Greek Version by DAVID PINGREE, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2019 (*Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies*, 106).

⁸ The critical edition of this work, together with the one of the first book of the *Mysteries*, is in progress: I hope to publish it sooner rather than later. On this text, cf. GRAZIELLA FEDERICI VESCOVINI, « *Albumasar in Sadan e Pietro d'Abano* », in BIANCAMARIA SCARCIA AMORETTI (ed.), *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo europeo*. Roma, 2–4 ottobre 1984, Convegno internazionale, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome 1987, p. 29–55, EAD., *I Segreti astrologici di Albumasar*, Nino Aragno Editore, Turin 2000 (*Speculum Historiale*, 2), EAD., « *La versio latina degli Excerpta de secretis Albumasar di Sadan* », *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 65 (1998), p. 273–330, CHARLES BURNETT, « *Albumasar in Sadan in the Twelfth Century* », in GIANCARLO MARCHETTI, ORSOLA RIGNANI, VALERIA SORGE (eds.), *Ratio et Superstitio. Essays in Honor of Graziella*

in a three-volume compilation entitled: *Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'šar* in the third and in the second book, respectively. A few remarks might be made in this regard: (i) while the contents of the second and third book only are well known and surely have an Arabic equivalent, the first book consists of one hundred sixty-four chapters attributed to Abū Ma'šar whose Arabic parallels have not yet been identified;⁹ (ii) the most ancient complete witness of the three-volume compilation is the manuscript *Ang. gr.* 29 copied in 1388 by the astrologer Eleutherios.¹⁰ In more ancient codices (such as the *Vat. gr.* 1056 and the *Par. gr.* 2417) only excerpts – different in length – are preserved: the first book is not attested in a complete or almost-complete form anywhere except in the *Ang. gr.* 29 and the manuscripts related to it.

The translations of Arabic astrological texts – and Abū Ma'šar's in particular – are dated by Pingree around the year 1000¹¹ but, as demonstrated by Glynias on the basis of the manuscript evidence, the span of time in which they were made has to be narrowed from the late tenth to the twelfth century, depending on the texts.¹² One of the key points of Pingree's argumentation is the dating of the contents of the astrological compendia preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056: he assigned them to around the eleventh century from the horoscopes contained in the manuscript.¹³ The case of the Vatican manuscript is especially relevant for the study of Abū Ma'šar's *Mysteries* because, while most of the chapters of the second and third book are contiguous (fol. 194r–221v and fol. 221v–234r), the ones composing the first book are scattered throughout the whole codex and are especially found in its *marginalia* (often due to later hands), as emerges clearly

Federici Vescovini, *Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2003, p. 59–68, and DAVID PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'šar in Arabic, Greek and Latin », in *Ratio et Superstitio*, p. 41–58.

⁹ Abū Ma'šar's *Mysteries* in the form it is now preserved seems to respond to the desire of Byzantine scholars to have an anthology of most of the astrological works by the same author.

¹⁰ On Eleutherios, cf. at least DAVID PINGREE, « The Astrological School of John Abramius », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1971), p. 189–215, and PAUL MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues : la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VII^e–XIV^e siècle*, Lethielleux, Paris 2006 (*Réalités byzantines*, 12), p. 101. The identification made by Pingree, based on the horoscopes he is associated with, seems to be more convincing than Magdalino's critiques.

¹¹ DAVID PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome 1997 (*Serie Orientale Roma*, 78), p. 63–71.

¹² See Glynias's article in this same issue.

¹³ DAVID PINGREE (ed.), *Hephaestionis Thebani, Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae quattuor*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1973–1974 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Auctores Graeci, 51.1–2), p. xxi; DAVID PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 71; ANNE TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*, 60 (1990), p. 401–425; MARIA MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources*, Brill, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002 (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500*, 36), p. 399–400 and *infra*, p. 248–249.

from Table 2.¹⁴ The analysis of the manuscript tradition therefore leads to two provisional conclusions: (i) Abū Maʿšār's *Mysteries* was not available in the three-book form to the compiler of the Vatican codex, and (ii) it has been assembled in this form by Eleutherios or, at least, it has been copied by him from a now-lost antigraph.¹⁵

Considering this, it is possible to assess two further considerations: (i) as typical in astrological texts, they are organized in brief sections that are easy to be excerpted and used as needed, as confirmed by the wide circulation of their small excerpts; (ii) from the philological analysis of the manuscripts it emerges that the *Vat. gr.* 1056 and the *Ang. gr.* 29 are witnesses of two *recensiones* of the texts they share.¹⁶ This is especially true in the case of Abū Maʿšār's *Mysteries*: not only for the second and third book, but also for the sections of the first one they both preserve.¹⁷ The hypothesis that *Vat. gr.* 1056 has been used as antigraph of *Ang. gr.* 29 should be excluded. This can be explained by omissions and lengthly variants.¹⁸ Another minor hint in favour of this is that, among the many hands that annotated it, neither Eleutherios's writing nor the ones of Dionysios or his other known collaborators are recognizable.¹⁹ The circulation of single chapters and sets of chapters is attested in the manuscript tradition.²⁰ Moreover, the fact that some manuscripts (*i.e.* *Vind. phil. gr.* 115) preserve chapters attributed to Abū Maʿšār that are not linked to the *Mysteries* allows one to suppose that the circulation of his texts was wider than the one attested today.²¹

I.1. *Vat. gr.* 1056: Abū Maʿšār's Mentions

Looking at the manuscripts containing Abū Maʿšār's mentions and works, it is possible to point out some details. Beside the *Mysteries*, the other known texts by Abū Maʿšār in Greek are some sections on catarchic and interrogational astrology

¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 234–235.

¹⁵ The sections by Abū Maʿšār that are preserved in *Vind. phil. gr.* 115 are not included in the *Mysteries*, therefore it cannot be put in relation with the manuscript used by Eleutherios.

¹⁶ CCAG, V.3, p. 7–64; V.1, p. 4–57.

¹⁷ In this regard, cf. also the *Appendix I* where the two *recensiones* of one and the same chapter of the first book of Abū Maʿšār's *Mysteries* are included.

¹⁸ See *Appendix II* (*Mysteries* α'), RAÚL CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ, « Sobre los signos que indican los deseos amorosos: problemas de autoría en torno a un texto astrológico transmitido en el *Comentario Anónimo al Tetrabiblos* de Tolomeo », *MINERVA. Revista de Filología Clásica*, 31 (2018), p. 150–153 (*Mysteries* β') and KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Maʿšār*, ch. κε' (*Mysteries* γ').

¹⁹ PINGREE, « The Astrological School of John Abramius ».

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 227–234.

²¹ The *Vind. phil. gr.* 115 (early thirteenth century) contains sections on interrogational and catarchic astrology attributed to Abū Maʿšār that show affinities with the *Laur. Plut.* 28.34 (eleventh century). I hope soon to publish the first edition of such excerpts.

and the *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities*. Its Greek title is postulated by Pingree as « Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐτῶν ἐναλλαγῆς », ²² and it is confirmed by two hitherto neglected mentions preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 31r-v. Both of them are included in the introduction to two anonymous lists of stars derived by the *Mumtaḥan Zīj* by Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr. ²³ In the first case, it is named « Ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐναλλαγῶν βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ » and conveys only an abbreviated version of the title, while in the second case it gives a more complete and literal translation of the Arabic title: « Τῆς τῶν ἐναλλαγῶν τῶν γενεθλίων βίβλου τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ». ²⁴ This work is preserved in two different *recensiones* as well: the first one is found in *Vat. gr.* 191, the early Palaiologan encyclopaedia composed between the end of thirteenth century and the very beginning of the fourteenth century under the

²² PINGREE (ed.), *Albumasaris, De revolutionibus nativitatum*.

²³ The texts preceding the tables and the tables themselves have been studied in PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Abu Ma'šār, Johannes Hispalensis und Alkameluz », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 120 (1) (1970), p. 103–125, ID., « Die arabische Herkunft von zwei Sternverzeichnissen in cod. Vat. gr. 1056 », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 120 (2) (1970), p. 281–287, and TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance ». An edition of them is in progress. On Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr, cf. at least BENNO VAN DALEN, « Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr: Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā ibn Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim », in THOMAS HOCKEY (ed.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer, New York 2007, p. 1249–1250, on *Mumtaḥan Zīj*, cf. BENNO VAN DALEN, « A Second Manuscript of the *Mumtaḥan Zīj* », *Suḥayl. International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, 4 (2004), p. 9–44.

²⁴ The translation of the text is: « On the positions of the fixed stars, according to the ninth indiction of the year 6669 (i.e. 1161), accurately compiled from three canons: the one by Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Yūnis (*al-Zīj al-kabīr al-Ḥākīmī*), the one by Kūšyār ibn Labbān and the knowledge that has been found and brought by us from Egypt. And having understood the positions, we would mark [them] down here, omitting the fourteen misfortunate stars – the ones that are explained because of 20 (*sic*)–: we registered, indeed, the positions of those fourteen stars, to the degree that we may also find in the *Book of the Revolutions* by Abū Ma'šār, considering their running from that time to the abovementioned ninth indiction [*sequitur tabula*]. Such fixed stars move themselves from West to East, each one of them every year, by 54 and 33 ». It means that the value of the precession is: 0; 0, 54, 33° every year, 1° every 66 years. « Compiled from the *Book of the Revolutions of the Nativities* by Abū Ma'šār, concerning the misfortunate fixed stars, these things are what the most savant Muḡnis – accepting as reliable – showed in his *Book of Nativities*. Abū Ma'šār says that the destructive stars, the misfortunate ones and those infallible towards evil are fourteen, four of which are hot desire, being in temperament from the first and second length, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. And other three stars are inferior to them in range and rank, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. The other seven stars are cloudy, dark and dangerous and destroy life, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. Acknowledge how are those position of such stars of the abovementioned ninth indiction ». As emphasized by Kunitzsch and Tihon, the authorities mentioned by the author are not used for the compilation of the list. Cf. TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 407: « L'auteur byzantin les cite, peut-être parce qu'il disposait d'un manuscrit comportant aussi leurs œuvres, parmi d'autres », nevertheless the mention of these sources allows one to suppose that they were available in Greek already in the twelfth century. On the astronomical tables of Kūšyār ibn Labbān, now cf. BENNO VAN DALEN, *Ptolemaic Tradition and Islamic Innovation: The Astronomical Tables of Kūshyār ibn Labbān*, Brepols, Turnhout 2021 (Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus – Texts 2).

supervision of John Pediasimos,²⁵ while the second one is made in the fourteenth century by Isaac Argyros and it is preserved in one of his two astronomical-astrological compilations, the *Par. gr.* 2507, fol. 79r–101v, 113v–123v.²⁶

These lists of fixed stars, among which is mentioned a certain « ὁ σοφώτατος Μούγνης »,²⁷ are followed by a short section by the same author: he can be identified with the Christian astrologer Ibn Hibintā (fl. 932), the compiler of the astrological anthology named the *Book of the Wealth of Astrology* (*Kitāb al-muǧnī fī aḥkām al-nuǧūm*).²⁸ Their authorship is still anonymous. Pingree advanced the hypothesis that the author could be Symeon Seth, namely on the basis of the fact that on fol. 32r²⁹ is preserved a short text on the axial precession attributed to him

²⁵ For a palaeographical analysis of the codex, cf. ALEXANDER TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City 1964 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi, 28), p. 89–97 and DANIELE BIANCONI, « Libri e mani. Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell'età dei Paleologi », *Segno e Testo. International Journal of Manuscript and Text Transmission*, 2 (2004), p. 324–330. For a more inclusive inquiry, cf. FABIO ACERBI, « Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: A Survey », *Estudios Bizantinos. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Bizantinística*, 4 (2016), p. 192–195, and FABIO ACERBI, ANNA GIOFFREDA, « Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante », *Scripta. An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography*, 12 (2019), p. 9–52.

²⁶ Having been attributed both to Isidore of Kiev and to John Abramios, it was penned by Isaac Argyros, as proposed in BRIGITTE MONDRAIN, « Les écritures dans les manuscrits byzantins du XIV^e siècle », *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, 44 (2007), p. 167 and confirmed in ANNA GIOFFREDA, *Tra i libri di Isacco Argiro*, De Gruyter, Berlin–Boston 2020 (Transmissions. Studies on Conditions, Processes and Dynamics of Textual Transmission, 4). The other astronomical-astrological compilation by Argyros is the *Laur. Plut.* 28.13.

²⁷ To the best of my knowledge, there is only a handful of Byzantine mentions of Μούγνης. These are mostly found in the manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1056, at fol. 31v, 150r–v, 154v (simply mentioned), 157r and in the *marginalia* of fol. 147v and 148v; the excerpt preserved in the margins of fol. 147v is included in a miscellaneous chapter entitled « Περὶ καταρχῶν, διαφορὰ τινῶν σοφῶν » in manuscript *Marc. gr.* Z. 324 (coll. 640), fol. 316r, under the name of the same Μούγνης. Since only the Venetian excerpt has been edited, I hope to edit the text of all the excerpts attributed to Μούγνης in Greek in a future publication.

²⁸ For a presentation of Ibn Hibintā's profile, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « Ibn Hibintā », in CHARLES GILLISPIE (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 6, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1972, p. 381, for the edition of his work is edited, in Arabic, cf. FUAT SEZGIN (ed.), *Kitāb al-muǧnī fī aḥkām al-nuǧūm*, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Frankfurt am Main 1987 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Series C, Facsimile Editions, 41.1–41.2). For other pieces of information concerning this neglected astrologer, cf. at least SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, p. 162–164, and EKMELEDDIN İHSANOĞLU, BORIS ROZENFELD, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and Their Works (7th–19th C.)*, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, Istanbul 2003, p. 30.

²⁹ Abū Ma'šar's authority is mentioned in this excerpt as well: Ἐχουσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οὕτως καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ εἰσὶ καταγεγραμμένοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀπλανεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ἄνευ τινῶν ὀλιγοστῶν, κατὰ τοῦτο περιττὸν ἡμῖν ἔδοξε καταγράψασθαι τούτους καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ὄντας καταγεγραμμένους καταγραφόμεθα οἷτινες καὶ εἰσὶν. The source of Symeon Seth is

by the words « Τοῦ Σηθ ἐκείνου ».³⁰ The presence of the word « ἐκείνου » suggests that Seth was already dead when the manuscript was copied.³¹ They are written by the same hand – even if the first lines of the previous text on the same folio is copied by a different scribe – but the attribution of the previous chapters on the basis of such attribution of the following texts only is fragile. Nevertheless, it is important to stress the fact that the compiler of those lists was perfectly aware of the Greek translation of Abū Ma'šar's *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities* that was already circulating around the year 1161, when the positions of the fixed stars were computed.

1.2. Vat. gr. 1056: Māšā'allāh's Mentions

Considering the translation of Māšā'allāh's works, it is clear that he did not benefit from such interest on the part of the Byzantines, probably because, as argued by Pingree: « The early Islamic astrology of the eighth century had become antiquated by the ninth, when Sahl ibn Bišr and Abū Ma'šar revised and systematized Māšā'allāh's inept and unintegrated borrowings from both the Greek and the Indo-Persian traditions ».³²

The codices mentioning Māšā'allāh's works number only twelve, but four of them are to be left out of the count because they preserve indirect quotations in Abū Ma'šar's *Mysteries*. From the known excerpts, we do not have any preserved textual evidence that the works by Māšā'allāh had been fully translated in Byzantium. The lack of complete translations, however, does not imply that they were not widespread and read in Greek, even in book form. The two main pieces of evidence of the existence of Māšā'allāh's translations in Greek are: (i) the existence of excerpts of translations in the main texts and in the margins of Vat. gr. 1056; (ii) the explicit attestation of the knowledge of Māšā'allāh's book by the

still unknown, but he explicitly mentions that the nine fixed stars he lists are missing in Abū Ma'šar's book. For the complete edition of this short text, cf. PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 192; for an analysis, TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 407–408.

³⁰ PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 69. It is probably an excerpt of a larger work by Symeon Seth, as confirmed in MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, CAROLINE MAGDELAINE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, « Galien en procès à Byzance : l'*Antirrhétique* de Syméon Seth », *Galenos*, 9 (2015), p. 74, n. 18.

³¹ MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 101.

³² PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 242.

copyist and compiler of *Vat. gr.* 1056. On fol. 68v–69r, following a chapter on debts attributed to Hephaestion,³³ it reads:³⁴

Περὶ θησαυρῶν.³⁵

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς³⁶ περὶ θησαυρῶν, ἤγουν³⁷ περὶ τόπου ἐάν ἐστιν ἐκεῖσε³⁸ θησαυρός,³⁹ ἴδε⁴⁰ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ εἰ μὲν⁴¹ ἐστὶν ἐπίκεντρος ἢ καὶ⁴² ὑπάρχουσιν⁴³ ἐν τοῖς κέντροις ἀγαθοποιοί,⁴⁴ ἔστιν⁴⁵ ἐκεῖσε⁴⁶ θησαυρός, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἔστι.⁴⁷ Εἰ δὲ βούλει⁴⁸ γινῶναι⁴⁹ ποῦ ἐστὶν, ἴδε τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα ποῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν⁵⁰ ποίῳ μέρει⁵¹ ἐν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ⁵² τῷ μέρει ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρός, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ἐστὶν⁵³ ἐν τῷ ἀνατολικῷ μέρει τοῦ οἴκου, εἰ⁵⁴ δὲ ἐν τῷ

On Treasures.

If you are asked about treasures – that is about the place where a treasure is – consider the lord of the ascendant, and if it is in the cardine, or if the good planets happen to be in the cardines, there is the treasure. On the contrary, it is not there. If you wish to know where it is, consider where the ruling star is and in which part: the treasure is, indeed, in that part; and if it is in the ascendant, it is the eastern part of the house, while if it is in the Midheaven, it is in the southern one; if it is in the quarter in which the sun

³³ This attribution is made in the codex *Vind. phil. gr.* 108 [Diktyon, 71222], fol. 278r.

³⁴ The text supplied here has already been noticed and partially translated in PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 242. It is the result of a collation of the *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 68v–69r (V) with *Neap.* II.C.33, fol. 406v (N), *Bodl.* Cromwell 12, p. 445 (O1), *Bodl.* Selden *Supra* 17, fol. 117v (O2) and *Vind. phil. gr.* 108, fol. 278r (W). On the importance of the Neapolitan and of the Bodleian manuscripts, cf. ANNE TIHON, « Sur l'identité de l'astronome Alim », *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 39 (1989), p. 3–21; EAD., « Tables islamiques à Byzance ».

³⁵ Περὶ θησαυρῶν] δ' *praem.* V, Ἄλλως *praem.* O1, τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος *praem.* W, ρλβ' *add. in mg.* W.

³⁶ ἐρωτηθῇς] ἐρωτηθεῖς VNO2.

³⁷ ἤγουν] *om.* NO102.

³⁸ ἐκεῖσε] ἐκεῖ NO102.

³⁹ περὶ — θησαυρός] περὶ τόπου ἐάν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ θησαυρός O102, περὶ τόπου εἰ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ θησαυρός W.

⁴⁰ ἴδε] εἶδε *ante corr.* N.

⁴¹ μὲν] *om.* W.

⁴² καὶ] *om.* WO102.

⁴³ ὑπάρχουσιν] ὑπάρχει NO102.

⁴⁴ ἀγαθοποιοί] ἀγαθοποιὸς NO102.

⁴⁵ ἔστιν] εἰ *praem.* W.

⁴⁶ ἐκεῖσε] ἐκεῖ NO102W.

⁴⁷ ἐστὶ] ἔστιν NO1.

⁴⁸ βούλει] βούλη O102.

⁴⁹ γινῶναι] γινῶνε W.

⁵⁰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν] ἐστὶν ἐν W.

⁵¹ μέρει] μέρος W.

⁵² ἐκείνῳ γὰρ] *inv. ord.* NO102W.

⁵³ ἔστιν] *om.* N.

⁵⁴ εἰ] οἱ W.

μεσουρανῆματι, ἐν τῷ νοτίῳ,⁵⁵ εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ
 δύσει,⁵⁶ ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ,⁵⁷ εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βορείῳ,
 ἤγουν ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐν τῷ βορείῳ.⁵⁸ Καὶ εἰ
 μὲν ἐν στερεῷ⁵⁹ ζῳδίῳ⁶⁰ ἐστίν, ἔστι⁶¹
 κεχωσμένον⁶² ἐν τῇ γῇ, εἰ δὲ ἐν δισώμῳ,⁶³ ἐν
 οἰκίᾳ⁶⁴ ὠροφωμένῃ, εἰ δὲ ἐν τροπικῷ, ἐν
 τοίχῳ. Καὶ⁶⁵ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπικρατήτωρ⁶⁶ καὶ
 ὁ διέπων ἀνατολικοί,⁶⁷ ἔστι νεωστὶ
 κεχωσμένον,⁶⁸ εἰ δὲ δυτικοί,⁶⁹ πάλαι⁷⁰
 περικεκαλυμμένον.⁷¹ Εἰ δὲ βούλει⁷² ἢ
 ἀκριβῶς καταλαβεῖν⁷³ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ –
 ἤγουν ἔνθα κεῖται ὁ θησαυρός –⁷⁴ καὶ
 διαγνῶναι,⁷⁵ ἀνάγνωθι⁷⁶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ὅπερ
 ἐξέθετο περὶ τοῦτου ὁ Μασάλλα,⁷⁷ πρὸς⁷⁸ τὸ
 τέλος τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτοῦ.⁷⁹ Ὡς γὰρ⁸⁰ ἱκανῶς
 ἐκεῖ σεσαφηνίσται,⁸¹ παρέλειψα τοῦτο, ἡμεῖς
 δὲ διὰ τοῦτόν τε λείπομεν τὸ παρὸν χαρτίον

sets, it is in the western one; if it is in the
 northern – that is in the nadir – it is in
 the northern one. And if it is in a fixed
 sign, it has been buried under the earth,
 while if it is in a bicorporal one, it is in a
 house covered with a roof, but if it is in a
 tropical one, it is in a wall. And if the
 ruling star and the following are eastern
 ones, it has been buried recently, while if
 they are southern ones, they have been
 hidden long time ago. But if you wish to
 understand and precisely know its place
 – that is where the treasure lies – read
 aloud the chapter about it that
 Māšā'allāh posted up toward the end of
 his book. As it is explained sufficiently
 here, I left it out, but we left blank the
 present page because of it, so that when

⁵⁵ νοτίῳ] νότω O102.

⁵⁶ τῇ δύσει] τῷ δύνοντι NO102.

⁵⁷ εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ δύσει, ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ] εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ, ἐν τῇ δύσει W.

⁵⁸ βορείῳ – γῆν] ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐν τῷ βορίῳ (sic) N, ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐν τῷ βορείῳ O102W.

⁵⁹ στερεῷ] στερεῶ N.

⁶⁰ ζῳδίῳ] ζῳδιον O1.

⁶¹ ἔστι] ἔσται O1.

⁶² ἔστι κεχωσμένον] ἔστι κεχωσμένος O1, κεχωσμένος ἔστι W.

⁶³ ἐν δισώμῳ] ἐνδισσωμένον (sic) NO102, ἐν (sic) δυσώμῳ W.

⁶⁴ οἰκίᾳ] οἰκοίᾳ W.

⁶⁵ Καὶ] om. O1.

⁶⁶ ἐπικρατήτωρ] ἐπικρατήτης O2.

⁶⁷ ἀνατολικοί] ἐν ἀνατολῇ NO2, ἀνατολικὸς W.

⁶⁸ κεχωσμένον] κεχωσμένος NO102, καιχωσμένος W.

⁶⁹ δυτικοί] δυτικὸς W.

⁷⁰ πάλαι] πάλαιον O1.

⁷¹ περικεκαλυμμένον] περικεκαλυμμένου NO2, περικεκαλυμμένος W.

⁷² βούλει] βούλη O1.

⁷³ καταλαβεῖν] καταλαβῆν W.

⁷⁴ αὐτοῦ – θησαυρός] αὐτοῦ ἔνθα ὁ θησαυρὸς κεῖται NO2, ἔνθα ὁ θησαυρὸς κεῖται W.

⁷⁵ καὶ διαγνῶναι] om. W.

⁷⁶ ἀνάγνωθι] ἀνάγνωσον O1.

⁷⁷ Μασάλλα] Μασάλης NO2, Μασάλας O1, Ἀπομαξάρ W.

⁷⁸ πρὸς] περὶ W.

⁷⁹ Ὡς – ἐνταῦθα] ἐμοὶ γὰρ τοῦτο παρελήφθης ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τοῦ σαφηνισθέντος W.

⁸⁰ γὰρ] om. O1.

⁸¹ σεσαφηνίσται] σαφηνισθέν O1.

ἄγραφον, ἵν' ὅτε εὐρωμεν τὴν τοῦ Μασάλλα βίβλον, γράψωμεν κάκεῖνο ἐνταῦθα.⁸² we would find the book by Māšā'allāh we will write that here.

As written by the compiler, he has left blank the page – the chapter ends at fol. 69r, l. 5 – in order to fill it with the chapter on the same subject written by Māšā'allāh that, unfortunately, he did not have available at the time. It is to be stressed that nowadays the page is completely filled by other chapters « On Treasures ». The fact that they do not match with the ones on the same subject known to be written by Māšā'allāh in Arabic cannot allow us to assign to him their paternity. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a couple of considerations: in the first place the tendency of the copyist to fill the empty space with every astrological chapter on the same subject is clear, including an integration with different ink. For example, together with some still anonymous chapters, in the margin of fol. 66v is added a chapter from the first book of the *Mysteries* by Abū Ma'šār.⁸³ In the second place, even if an excerpt of a book by Māšā'allāh has not been copied there, it was well known to the Byzantine compiler so that he even knew the position of the chapter in Māšā'allāh's book (τὴν τοῦ Μασάλλα βίβλον).

In conclusion, the information about the translation into Greek of Māšā'allāh's works are lacking:⁸⁴ only some excerpts of his works are now preserved. Some of them⁸⁵ are translations (often epitomized) of sections of the *Book of Questions to Māšā'allāh* (*Kitāb masā'il Māšā'allāh*)⁸⁶ while others are probably translations both of a now-lost work,⁸⁷ and of sections preserved, in Arabic, in the miscellaneous manuscript *Leid. or.* 891, fol. 1r–27r.⁸⁸ As proved by Pingree, the translator of the « text partially preserved in the Leiden manuscript was certainly different from the person who translated the *Kitāb masā'il Māšā'allāh* », ⁸⁹ as is inferable from the different lexical rendering of some technical words such as the indicator (*dalīl*). In the rest of this article, the Greek sections attributed to Māšā'allāh are edited: for the great majority, they are preserved in the *Vat. gr.* 1056 only.⁹⁰ They are mostly located in the second book (fol. 67r–158v), on astrological interrogations, of the

⁸² πρὸς — ἐνταῦθα] *om.* NO2, ἡμεῖς — ἐνταῦθα] *om.* O1.

⁸³ The Greek text of this section is included in *Appendix I*.

⁸⁴ For a complete overview of what is preserved in Greek, cf. PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology* and *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology ».

⁸⁵ These chapters have been identified for the first time in *IBID.*, p. 132, nn. 41–42.

⁸⁶ This work is preserved in Arabic by one single incomplete manuscript: the Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Laleli 2122bis, copied by Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad in 1266.

⁸⁷ *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology ».

⁸⁸ For a list of the sections that are translated into Greek, cf. *supra*: Table 3, p. 235–237.

⁸⁹ *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 239.

⁹⁰ For reasons of space, on this occasion it will not be possible to present the Greek text in parallel with the Arabic original. I hope to do so in a future publication.

manuscript: mostly in the main texts, for example on fol. 48r–50r⁹¹ – together with a section by Rašīq ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāsib (Ρασήκ) on fol. 49v –, ⁹² 67r, 68v, 70r–v, 74r–75r, 90v–91r, 97r, 106r, 111r–112r; but in the margins as well: fol. 73r, 75r, 86r, 95v and 100v. A last isolated mention of Māšā'allāh is found at fol. 242v.⁹³ It has been possible to add some excerpts to the Vatican corpus that are not attributed directly to Māšā'allāh in the *Vat. gr.* 1056 thanks to the collation of the manuscript *Bodl. Cromwell* 12, p. 436, where the attribution is made explicitly.⁹⁴

II. *Vat. gr.* 1056

The Vatican codex is « the most important witness of the proliferation of Arabic astrological works in the eleventh century ». ⁹⁵ Joseph Heeg has meticulously described its contents⁹⁶ and it is often repeated that it is a fourteenth-century codex, a copy of a twelfth-century antigraph. In the following paragraph, I will argue that it is possible to retro-date the codex to at least to the thirteenth century by providing some preliminary information about its structure and dating. This aims to better read the manuscript in its context, and to understand its relevance in the overview of Graeco-Arabic manuscripts, and for the transmission of Arabic astrological knowledge in Byzantium. This short presentation will be threefold, moving from a brief description of the contents to their dating and, in the end, to the dating of the manuscript itself.⁹⁷

1. Organization of the contents: on fol. 2r–6r, inscribed in a simple decoration, there is the *pinax* of a five-volume compilation that reads: « Πίναξ ἀκριβῆς τῆσδε τῆς πενταβίβλου. Κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς παρούσης βίβλου ἐγράφησαν λόγοι σοφωτάτου τινος περὶ τῆς μαθηματικῆς τέχνης, ἧγουν περὶ τῶν χρησαμένων

⁹¹ It has to be noted that one of the sub-chapters of κα' Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν ὡς ὁ σοφώτατος Μασάλλα φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεθόδου τοῦ ἐ(ν)νάτου, τοῦ Περσιιστὶ καλουμένου νουπάχρατ on fol. 48r–v, concerning Indian thought, exactly corresponds to Abū Ma'šār's *Revolutions of the Nativities*, 171.4–15. This is an example of the working method of the compiler of the astrological *compendium* preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056.

⁹² The text of this small section is provided in *Appendix II*.

⁹³ This last text – edited a first time in *CCAG*, I, p. 81–82 and a second time in PINGREE, BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, p. 203–204 – is the bibliographical section of the introduction to a book on genethliology that is lost both in Arabic and in Greek but that is preserved in Latin in the so-called *Liber Aristotilis* by Hugo of Santalla.

⁹⁴ *Supra*: Table 3, p. 235–237.

⁹⁵ PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 67. On this manuscript, cf. also ALAN JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1987 (*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins*, 3), p. 18, and Glynias' article in this issue.

⁹⁶ *CCAG*, V.3, p. 7–64.

⁹⁷ An in-depth study, with a palaeographical and codicological description, will be published in the near future.

ἐθνῶν ταύτη πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ἐφάμαρτον εἶναι αὐτήν, περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἁμαρτάνῃ ὁ ταύτην μὴ προσδέχομενος, περὶ τοῦ χρησίμου αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι πασῶν ἐστὶ τιμιωτέρα τῶν τεχνῶν ». From a codicological point of view, to be stressed is the fact that in the top margin an ancient fasciculation in Greek (β) is readable. Both the *pinax* and the contents are incomplete. Of the five books only the first one concerns mainly astronomy (fol. 14r–66v), the second one is about interrogational astrology (fol. 67r–158v) and the third one is on catarthic astrology (fol. 165r–193r). They are followed by the second (fol. 193v–221v) and the third book of the *Mysteries* (fol. 221v–234r, 24r–27v) and by other various short astrological texts (fol. 234v–244v).

2. Dating of the contents: on fol. 1r a note dated to 1119/20 is readable; on fol. 1v an excerpt of the *Introductio in astronomiam* by John Kamateros composed under Manuel I Komnenos (d. 1179) is preserved; on fol. 6v–7r there are the horoscope charts for the proclamations of Alexios I and Manuel I Komnenos (1081 and 1143), and for the death of the still unknown Alexander, together with a note about Manuel's death on 24 September 1179;⁹⁸ on fol. 15v–21r there is a short treatise on the astrolabe in 27 chapters, rich in Arabic terms;⁹⁹ on fol. 30v–33r there are lists of stars dated to 1156 and 1161 followed by astronomic tables on fol. 33v, 36r–38r, and by a list of seven climates whose limits correspond to al-Ḥawārizmī's ones on fol. 35v;¹⁰⁰ on fol. 115r–v there are horoscopes datable to 1106 and 1007.¹⁰¹ Moreover, about twenty astrologers are cited coming from different backgrounds and traditions, the latest of whom is 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī (d. 955).¹⁰² There are translated texts by Muslims, Jews, Indians, Late Antique and Byzantines, both in the rich *marginalia* and in the main text.¹⁰³ Within the themes and the typologies of the books, the different chapters, translated from various sources (often not mentioned by name) are pulled

⁹⁸ DAVID PINGREE, « Gregory Chionides and Palaeologan Astronomy », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 138–139.

⁹⁹ As has been mentioned by TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 406–407 and Glynias announced that its edition is in progress (*per litteras*).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 411–412.

¹⁰¹ PINGREE (ed.), *Hephaestionis Thebani, Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae quattuor*, p. XXI.

¹⁰² On 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī, cf. İHSANOĞLU, ROZENFELD, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and Their Works (7th–19th C.)*, p. 79. On astrological translations in Byzantium, cf. at least MARIA MAVROUDI, « Islamic Divination in the Context of its 'Eastern' and 'Western' Counterparts », in MASSUMEH FARHAD, SERPİL BAĞCI (eds.), *Falnama. The Book of Omens*, Thames & Hudson-Freer Gallery of Art-Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, London-Washington DC 2009, p. 222–9/324–9; CHARLES BURNETT, « Astrological Translations in Byzantium », in MARTIN HAUSER, IOANA FEODOROV, NICHOLAS SEKUNDA (eds.), *Actes du Symposium International 'Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe'* (4^{ème} Édition : 20–23 Septembre 2011), 3, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, Bucarest 2012, p. 178–83 and the bibliography listed there.

¹⁰³ PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 68.

together unceasingly, with the purpose of creating an anthology of astrological knowledge. The resulting entanglement of traditions is therefore created by the accumulation of sections into thematic unities.

3. Dating of the manuscript: the manuscript is a large codex (220 × 300 mm) counting 244 *folia*. It is written in its entirety on oriental paper without watermarks by various scribes and the signature marks are generally trimmed or missed. Moreover, some *folia* are missing and/or in the wrong order. It is dated approximately to the fourteenth century by the CCAG and by Pingree, but after an initial codicological and palaeographical exam, on the basis of the quality of the paper and of the writing style of main copyists, the common dating seems to be questioned. It seems to be more ancient and – at least for the texts that comprise the main text of the codex – to be retro-dated to the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ It seems plausible to connect them to the informal styles in which many scientific manuscripts from the late Komnenian age are written and, in particular, it is reminiscent of the quick and often abbreviated scholarly hands, like the one that compiled the codex *Vind. phil. gr.* 115.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the proposed date of composition of the codex, on codicological and palaeographical grounds, fits well with the contents themselves, and with the astrological interests in Komnenian times.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ An in-depth palaeographical study of all the hands identifiable in the manuscript could lead to a somewhat different conclusion and could allow a retro-dating of the codex to the twilight of the twelfth century: this I have been as yet unable to do, in part because of the COVID-19 pandemic, but the study is in progress. The conclusions presented here must therefore be viewed as provisional.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. DANIELE BIANCONI, « Età comnena e cultura scritta. Materiali e considerazioni alle origini di una ricerca », in ANTONIO BRAVO GARCÍA, INMACULADA PÉREZ MARTÍN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (Madrid-Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008), Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2010 (Bibliologia, 31A–B), p. 75–96 and CIRO GIACOMELLI, « Giovanni Battista da Lion (c. 1480–1528) e la sua biblioteca greca », *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 49 (2016), p. 103–109 for a parallel with some peculiarities with the *Pal. gr.* 31 [*Diktyon*, 65764]. A study of the Viennese codex and the edition of the Arabo-Greek excerpts (i.e. Περὶ εὐθηνίας εἰδὼν καὶ κνιπείας ἀπὸ Σαρακηνικοῦ βιβλίου μέθοδοι αὐτὰι μετεγράφησαν) preserved in its very last *folia* (fol. 219r–226v) is in progress. For a first analysis of the manuscript and the edition of the unique existing text by al-Qabīṣī (Καπίσις) in Greek that is preserved in it at fol. 219r, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « The Greek Fragment of al-Qabīṣī », in CHARLES BURNETT, KEIJI YAMAMOTO, MICHIO YANO (eds.), *Al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius), The Introduction to Astrology*. Editions of the Arabic and Latin Texts and a English Translation, The Warburg Institute–Nino Aragno Editore, London–Turin, 2004 (Warburg Institute Studies and Texts, 2), p. 371–374; for a preliminary description of the codex, cf. CCAG, VI, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ On this matter, cf. at least MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*; MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, Id., « Astrology », in ANTHONY KALDELLIS, NIKETAS SINIOSOGLOU (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, p. 198–214; ANNE-LAURENCE CAUDANO, « Le ciel a la forme d'un cube ou a été dressé comme une peau: Pierre

III. Vat. gr. 1056: *Māšā'allāh's Excerpts*

In this section, the excerpts explicitly attributed to *Māšā'allāh* by the Greek manuscript tradition are edited. They are organized as follows: (III.1) the fragments attributed in the *Vat. gr. 1056*, in the order of the *folia*; (III.2) the few additional ones that are found both in the Vatican codex, anonymously, and in the *Bodl. Cromwell 12*, explicitly; (III.3) the ones that are found in the Bodleian manuscript only. Given the fact that they are often preserved by the Vatican witness as a *codex unicus*, I tried to follow it as closely as possible, both concerning the orthography of the words, the accentuation, and the paragraph division. I integrated the text when necessary due to lacunae, and I normalized the punctuation when necessary for a better comprehension. In the footnotes, I put the references to previous editions or to other witnesses of the excerpts: unless otherwise noted, the text is edited on the basis of the Vatican manuscript only.

III.1. Fragments in *Vat. gr. 1056*(i) fol. 48r-v¹⁰⁷

κα' ¹⁰⁸ Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὡς ὁ σοφώτατος Μασάλα φησὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπὸ τῆς μεθόδου τοῦ ἐννάτου ¹⁰⁹ τοῦ Περσιστι ¹¹⁰ καλουμένου νουπάχρατ.

Περὶ τοῦ τίς ἢ ἐρώτησις ὁ Μασάλα φησὶν ὡς οὐχ εὖρομεν ἀκριβέστερον μαθεῖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου. Ἵνα λάβῃς τοῦτον ὡς σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα τῆς ὑποθέσεως – ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν ὀρῶντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπιγινώσκεται, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντος αὐτὸν ἀστέρος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μοίρας τοῦ ὠροσκόπου – ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ ¹¹¹ τὸν ἴσως εὕρεθέντα ἀστέρα ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ καταλείψης, ¹¹² μήτε μὴν τὸν ὀρῶντα ἀστέρα τὴν μοῖραν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μοιρικῶς, ¹¹³

le Philosophe ou l'orthodoxie du savoir astronomique sous Manuel I^{er} Comnène », *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*, 81 (2011), p. 19–73, EAD., « An Astrological Handbook from the Reign of Manuel I Komnenos », *Almagest*, 3/2 (2012), p. 47–65, EAD., « Astronomy and Astrology », in STAVROS LAZARIS (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2020 (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, 6), p. 202–230, and ANNE TIHON, « Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Paleologan Period », in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, p. 265–90, EAD., « Astrologie et astronomie à Byzance au début de l'époque Paléologue », in *Liber amicorum* Jacques Malherbe, Bruylant, Bruxelles 2006, p. 1037–1052.

¹⁰⁷ This text has been previously edited in PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 181–182 (P).

¹⁰⁸ κα'] om. P.

¹⁰⁹ ἐννάτου] corr., ἐνάτου V.

¹¹⁰ Περσιστι] corr., περσιστι V, Περσιστι corr. P.

¹¹¹ μὴ δὲ] μηδ' ἐ P.

¹¹² καταλείψης] καταλήψης P.

¹¹³ μοιρικῶς] corr., μοιρικῶς V, μοιρικῶς corr. P.

καὶ οἶον ἂν εὐρης δυνατώτερον ἐκ τούτων ἴδε¹¹⁴ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγνωσθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐνθύμησις τῆς ἐρωτήσεως.¹¹⁵ ||

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι ὅτι ἴδε¹¹⁶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ὀρῶντας τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τοὺς ὄντας εἰς τινὰς τόπους τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἐννάτου, ἦτοι τοῦ νουπάχρατ. Περὶ οὗ καὶ παρακατιῶν δηλωθήσεται ὅπως¹¹⁷ τὸ ἐννατον εὐρήσεις. Ἴδε¹¹⁸ δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀριοκράτορα καὶ τριγωνοκράτορα τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ οἶον (ἂν)¹¹⁹ εὐρης¹²⁰ δυνατώτερον καὶ οἰκειότερον τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ τυγχάνοντα ἴδε¹²¹ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου¹²² ἐπιγνωσθήσεται ἡ ἐρώτησις.

Τὸ δὲ ἐννατον ὃ καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι νουπάχρατ καλοῦσι γινώσκεται οὕτως ἰστέον ὅτι τῷ τοιούτῳ ὀνόματι – ἡγουν τὸ ἐννατον – ἐστὶ διακοσίων λεπτῶν, ἦτοι τριῶν μοιρῶν καὶ τρίτου μοίρας ὀρθῆς. Ἔσται οὖν ἐν ἐκάστῳ ζῳδίῳ ἐννέα ἐννατα ὧν ἕκαστον ἔχει ἴδιον ἐπικρατήτορα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τὸ ζῳδιὸν ἐστὶ Κριός, ἡ Λέων, ἡ Τοξότης¹²³ ἔσται ἐκάστου πρώτου ἐννάτου ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ζῳδίοις κύριος ὁ τοῦ Κριοῦ οἰκοδεσπότης Ἄρης τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου (ἐννάτου)¹²⁴ κυριεύσει ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ κυρία τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ δὲ τρίτου ἐννάτου κυριεύσει ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ κύριος τῶν Διδύμων τοῦ δὲ δ' ἐννάτου ἡ Σελήνη ἡ κυρία τοῦ Καρκίνου τοῦ δὲ ε' (ἐννάτου)¹²⁵ ὁ Ἥλιος ὁ κύριος τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ δὲ ζ' (ἐννάτου)¹²⁶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ κύριος τῆς Παρθένου, καὶ οὕτως ἡ ποιῶν εὐρήσεις τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἐννάτου.¹²⁷

(ii) fol. 48v–49r¹²⁸

κβ'¹²⁹ Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν καθὼς καὶ αὐθις ὁ Μασάλλα¹³⁰ φησὶν, ποιήσας καὶ ὑπόδειγμα [*sequitur diagramma*]. ||

¹¹⁴ ἴδε] ἴδε P.

¹¹⁵ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως] τῆς ἐρωτῶντος, τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος P.

¹¹⁶ ἴδε] ἴδε P.

¹¹⁷ ὅπως] ὅπερ P.

¹¹⁸ ἴδε] ἴδε P.

¹¹⁹ ἂν] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

¹²⁰ εὐρης] εὐρηζ P.

¹²¹ ἴδε] ἴδε P.

¹²² ἐκ τούτου] *corr.*, ἐκ τοῦ τόπου V.

¹²³ Τοξότης] *corr.* P, Ταῦρος V.

¹²⁴ ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

¹²⁵ ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

¹²⁶ ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

¹²⁷ Τὸ δὲ ἐννατον — τοῦ ἐννάτου] *De rev. nat.*, 171.4–15.

¹²⁸ The text has been previously edited in EDWARD KENNEDY, DAVID PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1971 (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science), p. 179 (P).

¹²⁹ κβ'] *om.* P.

¹³⁰ Μασάλλα] Μασάλα P.

Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν κατὰ τὸ προκείμενον ὑπόδειγμα, ὁ Μασάλλα φησὶν· ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τὸ ὠροσκοποῦν ζῳδιὸν ἐστὶ Ταῦρος, εὐρέθη δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖσε· ἡ δὲ κυρία τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ Ἀφροδίτη ἦν ἐν Καρκίνῳ τῷ τρίτῳ τόπῳ, ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ αὐτῆς¹³¹ τριγώνῳ· ἡ δὲ Σελήνη ἦν ἐν Ζυγῷ, μὴ οὔσα ἐν οἰκείῳ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἐν Τοξότη, μὴ δ' ¹³² αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἐν οἰκείῳ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Τύχης ἦν ὁ Κρόνος, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ. Οὐχ ἕτερός τις προεκρίθη ἀστὴρ σημειωτικὸς τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἢ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τριγώνῳ¹³³ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα αὐτῆς Σελήνη ὑπάρχει ἐν Ζυγῷ τῷ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη σημειωτικὴ τῶν μητέρων. Ἐπέγνωμεν εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν περὶ μητρὸς καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἀρρωστεῖ ἡ μήτηρ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Σελήνην ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ 5^ο τόπῳ. Ὁρῶντες δ' αὐθις ἀπορρεῦσαν¹³⁴ τὴν Σελήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξαγώνου συναφῆς τοῦ Κρόνου, ἐπέγνωμεν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην νοσηλείαν ἀπὸ ξηρότητος καὶ ψυχρότητος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου κρᾶσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδομεν εἶναι τὸν Κρόνον ἐν Λέοντι, διεγνώσθη ἡμῖν νοσεῖν τὸ κυριευόμενον μέρος τοῦ¹³⁵ Λέοντος, ἡγουν τὸν στόμαχον. Ταῦτα σκεψάμενοι, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μαθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀποτελεσμα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶμεν τὴν Σελήνην ἀπερχομένην πρὸς τετράγωνον συναφὴν τῆς ἀγαθωτάτης Ἀφροδίτης, λέγομεν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὸν νοσοῦντα τῆς νόσου διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαθότητα. Τὸ δὲ διὰ πόσου χρόνου τοῦτο γενήσεται, ἐπειδὴ πέντε μοίρας λείπεται ἡ Σελήνη πρὸς τὸ τετραγωνίσει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· (εἰ)¹³⁶ ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ λέγομεν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς νόσου ὁ νοσῶν διὰ πέντε ἡμερῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ Σελήνη ἐν δισώμῳ¹³⁷ ζῳδίῳ εἴπομεν ἂν μῆνας· εἰ δὲ ἐν στερεῷ ζῳδίῳ ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆρχετο¹³⁸ ἡ Σελήνη πρὸς συναφὴν τοῦ Ἄρεως,¹³⁹ ἔμελλε θανεῖν ὁ νοσῶν διὰ τὸ¹⁴⁰ συνεχῶς εἰ δὲ ἦν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἔνθα αὐτὴ ἡ Σελήνη, καὶ¹⁴¹ πάλιν εἶχομεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι περὶ μητρὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Κρόνος, εἴπομεν περὶ πορνείας· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἄρης, εἴπομεν περὶ φυγάδος· εἰ δὲ ἦν (ὁ)¹⁴² ἥλιος, εἴπομεν ὅτι περὶ μεγίστου προσώπου ἐστὶν ἡ

¹³¹ αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς *corr.* P.

¹³² μὴ δ'] μὴδ' P.

¹³³ τριγώνῳ] τρυγώνῳ *ante corr.* V.

¹³⁴ ἀπορρεῦσαν] ἀπορρεῦσασαν V, ἀπορρεῦσαν *corr.* P.

¹³⁵ τοῦ] παρὰ *add. s.l.* V, *om.* P.

¹³⁶ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

¹³⁷ δισώμῳ] *corr.*, δυσώμῳ V, δισώμῳ P.

¹³⁸ ἀπῆρχετο] *corr.*, ἀπέρχετο V, *corr.* ἀπῆρχετο P.

¹³⁹ Ἄρεως] *corr.*, Ἄρεος VP.

¹⁴⁰ τὸ] τοῦτο P.

¹⁴¹ καὶ] *ut videtur* V, ἐστίν P.

¹⁴² ὁ] *suppl.*, *abest* VP.

ἐρώτησις· εἰ δὲ ἦν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ (τόπῳ),¹⁴³ εἵπομεν περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, περὶ γραμμάτων καὶ λοιπῶν ὁμοίων· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῷ θ' τόπῳ, εἵχομεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι περὶ ὀνείρων ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις.

Οὕτως οὖν σκέπτου¹⁴⁴ περὶ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πρόσχες μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ μὴ ἰαμελήσης τι πρὸ τοῦ ἀποτελέσαι, μήτε οὖν καταφρονῆς ταῖς ἀπορροαῖς τῶν ἀστέρων, ταῖς δορυφορίαις, ταῖς συναφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς¹⁴⁵ αἷς ποιεῖται ὁ εἰς ἀστήρ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς κυβερνήσεις, καὶ οὐδὲν τί σοι ἐπιλήσεται.

(iii) fol. 49v–50r

κγ' Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

Φησὶν ὁ Μασάλλα οὕτως· ὅτι ἂν ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, οὗτός ἐστι σημειωτικὸς ὁ δηλῶν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ἀστήρ τις ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, λογίζεται καὶ αὐτὸς σημειωτικὸς ὥς ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰσὶν ἀμφοτέροι ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ἀμφοτέροι σημειωτικοὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· εἰ δέ τις ἐκ τούτων πλείονα ἔχει μαρτυρίαν, ἐκεῖνον πρόκρινε σημειωτικόν, ἡ δὲ μαρτυρία τοιαύτη ἐστὶ τὸ συνάπτεσθαι μοιρικῶς¹⁴⁶ τὸν ὠροσκοποῦντα ἀστέρα παρ' ἑτέρου ἀστέρος, καὶ εἰ ὁ¹⁴⁷ ἀστήρ προκριθῇ σημειωτικὸς, ἐκεῖνος μέλλει δηλῶσαι καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν δι' ἣν ἡ ἐρώτησις ἐγένετο. ἢ

Γίνωσκε δέ· ὅτι πᾶς ὠροσκόπος διὰ δύο ὑποβιβάζεται ὥρων καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς δύο ὥραις διάφορα πάντως παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γίνονται ἐρωτήματα, καὶ ἂν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἀπλῶς οὕτως λαμβάνεται ὥς σημειωτικὸς τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Πᾶσαι αἱ ἐρωτήσεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐντὸς τῶν δύο τούτων ὥρων περὶ μιᾶς ὑποθέσεως ἐμφαίνειν μέλλουσιν ὅπ(ερ)¹⁴⁸ Σελήνη δοκεῖ σφαλερά,¹⁴⁹ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἴσως ἵνα συνάπτῃ ἀγαθοποιὸν ἀστέρα τὴν ὅλην ἡμέραν, ἢ καὶ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἔχουσι καὶ διαφοράς, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα σκεψίν σου ἐνδέχεται ἵνα ποιῇ μετὰ ἀκριβείας.

Γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι αἱ ἐρωτήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἰσότητα ἀλλὰ μεγάλην διαφοράν· αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων γινόμεναι πρὸς τὸν

¹⁴³ τόπῳ] *suppl.*, *abest* VP.

¹⁴⁴ σκέπτου] *corr.*, σκέτου V, σκέπτου P.

¹⁴⁵ ὑποδοχαῖς] ὑπο *add. s.l.* V.

¹⁴⁶ μοιρικῶς] *corr.*, μοιρηκῶς V.

¹⁴⁷ εἰ ὁ] *ut videtur* V.

¹⁴⁸ ὅπερ] *suppl.*, ὅπ V.

¹⁴⁹ σφαλερά] *corr.*, σφαλερόν V.

ἐπιστήμονα¹⁵⁰ ἐρωτήσεις κρίνονται, ἄλλως, αἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἄλλως, καὶ αἱ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἄλλως. Ταῦτα οὖν δεδοκώς σοι εἶδησιν, ἐὰν προσχῆς οὐχ ἀμάρτης, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ὀλίγην λεπτότητα καὶ ἀκρίβειαν ἔχουσιν.

(iv) fol. 68v

γ' Περὶ χρέους, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ Μασάλλα.

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς¹⁵¹ περὶ χρέους, ποιήσον τὸν ὠροσκόπον τῷ ἐρωτῶντι, τὸν δὲ ζ' τόπον περὶ οὗ ἡ ἐρώτησις, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὴν Σελήνην τὸ χρεωστούμενον καὶ εἰ μὲν τετραγωνίζει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἐβδόμου τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ διαμετρεῖ, λήσεται τὸ χρεωστούμενον ὁ δανειστής βία· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τριγώνου¹⁵² ἢ ἑξαγώνου μετὰ εἰρήνης· εἰ δὲ οὐ συνάπτει αὐτῷ, οὐδὲν λάβη. Καὶ εἰ εὗρης τὴν Σελήνην ἢ ἕτερον ἀστέρα διαπορθμεύοντα τὰς ἀκτῖνας, γενήσεται ἡ ἀποχρέωσις διὰ μέσου τινὸς ἢ πρέσβεος καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἡ Σελήνη ἀκάκωτος δηλοῖ ἀγαθὴν τὴν ἀποχρέωσιν· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένη γενήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ χρεεῖ ἀμφιβολία καὶ δίκη· εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως¹⁵³ δηλοῖ μάχας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ φιλονεικίας μεγάλας.

(v) fol. 70r¹⁵⁴

Περὶ τοῦ πέμπτου¹⁵⁵ τόπου.

ζ' Περὶ παιδός, (εἰ)¹⁵⁶ γίνεται ἡ οὐ.¹⁵⁷

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα¹⁵⁸ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ παιδός, εἰ¹⁵⁹ γίνεται ἡ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ εἴπερ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ πέμπτου τόπου,¹⁶⁰ ἢ ὁ κύριος τοῦ πέμπτου¹⁶¹ τόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἢ δέ¹⁶² ὁ κύριος τοῦ ε' τόπου ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ γενήσεται. Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας οἷς¹⁶³ συνάπτουσιν¹⁶⁴ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ εἰ ὑπάρχουσιν¹⁶⁵ ἀκάκωτοι καὶ

¹⁵⁰ τὸν ἐπιστήμονα] *corr.*, τὸν ἐπιστήμον V.

¹⁵¹ ἐρωτηθῆς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεὶς V.

¹⁵² τριγώνου] τρυγώνου *ante corr.* V.

¹⁵³ Ἄρεως] *corr.*, Ἄρεος V.

¹⁵⁴ The text is edited on the basis of *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 70r (V) and *Bodl. Cromwell* 12, p. 446 (O1).

¹⁵⁵ πέμπτου] ε' O1.

¹⁵⁶ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* VO1.

¹⁵⁷ ζ' Περὶ παιδός, γίνεται ἡ οὐ] *om.* O1.

¹⁵⁸ Μασάλλα] Μασάλλας O1.

¹⁵⁹ εἰ] *om.* V.

¹⁶⁰ πέμπτου τόπου] ε' O1.

¹⁶¹ πέμπτου] ε' O1.

¹⁶² δέ] *om.* O1.

¹⁶³ οἷς] οὐς V.

¹⁶⁴ συνάπτουσιν] συνάπτουσι O1.

¹⁶⁵ ὑπάρχουσιν] πάρχουσιν V.

ἔξωθεν τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐτῶν¹⁶⁶ γενήσεται. Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ εἰ ἐφορᾶται παρὰ ἀγαθοποιού, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, ἢ μεσουρανεῖ, ἢ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ¹⁶⁷ ὑπάρχει, ἢ ἐν τῷ ια', ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν καλῷ τόπῳ – συνὼν τοῖς τριγωνοκράτορσιν¹⁶⁸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ὕπαυγος – γενήσεται¹⁶⁹ ἢ σύλληψις. Καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ζ' ἢ τῷ δ', ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐν καλῷ τόπῳ, γενήσεται βράδιον. Καὶ εἰ εὗρης τὸν ὠροσκόπον κεκακωμένον καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν κακῷ τόπῳ – ἀποκεκλικότος¹⁷⁰ τοῦ Διός, ἢ ὑπαύγου¹⁷¹ ὄντος, ἢ ἐν τῷ η' – δηλοῖ ὀλιγοτεκνίαν ἢ ὀλιγοζωίαν τῶν γεννωμένων¹⁷² ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ κακοῦται ἢ Σελήνη, σύλληψις¹⁷³ οὐ γενήσεται. Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὸν ε' τόπον, καὶ εἰ εὗρης ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγαθοποιόν¹⁷⁴ ἢ ἐφορᾷ αὐτὸν ἀγαθοποιός, γενήσεται τάχιον. Εἰ δὲ κακοποιός ὑπάρχη ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἐφορᾷ¹⁷⁵ τοῦτον κακοποιός, οὐ γενήσεται σύλληψις.¹⁷⁶

(vi) fol. 72r–v¹⁷⁷

Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.¹⁷⁸

ιδ' Περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ ὑγιαίνει ἢ οὐ.¹⁷⁹

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς¹⁸⁰ περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ¹⁸¹ ὑγιαίνει¹⁸² ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ λάβε ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίκεντρον, ἢ¹⁸³ ἐφορῶντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον. Καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν ἀκάκωτος¹⁸⁴ καὶ μὴ ὕπαυγος ὑγιαίνει¹⁸⁵ εἰ δὲ κακοῦται

¹⁶⁶ τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐτῶν] τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἡλιακῶν O1.

¹⁶⁷ πέμπτῳ] ε' O1.

¹⁶⁸ τριγωνοκράτορσιν] τρυγωνοκράτορσιν *ante corr.* V.

¹⁶⁹ γενήσεται] γεννᾶται O1.

¹⁷⁰ ἀποκεκλικότος] ἀποκεκλεικότος V.

¹⁷¹ ὑπαύγου] ὑπαύγος O1.

¹⁷² τῶν γεννωμένων] τῷ γεννωμένῳ O1.

¹⁷³ σύλληψις] σύληψις O1.

¹⁷⁴ ἀγαθοποιόν] ἀγαθοποιὸν O1.

¹⁷⁵ ἐφορᾷ] ἐν ἐφορᾷ *ante corr.* O1.

¹⁷⁶ σύλληψις] O1 *add. sect.* η', *vd. infra*, p. 270–271.

¹⁷⁷ The text is edited on the basis of Bodl. Cromwell 12, p. 447–449 (O1), Marc. gr. Z 335, fol. 394r (M1), and Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 72r–v (V).

¹⁷⁸ Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου] ἐκ τοῦ Μασάλα *prae*m. M1.

¹⁷⁹ ιδ' Περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ ὑγιαίνει ἢ οὐ] *om.* M1O1.

¹⁸⁰ ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεὶς *ante corr.* V, ἐρωτηθεὶς M1.

¹⁸¹ εἰ] *om.* M1O1.

¹⁸² ὑγιαίνει] ὑγειαίνει M1, ὑγιανῇ O1.

¹⁸³ ἢ] καὶ M1.

¹⁸⁴ ἀκάκωτος] ἀκάκοτος M1.

¹⁸⁵ ὑγιαίνει] ὑγιαίνει M1, ὑγιανεὶ O1.

ἀποθνήσκει.¹⁸⁶ καὶ εἰ συνάπτει¹⁸⁷ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τῷ Ἡλίῳ, τελευτήσκει.¹⁸⁸ εἰ δὲ¹⁸⁹ συνάπτει¹⁹⁰ ἡ Σελήνη τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου,¹⁹¹ ὑγιανεῖ¹⁹² τάχιον.¹⁹³ Εἰ δὲ ὑπάρχει¹⁹⁴ ἡ Σελήνη ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ συνάπτει ἀστέρι ὑπὸ γῆν· εἰ μὲν δέχεται ταύτην ὁ ἀστήρ, ὑγιανεῖ,¹⁹⁵ εἰ δὲ μὴ δέχεται, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ εἰ μὲν¹⁹⁶ ἔστιν ὕπαυγος ἢ κεκακωμένος¹⁹⁷ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἡ', τελευτήσκει. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κακοποιὸς ὑπάρχων ἢ¹⁹⁸ ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι, τελευτήσκει· εἰ δὲ συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου¹⁹⁹ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ἡ'²⁰⁰ ἀπὸ τριγώνου,²⁰¹ ὑπάρχει²⁰² δὲ καὶ²⁰³ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπίκεντρος, ἢ²⁰⁴ ὑπάρχει πρὸς²⁰⁵ τούτοις ὁ²⁰⁶ κύριος τοῦ ἡ'²⁰⁷ ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, δηλοῖ θάνατον. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ζ' τόπῳ,²⁰⁸ ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ζ' ἐν τῷ²⁰⁹ ὠροσκόπῳ, μακρονοσήσει²¹⁰ ἄχρις ὅτου ἐξέλθῃ²¹¹ ὁ ἀστήρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἐκείνου.²¹² Ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ζ',²¹³ βράδιον²¹⁴ ὑγιανεῖ²¹⁵ τοῦ νοσήματος αὐξήσιν λαμβάνοντος.²¹⁶ Εἰ δὲ

¹⁸⁶ ἀποθνήσκει] ἀποθάνη M1.

¹⁸⁷ συνάπτει] συνοδεύει M1.

¹⁸⁸ τελευτήσκει] τελευτίσει M1.

¹⁸⁹ εἰ δὲ] καὶ εἰ M1.

¹⁹⁰ συνάπτει] συνάπτῃ M1.

¹⁹¹ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] τῷ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κυρίῳ M1.

¹⁹² ὑγιανεῖ] *corr.*, ὑγιαίνει VO1, ὑγαιαίνει M1.

¹⁹³ τάχιον] *add. verba alia manu* V, *om.* M1.

¹⁹⁴ ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχει M1.

¹⁹⁵ ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγαιαίνει M1.

¹⁹⁶ εἰ μὲν] *om.* VM1.

¹⁹⁷ κεκακωμένος] καὶ *praem.* O1.

¹⁹⁸ ἢ] *om.* VM1.

¹⁹⁹ καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὕπαυγος — ὠροσκόπου] *om.* M1.

²⁰⁰ ἡ'] ὀγδόου O1.

²⁰¹ τριγώνου] τρυγώνου *ante corr.* V.

²⁰² ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχον O1.

²⁰³ καὶ] *om.* M1.

²⁰⁴ ἢ] *om.* VM1.

²⁰⁵ πρὸς] δὲ *praem.* V.

²⁰⁶ ὁ] καὶ *praem.* V.

²⁰⁷ ἡ'] ὀγδόου O1.

²⁰⁸ τόπῳ] *om.* M1O1.

²⁰⁹ ἐν τῷ] *om.* M1.

²¹⁰ μακρονοσήσει] μακροχρονίσει M1.

²¹¹ ἐξέλθῃ] *corr.*, ἐξέλθοι V, ἐξέλθει M1, διέλθῃ (*sic*) O1.

²¹² ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἐκείνου] ἀπεκείνου τοῦ ζωδίου M1, *add. verba in margine alia manu* V.

²¹³ ζ'] ζ' τόπου M1.

²¹⁴ βραδίαν] βραδέως M1.

²¹⁵ ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγαιαίνει M1.

²¹⁶ λαμβάνοντος] λαμβάνοντα M1.

συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ β' ²¹⁷ τόπου ἐξοδιάσει ²¹⁸ ἐν τῇ ἄρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ
πάμπολλα ²¹⁹ εἰ δὲ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ, καὶ ὑπάρχει ὁ κακοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τοῦ
δ', ²²⁰ τὸν αὐτὸν μόνον ὑποστήσεται τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. ²²¹ εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ η' ἐστὶν ἐν
τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ η' ²²² καὶ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ,
ἐξαίφνης ²²³ τελευτήσεται. Κακὸν δέ ἐστι ²²⁴ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τὸν κύριον τοῦ η' ἐπικέντρον,
τὸν δὲ ἀγαθοποιούμενον ἀστέρα οὐ βλάπτει ²²⁵ τὸ ὕπαιγον. ²²⁶ Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ
ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ²²⁷ ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θανατικοῦ τόπου ὑπὸ γῆν
ὄντι, ἢ ²²⁸ ἐν τῷ δ', δηλοῖ ἀπώλειαν. ²²⁹ εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ²³⁰ ἀπὸ
τριγώνου καὶ ὁ κακῶν αὐτὸν ἀστήρ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν ²³¹ ἐναντίῳ τόπῳ, ²³² δηλοῖ μῆκος
τοῦ ²³³ νόσου· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὕπαιγός ἐστι μὴ μέντοι ²³⁴ ἀπέχων τῷ
Ἡλίῳ ²³⁵ πλεῖον ²³⁶ τῶν ιβ' μοιρῶν, ἀπολεσθήσεται. ²³⁷ Ὁ ²³⁸ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου
ἐν τῷ ια' τόπῳ ὦν ²³⁹ καὶ ²⁴⁰ ἐν τῷ ε', ²⁴¹ δυνατώτερός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ²⁴² οὗ ²⁴³ ἐν τῷ θ'
τόπῳ ²⁴⁴ καὶ ἐν τῷ γ', ἀποκλίματα ²⁴⁵ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

²¹⁷ β'] δευτέρου M1.

²¹⁸ ἐξοδιάσει] ἐξοδιάση M1.

²¹⁹ πάμπολλα] πάμπολα O1.

²²⁰ δ'] τετάρτου O1.

²²¹ αὐτοῦ] *add. verba in margine alia manu V, om.* M1.

²²² η'] ὀγδόῳ O1.

²²³ ἐξαίφνης] ἐξεύνης M1, ἐξάφνης O1.

²²⁴ ἐστι] ἐστιν M1O1.

²²⁵ βλάπτει] βλάπτει O1.

²²⁶ ὕπαιγον] ὕπαιγος M1, *add. verba alia manu V, om.* M1.

²²⁷ ἐστὶν] *om.* O1.

²²⁸ ἢ] *om.* M1.

²²⁹ ἀπώλειαν] ἀπόλειαν M1.

²³⁰ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] ὁ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κύριος M1.

²³¹ ἐν] *om.* O1.

²³² ἐναντίῳ τόπῳ] ἐναντίῳ τί τόπῳ M1, *add. verba alia manu V.*

²³³ τοῦ] *om.* M1.

²³⁴ μέντοι] μέντι O1.

²³⁵ ἀπέχων τῷ Ἡλίῳ] ἀπέχη τοῦ Ἡλίου M1, ὑπάρχει τοῦ Ἡλίου O1.

²³⁶ πλεῖον] πλέον M1.

²³⁷ ἀπολεσθήσεται] ἀπολεσθήσονται M1.

²³⁸ Ὁ] Εἰ δὲ *praem.* O1.

²³⁹ τόπῳ ὦν] *inv. ord.* M1.

²⁴⁰ καὶ] ὁ M1, ἢ O1.

²⁴¹ ε'] πέμπτῳ M1.

²⁴² ὑπὲρ] εἴπερ M1O1.

²⁴³ οὗ] *om.* M1O1.

²⁴⁴ τόπῳ] ἐστι M1, ἐστι *add.* O1.

²⁴⁵ ἀποκλίματα] ἀποκλήματα M1.

Γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι ὁ κύριος τοῦ β' τόπου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει τῷ τοῦ ἡ' καὶ²⁴⁶ κακῶν τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὁμοίαν²⁴⁷ ἐπάγει²⁴⁸ τὴν κάκωσιν τῷ τοῦ ἡ', ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ ιβ' τόπος²⁴⁹ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει²⁵⁰ τῷ²⁵¹ τοῦ²⁵² ζ'. Ἐῖθι δὲ καὶ πῦρ,²⁵³ ὡς τὰ τροπικὰ ζῳδια ταχέως ἐπιφέρει τὴν ὑγίαν ἢ²⁵⁴ τὸν θάνατον, τὰ δὲ δίσωμα μέσως,²⁵⁵ τὰ δὲ στερεὰ²⁵⁶ ἐπιτείνει²⁵⁷ τὴν νόσον. Κρεῖττον δὲ σχῆμα²⁵⁸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφορᾶσθαι τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου παρὰ ἀγαθοποιῶν καὶ εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ καλῷ, ὥσπερ χειρὸν τὸ²⁵⁹ ἐφορᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίκεντρον παρὰ κακοποιῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ταχεῖαν ὑγίαν²⁶⁰ σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ὕστερον ταχεῖαν ἀπώλειαν.

Λάμβανε²⁶¹ ἀπὸ μὲν²⁶² τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τὸν ἱατρόν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος τὸν νοσοῦντα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ²⁶³ ζ' τὴν νόσον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δ' τὰς ἱατρείας.²⁶⁴ Κακοποιῶν²⁶⁵ μὲν γὰρ ὠροσκοποῦντος,²⁶⁶ οὐδὲν ὠφελήθησεται παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ, ὠφελήθησεται· εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς μεσουρανεῖ, αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρρωστος ἑαυτὸν βλάψει· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιός, ἑαυτὸν ὠφελήσει· εἰ δὲ²⁶⁷ κακοποιός ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ζ',²⁶⁸ μεταπεσεῖται ἀπὸ νόσου εἰς νόσον· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιός, αὐτομάτως ὑγιανεῖ.²⁶⁹ εἰ²⁷⁰ δὲ κακοποιός ἐστὶν²⁷¹ ἐν τῷ δ', ἐπιταθήσεται ἡ νόσος αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς ἱατρείας.

²⁴⁶ τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει τῷ τοῦ ἡ', καὶ] *om.* M1.

²⁴⁷ ὁμοίαν] ὁμοίως M101.

²⁴⁸ ἐπάγει] ἐπάγη O1.

²⁴⁹ ιβ' τόπος] β' M1.

²⁵⁰ δύναμιν ἔχει] *inv. ord.* M1.

²⁵¹ τῷ] *om.* O1.

²⁵² τοῦ] *om.* VM1.

²⁵³ ἔσθι δὲ καὶ πῦρ] ὁμοίως καὶ τούτου M1.

²⁵⁴ τὴν ὑγίαν ἢ] *om.* M1.

²⁵⁵ δίσωμα μέσως] δύσσωμα μέσα M1.

²⁵⁶ στερεὰ] στερρεὰ V.

²⁵⁷ ἐπιτείνει] ἐπιτείνει O1.

²⁵⁸ σχῆμα] τὸ *praem.* M1.

²⁵⁹ τὸ] ἔστι *praem.* O1.

²⁶⁰ ὑγίαν] ὑγίαν M1.

²⁶¹ Λάμβανε] Λαμβάνομεν δὲ M1.

²⁶² ἀπὸ μὲν] ἀπὸ M1, δὲ ἀπὸ O1.

²⁶³ τοῦ] *om.* O1.

²⁶⁴ ἱατρείας] ἱατρίας *ante corr.* O1.

²⁶⁵ κακοποιῶν] κακοποιῶ M1.

²⁶⁶ ὠροσκοποῦντος] ὠροσκόπῳ M1.

²⁶⁷ εἰ δὲ] Ἑρμῆς O1.

²⁶⁸ ζ'] τοπῷ *add.* O1.

²⁶⁹ ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγιανῇ M1.

²⁷⁰ εἰ] *lac.* V.

²⁷¹ ἐστὶν] ἐστὶ V.

Γνωθι δὲ καὶ τὴν τριταίαν²⁷² τῆς²⁷³ Σελήνης καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην²⁷⁴ καὶ τὴν ιδ' καὶ τὴν κα', καὶ εἴπερ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις ἡ²⁷⁵ Σελήνη συνάπτει κακοποιῶ ἐπιτείνει τὴν νόσον· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶ ἐλαφρῇ.²⁷⁶ Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τὴν ι'²⁷⁷ μοῖραν ἀπὸ τῆς²⁷⁸ Σελήνης καὶ τὴν μ'.²⁷⁹ ὅτε ἔλθῃ ἐν αὐταῖς ἡ²⁸⁰ Σελήνη, καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ἀγαθοποιῶ, ὑγείαν δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ κακοποιῶ, ἐπιτείνει τὴν νόσον,²⁸¹ εἰ μὴ γε²⁸² ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν βοηθήσει.²⁸³

(vii) fol. 73r

Περὶ ἰατρείας.

Λέγει ὁ Μασάλλα· ὥς εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ ἰατρείας, ἔστιν ὠφελημένος. Σκέπτου²⁸⁴ τὰ²⁸⁵ περὶ τῆς ἰατρείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ' τόπου, ἡγέγονας τοῦ ἐναντίου τῆς νόσου.† Πῶς βλέπεις εἴτε καλῶς εἴτε κακῶς τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου; Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθοποιὸς, δὲ ἀγαθύνει τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου, ὠφελήσεται ὁ νοσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρείας· εἰ δὲ κακοῖ αὐτόν, βλαβήσεται ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἰατρείας.

(viii) fol. 74r-v

ις' Περὶ δούλου, εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ μεταβήσεται πρὸς ἐτέραν δεσποτεῖαν, ἢ πραθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἢ εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς²⁸⁶ παρὰ τινος ἐπιζητοῦντος δουλεύειν τινά.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ δούλου, εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα, καὶ εἰ εὖρης τὸν δυνατώτερον αὐτῶν ἀπορρέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεσουρανήματος ἢ τοῦ Ἡλίου, καὶ μὴ συνάπτοντά τινι, λέγε ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τὸν δοῦλον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἐλευθεροῦται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτήσῃ σε δοῦλος ἄρα πρὸς ἐτέραν δεσποτεῖαν μεταβήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἐπίκεντρος καὶ μὴ συνάπτων ἐτέρῳ ἀστέρι, οὐ μεταβήσεται· εἰ δὲ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ τρίτου τόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐννάτου δηλοῖ μετάβασιν· εἰ δὲ βλέπεται ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὥροσκόπου τῇ συνόδῳ, ἢ τῇ διαμέτρῳ, ἢ

²⁷² τριταίαν] γ' M1.

²⁷³ τῆς] om. M1.

²⁷⁴ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην] om. M1, καὶ τὴν ζ' O1.

²⁷⁵ ἡ] om. M1.

²⁷⁶ ἐλαφρῇ] corr., ἐλαφροῖ VM101.

²⁷⁷ ι'] ἴσην O1.

²⁷⁸ τῆς] om. V.

²⁷⁹ μ'] οὐσαν O1.

²⁸⁰ ἡ] om. M1.

²⁸¹ τὴν νόσον] om. M1.

²⁸² γε] om. O1.

²⁸³ αὐτὸν βοηθήσει] βοηθῇσει αὐτῷ M1, βοηθῇσει O1.

²⁸⁴ Σκέπτου] corr., Σκέψω V.

²⁸⁵ τὰ] ut videtur V.

²⁸⁶ ἐρωτηθῇς] corr., ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

τῷ τετραγώνῳ τοῦ κακοποιοῦ, ἢ ὕπανγός ἐστι, τελευτήσῃ ὁ δοῦλος πρὸ τοῦ μεταστῆναι.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς²⁸⁷ περὶ δούλου, ἄρα ἀγορασθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ζ' ἢ συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπάρχει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τῷ ζ', ἢ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ἀγορασθήσεται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς²⁸⁸ περὶ δούλου, ἄρα πραθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, ἢ τοῦ ἐννάτου πραθήσεται καὶ εἰ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ ζ' πραθήσεται καὶ εἰ συνάψουσι κακοποιοῦ πραθήσεται· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ τρίτου, ἢ τοῦ θ', πραθήσεται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς²⁸⁹ παρά τινος ἐπιζητοῦντος τινὰ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ, ἢ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ὠροσκόπον τῷ ἐρωτῶντι τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ τόπῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀφ' οὗ ἐπιζητεῖς τὸν δουλεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον τόπον τῷ δουλεύοντι, καὶ ἴδε τὰς συναφὰς ἀλλήλων καθὼς προεῖπομεν, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνας ἀποτελέσῃ.

(ix) fol. 74v–75r

Περὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου τόπου.

ιζ' Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος, (εἰ)²⁹⁰ γίνεται ἢ οὐ γίνεται.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος (εἰ)²⁹¹ γίνεται ἢ οὐ, λάβε τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον τῷ ἀνδρί· τὸν δὲ ζ' τόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τῇ γυναικί. Εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις περὶ συνουσίας, λάβε τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην· καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ἐβδόμου, τεύξεταί τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐρωτῶν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν ὑπάρχῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἢ ὠροσκοπεῖ, εὐχερῶς τεύξεταί τοῦ ποθομένου. Εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη διαπορθμεύει τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, τεύξεταί τῆς γυναικὸς διὰ μέσου τινός, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ ἡ Σελήνη ἀκάκωτος μεσουρανεῖ.²⁹² Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα,²⁹³ καὶ εἰ ἐστὶ κεκακωμένος,²⁹⁴ ἢ τεταπεινωμένος, ἀποτυχίαν δηλοῖ μετὰ εὐόδωσιν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ

²⁸⁷ ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

²⁸⁸ ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

²⁸⁹ ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

²⁹⁰ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

²⁹¹ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

²⁹² μεσουρανεῖ] *add. verba alia manu* V.

²⁹³ ἐπικρατήτορα] *corr.*, ἐπικράτορα V, *add. verba alia manu* V.

²⁹⁴ κεκακωμένος] *post corr.* V.

κακῶν ἀστὴρ ὑπάρχει κύριος τοῦ β' ἢ τοῦ η',²⁹⁵ ὁ ἐμποδισμὸς γενήσεται διὰ τὸν ἄρραβῶνα· εἰ δὲ κύριος ὑπάρχει ὁ κακοποιὸς τοῦ δ' τόπου, ἐμποδισθήσεται διὰ γονεῖς,²⁹⁶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀποφαίνου περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἴκων· εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς ὑπάρχει ὁ διαπορθμεύων τὰς ἀκτῖνας, γενήσεται ὁ ἐμποδισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσιτεύοντος· εἰ δὲ κύριος ὑπάρχει τοῦ ζ' τόπου, χεῖριστον, ἢ τοῦ η' τόπου, ἢ τοῦ β', ἢ τοῦ ιβ', ἢ τοῦ δ', ἢ ὑπάρχει ἐν στερεῶ²⁹⁷ ζῳδίῳ. Καὶ εἰ ὠροσκοπεῖ δίσωμον ζῳδιον, ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ θελήσει τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐτέρῳ συζυγήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ δηλῶν ἀστὴρ τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπικέντρος ὑπάρχει, τάχιον συζυγήσεται || ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου δυνατώτερός ἐστι, πρότερον εἰς τὸν γάμον ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ περὶ ἡ γυνή. Καὶ εἰ μὲν διαμετροῦσιν οἱ δηλοῦντες ἀστέρες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, μάχας δηλοῦσιν καὶ ἀντιλογίας· εἰ δὲ τετραγωνίζουσιν, ἀλλήλας κακοηθείας μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκηδίας· εἰ δὲ τριγωνίζουσιν, ἡ ἐξαγωνίζουσι, δηλοῦσιν²⁹⁸ ἀγάπην καὶ καλοήθειαν· εἰ δὲ συνοδεύουσιν, ἀκηδίας δηλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη ἐπιβλέπει τὸν ὠροσκόπον κεκακωμένη, κακοῦνται ἀμφοτέροι καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ κακοποιὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, δηλοῖ τὴν κάκωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς· εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὁ ἥλιος, βλαβήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ· εἰ δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, βλαβήσεται ἡ γυνή· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη, βλαβήσονται ἀμφοτέροι.²⁹⁹

(x) fol. 75r

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα ὡς ὅτε γένηται συνουσία μέσον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐνυπάρχει, <εἰ>³⁰⁰ ὁ ὠροσκόπος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη <ἐ>ν³⁰¹ ζῳδίοις ἄρρενικοῖς, προτελευ(τή)σει³⁰² ὁ ἀνὴρ· <εἰ>³⁰³ δὲ ἐν θηλυκοῖς, προτελευ(τή)σει³⁰⁴ ἡ γυν(αικὴ)³⁰⁵· εἰ δὲ ἐν δισώμοις, τελευτήσωσι καὶ ἀμφοτέροι μετὰ παρέλευσιν ὀλιγοστοῦ καιροῦ α(ὐτ)ὸς³⁰⁶ τοῦ <ἐ>τέρου·³⁰⁷ εἰ δὲ ὁ <ὠροσκόπος>³⁰⁸ μὲν ἐν ἄρρενικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἡ <Σελήνη>³⁰⁹ δὲ ἐν θηλυκῷ, ἢ τὸ ἔμπαλιν, ἀποτέλει ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων.

²⁹⁵ η'] *add. verba alia manu* V.

²⁹⁶ γονεῖς] *add. verba alia manu* V.

²⁹⁷ στερεῶ] *corr.*, στερεῶ V.

²⁹⁸ δηλοῦσιν] *corr.*, δηλοῖ V.

²⁹⁹ ἀμφοτέροι] *add. verba alia manu* V.

³⁰⁰ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰¹ ἐν] *ε* *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰² προτελευτήσει] *τή suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰³ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁴ προτελευτήσει] *τή suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁵ γυναικὴ] *ναϊκή suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁶ αὐτὸς] *ὕτ suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁷ ἐτέρου] *ε* *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁸ ὠροσκόπος] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁰⁹ Σελήνη] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰ ἐλπίζεται τὸ αὖθις γενέσθαι, μέλλει ἐμποδισθῆναι, ἴδε τὸν ἐμποδίζοντα κακοποιὸν ἢ τὸν κακοῦντα, καὶ ἐὰν ᾗ φίλος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, γενήσεται αὖθις.

(xi) fol. 86r³¹⁰

†[...] ³¹¹ τὸν Μασάλα ἐρώτησιν. † ³¹² Ὁ Μασάλα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξέθετο θεμάτ(ιον) ³¹³ καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταύτην πεποίηκε ³¹⁴ ἔλαβον πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος τὸν ὠροσκόπον, τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Σελήνη ἀπέρρευσε ³¹⁵ πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ δύνων, τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης συναπτομένην. Λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντός εἰσιν ἀστέρες ὑψηλοί, τοῦ δὲ ἐναντίου χαμηλοί. Εὐρέθη γοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῷ ς' τόπῳ ὑποποδίζων, τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀπερχομένου διαμετρήσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ι' ³¹⁶ οἴκον· ὁ δὲ Κρόνος εὐρέθη μὲν ἐν τῷ ιβ' ἐν ᾧ δὲ τό(πῳ) ³¹⁷ χαίρει ὁ δέ γε Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ εὐρέθησαν, οἱ καὶ διατοῦτο ³¹⁸ δηλοῦσι δύναμιν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν ὅτε ἐστ(ίν). ³¹⁹ Ὁ Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ Ζυγῷ εἰσὶν ἀκάκωτοι, ὅτε δὲ ἐν τῷ Σκορπίῳ εἰσὶ θάτεροι. Ζήτει ἐκεῖθεν, ³²⁰ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄρης, ἀπολεσθήσεται ὁ ἐχθρός. Διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοὺς σημαντικούς τούτους ἀστέρας στερεοὺς ³²¹ καὶ τοὺς σημαντικούς τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος ἀστέρας ὑψηλοὺς ἢ μέντοι ὑπερτέρους τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, κατὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου οὐ ῥαδίῳ γενήσεται ἀλλὰ μετὰ δυσχερείας μεγάλης καὶ περιστάσεως δὲ μετὰ τὸ καὶ ἡττηθῆναι αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου.

Ἀπετελέσθη ἡ κρίσις ὡς ἐκρίθη παρὰ τοῦ τοιούτου σοφοῦ Μασάλα.

(xii) fol. 90v–91r

Περὶ τοῦ ἐννάτου τόπου.

λς' Περὶ ἀποδημίας, (εἰ) ³²² γίνεται ἢ οὐ.

³¹⁰ The text has been previously partially edited in KENNEDY, PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, p. 180 (P).

³¹¹ The *folium* is trimmed, but traces of writing are visible in the upper right margin.

³¹² ἐρώτησιν] ἐρώτησεν P.

³¹³ θεμάτιον] ιον *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³¹⁴ πεποίηκε] πεποίηκεν P.

³¹⁵ ἀπέρρευσε] ἀπέρρυσεν P.

³¹⁶ ι'] ιβ' P.

³¹⁷ τόπῳ] *lac.* P, *πῳ suppl.*, *abest* V.

³¹⁸ διατοῦτο] διὰ τοῦτο P.

³¹⁹ ἐστίν] *in suppl.*, *abest* V.

³²⁰ ἐκεῖθεν] *des.* P, (ἐ)κ τῶν κακοποιῶν *add.* P.

³²¹ στερεοὺς] *corr.*, *στερρεῖους* V.

³²² εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς³²³ περὶ ἀποδημίας (εἰ)³²⁴ γίνεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' τόπου, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, δηλοῦσιν ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ θ' ὠροσκόπει, ταχεῖαν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ θ', ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ θ' ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, γενήσεται ἡ αὐτῶ κίνησις καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ἀκάκωτος, εὐτυχῇ δηλοῖ τὴν κίνησιν· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένος ἢ ἐν μέντοι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, δυσχέρειαν δηλοῖ καὶ ἐν Καρκίνῳ δίσωμον. Καὶ εἰ εὖρης τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' τόπου συνάπτοντας ἀστέρι βαρεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἀστήρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ βαρὺς ἐπιβλέπει τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀποδημίας, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν.³²⁵ εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι, καὶ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θ', ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς τόποις τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ δέχεται τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σημειωτικοῦ ἀστέρος, δηλοῖ δυσχέρειαν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὅτε ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τοῖς δεξιῶις μέρεσι τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ συνάπτει τῷ σημειωτικῷ ἀστέρι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν μερῶν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ. Εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς ὠροσκόπει, ἐμπόδιον ποιήσει· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ζ' ὑπάρχει, μαθήσεται αὐτὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον πρὸς ὃν μέλλει ἀπελθεῖν φήμην τινὰ κλείουσιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁδοιπορίας· εἰ δὲ μεσουρανεῖ ὁ κακοποιός, ἐξουσιαστικῇ δυνάμει ἀποδημήσει. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ', εἶτα μετ' ἐκεῖνον συνάψει κακοποιῶν, ἐκ διαμέτρου ἢ τετραγώνου ἢ ἐκ συνόδου πείσεται δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀστέρος καὶ τοῦ τόπου οὗ κυριεύει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ (κυρ)ιεύει³²⁶ τοῦ ζ' ἀπὸ νόσου· εἰ δὲ τοῦ ιβ' ἀπὸ συνόδου, καὶ φυσικοῦ καὶ ἔχθρας καὶ λυπήσει· εἰ δὲ τοῦ η' ἀπὸ κινδύνου. Ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ιβ' ἢ τοῦ ζ', κακοποιὸς ὢν καὶ συνάπτων τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μετὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' συναφὴν αὐτήν, δηλοῖ βλάβην παρὰ λ' τῶν ἀστέρων· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ὁ συσχηματισμός, δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ φωνῆς, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος περὶ ἀπωλείας πλούτου. Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ τὸ σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρων, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθοπεποιημένος εὐόδωσιν δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον³²⁷ δυσχέρειαν. Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ περὶ τοῦ σημειωτικοῦ ἀστέρος³²⁸ ὡς ἔσται περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ἀστέρι τινὶ ἐν τῷ γ', ἢ τῷ θ' τόπῳ ἄλλοτρίως ἐνυπάρχει, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐπίκεντρός ἐστιν, ἐπιτείνει τὴν τῆς ἀποδημίας ταχυτῆτα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ συνάπτει τινὶ τῶν ἀστέρων, ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν τόποις ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ (εἰ)³²⁹ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ' τόπου καὶ τοῦ γ', ὑπάρχει ἐν

³²³ ἐρωτηθῆς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

³²⁴ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³²⁵ ἀποδημίαν] *post. corr.* V, ἐν αὐτῷ *post* ἀποδημίαν *del.* V.

³²⁶ κυριεύει] *κυρ suppl.*, *abest* V.

³²⁷ ἐναντίον] *corr.*, ἔννατον V.

³²⁸ ἀστέρος] ἡγουν τῆς Σελήνης *add. in marg.* V.

³²⁹ εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

ἄλλοτρίοις ζωδίοις, καὶ οὕτως ἀποδημίαν δηλοῖ. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ θ' τόπου ἐν τοῖς κέντροις ὧσιν, ἐμποδισμὸν δηλοῦ(σιν)³³⁰ καὶ ἀργίαν· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ' τόπου, ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀστέρες ἐν ἄλλοτρίοις ζωδίοις, ἢ συνάπτουσιν ἀστέρι ἄλλοτρίῳ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις, ἀποδημίαν δηλοῖ.

(xiii) fol. 95v³³¹

Τὸ τοιοῦτον θεμάτιόν ἐστιν (ἐ)ρωτήσεως³³² γενομένης παρὰ τινος πρὸς τὸν Μασάλα περὶ παραμονῆς καταρχῆς, ἢ ἐξελεύσεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ἐσκεψάμην τὴν τοιαύτην ἐρώτησιν καὶ εὗρον τὸν μὲν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ια' τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ἐν τῷ Λέοντι τῷ ε' τόπῳ μὴ ὀρώσαν μὲν τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην αὐτῆς, διαμετροῦσαν δὲ τὸν Ἄρην. Ὁ δὲ τριγωνοκράτωρ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ὑποκράτωρ, Ἥλιος, εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι ἐν ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ, οἰκοδεσπότης ὢν καὶ τῆς Σελήνης· ὁ δὲ οἰκοδεσπότης τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, Κρόνος, εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀποβάσεως τόπῳ ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ ὑποποδισμένος, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ εἶναι τὰ ζώδια τοῦ τε μεσουρανήματος καὶ τοῦ δ' τόπου τροπικά, καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, Κρόνον, ἐν ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ ὑποποδισμένον, δηλοῖ τὸ ἐξωσθῆναι τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ἀπετελέσθη³³³ οὕτως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου σοφοῦ κρίσιν.

(xiv) fol. 97r

γγ' Περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐρωτῶντος εἰ προσληφθήσεται παρὰ βασιλέως, ἢ ἐξουσιαστοῦ.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς παρὰ τινος ἅρά γε δύναται οἰκειωθῆναι πρὸς βασιλέα, ἢ ἐξουσιαστὴν ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὸν σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα,³³⁴ καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσιν ἀμφοτέροι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, ἢ ὑπάρχουσιν ἀμφοτέροι ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι, λέγε καταλαβεῖν τὸν ἐρωτῶντα καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς ἐφέσεως αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ οὐ συνάπτουσι, λέγε οὐ.³³⁵

³³⁰ δηλοῦσιν] σιν *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³³¹ The text has been previously edited in KENNEDY, PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, p. 181 (P).

³³² ἐρωτήσεως] *suppl.*, ἐρωτήσεως P, ἐ *abest* V.

³³³ Ἀπετελέσθη] Ἀποτελέσθη P.

³³⁴ σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα] ἦγουν τὴν Σελήνην *add in marg.* V.

³³⁵ οὐ] Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου εὐρέθη (ἐν) τῷ μεσουρανήματι, ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ μεσουρανήματος οὐ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὁ μὲν ἐρωτῶν ἀγωνισθήσεται δουλεύειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐ προσληφθήσεται δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, *add. alia manu* V.

(xv) fol. 100v

Λέγει ὁ Μασάλα: ὡς ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς παρὰ ἀρχη(γοῦ)³³⁶ ἐκβληθέν(τος)³³⁷ ἀπὸ τ(ῆς)³³⁸ ἐξουσίας εἰ ὑποστρέψει ἐν αὐ(τῷ)³³⁹ καὶ μή, σκέπτου³⁴⁰ περὶ τούτου καθὼς περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδημήσαντός τινος, καὶ ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ ἐάν ἐστιν ὑποποδισμένος, ὑποστρέψει οὗτος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ προθέσει αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἐὰν ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτῃ ἀστέρι ὑποποδισμένῳ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἐπιβεβαιοῖ τὴν ὑποστροφὴν γενέσεως ταχυτέραν. Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐχ ὑποποδίσῃ, ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην καὶ ἐὰν συσχηματίζεται τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὑποστρέψει κρεῖττον δὲ πάντων, ἔστι τὸ τὴν Σελήνην συσχηματίζειν τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὄντι ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μέρεσιν.

(xvi) fol. 106r³⁴¹

οἷ³⁴² Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐστὶ³⁴³ τινὶ ἀγαθὸν³⁴⁴ ἢ ἐναντίον.³⁴⁵

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα³⁴⁶ εἰ βούλει γινῶναι πότε³⁴⁷ γενήσεται ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐναντίον,³⁴⁸ ἴδε τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τοὺς οἰκοδεσπότας τῶν δύο φωστήρων³⁴⁹ καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ³⁵⁰ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ οἷον (ἄν)³⁵¹ εὗρης δυνατώτερον καὶ λόγους ἔχοντα³⁵² εἰς τὸν ὠροσκόπον λάβε³⁵³ τοῦτον³⁵⁴ κυβερνήτην³⁵⁵ καὶ ἀνέτην. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν

³³⁶ ἀρχηγοῦ] γοῦ *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³³⁷ ἐκβληθέντος] τος *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³³⁸ τῆς] ῆς *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³³⁹ αὐτῷ] τῷ *suppl.*, *abest* V.

³⁴⁰ σκέπτου] *corr.*, σκέψο V.

³⁴¹ This text is edited on the basis of *Marc. gr.* Z 334, fol. 148v (M1), *Marc. gr.* Z 335, fol. 310v (M2), *Neap.* II.C.33, fol. 410r–v (N). *Par. grec* 2424, fol. 206v (P), and *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 106r (V). Due to COVID-19, I could not collate the codex *Vind. hist. gr.* 122.

³⁴² οἷ] *om.* M1M2NP.

³⁴³ ἐστὶ] ἔσται M1M2P.

³⁴⁴ ἀγαθὸν] καλὸν M1M2P.

³⁴⁵ Περὶ — ἐναντίον] Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε N | ἐναντίον] κακὸν M1M2P.

³⁴⁶ Μασάλλα] Μάσκαλα M1M2P, Μασάλης N.

³⁴⁷ πότε] *add.* τινὶ N.

³⁴⁸ γενήσεται — ἐναντίον] γίνεται καλὸν ἢ κακὸν N, καλὸν ἢ κακὸν M1M2P.

³⁴⁹ τῶν — φωστήρων] τῶν φωστήρων τῶν β' N.

³⁵⁰ τοῦ] τῆς *praem.* N.

³⁵¹ ἄν] *suppl.*, *abest* VM1M2NP.

³⁵² λόγους ἔχοντα] λόγοντα M1P.

³⁵³ λάβε] λάμβανε N.

³⁵⁴ τοῦτον] κύριον *add.* N.

³⁵⁵ κυβερνήτης] κυβερνήτης M1P.

ἐπίκεντρος, δώσει³⁵⁶ χρόνους, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ³⁵⁷ τόπῳ μήνας, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ γ' ἡμέρας.

Γνωθὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανήτων· ὁ Ἥλιος δίδωσιν ἔτη³⁵⁸ ιθ', μήνας ιθ', ἡμέρας ιθ'· ἡ Σελήνη³⁵⁹ ἀνὰ κε'· ὁ Κρόνος ἀνὰ λ'· ὁ³⁶⁰ Ἄρης ἀνὰ ιε'· ὁ³⁶¹ Ζεὺς ἀνὰ ιβ'· ὁ³⁶² Ἑρμῆς ἀνὰ κ',³⁶³ καὶ³⁶⁴ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἀνὰ ὀκτώ.³⁶⁵

(xvii) fol. 111r–112r

πς' Περὶ φήμης, εἰ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδής.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· ὥς εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς³⁶⁶ περὶ φήμης, ἄρα ψευδὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀληθής, εἴτε περὶ φόβου ἐστὶν ἢ ἐρώτησις, εἴτε περὶ ἐλπίδος ἀγαθοῦ πραγμάτος. Ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἐπικεντρότερον ἐξ αὐτῶν λάβε. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίκεντρος λάβε τὸν ἔχοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν πλείονας λόγους εἰς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἐὰν ἡ ἀστήρ ἐν τινὶ κέντρῳ ἀκάκωτος μὴ συνάπτει ἀστέρι ἐν ἀποκλίματι μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτὸν ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ φήμη· εἰ δὲ ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι συνάπτει δὲ ἢ ἀποκεκλικότι ἀστέρι μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτόν, γεγόναμεν μνεία τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνου, οὔτε λέγετε δὲ ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζετε.³⁶⁷ Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν κέντρῳ, συνάπτει δὲ ἀστέρι ἐπικέντρῳ ἀγαθοποιῶ προσδεχομένῳ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ φήμη καὶ γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστὶ κακοποιὸς οὐ προσδέχεται δὲ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ψευδὴς ἐστὶ ἢ φήμη· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίκεντρος, συνάπτει δὲ ἀστέρι ἐν ἀποκλίματι, ψευδὴς ἐστὶ ἢ φήμη. Εἰ μὴ γε προσδέχεται τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὁ ἀστήρ· εἰ δὲ ὁ προσδεχόμενος τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου· καὶ εἰ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτὸν ψευδὴς ἢ φήμη καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ματαιία· εἰ δὲ οἱ δύο φωστῆρες συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπικέντρῳ καὶ ἀκακῶτῳ ὄντι γενήσεται ἡδοναί· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένοι εἰσὶν³⁶⁸ ἐρήμωσιν δηλοῦσιν³⁶⁹ μετὰ εὐόδωσιν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ

³⁵⁶ δώσει] δηλοῖ M1.

³⁵⁷ δευτέρῳ] β' M2NP.

³⁵⁸ ἔτη] ἐν τῇ M1M2P.

³⁵⁹ ἡ Σελήνη] καὶ add. M1M2.

³⁶⁰ ὁ] om. M1M2.

³⁶¹ ὁ] om. M1M2.

³⁶² ὁ] om. M1M2.

³⁶³ κ'] *praem.* εἰ V.

³⁶⁴ καὶ] om. M1M2.

³⁶⁵ ὀκτώ] η' M1M2NP.

³⁶⁶ ἐρωτηθῆς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

³⁶⁷ λέγετε δὲ ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζετε] *ut videtur* V.

³⁶⁸ κεκακωμένοι εἰσὶν] *corr.*, κεκακωμένη ἐστὶν V.

³⁶⁹ δηλοῦσιν] *corr.*, δηλοῖ V.

κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἀποκεκλικῶς ἦν οἱ δὲ φωστῆρες ἐπικέντρος γενήσονται.³⁷⁰
εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτουσιν ἀστέρι ταπεινουμένῳ, καὶ
μὴ ὑποδεχομένῳ αὐτοὺς οὐ γενήσονται.³⁷¹

Εἶπον καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ὡς τὰ τροπικὰ ζῳδία δηλοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸ τοῦ
τελειωθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δίσωμα ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα πραχθήσεται, τὰ δὲ στερεὰ στερέωσιν
αὐτῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, οὔσης τῆς ἐρωτήσεως περὶ
φόβου, παρῆλθον τοὺς κακοποιούς μιᾷ μοίρᾳ, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἤδη
συνοδεύσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς κέντροις αὐτῶν, φόβους μόνους ἐπάγουσιν· εἰ δὲ
ἀπέρχονται πρὸς συναφὴν, καὶ φόβον ἐπείγουσι καὶ βάσανον· εἰ δὲ ἐπικαλύψουσιν³⁷²
ἀγαθοποιοὶ, λύσουσι τὸ δεινόν.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὡς εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς³⁷³ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ
εἰ τριγωνίζει τὸν ὠροσκόπον, ἢ ἐξαγωνίζει, τὸ γράμμα ἔξει ἀφροσύνην· εἰ δὲ
τετραγωνίζει, ἢ διαμετρεῖ, βλάβην καὶ συνοχὴν ἢ ψεῦδος καὶ οὔτε λύπην οὔτε χήραν.
Μὴ ἀμελήσης δὲ τοῦ τηρεῖν τὴν συναφὴν τῆς Σελήνης πρὸς τε τοὺς κακοποιούς καὶ
τοὺς ἀγαθοποιούς, οὕτως γὰρ ποιῶν οὐχ ἀμάρτης.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀγαθοποιοῖς, ἢ ὀρίοις,
ἢ ἐπιβλέπει ταύτην ἀγαθοποιός, ἢ ὠροσκοπεῖ ἀγαθοποιός, ἀληθὴς ἔστι ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ
ἐναντίον, ψευδής.

Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Μασάλλα καὶ τοῦτο· γίνωσκε ὅτι τὰ μυστήρια παρὰ τοῖς ἄστροις
κεκρυμμένα εἰσίν, ὅτε δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάψει τῷ Ἑρμῇ, φανεροῦνται. Ἴδε οὖν ἢ ποίου
ἀστέρος ἔστιν ἡ φήμη, καὶ εἰ συνῆψεν ἡ Σελήνη τούτων, εἶτα ἀπέρρευσεν αὐτῶν ὡς
πρὸς συναφὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἢ ἀπλῶς ἀπέρρευσεν. Ἴδε τὸν Ἑρμῆν, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν
ἐπικέντρος, ἀληθὴς ἔσται ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ψευδής.³⁷⁴ καὶ εἰ ἐπαναφέρεται κέντρῳ,
γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ προαναφέρεται, ἤδη ἐγένετο. Εἰ δὲ κρύφια φήμη ἐλεύσεται, καὶ
βούλει γινῶναι ἀληθῆ ἔστι ἢ φαύλη, ἴδε τὸν τόπον τῆς Σελήνης, καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ
κλήρου τῆς φήμης, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποφαίνου, εἴτε ἀγαθνομένου τοῦ τόπου, εἴτε
κακωμένου. Ἡ δὲ Σελήνη συνάπτουσα ἀναποδίζοντι ἀστέρι, ἢ ἀποκεκλικότι, ἢ
κακοποιῷ, ψευδῇ τὴν φήμην δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ μεσουρανεῖ ὁ ἀστήρ, φανερὰ ἔσται ἡ φήμη.
Ὁ δὲ κλῆρος τῆς φήμης λαμβάνεται ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦ ἐπὶ Σελήνης, νυκτὸς τὸ
ἀνάπαλιν, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου. Καὶ εἴ γε πέσῃ ὁ κλῆρος ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἢ
λοξῷ, ἢ ὑπάρχει ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἀναποδισμένος, ἢ ταπεινούμενος, ἢ ἀποκεκλικῶς,

³⁷⁰ γενήσονται] *corr.*, γενήσεται V.

³⁷¹ γενήσονται] *corr.*, γενήσεται V.

³⁷² ἐπικαλύψουσιν] *corr.*, ἐπικαλέψουσιν V.

³⁷³ ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

³⁷⁴ ψευδής] Ἰστέον ὡς ἡ τῶν κακοποιῶν συναφὴ ἐκ μένων τῶν ἰδῶν οἴκων καὶ ὑψωμάτων ἔστιν
εὐπρόσδεκτος οὐχὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τριγώνων, ἢ δεκανῶν, ἢ ὀρίων τῶν δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἐκ παντῶν τῶν
εἰρημένων εὐπρόσδεκτός ἐστι, *add. in marg.* V.

ἢ συνάπτων κακοποιοῖς, ψευδῆς ἔσται ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, ἀληθὴς· εἰ δὲ σύμμικτα ὥσι τὰ σχήματα, ἀποτελεῖ ἐκ τῶν δυνατωτέρων.

(xviii) fol. 242r-v³⁷⁵

λη' Λόγος τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μασάλα περιέχων τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων³⁷⁶ ἃ³⁷⁷ ἐξέθετο ἕκαστος τῶν παλαιῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν τοιούτων βιβλίων.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα ὅτι· εἶδον τοὺς παλαιοὺς σοφοὺς ἔχοντας ἀμφιβολίας περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινῶν ἀστρονομικῶν ὧν σοφῶν πλῆθος γέγονε τῶν βιβλίων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σύγχυσις γίνεταί τοῦ νοδὸς τοῦ ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκοντος. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξεθέμην τὴν τοιαύτην βίβλον συνοπτικῶς δηλώσας ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ ἀναμφίβολα καὶ τὰ τῶν λόγων κρείττονα ἀπὸ τε τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῶν μεγάλων σοφῶν καὶ πολυμαθῶν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βιβλίων τῶν καταλειφθέντων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν εἰς κληρονομίαν.

Οἱ ἐκθέμενοι δὲ τὰ βιβλία εἰσὶν οὗτοι· ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐξέθετο βιβλία κδ'· ἀφ' ὧν εἰσι γενεθλιαλογικὰ ις', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων ε', περὶ τῶν μοιρῶν τῶν ζωδίων δύο καὶ περὶ λογισμοῦ α'. Ὁ Πλάτων βιβλία ζ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ε' καὶ περὶ ἐρωτήσεων β'. Ὁ Δωρόθεος βιβλία ια'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων δ', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων γ', περὶ λογισμοῦ γ' καὶ περὶ τῶν συνόδων α'. Ὁ Δημόκριτος βιβλία ιδ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ζ', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δ', περὶ τῶν συνόδων δύο, περὶ λογισμοῦ α', καὶ περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων α'. Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης βιβλία ι'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων γ', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δύο, περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν ζωδίων, καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας αὐτῶν ε'. Ὁ Ἀντικὸς βιβλία ζ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ε' καὶ περὶ ἐρωτήσεων β'. Ὁ Οὐάλης βιβλία δέκα ἔχοντα τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ὅλων βιβλίων. Ὁ Ἑρασίστρατος βιβλία ι(α')³⁷⁸ ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων δ', περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἥλιου πρὸς τοὺς ἀστέρας α', περὶ λογισμοῦ α', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δύο, περὶ τῶν συνόδων δύο καὶ περὶ τῶν φαρταρίων α'. Καὶ ὁ Στόχος βιβλία ζ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων γ', περὶ ἐκλείψεων α', περὶ συνόδων α' καὶ περὶ εὐτυχιῶν καὶ ἀτυχιῶν α'. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξέθεντο βιβλία μδ'· εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐδήλωσαν τά τε παρεληλυθότα³⁷⁹ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐξέθεντο δὲ καὶ ἕτερα δύο μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα βιβλία, τὸ μὲν α'³⁸⁰ περὶ γενεθλίων καὶ τὸ ἕτερον περὶ ἐρωτήσεων, ἔχον ἕκαστον βιβλίον κεφάλαια α, ἔχον ἕκαστον αὐτῆς κεφάλαιον λόγους δ'· ἃ καὶ ἔστιν ἀποτιθεμένα³⁸¹ εἰς Ἰνδιάν³⁸² μὴ ἐκβληθέντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

³⁷⁵ The text has been previously edited in CCAG, I, p. 81–82 (O) and in PINGREE, BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, p. 203–204. (P).

³⁷⁶ βιβλίων] corr., βεβλίων V, corr. βιβλίων P.

³⁷⁷ ἃ] corr., ὧν V, ἃ corr. P.

³⁷⁸ ια'] ια' suppl. OP, α' abest V.

³⁷⁹ παρεληλυθότα] corr., παρεληλυθότα V, παρεληλυθότα corr. OP.

³⁸⁰ α'] πρῶτον O.

³⁸¹ ἀποτιθεμένα] corr., ἀποτιθομένα V, ἀποδοδεομένα corr. O, ἀποθεθεμένα corr. P.

³⁸² Ἰνδιάν] corr., Ἰνδια V, Ἰνδιάν corr. OP.

Ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ βιβλία τὰ εὐρεθέντα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν περὶ ὧν καὶ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐδήλωσα ὅπως γινῶτε³⁸³ ὅτι πολλὰ ἢ ἐκοπίασα πρὸς τὸ παρεκβαλεῖν καὶ ἐκθεῖναι τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον ἀπὸ τῶν ῥηθέντων βιβλίων συνοπτικῶς ἐν τέσσαρσι λόγοις.

III.2. Fragments Known from *Bodl. Cromwell 12*

(i) fol. 67r³⁸⁴

Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου.

Βιβλίον δεύτερον ἀποτελεσματικὸν περιέχον τοὺς δώδεκα τόπους τοῦ θέματος ἐξ ὧν μέλλειν δύνασθαι τὸν ἐπιστήμονα πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν γινομένης ἀποτελεῖν. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τόπου, ἦτοι τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, τοῦ περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς δηλοῦντος.³⁸⁵

α' Ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς³⁸⁶ περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην· ἡ γὰρ ἀπόρροια τῆς Σελήνης δηλοῖ τὰ παρελθόντα, ἡ δὲ συναφὴ³⁸⁷ τὰ μέλλοντα³⁸⁸ καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὕπαυγος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη κεκακωμένη, ἡ καὶ τις κακοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ ἢ δύνει,³⁸⁹ δηλοῖ θάνατον τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος. Ἴδε οὖν πόσαι μοῖραι εἰσὶ μεταξὺ³⁹⁰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου, καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνα³⁹¹ ἀποφαίνου·³⁹² καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ζῶδιον στερεὸν³⁹³ λέγε χρόνους, εἰ δὲ δίσωμον μήνας, εἰ δὲ τροπικὸν ἡμέρας. Εἰ δὲ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιός³⁹⁴ ἔστι³⁹⁵ χεῖρον, εἰ δὲ ἐπιβλέπει³⁹⁶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ τετάρτου τόπου³⁹⁷ τὸν ὠροσκόπον ἢ

³⁸³ γινῶτε] *corr.*, γνώσητε VOP.

³⁸⁴ This text is edited on the basis of *Oxon. Barocci 94*, fol. 100v–101r (B), *Oxon. Cromwell 12*, p. 441–442 (O1), and *Vat. gr. 1056*, fol. 67r (V). Due to COVID-19 I could not collate the codex *Vind. hist. gr. 122*.

³⁸⁵ Ἀρχὴ — δηλοῦντος] Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου. Ἀρχεται ὁ Μασάλα περὶ τῶν ἰβ' τόπων O1, Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἀπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν δώδεκα τόπων τοῦ Μασάλα B.

³⁸⁶ Ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς] Εἰ ἐρωτηθεῖς B.

³⁸⁷ συναφὴ] συνάφεια O1.

³⁸⁸ τὰ μέλλοντα] δηλοῖ *praem.* B.

³⁸⁹ κακοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ ἢ δύνει] κακοποιοὶ ὠροσκοπὸν ἢ δύνων O1, κακοποιὸς ὠροσκόπος δύνει B.

³⁹⁰ μεταξὺ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] μετὰ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου O1.

³⁹¹ κατ' ἐκεῖνα] κατ' ἐκεῖνου O1, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου *add. in margine et del.* B.

³⁹² ἀποφαίνου] μῆνα *praem.* B.

³⁹³ στερεὸν] στερρεὸν V.

³⁹⁴ εἰ δὲ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιός] εἰ δὲ ἡ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιὰ B.

³⁹⁵ ἔστι] ἔτι V, *om.* O1.

³⁹⁶ ἐπιβλέπει] καὶ βλέπει V, καὶ ἐπιβλέπει B.

³⁹⁷ τετάρτου τόπου] δ' BO1.

τὸν³⁹⁸ κύριον τοῦ ἡ' τόπου³⁹⁹ κακόν ἐστι,⁴⁰⁰ εἰ μή γε ἐπιβλέπουσιν⁴⁰¹ οἱ⁴⁰² ἀγαθοποιοὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐστὶν⁴⁰³ ἀκάκωτος.

(ii) fol. 70v⁴⁰⁴

ἡ' Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς ἄρα ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής.⁴⁰⁵

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς⁴⁰⁶ ἄρα ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής,⁴⁰⁷ ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην,⁴⁰⁸ καὶ εἰ⁴⁰⁹ ὑπάρχουσι⁴¹⁰ ἐν τῷ ε' τόπῳ ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ε'⁴¹¹ τόπου ὠροσκοπεῖ ἀκάκωτος, ἀληθής ἐστι⁴¹² ἡ σύλληψις· εἰ δὲ τροπικόν ἐστι τὸ ζῳδίου καὶ ἐπίκεντρος ὑπάρχει ὁ⁴¹³ κακοποιός, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής· εἰ δὲ ἐστι ἡ συναφὴ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν ἀστέρων πρὸς ἀναποδίζοντας ἀστέρας,⁴¹⁴ οὐ⁴¹⁵ γενήσεται, εἰ μή γε ἀκάκωτός ἐστιν ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τόπῳ καλῷ.

Εἶπον δὲ τινες τῶν παλαίων ὅτι⁴¹⁶ ὅτε πλησίφωτος οὔσα ἡ Σελήνη συνοδεύει τῷ Ἄρει⁴¹⁷ ἀμβλωθρίδιον γενήσεται καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τελευτήσῃ· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ⁴¹⁸ φθαρήσεται τὸ βρέφος.

³⁹⁸ τὸν] καὶ *praem.* O1.

³⁹⁹ τόπου] *om.* BO1.

⁴⁰⁰ ἐστι] *om.* BO1.

⁴⁰¹ ἐπιβλέπουσιν] ἐπιβλέπουσι O1.

⁴⁰² ἀγαθοποιοὶ] *om.* O1V.

⁴⁰³ ἡ Σελήνη ἐστὶν] *inv. ord.* BO1.

⁴⁰⁴ This text is edited on the basis of *Oxon. Cromwell* 12, p. 446 (O1), and *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 70v (V).

⁴⁰⁵ ἡ' Περὶ — ψευδής] *om.* O1.

⁴⁰⁶ ἐρωτηθῆς] δὲ *praem.* O1.

⁴⁰⁷ ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις, ἢ ψευδής] ἡ σύλληψις ἀληθής ἐστίν, ἢ οὐ O1.

⁴⁰⁸ καὶ τὴν Σελήνην] *add. s.l. alia manu* V.

⁴⁰⁹ εἰ] ὡς O1.

⁴¹⁰ ὑπάρχουσι] ὑπάρχει *ante corr.* V.

⁴¹¹ ε'] πέμπτου O1.

⁴¹² ἐστι] *om.* O1.

⁴¹³ ὁ] *om.* O1.

⁴¹⁴ ἀναποδίζοντας ἀστέρας] ἀναποδίζοντος ἀστήρ O1.

⁴¹⁵ οὐ] *om.* O1.

⁴¹⁶ ὅτι] *om.* O1.

⁴¹⁷ τῷ Ἄρει] τὸν Ἄρεα V.

⁴¹⁸ εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ — κακοποιοὶ] εἰ δὲ ἐπίκεντροι ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης O1.

Εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὥς εἰ⁴¹⁹ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ δύο φωστῆρες καὶ ὁ ὠροσκόπος ἐν δισώμοις ζωδίοις⁴²⁰ ἢ πολυσπέρμοις – ἥτοι τῷ Σκορπίῳ, καὶ⁴²¹ τοῖς Ἰχθύσι καὶ τῷ Καρκίνῳ – καὶ ἐπιβλέπουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ⁴²² ἀγαθοποιοί, σύλληψις ὑπάρχει.⁴²³

III.3. Additional Fragments from *Bodl. Cromwell* 12

(i) p. 436

Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φίλων.

Εἰ ἐρωτήσῃ σέ τις περὶ ἰδίου φίλιου ἄρα ἐνωθήσεται αὐτῷ ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ ποιοῦνται τὴν συναφὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τοῦ ια' τόπου, ἐνωθήσεται τῇ αὐτῇ μεθόδῳ χρῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ε' τόπου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναικὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ', καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἀπὸ τοῦ γ', καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης, καὶ ἐπὶ δούλων ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ', τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

(ii) p. 436

Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φιλίας.

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς ἄρα γε ἐστὶ φιλία μεταξὺ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ δεῖνος ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ια' καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ' καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ', καὶ εἰ ἐπιβλέπουσιν οἱ κύριοι τῶν τοιούτων τόπων⁴²⁴ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριγώνου ἢ ἐξαγώνου, συστήσεται μεταξὺ αὐτῶν φίλων· εἰ δὲ τετραγώνου ἢ διαμέτρου ἔχθρα γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ οἱ κύριοι τῶν τοιούτων τόπων συσχηματίζονται ἀπὸ τριγώνου ἢ ἐξαγώνου σχήματος καὶ μάλιστα ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἐν ια', ἔσται φιλία· εἰ δὲ οἱ δύο, ἔτι πλεῖον ἐπιταθήσεται· εἰ δὲ πάντες, ἔσται ὑπερβολικὴ⁴²⁵ ἀγάπη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀπὸ στερεῶν ζωδίων⁴²⁶ ἢ συναφῇ γένηται.

IV. Conclusions

In 2012, Maria Mavroudi rightly stated that: « Writing a history of Byzantine astrology remains inhibited by the dearth of published Byzantine astrological texts, though Pingree and Kazhdan provided a brief account mostly based on their

⁴¹⁹ εἰ] ἐὰν O1.

⁴²⁰ δισώμοις ζωδίοις ἢ πολυσπέρμοις] δισώμῳ ζῳδίῳ ἢ πολυσπέρμῳ O1.

⁴²¹ καὶ] om. O1.

⁴²² οἱ] om. O1.

⁴²³ ὑπάρχει] Ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ε' τόπου ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θ', ἐν ζῳδίῳ δισώμῳ, λέγε ἔχειν γαστρί add. *alia manu* V.

⁴²⁴ τόπων] corr., τόπον O1.

⁴²⁵ ὑπερβολικὴ] corr., ὑπερβολιτικὴ O1.

⁴²⁶ ἀπὸ στερεῶν ζῳδίων] corr., ἢ ἀποστερεᾶ ζῳδία O1.

extensive acquaintance with manuscripts ».⁴²⁷ This article tries to partially fill such gap by making available to the scholars the Greek fragments by Māšā' allāh. Moreover, from a preliminary survey of the direct occurrences of the Greek translations of Māšā' allāh ibn Aṭarī's and Abū Ma'šar al-Balḥī's works, and from the presentation of the sections by Māšā' allāh that are preserved in the *Vat. gr.* 1056, the interest Byzantine scholars had towards Arabic astrological texts, from the late Komnenian times onwards, clearly emerges. The Vatican codex is, indeed, a valuable case study because it proved to be a rich Byzantine anthology of astrological and astronomical texts – especially mixing Arabic, Late Antique and ancient sources – written no later than the thirteenth century, that has been read and used in later times. It offers indeed the possibility of looking at the wealth of material that was available to Byzantine scholars, and that has not been thoroughly investigated by modern scholars yet.

Appendices

Appendix I

Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 66v

Περὶ θησαυρῶν. Ζήτει καὶ ἄλλως
ἐκεῖθεν.⁴²⁸

Εἴ τις ἔχει κεκρυμμένον θησαυρὸν καὶ ἀγνοεῖ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, στῆσον ἀκριβῶς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἴδε ποῖος τῶν ε' ἀστέρων, **τῶν φωστήρων** πλείονας λόγους καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, **καὶ** ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ τῶν ἱβ' τόπων. Εἴτα ἴδε εἰ σύνεστι τῷ δηλωθέντι οἰκοδεσπότῃ, ἀστήρ τις ἐν **ἐκείνῳ** τῷ ζωδίῳ, ἢ οὐ σύνεστί τις ἀστήρ, καὶ εἰ μὲν

Ang. gr. 29, fol. 23r-v

π' Περὶ θησαυρῶν.

Εἴ τις ἔχει κεκρυμμένον θησαυρὸν καὶ ἀγνοεῖ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, ἢ στῆσον ἀκριβῶς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἴδε ποῖος τῶν ε' ἀστέρων, **καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἢ Σελήνη** πλείονας λόγους καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, **ἴδε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τότε** ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ τῶν ἱβ' τόπων. Εἴτα ἴδε εἰ σύνεστι τῷ δηλωθέντι οἰκοδεσπότῃ, ἀστήρ τις ἐν

⁴²⁷ MARIA MAVROUDI, « Astrology, Byzantine », in ROGE SHALER BAGNALL, KAI BRODERSEN, CRAIG BIAN CHAMPION, ANDREW ERSKINE, SABINE HÜBNER (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 2, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden-Oxford-Chichester 2012.

⁴²⁸ ἐκεῖθεν] *add. verba non legitur* V.

συννύαρχει (αὐ)τῷ⁴²⁹ ὁ Ἥλιος, γινῶθι ὅτι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐν τῷ τρικλινίῳ⁴³⁰ ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ κάθηται διηνεκῶς ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, εἰ δὲ συννύαρχει αὐτῷ ἡ Σελήνη, γινῶθι τὸν **θη(σαυ)ρὸν**⁴³¹ εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ διηνεκῶς κάθηται ἡ κυρία τῆς οἰκίας, ἡ πλησίον τοῦ φρέατος, ἡ τοῦ **σωτηρίου**. Εἰ δὲ ὁ συνὼν τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ τοῦ Ἄρεως, λέγε ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ φούρνου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἡ τοῦ μαγειρείου, ἡ ἐν **ἐτέρῳ**⁴³² τόπῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ᾧ **ἄπτεται** πῦρ· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἔστιν ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ βιβλία ἢ γράμματα, ἡ ἔνθα ἐμπορεύεται ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς, γινῶθι ὅτι πλησίον ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπέ ὅτι ἐστὶ **φυτῶν πλησίον**, ἡ ἀρωμάτων, ἡ ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ προῖξ τῆς γυναικός· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, κεῖται ἐν τόπῳ ῥυπαρῶ· **εἴτα ἶδε καὶ** εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς πλησίον τοῦ πυλῶνος· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ β' τόπῳ, ἡ τῷ γ', ἡ τῷ δ', ἡ τῷ ε' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δεξιῶς μέρεσι τοῦ πυλῶνος καθὼς εἰσέρχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ζ' τόπῳ, ἡ τῷ ζ', ἡ τῷ η' ἐστὶν ἀντικρυς τοῦ πυλῶνος· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ θ', ἡ τῷ ι', ἡ τῷ ια', ἡ τῷ ιβ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι τοῦ πυλῶνος.

ἐκεῖ(ν)οῦ⁴³³ τῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἡ οὐ σύνεστί τις ἀστήρ, καὶ εἰ μὲν **σύνεστιν αὐτῷ** ὁ Ἥλιος, γινῶθι ὅτι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐν τῷ **τρίποδι** ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ κάθηται διηνεκῶς ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, εἰ δὲ **σύνεστιν αὐτῷ** ἡ Σελήνη, γινῶθι τὸν **θησαυρὸν** εἶναι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ διηνεκῶς κάθηται ἡ κυρία τῆς οἰκίας, ἡ πλησίον τοῦ φρέατος, ἡ τοῦ **σωτηρίου**. Εἰ δὲ **τύχη** ὁ συνὼν τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ὁ Ἄρης, λέγε ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ φούρνου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἡ τοῦ μαγειρείου, ἡ **ἐνθα ἀνάπτεται** πῦρ· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἐστὶν ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ βιβλία **(ἡ)**⁴³⁴ γράμματα, ἡ ἔνθα ἐμπορεύεται ὁ κύριος **τοῦ οἴκου**· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς, γινῶθι ὅτι πλησίον ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπέ ὅτι ἐστὶ **πλησίον φυτῶν** ἡ ἀρωμάτων, ἡ ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ προῖξ τῆς γυναικός· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, κεῖται ἐν τόπῳ ῥυπαρῶ· εἰ δὲ **βούλει γινῶναι, εἴτε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ οἴκου ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά, στήσον τὸν ὠροσκόπον**. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀστήρ ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, γινῶθι ὅτι **πλησίον τοῦ πυλῶνος ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς**· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ β' τόπῳ, ἐστὶν ἐν τοίχῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος. **Δεξιὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ πυλῶνος λέγομεν, τὰ ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ εἰσερχομένου**· εἰ δὲ **τύχη ἐν τῷ γ' τόπῳ, τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δ'**

⁴²⁹ αὐτῷ] αὐ suppl., abest V.

⁴³⁰ τρικλινίῳ] corr., τρικλείνῳ V.

⁴³¹ θησαυρὸν] σαυ suppl., abest V.

⁴³² ἐτέρῳ] post corr. V.

⁴³³ ἐκεῖν] νῳ suppl., abest A.

⁴³⁴ ἡ] suppl., abest A.

ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ε' ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ς' τόπῳ εἰ τύχη, ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἐξεναντίῳ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ζ' ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ η' ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ θ' τύχη, ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι' ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ια' ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ιβ' ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς ἄρά γε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔστιν ἡ πλησίον φρέατος, ἡ σωτήρος, ἡ πλησίον φούρνου, ἡ ἐν τόπῳ ἀρωματικῷ, ἡ ἐν τόπῳ πραγμάτων, ἡ ῥυπαρῶ, ἡ ἐν τῷ τρίποδι ἐν ᾧ κάθεται ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, ἡ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ κάθεται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀποτελέσων κατὰ τὴν μέθοδον ἣν προεδιδάχθης.

Appendix II

Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 49v

Λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥασήκ ὁ σοφώτατος ὅτι ἐπειδὴ εὖρον εἶναι τὸν ὠροσκόπου ζῶδιον θηλυκόν, τὴν δὲ κυρίαν αὐτοῦ θηλυκὴν, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν θηλυκῷ ζῳδίῳ, λέγω εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν περὶ θηλυκῶν προσώπων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα τῆς κυρίας τοῦ ὠροσκόπου Σελήνη ὑπάρχει ἐν ζῳδίῳ Ζυγῷ.⁴³⁵ Ἀπέρρευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξαγωνικῆς συναφῆς τοῦ Κρόνου, ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἦν ἐν τῷ δ' τόπῳ τῷ ὑπογείῳ τῷ τόπῳ δηλαδὴ τῶν γονέων ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη θηλυκὴ ὡς εἴρηται, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ἦν ἐν τῷ γ' τόπῳ τῷ δηλοῦντι τοὺς οἰκείους τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ὁρᾶται παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης. Λέγω ὅτι ἡ ἐρώτησις αὕτη περὶ οἰκείας ἐστὶ μητέρος, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Σελήνην ἀεὶ σημειωτικὴν τῶν μητέρων, διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κυρίαν μὲν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, σημειωτικὴν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως, κυριεύειν δὲ καὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς νοσηλείας, καὶ ὁρᾶται παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς νοσηλείας τούτο. Λέγω νοσεῖν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ἀπορρεῦσαι τὴν Σελήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρόνου τοῦ δηλοῦντος ἀεὶ τὰ γηραιότερα πρόσωπα.

⁴³⁵ Ζυγῷ] *corr.*, γυγῷ V.

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ARABIC GALENISM FROM ANTIOCH TO BYZANTIUM: IBN BUṬLĀN AND SYMEON SETH

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Abstract

This paper investigates how Symeon Seth (second half of the eleventh century) introduced some Arabic medical heritage, especially Galenic, to Byzantium, which probably originated from his training in Antioch around 1060 with the famous Baghdadi physician Ibn Buṭlān. After providing new data on Seth's biography, our analysis focuses on his three main medical works, whose nature and reception were very different but which are all extensively based on Arabic science: the *Refutation of Galen*, the *On Foodstuffs* and the *On the Handbook of Health* (the latter being, as we show, a partial translation of Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa*). We analyse the context of production of each of these three works, the way Seth uses and quotes (or does not quote) his Arabic sources, and their Byzantine reception.

Key Words

Symeon Seth, Ibn Buṭlān, Arabo-Greek translations, Arabic medicine, Byzantine medicine



Syméon Seth, authentique Byzantin par plus d'un trait, est bien représentatif d'une culture élargie et d'une génération qui, grâce au bilinguisme grec-arabe, s'efforce dans le domaine du merveilleux comme de la science de redécouvrir des vieilles solidarités orientales remontant à l'époque hellénistique ou romaine.¹

Symeon Seth, a Byzantine scholar of the second half of the eleventh century, is a key figure for understanding the transmission of Arabic scientific knowledge and

¹ GILBERT DAGRON, « Formes et fonctions du pluralisme linguistique à Byzance », *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12 (1994), p. 219–240, here p. 237.

methods into Byzantine culture. He is a multifaceted author whose major works cover a wide range of subjects, from natural philosophy with his *Synopsis of Physics* (*Conspectus rerum naturalium*), to astronomy with his *On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies* (*De utilitate corporum caelestium*), medicine with his *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (*De alimentorum facultatibus*) and literature with *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, to say nothing of several opuscles whose authorship is at times questionable. Being written in Greek, these works appear to bear a fairly strong link to the Arabic world. This is evident in *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, which is a Greek translation of the famous Arabic collection of fables entitled *Kalila wa Dimna* (and ultimately traced back to a Sanskrit original): its title says that it was offered to the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118).

But Arab authors are prominently featured in the other works of Seth, who generally refers to them as « the moderns » (οἱ νεώτεροι) and almost always agrees with them, albeit implicitly. Paul Magdalino has demonstrated that Seth mentions Arabic writings on astronomy in a rather neutral way in the *On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies*, but in a much more open and favourable way in an opuscle entitled *On the fixed stars*, probably attributable to the same Seth, where the author corrects Ptolemy's data.² The latter work gives pride of place to astrology (whereas the *On the Utility of the Heavenly Bodies* hardly contains any astrological material) and Paul Magdalino judiciously used this to strengthen the generally-accepted identification between our author Symeon Seth and the *mathematikos* of the same name mentioned in her *Alexiad* by Anna Komnene (1083–c. 1153), Emperor Alexios I's daughter.³ The princess mainly refers to his talents as an astrologer: through his calculations, he was able to predict the death of the Norman adventurer Robert Guiscard, which happened on 17 July 1085. Anna Komnene also noted that Seth was one of the rising astrologers of her father's imperial court, and that he would often brag about his astrological skills.⁴ Similarly, in the field of optics, important connections with Arab theorists were recently highlighted by Roland Betancourt for several chapters of the *Synopsis of Physics*.⁵

² PAUL MAGDALINO, « The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology », in CATHERINE HOLMES, JUDITH WARING (eds.), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, Brill, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, p. 33–57, here p. 46–49 and 51–54.

³ Although it has sometimes been assumed that there are two different Seths, we accept that Seth, the court astrologer of Alexios I, is also the author of the astronomical, physical and dietetical treatises and of the translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. On this identification, see for example MAGDALINO, « The Byzantine Reception », here p. 46–9.

⁴ ANNA KOMNENE, *Alexiad*, VI, 7, 1 and 4, ed. DIETHER R. REINSCH, ATHANASIOS KAMBYLIS, *Annae Comnenae Alexias. Pars prior: Prolegomena et textus*, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2001 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 40/1. Series Berolinensis), p. 181–182.

⁵ ROLAND BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, esp. p. 78–85 (chapter « Symeon Seth and the Arab World »).

But Seth's medical production is particularly relevant in terms of Arabic influence, as we shall see. Indeed, the history of medicine is a good vantage point from which to observe wider connections and continuities between the movement of Graeco-Arabic translations of Baghdad, their consequences, and the endeavor of later Arabo-Greek translators, of whom at least a few possessed links with Antioch. To explore the importation of Arabic medical knowledge in Byzantine science, Antoine Pietrobelli created a small team of research on Symeon Seth in 2013, together with Marie Cronier (CNRS, « Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes », Paris), Alessia Guardasole (CNRS, « Orient et Méditerranée », Paris) and Caroline Magdelaine (Sorbonne Université, Paris). This research was part of a wider scientific project Antoine Pietrobelli was leading on Anti-Galenism, generously supported by the Institut Universitaire de France. Therefore, our first collective production was the critical edition, translation and commentary of Seth's short Ἀντιρρητικὸς πρὸς Γαληνόν or *Refutation of Galen*, published in 2015 in the journal *Galenos*.⁶ In this contribution, Antoine Pietrobelli suggested that such a Greek text was influenced by al-Rāzī's *Doubts on Galen*, noting some parallels between Seth's theoretical discussions and Ibn Buṭlān's dialogue, *The Doctor's Dinner Party*. He ventured even further and put forward the hypothesis that Seth might have been a disciple of Ibn Buṭlān. Besides their doctrinal affinities, they shared other similarities: both knew Greek and Arabic, both stayed in Antioch, Constantinople, and Egypt, and – most tellingly – their respective chronologies allow for the possibility that they met in Antioch at the end of Ibn Buṭlān's career. Since Ibn Buṭlān (c. 1001–1066) was a native of Baghdad and a disciple of Ibn al-Ṭayyib (980–1043), this evidence led Antoine Pietrobelli to formulate a hypothetical chain from master to disciple that could link the Nestorian translators of Baghdad to Symeon Seth.

This hypothesis was later bolstered by a second discovery. After the publication of the *Refutation of Galen* in 2015, our small Parisian team, now reduced to three members (since Caroline Magdelaine had to leave for personal reasons), decided to focus its attention on an unpublished and enigmatic text attributed to Symeon Seth, called *On the Handbook of Health by the Balance of the Six Causes*. By investigating the sources of this short Greek text, Antoine Pietrobelli discovered that it was a partial translation of the famous *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa* or *Tacuinum sanitatis* of Ibn Buṭlān. This new link between the Antiochian and the Baghdadi reinforced the previous hypothesis, and this paper gives us a good opportunity to deepen and question the role of Antioch as a relay between the Baghdadi and the Byzantine

⁶ MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, CAROLINE MAGDELAINE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, « Galien en procès à Byzance: l'*Antirrétique* de Syméon Seth », *Galenos*, 9 (2015), p. 71–121. On the same text, see also PETROS BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, SOPHIA XENOPHONTOS, « Galen's Reception in Byzantium: Symeon Seth and his *Refutation of Galenic Theories and Human Physiology* », *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 55 (2015), p. 431–469.

translators, and as a key element between the Graeco-Arabic scientific culture of Baghdad and specific interactions between Byzantine and Arabic cultures that took place after its Byzantine reconquest (969).

In this dual contribution, we would like to investigate Symeon Seth's role in the transmission of Arabic Galenism in Byzantine medicine, by examining the different reception of three of his medical treatises: *Refutation of Galen*, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* and the translation of Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa*. But, firstly, Ibn Buṭlān and Symeon Seth should be anchored in their respective and eventually mutual contexts to question anew their potential link.⁷

I. Antioch, Ibn Buṭlān and Symeon Seth

In the manuscripts, Symeon Seth is said to have been from Antioch.⁸ In the title of his works, the majority of manuscripts contain the adjective Ἀντιοχεύς (in the genitive: Ἀντιοχέως) beside his name. Rather than a patronymic (few manuscripts give Ἀντιόχου, « Antiochos », or Ἀντιοχείτου, « Antiochites », patronymic forms but likely corruptions), it should probably be seen as indicating that Symeon Seth was a native of Antioch, as is explicitly stated by other manuscripts: ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας.⁹ Such an interpretation would be quite consistent in historical terms.

After the reconquest of 969, Antioch¹⁰ was favoured by the *Basileis* during more than a century. The ancient city was a patriarchal seat, the administrative and

⁷ Parts 1, 2 and 4 were written by Antoine Pietrobelli, part 3 by Marie Cronier.

⁸ This information is not found in all the manuscripts, but no manuscript points to any other origin. Moreover, Symeon's first name is very popular in the Syrian region, where several monasteries are named after him: see JOSEPH NASRALLAH, « Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon », *Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire*, 49 (1972), p. 127–159. The most famous of these is certainly that of Saint Symeon the Younger on the Wondrous Mountain, located about ten kilometres from Antioch and which enjoyed its golden age precisely in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This famous pilgrimage site is mentioned among others by Ibn Buṭlān (*ibid.*, p. 136) who, as we shall soon note, is the author of a comprehensive description of Antioch. This first name (Symeon) is used amongst Arab Christians in the form Šim'un. The sometimes-alleged Semitic origin of the figure relies solely on the name Σήθ, by association with the Biblical character son of Adam. This name does not seem to be attested in Byzantium before the present figure, but it does not seem neither to be common in the medieval Jewish community (the *Jewish Encyclopedia* records only one man with this name, a rabbi in Aleppo in 1173). The patronymic « Seth » (or equivalent) does not seem to be attested among Arab Christians either.

⁹ E.g. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 7.19 (diktyon: 16042) (fol. 75r): τοῦ Ἀντιοχέως; Egypt, Alexandria, Library of the Patriarchate, 71 (diktyon: 32958) (fol. 152r): τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας; Bruxelles, Royal Library Albert I^{er}, 1137–41 (diktyon: 9950) (fol. 278r): τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας, etc.

¹⁰ On Antioch in the Middle Byzantine period, see KLAUS-PETER TODT, « Das Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969–1084) », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 94 (2001), p. 239–267; *Id.*, « Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period (969–1084): the Reconstruction of the City as an Administrative, Economic, Military and Ecclesiastical Center », *Topoi. Supplement*, 5 (2004), p.

military center of the *doukaton* of Antioch and provided the Empire with a vast network of public lands. The region of the Doukate was very prosperous. The river Orontes supplied the fields with water in abundance and, from the eighth and ninth centuries, new plants were cultivated in the region such as cotton, citrus fruit, and sugar cane.¹¹ We can assume that this exotic production was exported to Constantinople, since citrus fruit and sugar cane are part of Seth's food catalogue,¹² which was written for a Byzantine audience. This acculturation of Eastern plant species in the region of Antioch is symptomatic of the role of the city as an in-between area.

After 969, the Muslim notables who ruled Antioch had to flee or were deported. Wealthy Melkite families replaced them at the head of the city, in collaboration with the Dukes of Antioch appointed by the emperor. One of these Christian Arab families were the Libellisioi. Michael Attaleiates, Seth's contemporary, portrayed Petros Libellisios, as « a Syrian man by race, who was a child of great Antioch and highly trained both in the Roman wisdom and education and in that of the Saracens ».¹³ Petros Libellisios was bilingual and trained in both traditions: the Byzantine *enkyklios paideia* and the Arabic curriculum. We don't know the social milieu of Symeon Seth, but like his contemporary Petros Libellisios, he was

171–190; and Id., *Dukat und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969–1084)*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2021 (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 14); JEAN-CLAUDE CHEYNET, « Michel Psellos et Antioche », *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog Instituta*, 50 (2013), p. 411–422; GILBERT DAGRON, « Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du X^e et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrienne », *Travaux et Mémoires*, 6 (1976), p. 177–216; EDUARDO PINZÓN AVENDAÑO, « Interacciones entre Bizancio y el islam en el medio letrado: Simeón Seth en el contexto del siglo XI », *Erytheia: Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos*, 38 (2017), p. 51–74, spec. p. 53–7; ALEXANDRE M. ROBERTS, *Reason and Revelation in Byzantine Antioch. The Christian Translation Program of Abdallah Ibn al-Fadl*, University of California Press, Oakland 2020, p. 18–32; on the history of Antioch, see KLAUS-PETER TODT, BERND ANDREAS VEST, *Syria (Syria prôtē, Syria Deutera, Syria Euphratēsia)*, 3 vol., Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2015 (Tabula Imperii Byzantini, 15).

¹¹ See ANDREW M. WATSON, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 1983.

¹² *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, chapters περὶ κίτρων and περὶ τοῦ σάχαρ.

¹³ MICHAEL ATTALAIATES, *Historia*, ed. EUDOXOS TSOLAKIS, *Michaelis Attaliatae Historia*, Academia Atheniensis Institutum Litterarum Graecarum et Latinarum Studiis Destinatum, Athens 2011 (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 50: Series Atheniensis), p. 87, l. 17–19; trans. TODT, « Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period », p. 184.

Christian,¹⁴ at the very least bilingual¹⁵ and trained in Greek *paideia* as well as in Arabic literary and scientific culture. Antiochene libraries were full of Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, and Greek books, and many manuscripts were copied or translated in the monasteries around the Black Mountain.¹⁶

One of the most vivid descriptions of Antioch during the Middle Byzantine period comes from Ibn Buṭlān.¹⁷ He describes the bulwark of the Byzantine citadel,

¹⁴ Dimitris Krallis argues that Symeon Seth « was a Roman of Jewish faith »: see DIMITRIS KRALLIS, *Serving Byzantium's Emperors. The Courtly Life and Career of Michael Attaleiates*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2019, p. 17; see also ROBERT SINGERMANN, *Jewish Translation History: A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam-Philadelphia 2002, p. 69 and n. 496, who rightly points out: « It should be emphasized that none of these sources corroborate the assertions by Jacob and Rappoport that Symeon Seth was Jewish ». Actually, there is evidence to suggest that Seth was a Christian, such as the clausula of his *Refutation of Galen* (§ 12: Μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τροπὸν ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἀγαθόν; ed. CRONIER *et al.*, « Galien en procès », p. 121, l. 94). Symeon Seth also owned a Gospel book and a *Menologion* by Symeon Metaphrastes, see *ibid.*, p. 87 and PAUL GAUTIER, « La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate », *Revue des études byzantines*, 39 (1981), p. 5–143, here p. 126–127. Finally, he includes a notice on pork meat in *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* (περὶ τοῦ χοιρείου κρέατος: *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. BERNHARDUS LANGKAVEL, in aedibus B. B. Teubneri, Lipsiae 1898, p. 119–121).

¹⁵ In addition to Greek and Arabic, it is not impossible that Seth knew Syriac, like many Melkites, who inhabited Antioch's region; on the liturgical languages of the Melkites, see JOSEPH NASRALLAH, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, vol. III, t. 1: (969–1250), Peeters, Louvain-Paris 1983, p. 359–386.

¹⁶ SEBASTIAN P. BROCK, « Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch », in REGINE SCHULZ, MANFRED GÖRG (eds.), *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 59–67; JOE GLYNAS, « Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain West of Antioch in the 10th–11th Centuries », *Studies in Late Antiquity*, 4/4 (2020), p. 408–451; ROBERTS, *Reason and Revelation*, p. 29–32 about multiculturalism within the region at that time; see also BERNARD FLUSIN, « De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien: une Vie de saint Jean Damascène », in GENEVIÈVE CONTAMINE (ed.), *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes les 26–28 mai 1986*, CNRS Éditions, Paris 1989, p. 51–61. On Antioch as a center for Arabo-Latin translations in the following period, see CHARLES BURNETT, « Antioch as a link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries », in ISABELLE DRAELANTS, ANNE TIHON, BAUDOUIN VAN DEN ABEELE (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, Brepols, Turnhout 2000, p. 1–78; *Id.*, « Stephen, the Disciple of Philosophy, and the Exchange of Medical Learning in Antioch », *Crusades*, 5 (2006), p. 113–129.

¹⁷ Our main source on Ibn Buṭlān is IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ'A's *History of Physicians*, c. 10, 38, see the online Brill edition: EMILY SAVAGE-SMITH, SIMON SWAIN, GEERT J. VAN GELDER (eds.), *A Literary History of Medicine: The 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah*, Brill, Leiden 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1163/37704_0668IbnAbiUsaibia.Tabaqatalatibba.lhom-tr-eng1> (accessed October 2021); see also JOSEPH SCHACHT, s. v. « Ibn Buṭlān », *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. III, Brill, Leiden 1975, p. 763–764; FUAT SEZGIN, *ʿAlī Ibn Ridwān (d. c. 453/1061) and al-Mukhtār Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066). Texts and Studies*, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt-am-Main 1996; LAWRENCE I. CONRAD, « Scholarship and social context:

rebuilt in 971 by John I Tzimiskes, praises the beauty of the public baths, and mentions the presence of a clepsydra on the door of St. Peter's Cathedral, as well as a huge hospital.¹⁸ After he left Baghdad, Ibn Buṭlān led an itinerant lifestyle, trying to be recruited as a physician by powerful sovereigns in Syria or in Egypt. He first visited Antioch in 1049 on his way to Cairo and passed through a second time on his return in 1050–1053. During his stay in Cairo, he had a famous and violent medical quarrel with the Egyptian Ibn Riḍwān,¹⁹ whom he nicknamed « Crocodile of the Jinn ». After his stay in Egypt, he spent some time in Constantinople. When he arrived in the *Basileuoussa*, the city was facing a smallpox epidemic, which Ibn Buṭlān connected to an extraordinary celestial phenomenon: the apparition of the Supernova in 1054.²⁰ At this time, he wrote a treatise *On the Eucharist*²¹ at the behest of the Patriarch Michael Keroullarios, to diffuse the orthodox positioning of the Patriarch in Arabic language after the East-West Schism of 1054. He was still in Constantinople when he finished his *Doctor's Dinner Party* in 1058 in the « monastery of the Benevolent Emperor Constantine on the outskirts of Constantinople », if we follow Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.²²

But Ibn Buṭlān spent the last part of his life in Antioch, where he died on 2 September 1066. His presence is well attested in 1063: at this time, he had been establishing a hospital in the city, and he wrote a treatise very significantly entitled « On the reasons that skillful physicians now treat with cold remedies most of the diseases – such as hemiplegia, facial paralysis, [...] and others – which

a medical case from the eleventh-century Near East », in DON BATES (ed.), *Knowledge and the scholarly medical traditions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995, p. 84–100; ID., « Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād al-Shām: The Career of a Travelling Christian Physician », in DAVID THOMAS (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam*, Brill, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001, p. 131–157; FLORÉAL SANAGUSTIN, *Médecine et société en islam médiéval. Ibn Butlān ou la connaissance médicale au service de la communauté: le cas de l'esclavage*, Geuthner, Paris 2010.

¹⁸ His description of Antioch is preserved in a letter to his friend Hilāl al-Sābi', in which he recounts his journey from Baghdad to Cairo in 1049; for an English translation of this letter, see GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and Holy Land from A. D. 650 to 1500. Translated from the Works of the Medieval Arab Geographers*, A. P. Watt for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London 1890, p. 370–375.

¹⁹ JOSEPH SCHACHT, MAX MEYERHOF, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo. A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning Among the Arabs*, Egyptian University, Cairo 1937. On Ibn Riḍwān, see IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ'A, *History of the Physicians*, 14, 25; GIUSEPPE GABRIELI, « Medici e scienziati Arabi: Ali ibn Ridwan », *Isis*, 16/1 (1924), p. 500–506; MICHAEL W. DOLS, *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Riḍwān's 'On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt'*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1984, p. 54–55; and JACQUES GRAND'HENRY, *Le Livre de la méthode du médecin de 'Alī B. Riḍwān (998–1067). Texte arabe édité, traduit et commenté*, Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, Louvain-La-Neuve 1984, t. I.

²⁰ See IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ'A, *History of the Physicians*, 10, 38, 4.

²¹ A partial edition is provided by GEORG GRAF, « Die Eucharistielehre des nestorianers Al-Muḥtār Ibn Buṭlān (11. Jahrh.) », *Oriens Christianus*, 35 (1938), p. 44–70 and 175–191.

²² IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ'A, *History of the Physicians*, 10, 38, 6 (n° 10).

in olden times were treated with hot remedies and contravene the rules laid down by the ancients ». ²³ He might have settled in Antioch before the sixth decade of the eleventh century, and these years (1058–1066) seem the most favorable for envisioning a permanent link with Symeon Seth and direct teaching. One of his poems says:

When I should die and go to my grave,
No one will mourn or my vigil keep,
Save my medical comrades and books:
All of these will be left to weep. ²⁴

Symeon Seth may have been one of those medical comrades who lamented the death of Ibn Buṭlān in 1066. Let's turn to his biography to question the possibility of this intellectual encounter.

Unfortunately, Seth is not mentioned in the *History of the Physicians* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. His chronology is limited to his prediction of Robert Guiscard's death (1085) and to the description of an eclipse he observed when he was in Egypt. ²⁵ Until recently, ²⁶ this eclipse was dated to 25 February 1058 and Seth's career was anchored by this one precise date. But in 2009, Anne Tihon ²⁷ proposed another eclipse which better corresponded to Seth's information, and happened on 16 February 1086, twenty-eight years later. In a recent paper, Jakub Sypianski ²⁸

²³ Ibid., and CONRAD, « Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād al-Shām », p. 146.

²⁴ IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ 'A, *History of the Physicians*, 10, 38, 5; trans. CONRAD, « Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād al-Shām », p. 156.

²⁵ SYMEON SETH, *Synopsis of Physics*, 49, ed. ARMAND DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia, t. II: Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Liège–Paris 1939, p. 53, l. 9–13: Οὐκ ἐν πάσῃ δὲ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλείπων φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μέρεσί τισι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ βασιλείας ὁλος ἐκλείψας πρὸς δυσμαῖς, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οὐχ ὅλος ἐξέλιπεν, ὥς ἐκεῖσε παραγεγονὸς ἡκριβωσάμην.

²⁶ See for example: DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, p. IX n. 5; PAUL MAGDALINO, « The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers: A Commentary on *Alexiad* VI. 7. 1–7 », in CHARALAMBOS DENDRINOS, JONATHAN HARRIS, EIRENE HARVALIA-CROOK, JUDITH HERRIN (eds.), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003, p. 15–31, here p. 20 and fn. 13; FREDERICK LAURITZEN, « Between the Past and the East: Symeon Seth's Nutritional Advice for Michael VII Doukas », in BRIGITTE PITRAKIS (ed.), *Life is short, art is long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, Istanbul 2015, p. 124–133, here p. 125; CRONIER *et al.*, « Galien en procès », p. 85.

²⁷ ANNE TIHON, « Les sciences exactes à Byzance », *Byzantion*, 79 (2009), p. 380–434, here p. 396, fn. 44: « L'éclipse de 1086 était totale à Constantinople (milieu ca 16h30) et partielle à Alexandrie; l'éclipse de 1058 n'était totale ni à Constantinople, ni à Alexandrie, et la différence de grandeur, peu perceptible. Le nom d'Isaac Commène n'apparaît pas dans tous les manuscrits et A. Delatte ne l'a pas repris dans le texte de son édition ».

²⁸ JAKUB SYPIANSKI, « Ibn Buṭlān et Syméon Seth », in MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI (eds.), *De Bagdad à Constantinople: le transfert des savoirs médicaux (XI^e–XV^e s.)*, Orient & Méditerranée, Paris [forthcoming].

argued that this dated event in Seth's life should be placed in 1086 rather than in 1058, but he didn't draw all the necessary conclusions for Seth's biography. This new dating implies that Seth's *Synopsis of Physics*, written after the trip to Egypt (in 1086), was not offered to Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–1059), as previously thought, but rather to Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). This dedication would definitively be a better fit, considering Seth's portrait in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene, mentioned in the introduction.

Unlike Ibn Buṭlān, Symeon Seth was lucky enough to enjoy an imperial career (probably because he knew Greek better than the Baghdadi did, which facilitated his integration into Greek society). The subscriptions of the manuscripts mention his titles: he is called *vestes*, *protovestarches*, *magistros* and *philosophos*, four titles linked to an official position in the imperial administration. Consequently, it is most probably in the context of a Byzantine embassy that Seth went to Egypt in 1086; indeed, such an embassy, although it is not otherwise attested, is most likely to have been established at that moment, since the capture of Antioch by the Turks in 1084 gave the Byzantines good reasons to seek an alliance with the Fatimid caliphate of al-Mustaṣṣir (r. 1036–1094).

Moreover, Seth might have received, as an imperial gratification, some property in Rhaidestos in Thrace, like his contemporary Attaleiates. According to its title in several manuscripts, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is dedicated by Seth to the emperor Michael <VII> Doukas (r. 1071–1078), to whom Attaleiates also offered a synopsis of law known as *Ponema nomikon*. Seth's career in Constantinople likely started in the 1070s, and continued until the end of the eleventh century, or even the beginning of the twelfth. These new data on Seth's biography reduce his period of activity to a more reasonable timeframe and better suit Anna Komnene's account, which situated his *floruit* at the beginning of her father's reign (1081–1118).

Above all, this chronology allows us to consider the possibility that Seth could have been one of Ibn Buṭlān's last disciples, during the 60s in Antioch or maybe even before. After this historical reminder, let us turn to Seth's medical texts, their content, and their differentiated reception in Byzantium. An investigation on the reception of Seth's treatises will better explain his cultural milieu and the specificities of his contribution.

II. The 'Refutation of Galen' and its Constantinopolitan Context

Seth's medical production is very original since he introduced Byzantine culture to a new approach to Galen. His medical works show that he was well trained in the theory of medicine, but not necessarily that he himself practiced medicine. Through his other treatises, Seth demonstrates a wide range of interests: Arabic

adab, natural philosophy and astronomy. He appears to have been more of a polymath scholar than a proper physician, like Ibn Buṭlān.

In Symeon Seth's epistemology there were ancients, like Galen, and moderns (οἱ νεώτεροι) – who turned out to be none other than the Arabs. By imitating al-Rāzī's *Doubts on Galen* in his *Refutation of Galen*, Symeon Seth initiated a critical view of Galenic medicine. Since the fourth century and Oribasius' *Medical Collections*, the Byzantines (Alexander of Tralles, Aetius of Amida, Paul of Aegina, Theophilus Protospatharios, Theophanes Chrysobalantes) had mostly used Galen by compiling or epitomizing his titanic corpus in their encyclopedias, without opposing or questioning him. However, Seth created a new method to deal with Galen's authority and to challenge it.

In his *Refutation of Galen*, Seth twice mentions Aristotle to contradict Galen's theory of generation and embryology. His *Synopsis of Physics* goes even further, referring to Aristotle thirteen times, quoting the *Meteorologica*, *De caelo*, *De anima*, *Analytica posteriora* and *Parva naturalia*. It is safe to say that this book is mostly based on Aristotle's authority. Seth's production attests to a good knowledge of Galen and Aristotle; by attacking the former with the later in his *Refutation*, he seems to endorse the position of Arabic philosophers. Al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Avicenna and, later, Maimonides and Averroes mostly denied Galen's claim to be a philosopher:²⁹ in the field of medicine, Galen was an authority for the Arab scholars, but when he contradicted Aristotle in philosophical matters, he could almost never compete with the master of Stagira.

The *Refutation of Galen* was composed for a Constantinopolitan audience, but not publicly diffused since the text is only preserved in a unique manuscript from the fifteenth century. The prologue can be read as a documentation of Galen's reception in Constantinople during the second half of the eleventh century. Seth addresses Galen in such terms:

But since I noticed that you enjoyed an excellent reputation with many people, that your name was on almost everyone's lips, that you were considered faultless in every respect and praised as superhuman, I had to address your supporters.³⁰

Seth attacked his Greek contemporaries because of their dogmatic reading of Galen. According to his testimony, the physician of Pergamum was unquestioningly admired in Constantinople. It may well be that Michael Psellos (1018–1078), who belonged to the previous generation, or his followers, were the target of Seth's diatribe. Psellos was the major intellectual figure in Constantinople

²⁹ See, for example, my introduction to the volume ANTOINE PIETROBELLI (ed.), *Contre Galien. Critiques d'une autorité médicale de l'Antiquité à l'âge moderne*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2020.

³⁰ SYMEON SETH, *Refutation of Galen* 2, ed. CRONIER et al. p. 109, l. 8–p. 111, l. 2 (my translation).

at that time and the first Byzantine thinker to use Galen extensively in his work.³¹ His disciple John Italos also quoted Galen,³² whilst Theophylact of Ohrid, another disciple, wrote a letter to the court physician Nicholas Kallikles asking to borrow some Galenic manuscripts.³³ Theophylact even composed a short poem in praise of Galen.³⁴ Psellos's circle had a clear interest in Galen. But another piece of evidence designates Psellos and his school as Seth's target. In a recent paper, Dionysios Stathakopoulos noted that Michael Psellos sided twice with Galen against Aristotle. In his *Funeral Oration for John Xiphilinus*, from 1075, Psellos writes:

But as far as the nature of man is concerned, I must admit that the doctor from Pergamos dealt with that subject in his treatise on the utility of the members of the body more accurately than Aristotle.³⁵

The *Refutation of Galen* could thus be interpreted as evidence of a confrontation between Psellos' « Neoplatonicist circle »³⁶ and Seth's Arabic Aristotelianism in Constantinople in the 1070s or 1080s. Seth's attacks on his Byzantine contemporaries reflect a confrontation between two conceptions of knowledge.

³¹ DIONYSIOS STATHAKOPOULOS, « Galen in Non-Medical Byzantine Texts, 600–1453 », in PETROS BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, BARBARA ZIPSER (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen*, Brill, Leiden 2019, p. 140–159, esp. p. 144–146. On Psellos's medical culture, see ROBERT VOLK, *Die medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos*, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, Munich 1990 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 32).

³² John Italos, in *Questions and answers* (55), used Galen's *Introduction to Logic* and his fourth syllogism; see STATHAKOPOULOS, « Galen in Non-Medical Byzantine Texts », p. 146.

³³ And especially his treatise *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*; see THEOPHYLACT OF OHRID, *Letters*, 112, ed. PAUL GAUTIER, *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Lettres*, Association de Recherches Byzantines, Thessalonique 1986 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 16/2: Series Thessalonicensis), p. 536–537; on Theophylact of Ohrid, see also DIMITRI OBOLENSKY, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1988, p. 34–82, esp. p. 55–6.

³⁴ THEOPHYLACT OF OHRID, *Poems*, p. 3 (ed. PAUL GAUTIER, *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Discours, traités, poésies*, Association de Recherches Byzantines, Thessalonique 1980 [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 16/1: Series Thessalonicensis], p. 350–351); see STATHAKOPOULOS, « Galen in Non-Medical Byzantine Texts », p. 146 and WANDA WOLSKA-CONUS, « Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque », *Travaux et Mémoires*, 6 (1976), p. 223–243.

³⁵ MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Funeral Speech on Xiphilinos*, p. 24, ed. IOANNIS POLEMIS, *Michel Psellus. Orationes funebres. Volumen I*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2014, p. 160; trans. by ANTHONY KALDELLIS, IOANNIS POLEMIS, *Psellos and the Patriarchs: Letters and Funeral Orations for Keroullarios, Leichoudes, and Xiphilinos*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana 2015, p. 221): Τὰ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων φύσεως ὁ ἐκ Περγᾶμου Ἀσκληπιάδης κάλλιον Ἀριστοτέλους φυσιολογεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ χρείας μορίων συντάγματι.

³⁶ The widely-held view that Psellos was a Neoplatonist needs to be significantly moderated: he is a careful reader of Proclus, but not without criticism. See for instance the analysis by MICHELE TRIZIO, *Il neoplatonismo di Eustrazio di Nicea*, Edizioni di Pagina, Bari 2016, p. 55–8. It is nevertheless certain that Psellos generally expresses a certain contempt for Aristotle.

III. 'On the Properties of Foodstuffs' and its Arabic Background

III.1. Nature of the work

This treatise is, without doubt, the most widely circulated of Seth's works. There are about one hundred handwritten witnesses, which is considerable for a secular Greek work.³⁷ According to some manuscripts, the work is dedicated to the emperor Michael VII Doukas.³⁸ This should give us a rather limited range to date, if not the composition, at least the completion of this treatise: it would thus predate, for example, the Greek translation of the Arabic collection of animal fables *Kalila wa Dimna* that Seth dedicated to Alexios I Komnenos. However, it should be noted that most of the manuscripts, especially among the earliest witnesses, do not indicate any addressee: it is therefore possible that the mention of Michael Doukas was a later addition. In the absence of an exhaustive analysis of the manuscript tradition, it can be assumed that Michael Doukas was possibly, but not certainly, the original addressee of the treatise.

Unlike *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is not a translation but an original work by Seth. In the prologue, Seth explains that many authors have dealt with this subject, not only Greek but also Persian, Arab and Indian (οὐ Ἑλλήνων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Ἀγαρηνῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν), but as they differed and none of the previous works was perfect, he himself had collected the best of these writings.³⁹ This clearly suggests that at least some of his sources for this treatise are of Eastern origin, but in the text itself no Eastern author is ever namely mentioned by Seth. Direct use of Indian or Persian sources can be ruled out from the outset for historical verisimilitude. On the contrary, it seems very likely that

³⁷ A (non-definitive) list of manuscripts can be found for example in the *Pinakes* online database (<<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/12757/>> accessed October 2021).

³⁸ Michael Doukas is mentioned as a dedicatee in 17 manuscripts. Two manuscripts mention Constantine Porphyrogenetos (in connection with the treatise *On Foodstuffs* by Theophanes Chrysobalantes, dedicated to this emperor?); one manuscript mentions Manuel Doukas (c. 1187–1241) and another Manuel Porphyrogenetos. Nine manuscripts mention Constantine Monomachos as dedicatee, but they transmit a revised version placed under the name of Michael Psellos).

³⁹ *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 1; French translation: MARC-ÉMILE-PROSPER-LOUIS BRUNET, *Syméon Seth, médecin de l'empereur Michel Doucas. Sa vie, son œuvre*, Université de Bordeaux, Faculté de médecine et de pharmacie, Bordeaux 1939, p. 40–119, esp. p. 40–41; Spanish Translation (prologue only): PINZÓN AVENDAÑO, « Interacciones », p. 63–4. For an analysis of the preface and its variants, see: MARIE CRONIER, « Influences arabes dans le traité *Sur les aliments* de Syméon Seth », in MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI (eds.), *De Bagdad à Constantinople. Le transfert des savoirs médicaux (XI^e-XV^e s.)*, Orient & Méditerranée, Paris [forthcoming].

Seth made direct use of Arab medical authors (who in turn had made use of Indian and Persian sources translated into Arabic).⁴⁰

After the prologue, the treatise consists of a succession of about 150–160 chapters (there are important variations in the manuscripts) – each one being devoted to a given foodstuff and describing its main properties.⁴¹ A comparison with the text of Dioscorides' *On Medical Matter* and Galen's *On Simple Medicines* and *On Foodstuffs* confirms that, in general, Symeon Seth depends very heavily on these three works, but not in a strict manner: Seth often provides the same information as Dioscorides and/or Galen, but in a different wording, with omissions and, above all, numerous additions. By contrast, the connections with Hippocrates' treatise *On Regimen* are less convincing. It is therefore certain that Seth resorted to other sources in addition to these classical authors: the prologue's statements suggest that we should seek them out among Arab writers.

III.2. Elements of Arabic origin

Indeed, there are many 'Arabic' elements in this treatise. For instance, Symeon's alphabetical order does not come from Dioscorides (whose treatise is thematically ordered) nor from Galen's *On Foodstuffs* (also thematically ordered, in three books), but is reminiscent of Galen's treatise *On Simple Medicines*, in which the chapters follow each other in alphabetical order. However, in Galen's treatise plants, animals, and minerals are separated into different groups: on the contrary,

⁴⁰ Seth's reliance on Arabic sources for his treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is commonly accepted but has so far been only very incompletely demonstrated. The standard publication is still the work of Georg Harig (GEORG HARIG, «Von den arabischen Quellen des Simeon Seth», *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, 2/3–4 [1976], p. 248–268) which draws on an analysis of the grades Seth gives for the four primary qualities of the simples (hot or cold, dry or wet). By comparison with medieval Arabic medical works (but only through their medieval Latin translations), Harig has shown that the data provided by Seth most often resembles the Arab authors in diverging from Galen.

⁴¹ One must keep in mind that the authoritative Greek edition (Langkavel's), on which the majority of recent studies are based, is very poorly reflective of the manuscript tradition and includes many chapters that have a very limited manuscript transmission. In particular the chapter on cannabis, which has been extensively commented on in recent literature (e.g. DAVID DEAKLE, «Simeon Seth on Cannabis [Cognoscenti of Cannabis II]», *Journal of Cannabis Therapeutics*, 1/2 (2001), p. 15–20), is most likely to be inauthentic. This chapter has only been found up to now in two manuscripts: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.Υ.9.4 (61) (diktyon: 43471) and Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, T 19 sup. (diktyon: 43244), both copied in the West in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. – If one cannot resort to the manuscripts (which is of course ideal), it is preferable to refer to Bogdanus' edition: MARTINUS BOGDANUS (ed.), *Συμεῶνος μαγίστρου Ἀντιοχείας τοῦ Σηθὶ Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείων περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεων*, *Simeonis Sethis Magistri Antiocheni volumen de alimentorum facultatibus iuxta ordinem literarum digestum* [...], Lutetiae Parisiorum, Ex offic. Dion. Bechet & Lud. Billanii 1658.

Symeon Seth's organisation in a single alphabetical block is that of most of the Arabic treatises on simples or on foodstuffs.

Is it possible to identify more precisely the 'Oriental' sources of Seth? In the chapters, Seth mentions only Greek or supposedly Greek authors by name: Galen, Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Oribasius, but also, in a more enigmatic way, Democritus, Rufus, Proclus and a certain « Constans the Roman ». ⁴² On the other hand, he never quotes oriental authors by name, but makes a few rare references (about ten in all) to « the Indians » in a general way (οἱ Ἰνδοί, παρ' Ἰνδοῖς, παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν), « the Egyptians » (οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ), « the Persians » (οἱ Πέρσαι). Sometimes he refers to « recent authors » (οἱ νεώτεροι), which is an implicit way of referring to Arabs. It may be noted that Seth uses a specific term for « the Arabs » only once, in the preface: Ἀγαρηνῶν. ⁴³

On the other hand, the only occurrence of a singular name for an oriental author is significant because it is possible to identify this author. This is in the chapter on ducks (περὶ νησῶν), at the end of which Seth quotes « a Persian », after which one must certainly recognise al-Rāzī:

Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης φησὶ μὴ εἶναι ἔτερον στέαρ ἢ λεπτομερέστερον ἢ διαφορητικώτερον ἢ μαλακτικώτερον.

The Persian says that there no finer, more discutient or more emollient fat. ⁴⁴

As Brian Long rightly points out, this corresponds to a passage in al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-hāwī fī l-ṭibb* (in Latin: *Liber continens*), in the chapter on the duck (بط) where al-Rāzī, after listing the opinions of other doctors on its fat, gives his own opinion on it:

To me: I have not seen a finer fat, nor one that softens or dissolves more strongly than it. ⁴⁵

⁴² « Κόνστανς ὁ λεγόμενος Ῥωμαῖος » (ed. Lankgavel, p. 83 l. 20, chap. περὶ παγούρων). He might be identified with Qusta ibn Luqa, according to a suggestion by Thibault Miguet, whom I thank.

⁴³ Ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 1, l. 2. Brian Long records a second occurrence (see the section by Brian Long on « Symeon Seth » in DIMITRI GUTAS, ANTHONY KALDELLIS, BRIAN LONG, « Intellectual Exchanges with the Arab World », in ANTHONY KALDELLIS, NIKETAS SINOSSOGLU (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, p. 79–98, here p. 95) but it is actually in the chapter on cannabis (κάναβος, ed. LANGKAVEL p. 61, l. 5: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀράβοις « among the Arabs »), which is most likely inauthentic (see *supra* n. 41).

⁴⁴ Ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 72, l. 8–10. Translations are mine (unless otherwise stated).

⁴⁵ AL-RĀZĪ, *Kitāb al-hāwī fī l-ṭibb*, book 20, letter bā', chap. 2, ed. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-hāwī fī al-ṭibb*, 8 vol., Beyrouth 2000 [original ed.: Hyderabad-Deccan, 1955–1970] p. 132–3, chap. 150, here p. 133 l. 6; see GUTAS, KALDELLIS, LONG, « Intellectual Exchanges with the Arab World », p. 96 and fn. 74, where it is merely mentioned, without quoting the texts.

The only (minor) difference concerns word order, since the end of al-Rāzī's sentence should be rendered as μαλτικώτερον ἢ διαφορητικώτερον, but this is most likely an error in the manuscript tradition, in Arabic or in Greek: in any case, it is an unquestionable coincidence. However, this situation is exceptional and Seth does not mention any other Eastern author by name.

Now, when searching for 'Arabic' elements at a more precise level in Seth's work, one encounters a methodological difficulty, as Arab authors of pharmacology and dietetics were largely inspired by Dioscorides and Galen. Consequently, whenever we find a connection between Seth and a particular Arab author, we cannot rule out the possibility that this connection is due to the fact that they both go back to the same Greek source. It is therefore necessary to select from Seth's treatise those elements that are absent from classical Greek pharmacology. These fall into two categories:

- (1) for the chapters discussed by Galen and Dioscorides (this is the great majority), these are the aspects of Seth's text that do not occur in either of these two authors (this is the case, for example, for the passage on duck fat, just considered);
- (2) For products not discussed by Galen nor Dioscorides, the oriental origin of the whole chapter is almost certain.

And indeed, for this second type of chapter, research gives valuable insights, although the situation is rather complex.

Actually, in Seth's treatise the word « foodstuff » should be taken in a broad sense, as there are many products that are not edible, such as flowers, perfumes, ointments, scented oils and, in small numbers, products made from different ingredients, for example *zulep* (rose water syrup) or *net* (scented lozenge): most of them are of Oriental origin. The chapters that Seth devotes to these exotic products are of interest since they have no equivalent in classical Greek pharmacology, because these products were unknown to Galen and Dioscorides. Instead, all offer clear parallels to chapters on the same subjects written by several Arab doctors. Such is the case, for example, of the chapters dedicated to ambergris, camphor and jujube, for which very promising parallels – but no exact equivalent – can be found in works by Ibn Māsawayh (777–857), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, 980–1037), al-Biruni (al-Bīrūnī, c. 973–1050), al-Rāzī (854–924) but also the geographer al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283), who thus drew on one or more common sources with Seth.⁴⁶ To exemplify this view, one might consider Seth's chapter on cloves:

⁴⁶ For a detailed analysis, see: CRONIER, « Influences arabes »; see also EAD., « Le traité *Sur les aliments* de Syméon Seth, entre tradition et modernité », in ISABEL GRIMM-STADELMANN, FREDERICK LAURITZEN (eds.), *Hospitals and Medicine from Constantinople to the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice. Proceedings of the conferences of 22nd November 2017 and 28th February 2019 at the Scuola Grande di San Marco, Venice*, De Gruyter Berlin (Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Medica) [forthcoming].

Τὸ καρυόφυλλον θερμόν ἐστι καὶ ξηρὸν κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπόστασιν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτὸ τεθείκασιν. Ἔστι δὲ δένδρου καρπός. Ὡφελεῖ δὲ τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἥπαρ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, καταπαύει τε τὴν ἀπὸ ὑγρότητος ναυτίαν, βλέπτει δὲ τὰ ἔγκατα.

Clove is hot and dry in the second degree, but some place it in the third. It is the fruit of a tree. It is useful for the stomach, the liver and the heart; it stops nausea caused by dampness, but it is harmful to the intestines.⁴⁷

There is no chapter of this name either in Dioscorides or Galen. In Greek, only Paul of Aegina records it in his *Epitome medica*:

Καρυόφυλλον οὐ πρὸς τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας οἶον ἄνθη τινὰ δένδρου καρφοειδῇ μέλανα, ὅσον δακτύλου σύνεγγυς τὸ μῆκος, φέρεται ἀρωματίζοντα καὶ δριμέα, ὑπόπικρα, θερμά τε καὶ ξηρὰ περὶ που τρίτης τάξεως· ἂ πολὺχρηστὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ὅσοις τε καὶ ἐτέροις φαρμάκοις.

Clove (*karyophyllon*, litt. leaf-nut) has not the nature corresponding to its name: on the contrary, they are, coming from India, a kind of flower of a tree resembling dry sticks, black, about the width of a finger. They are said to be fragrant, pungent, somewhat bitter, hot, and dry to the third grade approximately. They are very useful for sight and other medicines.⁴⁸

It is easy to see that Paul is not the source of Simeon Seth. On the other hand, there are clearer similarities with the chapters of Arab authors.⁴⁹ For example, al-Rāzī states in his *Kitāb al-ḥāwī*:

Qaranful (قرنفل).

Paul: It is hot and dry to the second degree.

Ḥakīm ibn Ḥunayn: The moderns classify it in the third degree for heat and dryness and they use it to prepare medicines that sharpen the sight, make the obscuration (of the sight) go away and cure the discharges.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 56, l. 1–6.

⁴⁸ PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome medica*, VII, 3, 10.

⁴⁹ A list of Arabic entries on *qaranful* can be found in ALBERT DIETRICH, *Dioscurides triumphans. Ein anonym arabischer Kommentar (Ender 12. Jahrh. N. Chr.) zur Materia medica. Arabischer Text nebst kommentierter deutscher Übersetzung. 2. Teil: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1988, p. 394 n. 7.

⁵⁰ Ed. AL-RĀZĪ, *Kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb*, vol. XXI, letter *qāf*, p. 302, chap. 662. In the remaining part of the chapter al-Rāzī refers to the gum of this tree.

Interestingly, al-Rāzī offers the same alternative as Seth for the question of second or third degree, but al-Rāzī is more specific in naming the authors who provided this information. For the rest, however, al-Rāzī does not mention the same therapeutic properties as Seth. Thus, even if one quotation that could have come directly from al-Rāzī was discussed above, and even if some punctual similarities have been pointed out,⁵¹ a more in-depth analysis of the whole treatise, in particular of its 'exotic' chapters, shows that it cannot originate from al-Rāzī, at least not exclusively. For his part, Ibn Buṭlān cannot be Seth's source for this particular chapter either, as he does not devote a notice to cloves.

On the other hand, Avicenna says this in his *Canon*:

It is a plant from China: the clove is the fruit of this plant. It is similar to jasmine but blacker. The male is like the stone of an olive but more elongated and more intensely black. Its resin has properties similar to those of terebinth resin. The best is that which is similar to a stone, dry, sweet, with a pleasant smell. It is warm and dry to the third degree. It gives pleasant breath. It makes the sight sharp. It acts against obscuration (of sight). It strengthens the stomach. It is useful against vomiting and nausea.⁵²

There are striking similarities here: like Seth, Avicenna states that it is the fruit of a tree, that it strengthens the stomach and that it is useful against nausea. However, Avicenna does not mention its benefit to the liver and to the heart, nor the fact that nausea is caused by excess moisture. Despite the comparisons, Avicenna cannot be the source of Seth, at least not the unique source.

In a third author, finally, one can find other material present in Seth but absent in Avicenna and al-Rāzī. Ibn Māsawayh states in his treatise *On Simple Aromatic Substances*:

Clove. One kind. Its best is arid, dry with a sweet, good odour. It is the fruit of a tree which comes from Sofala. It is introduced into liquid aromatics for women and into the cooking of nutmeg. It is hot, gentle, good for the stomach and fainting, a vomiting condition caused by the damp humour, and for some of the liver ailments that entail putrefaction and the damp humour.⁵³

⁵¹ E.g. the chapter on melons, περὶ τετραγγοῦρων, in which PINZÓN AVEDAÑO, « Interacciones », p. 44–5, identifies some similarities with al-Rāzī: they are rather slight and show that al-Rāzī is not Seth's source (or at least not his only source).

⁵² Edition of the Arabic text: *Libri quinque Canonis medicinae Abu Ali principis filii Sinae alias corrupte Avicennae [...] Arabice nun primum impressi*, in *Typographia Medicea, Romae* 1593, p. 243.

⁵³ English translation: MARTIN LEVEY, « Ibn Māsawaih and His Treatise on Simple Aromatic Substances: Studies in the History of Arabic Pharmacology I », *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 16/4 (1961), p. 394–410, here p. 403.

Here we find some aspects that are found in Avicenna and Seth: it is the fruit of a tree, it is hot (al-Rāzī also says so) and it is good for the stomach. But Ibn Māsawayh is the only one to say, like Seth, that vomiting (nausea in Seth) is due to excess of humour and that cloves are good for the liver.

Further research will perhaps reveal an Arabic source for other elements mentioned by Seth, such as cloves being good for the heart but harmful to the intestines. In any case, it thus appears that Seth's text includes material found in some cases in al-Rāzī, in others in Avicenna, and in still others in Ibn Māsawayh, but that none of these authors can be the sole source of Seth. This observation applies to all the chapters considered so far.

In sum, it emerges that the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is based on one or more Arabic sources, but we have not yet found a direct model of which it could be a translation. In particular, contrary to what one might have expected, it has not been possible to establish a strong relationship with Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa*, although it is certain that Symeon Seth read this treatise, of which he even made a partial translation, as mentioned above and will be discussed below. In general, strong connections can be made with different Arab authors but not with a unique author. Perhaps Seth had translated an Arabic work that has not been preserved until now or perhaps further research will yield new results.⁵⁴ But it is more likely that Seth drew on several sources, as he himself says in the prologue, taking his inspiration from many Arabic works which he would have more or less freely translated in Greek and adapted.

In any case, the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is definitely very deeply inspired by Arabic science and, as our research progresses, the proportion of its Greek sources is gradually diminishing. Although it is not a mere translation of an Arabic work, it can be considered as an adaptation into Greek of several Arabic sources. It is now worth examining the reasons why Seth does not refer by name to the Arab authors on which he relies.

III.3. Why doesn't Seth cite his Arabic sources by name?

This question has been raised several times in the recent literature. In a subtle way, Brian Long suggested religious concerns, as well as the assumption that Seth was seeking respectability among the Constantinopolitan elite, a context in which it was unwise to openly criticise Greek authors by supporting the Arabs.⁵⁵ But

⁵⁴ In addition to methodological challenges, the identification of Seth's Arabic sources is made more difficult by the fact that many Arabic medical and dietetic treatises have not been critically edited or even published in any way.

⁵⁵ See GUTAS, KALDELLIS, LONG, « Intellectual Exchanges with the Arab World », p. 96 and 98; see also part IV of the present paper.

there are still other explanations, at least in the specific case of the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*.

First of all, it must be stressed that Seth's silence on his sources in the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* does not only apply to the Arabs, but also to the Greeks. Thus, as mentioned above, Seth relies heavily on Dioscorides and Galen but almost never quotes them explicitly. Actually, it should be pointed out that in the Greek medical tradition, it is usual to not explicitly cite one's sources, especially when one is writing a creative rather than an accumulative work. Indeed, in his treatise *On Medical Matter* Dioscorides explicitly mentions only in his preface the names of the authors from whom he draws; in the chapters themselves, he does so only very rarely. Similarly, Galen, in his *On Simple Medicines*, does exactly the same: although Dioscorides is his direct source, Galen only mentions him very rarely. In both cases, the authors are not simply compiling, but creating a new work. In our opinion, the same can be said of Seth when he wrote his work *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*.

Following the example of Galen and Dioscorides, Seth almost never indicates his sources, whether Greek or Arabic: at this level, he makes no distinction according to language. On the other hand, in the rather rare cases where Seth explicitly mentions his sources, there is undeniably a difference because, as we have seen, he mentions the names of certain Greek authors but never those of Eastern authors. As Brian Long rightly pointed out, this contrasts with certain treatises on astronomy or astrology, composed in the twelfth century, in which the names of Arab authors are expressly mentioned, often to correct Ptolemy's statements. One reason for this, to our mind, may lie in differences in the nature of the treatises and in the target audience. Astronomical treatises are highly technical and are written by and for specialists, who need precise data for their demonstration: it is then crucial to know who is at the origin of a given argument. This is not the case with *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, which is not intended for specialists. The target audience is that of members of the Constantinopolitan upper class, definitely learned but not erudite, and the treatise is not a scholarly work:⁵⁶ the readers for whom Seth wrote his *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* were doubtless familiar with Hippocrates, Galen and Dioscorides, but not with al-Rāzī, Ibn Buṭlān, al-Bīrūnī or Avicenna, and they would not necessarily have been eager to learn about them.

It is unlikely that Seth was ashamed of his oriental sources or wished to minimise their value, for, on the contrary, he clearly claims them in his preface and even shows a certain pride in them. When he then quotes « the Persians » or « the Egyptians », etc. in a chapter, it is implicitly to prove them right. This 'Oriental' input is the distinctive feature by which he stands out from his

⁵⁶ We shall soon come back to this point.

forerunners and expects to be noticed; it was no doubt a way for him to attract the curiosity of the emperor, or at least of the Byzantine reader who was eager for exoticism. The fact that Seth translated *Kalila wa Dimna* at the emperor's request indicates that there was a certain demand for knowledge or culture from the Arab world and the East in general in the imperial milieu – at least in such fields as literature or dietetics, where there are no (or hardly any) religious issues. This audience was curious to know what « the Persians » or « the Indians » said about this or that food, but did not care about the exact author from whom the information provided by Seth came. This may explain why Seth, on the one hand, boasts in his prologue of having called upon oriental texts and, on the other hand, never mentions the oriental authors by name.

It is certain that at that time 'exotic' products were widespread in the Byzantine capital, either in the form of foodstuffs or cosmetics in the broadest sense.⁵⁷ By granting them a place, Seth fills a gap in the dietetic literature available at the time, which came from classical antiquity and which mentioned products that had disappeared by the time of Seth and, on the other hand, which did not know about certain products that were nevertheless very present in the daily life of the eleventh-century Constantinople. With this book, Seth thus updated the knowledge of dietetics available at the time: its success testifies to the fact that it was well adapted to the public.

III.4. The treatise's reception in Byzantium

As we have seen, the title of the treatise in several (although not all) manuscripts indicate that it is dedicated to an emperor, Michael Doukas. Indeed, since Greek antiquity the genre *On Foodstuffs* is typical of treatises dedicated to a sovereign, often with the aim of helping him, through an appropriate diet, to maintain good health for as long as possible. In the middle of the tenth century, Theophanes Chrysobalantes dedicated his own work *On Foodstuffs* to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos – a work which Seth certainly thought of when he wrote his own treatise. Seth is likely to have written this work at the beginning of his Constantinopolitan career, whose *floruit*, as we have seen, can be placed a little later, during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. This may suggest that the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* was a way for Seth to become known at the Byzantine court.

⁵⁷ See ANDREW DALBY, « Some Byzantine aromatics », in LESLIE BRUBAKER, KALLIROE LINARDOU (eds.), *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A. A. M. Bryer*, Ashgate, Aldershot–Burlington (Vt.) 2007 (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine studies. Publications, 13), p. 51–7; ID., *Tastes of Byzantium: the Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, I. B. Tauris, London–New York 2010, p. 38–47 and 59–66.

When one compares Seth's treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* with Galen's on the same subject, the difference in their nature is obvious: while Galen constantly provides medical explanations for the phenomena he mentions (why this food makes one vomit, why this one helps digestion etc.), Seth sets out the properties in a sober but clear and pleasant way. Seth clearly does not aim at being controversial, but rather he wishes to gather the best knowledge about a particular food. If there is a disagreement between several authors, he makes his own choice without comparing opinions. There are only very few polemics or direct attacks on an author and, in general, Seth does not interfere as an author and almost never uses the first person.⁵⁸ He does not pose as a medical authority, even though it is obvious that he himself has made selections from different medical authors, especially when they are of divergent opinion. Practically, Seth contradicts Galen on two occasions only: in the chapter on *pistachios* (περὶ πιστακίων) and on *red mullet* (περὶ τρίγλης). In the first case, he quotes a statement by the 'moderns' that contradicts Galen and, although he is not explicit about it, he apparently supports the 'moderns';⁵⁹ in the second case, he personally disagrees with him, but on a matter of taste, not on a medical issue (Galen thinks that small mullets are better than big ones, but Seth does not).⁶⁰ In most cases, Seth cites Galen as a reliable authority: this attitude is typical of Arab authors in general, who base themselves on Galen, but occasionally venture to criticise him.

⁵⁸ There are a few exceptions but Langkavel's text needs caution, as previously stated. E.g. Περὶ καρύων, *On nuts*: (...) κατακόρως δὲ χρώμενα ἐκβάλλειν εἶδομεν τὰς ἔλμινθας (ed. LANGKAVAL, p. 49, l. 22), « we have observed that [nuts] eaten in abundance expel intestinal worms », but the *apparatus criticus* shows that several manuscripts read κατακόρως δὲ χρώμενα ἐκβάλλει τὰς ἔλμινθας, « [nuts] eaten in abundance expel intestinal worms », without the first person.

⁵⁹ Περὶ πιστακίων, *On pistachios*: Στομάχῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Γαληνὸν οὔτε βλάβην οὔτ' ὠφέλειαν ἐμποιοῦσιν ἀξιόλογον· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι εὐστόμαχα ταῦτα νομίζονται (ed. LANGKAVAL, p. 87, l. 10-12), « According to Galen they [the pistachios] have no harmful or beneficial effect on the stomach worth mentioning. On the contrary, the moderns consider that they are beneficial for the stomach » (cf. GAL., *De alim.*, VI.612, 16-17 K.: στομάχῳ δ' οὔτ' ὠφέλειαν οὔτε βλάβην ἀξιόλογον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν, « On the stomach, I have no useful or harmful effects worth mentioning about them »).

⁶⁰ Chapter περὶ τρίγλης, *On red mullet*: ed. Langkavel, p. 106 l. 15-19: Θαυμάζω δὲ τὸν Γαληνὸν θαυμάζοντα τοὺς τὰς μεγάλας τρίγλας ὠνουμένους, ὡς τῶν μικρῶν ἡδύτεραν ἐχούσας τὴν σάρκα καὶ εὐπεπτότεραν. Εὐπεπτότεροι μὲν γὰρ αἱ μικρότεροι ἀληθῶς, ἡδύτεραι δ' οὐδαμῶς, « I don't understand Galen, who doesn't understand people who buy the big red mullets, thinking that they have better and more digestible meat than the small ones. In truth, the small ones are indeed more digestible, but certainly not better » (cf. GAL., *De alim.*, VI. 717, 2-4: Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διὰ τί τὰς μεγίστας τρίγλας ὠνοῦνται πάμπολλοι, δύναμαι γινῶναι, μήθ' ἡδεῖαν ὁμοίως ταῖς μικροτέραις ἐχούσας τὴν σάρκα μήτ' εὐπεπτον, ὡς ἂν ἱκανῶς σκληρὰν ὑπάρχουσαν, « But I can not understand why so many people buy the very large red mullet, since their flesh is neither as good nor as digestible as that of the small ones, and it is even quite tough »).

Moreover, there is a strong desire on Seth's part to get his audience to understand him: this manifests itself, among other things, in the use of the common name for a food rather than its classic name, as he himself states in his preface.⁶¹ For instance, Seth refers to cucumbers as ἀγγούρια, pointing out that they used to be called σικύα, which is indeed the name given to them by both Galen and Dioscorides.⁶² The vocabulary is explicitly that of everyday life – the cultivated elite's everyday life, of course. In general, the treatise is not only devoid of technical considerations but contains very little specialised medical vocabulary, which makes it relatively easy to read. Thus, it could reach, apart from the emperor himself, a fairly wide audience among the Byzantine elite. In sum, it deals with familiar things (for what could be more familiar than food?), with a little touch of exoticism, which allowed it to stand out from previous works on the same subject. Clearly, Seth's audience was eager for 'Oriental' texts, but not to the extent of scholarship.

All these facts may explain the treatise's rapid and wide circulation. Actually, fine manuscripts containing this text, which would come to be considered a literary work among some people, can be found as early as the twelfth century⁶³ or the beginning of the thirteenth.⁶⁴ Most likely, therefore, the target audience was not primarily doctors or physicians, but rather a cultivated elite close to the emperor and, more broadly, a literate but non-specialist Byzantine audience. However, it is certain that the work was also circulating in medical circles: in the fourteenth century, it was copied in the same manuscripts and by the same copyists as Galen, Hippocrates and other classical physicians.⁶⁵ To sum up, the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* is likely to be the work through which Arabic medical knowledge most deeply and widely penetrated the Byzantine world, allowing it to become perfectly assimilated.

⁶¹ Ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν τροφῶν ἄλλως μὲν ἢ κοινῇ ὀνομάζει συνήθεια, ἄλλως δὲ ἢ τῶν παλαιῶν ἱατρῶν, τοῖς κοινοτέροις καὶ γνωριμωτέροις τῶν ὀνομάτων χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ πᾶσι δῆλα τυγχάνειν (ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 1, l. 11–5), « On the other hand, as some foods bear different names in common usage and among ancient physicians, I will use the most common and well-known names, in order to be understood by all ».

⁶² Τὰ ἀγγούρια, ἃ πρὶν καὶ σικύα ἐλέγοντο. (ed. LANGKAVEL, p. 21, l. 21–2), « The cucumbers (*aggouria*) which were formerly called *sikya* ».

⁶³ E.g. Paris, BNF, supplément grec 634 (diktyon: 53369), fol. 217r–254v.

⁶⁴ E.g. Paris, BNF, gr. 2231 (diktyon: 51860), fol. 1r–42v.

⁶⁵ E.g. Vaticano, BAV, Vatic. gr. 297 (diktyon: 69768), fol. 144v–187v.

IV. The translation of the ‘*Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa*’: a hidden tribute to Ibn Buṭlān

Together with Alessia Guardasole, we have edited, translated and commented on a curious short text attributed to Seth, which will be published soon.⁶⁶ This text is a patchwork of excerpts from Ibn Buṭlān’s *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa bi-l-asbāb al-sittah* (« Maintenance of Health by the Six Causes ») and its Greek title is Συμεῶν μαγίστρου καὶ φιλοσόφου τοῦ Σηθ περὶ ὑγιεινῆς πραγματείας τῆς διὰ τῆς ἑξ αἰτιῶν συμμετρίας (« Symeon Seth, *magistros* and philosopher, *On the Handbook of Health by the Balance of the Six Causes* »). This short text is preserved in three manuscripts.⁶⁷ Its limited circulation and its style suggest that it is a hypomnematic text, i.e. not intended for publication, but reserved for private use. Seth would have translated certain passages of the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa* for himself and for his own research. He selected only excerpts from the preface and from the first four canons, that were found in the margins of the synoptic tables of Ibn Buṭlān’s treatise.

This impression of an unfinished text or draft for private use is reinforced by the fact that the translation is not literal and faithful, but elliptical. Seth deletes many passages, simplifies, and rewrites his source. The excerpts he chooses to translate show his interest in the theoretical content of the Arabic treatise. He gathers data on the six necessary causes – which became the « sex res non naturales » in the Western medical tradition – or on the theory of the eight tastes and its pharmacological application to determine the degrees of intensity of the drugs. Ibn Buṭlān’s text refers to the discoveries of Arab physicians and philosophers and illustrates the Arabic Galenism that developed in the Islamic world from the ninth century onwards. Seth also translated a passage from the Baghdadi physician that associates the four phases of the moon and the classification of substances into four categories (food, functional food, drug, and poison) in an astro-medical theory. He also refers to a debate between Aristotelian

⁶⁶ In CRONIER, GUARDASOLE, PIETROBELLI (eds.), *De Bagdad à Constantinople: le transfert des savoirs médicaux (XI^e-XV^e s.)* [forthcoming]. On this texte, see ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, « Une traduction grecque inédite du *Tacuinum sanitatis* d’Ibn Buṭlān: vers d’autres *translationes studiorum* », *Horizons maghrébins*, 79 (2018), p. 240–252; Id., « Des aliments aux éléments: la température du goût chez Seth et Galien », in Isabel GRIMM-STADELMANN, Frederick LAURITZEN (eds.), *Hospitals and Medicine from Constantinople to the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice. Proceedings of the Conferences of 22nd November 2017 and 28th February 2019 at the Scuola Grande di San Marco, Venice*, De Gruyter, Berlin (Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Medica) [forthcoming]; and Id., « Une nouvelle traduction arabo-grecque de Syméon Seth: *Sur le manuel de santé d’après l’équilibre des six causes* », in MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI (eds.), *De Bagdad à Constantinople: le transfert des savoirs médicaux (XI^e-XV^e s.)*, Orient & Méditerranée, Paris [forthcoming].

⁶⁷ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3636, fol. 122r–125r (diktyon: 9764); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. Z. 297, fol. 199r–v (diktyon: 69768); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 224 (diktyon: 47512). Another manuscript transmits only the title: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, med. gr. 45, fol. 103v (diktyon: 71070).

philosophers and Galenic physicians on the determination of the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, and wet) of animals and plants. But, more than for its content, this text is relevant as an Arabo-Greek translation and an important historical document.

Ibn Buṭlān is never mentioned in the Greek text, neither in the title nor in the main body. Such an omission can be linked to Seth's secrecy about his Arabic sources in the *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*. Seth's medical production is indeed particularly difficult to study because he does not mention his sources, and they are mostly Arabic. In a contribution on Symeon Seth, Brian Long⁶⁸ has explained his reticence to cite al-Rāzī's influence in the *Refutation of Galen* or to quote his Arabic sources in his dietary treatise as a sign of « religious anxiety ». Long writes: « religious anxiety likely underlay some of Seth's reluctance to openly make use of Arabic sources ». ⁶⁹ Indeed, it seems that it was not necessarily a good idea to display one's Arabic knowledge produced by the Muslim neighbors in Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century, but, as we have seen, other reasons related to the genre and the audience of the dietary treatise have prevailed for this omission of the Arabic sources. In the case of the translation of the *Taqwīm*, other interpretations that involve the Byzantine intellectual climate can be adduced. The translation of the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa* is evasive about its Arabic model, but together with the *Refutation of Galen*, it establishes a double link between Seth and Ibn Buṭlān. And paradoxically, Seth never mentioned his debt to the physician of Baghdad in his medical treatises.

To explain this silence, we could return to Michael Psellos. Several scholars⁷⁰ have suggested that the Byzantine philosopher had met Ibn Buṭlān when he stayed in Constantinople to assist the Patriarch Michael Keroullarios. In a letter addressed to Keroullarios and dated after 1054, Psellos boasts of his radiant teaching, saying that he attracts students from all over the world⁷¹. He indicates that one of them

⁶⁸ See the section by Brian Long on « Symeon Seth », in GUTAS, KALDELLIS, LONG, « Intellectual Exchanges », p. 92–98. Long attributes the translation of al-Rāzī's *De pestis* to Seth without any proofs.

⁶⁹ GUTAS, KALDELLIS, LONG, « Intellectual Exchanges », p. 96.

⁷⁰ For example, CHEYNET, « Michel Psellos et Antioche », p. 415 and SYPIANSKI, « Ibn Buṭlān et Syméon Seth ».

⁷¹ MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Letters*, 111, l. 88–96, ed. STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU, *Michel Psellus. Epistulae*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2019, vol. I, p. 244: Ἀλλὰ Κελτοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἀρραβας ἀλωσίμους ἡμῖν πεποιήκαμεν καὶ καταπεφοιτήκασι κατὰ κλέος ἡμέτερον καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἡπείρου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος τὴν γῆν ἐπάρδει τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ γλῶττα τὴν ἐκείνων ψυχὴν· κἂν πύθοιο τῶν Περσῶν, κἂν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἴασί με καὶ τεθαυμάκασιν καὶ τεθήρανται. Καὶ νῦν δέ τις ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλῶνων ὀρίων ὥστε πιεῖν τῶν ἐμῶν ναμάτων ἀσχέτοις ταῖς προθυμίαις ἐλήλυθε, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν « λύχρον σοφίας » καλεῖ, « τὸ δὲ φωστήρα » προσονομάζει καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλως με τοῖς καλλίστοις ὀνόμασι δηρῇκασι (« But I have made Celts and Arabs yield to me, and on

recently arrived from Babylon (καὶ νῦν δέ τις ἐκ τῶν Βαβυλῶνος) and Jakub Sypianski⁷² has proposed to identify this Babylonian as Ibn Buṭlān. Another passage may allude to Ibn Buṭlān: in his *Accusation against Keroullarios*, completed in 1058, just before the Patriarch's death (January 1059), Psellos criticizes the snobbery of the Constantinopolitan people, who set great store in foreign scholars, even if they were quacks. He describes all sorts of people at the Patriarch's palace:

Ἀστρολόγοι δὴ τινες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μάντεις, τῶν οὐδὲν μὲν εἰδόντων [...], πιστευομένων δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἀπὸ τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἰλλυριός, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης.

Some astrologers, and moreover, some diviners among those who don't know anything [...], trusted not for their art, but for their nationality, because one is Illyrian and the other Persian.⁷³

The Persian astrologer in Keroullarios's entourage could also be Ibn Buṭlān, who was skilled in astrology. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a cites a passage by Ibn Buṭlān that relates the smallpox epidemic in Constantinople to the stellar phenomenon of the supernova SN 1054.⁷⁴ His *Taqwīm* borrows its tabular presentation from the *zij* (pl. *aziyāj*) or Arabic astronomical tables, and the astro-medical theory that is given in the preface explains the many references to astrology that are given in the margin of his tables.⁷⁵ Since the figure of the Arab mathematician and astronomer Abū

account of my fame they regularly come down here to study even from the other continent, and while the Nile irrigates the land of the Egyptians, my speech irrigates their souls. And if you ask a Persian or an Ethiopian, they will say that they have known me and admired me and sought me out. And now someone from across the boundary of Babylon has come to drink from my springs through an insatiable desire of his. One of the nations calls me 'a lamp of wisdom', another gives me the name 'luminary', while others distinguish me in other ways, with the most beautiful names »; trans. KALDELLIS, POLEMIS, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, p. 41–42).

⁷² SYPIANSKI, « Ibn Buṭlān et Syméon Seth ».

⁷³ MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Oratio 1* (ed. GEORGE T. DENNIS, *Michael Psellus. Orationes forenses et acta*, Teubner, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1984, p. 97, l. 2657–61). On this passage, see DAGRON, « Formes et fonctions », p. 237. For another of Psellos' negative judgments about astrology, see MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Chronographia* (ed. ÉMILE RENAULD, *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris 1926, I, 97–98): « I say this since I know this science, having studied it for a long time and having helped many astrologers in the understanding of planetary aspects, although I do not believe that human affairs are driven by the movements of the stars » (trans. by PAUL MAGDALINO, « Occult Science and Imperial Power in Byzantine History and Historiography [9th–12th Centuries] », in PAUL MAGDALINO, MARIA MAVROUDI [eds.], *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'or, Geneva 2006, p. 119–162, here p. 136).

⁷⁴ See *supra* fn. 20.

⁷⁵ Ibn Buṭlān also reserves the left margin of his synoptic tables for specifically astrological information that are derived from the astrologers themselves. These thirty remarks relate mainly to the favourable or unfavourable time for the use of a product according to the horoscope; see HOSAM ELKHADEM, *Le Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa (Tacuini Sanitatis) d'Ibn Buṭlān: un traité médical*

Maʿṣar in the ninth century, astronomy had become the queen of sciences – and medicine a form of applied astronomy. Arab physicians and philosophers, such as al-Kindī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Buṭlān or his Egyptian enemy Ibn Riḍwān, unanimously considered that every natural body, whether plant or animal like the human body, was influenced by the stars. This combination of medicine and astronomy in Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm* was one of the most characteristic features of Arabic medicine. Psellos could have been referring to Ibn Buṭlān,⁷⁶ as one of the astrologers who gravitated to Keroullarios's circle.

This shift from a laudatory judgement on Ibn Buṭlān in the letter to Keroullarios to a form of rejection in the *Accusation against Keroullarios* could be explained by his change of attitude towards the patriarch. Psellos may have praised Keroullarios in the funeral oration he composed for him and have considered him as a friend, since Keroullarios's two nephews, Nikephoros and Konstantinos, were attending his own classes in the mid-1040s.⁷⁷ But he lashed out violently at him after the Schism and composed an indictment against the patriarch in 1058, when he was deposed by Emperor Isaac I Komnenos.⁷⁸ In his condemnation of foreign scholars, Psellos expresses a form of xenophobia⁷⁹ and a sense of superiority. This Hellenocentrism manifests itself in the choice of the ethnic terms « Babylonian » and « Persian » to refer to Baghdad and the Abbasid Caliphate. When Anna Komnene speaks of an Alexandrian astrologer, a colleague of Seth, she designates someone from Fustat or Cairo. This use of ancient Greek terms and realities to speak about their current neighbours denotes a form of chauvinism by reactivating their old barbarian connotations.

When Symeon Seth arrived in Constantinople, probably under the rule of Michael VII Doukas, Psellos had retired from politics, but he was still a central figure in intellectual life. Beside a « religious anxiety », we could explain Seth's reluctance to quote his Arabic sources and Ibn Buṭlān, as a cautious attitude: neither proclamations of exotic knowledge nor close links with the Baghdadi Ibn Buṭlān might have been particularly welcome in Constantinople.

But it was mainly Seth's scientific profile that was problematic for the Byzantines. Obviously, Seth's first production – his *Refutation of Galen*, his dietary

du XI^e siècle. *Histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction, commentaire*, Peeters, Louvain 1990, p. 282–286.

⁷⁶ However, there was also another Persian astrologer in Constantinople at that time: a certain Sergios, of Persian extraction, created a Byzantine astrolabe in 1062, today preserved in Brescia.

⁷⁷ MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Funeral Oration for the Most Blessed Patriarch Kyr Michael Keroullarios*, p. 41, ed. POLEMIS, *Michel Psellus. Orationes funebres*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2014, vol. I, p. 48, l. 47–50.

⁷⁸ On this ambivalent relationship, see KALDELLIS, POLEMIS, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, p. 11–22.

⁷⁹ On this cultural xenophobia, see MAGDALINO, « The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers », p. 26–28.

treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* or his translation of the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥa* –⁸⁰ was of medical orientation. At the time of Seth's arrival in Constantinople, however, this profession had not yet acquired the respectability it would attain in the following generation.⁸¹ The reign of Alexios I Komnenos marked a turning point in the social recognition of the physician at the Byzantine court. While Seth seems to have occupied a position of astrologer at Alexios I's court, the status of this discipline was also ambiguous. Anna Komnene attributes an ambivalent attitude to her father, ranging from implicit recognition of astrology to a clear denial that can be traced back to Psellos himself.⁸² The intellectual profile of Symeon Seth, who inherited the training of the Baghdadi schools, was therefore still difficult to accept in the Byzantine cultural landscape, and this probably explains why he was always moving forward in a hidden manner.

We could also find other motives for Seth's silence (his personal nature, a broken relationship with Ibn Buṭlān, a personal method?), but the wider context makes Seth's silence more eloquent. If Symeon Seth could use Ibn Buṭlān's medical books, one can assert that he obtained them in Antioch during his youth, and that he met the Baghdadi physician in person. His medical, philosophical, and astrological knowledge seems to bear the stamp of Ibn Buṭlān's education, and such a transmission implies several years of attendance, even though Seth must also have been taught by other masters in Antioch.

If accepted, this link between Seth and Ibn Buṭlān allows us to better define his intellectual pedigree by reassembling the chain which connects our Byzantine translator to the masters of Baghdad. For this reconstruction, our information derives mostly from Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's *History of Physicians*. Soon after leaving Constantinople in 1058, maybe when Keroullarios was forced into exile on Imbros Island, Ibn Buṭlān was present at the deathbed of the famous blind poet Abū al-'Alā' al Ma'arri in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, a city near Antioch.⁸³ This blind poet has been the teacher of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī, the notorious Antiochene translator of Greek patristic texts into Arabic.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ The translation predates his *Synopsis of Physics* since the theory of the eight tastes is influenced by Ibn Buṭlān's one, see ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, « Une nouvelle traduction arabo-grecque » [forthcoming].

⁸¹ See ALEXANDER KAZHDAN, « The Image of the Medical Doctors in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 38 (1984), p. 43–51 and PAUL MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993, p. 361–366.

⁸² See MAGDALINO, « The Porphyrogenita and the Astrologers », p. 23–28 and *Id.*, « Occult sciences », p. 142.

⁸³ See PIETER SMOOR, s. v. « al-Ma'arri », *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. V, Brill, Leiden, 1986, p. 932–939, spec. p. 935. This episode is reported by AL-QIṬĪ in *Ta'rif*, 65.

⁸⁴ See SAMUEL NOBLE, ALEXANDER TREIGER, « Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity », *Le Muséon*, 124/3–4 (2011), p. 371–

Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn al-Faḍl must have known each other, since both have studied under the same master in Baghdad: the Nestorian monk Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib, also called Ibn Baks (d. 1043), who was a native from Antioch.⁸⁵ Like Ibn Buṭlān, Ibn al-Ṭayyib was a theologian, a philosopher, and a physician. Like Seth and his master, he was a Galenic doctor and an Aristotelian philosopher since he was commenting on both authorities in Baghdad. He was practicing at the famous ‘Aḍudī hospital, like his own master, Ibn al-Khammār⁸⁶ (b. 942), a Baghdadi master with the same profile: a Christian philosopher, physician and theologian, but also a prolific translator from Syriac to Arabic. Ibn al-Khammār’s teacher was Yahyā ibn ‘Adī⁸⁷ (893–974), who translated numerous works of Greek philosophy, mostly from Syriac into Arabic.

In Antioch and through Ibn Buṭlān – among others –, Symeon Seth inherited the scholarly tradition of the Baghdadi Christian masters, who practiced medicine, philosophy, and translations. He imported this Arabic cultural background into Greek scholarship in a diffuse and discrete way, without naming his alien sources. He appears at the end of an Arabic chain and as the beginning of a new form of Galenism and Humanism in Byzantine culture.⁸⁸ The differentiated reception of his three medical treatises has enabled us to better understand the sophistication of his use of Arabic sources and the different ways in which he contributed to Byzantine medical science. We have distinguished between treatises of limited circulation or private use, such as his *Refutation of Galen* and his translation of the *Taqwīm*, and the treatise *On the Properties of Foodstuffs*, which benefited from an official edition and wide circulation that ensured Seth’s posterity as well as the diffusion of a Greek-Arabic medical science in Byzantium. If Symeon Seth tried to rediscover the old oriental solidarities of the Byzantine Empire, as Gilbert Dagron wrote, he also imported new learned practices from the East. He promoted in Byzantium a new figure of the polymath scientist who mastered philosophy, astronomy, and medicine, before this stature of the Byzantine scholar became a standard for later periods.

417, here p. 375–6. On Ibn al-Faḍl, see ROBERTS, *Reason and Revelation*. Alexandre Roberts points out (ibid., p. 14 and n. 54) Alexander Treiger’s hypothesis that Symeon Seth was one of Ibn al-Faḍl’s teachers: attractive as it is, this idea, which is based on a conjectural correction of an Arabic note, does not fit with our reconstruction of Seth’s biography, which, assuming that he was taught by Ibn Buṭlān in his youth in Antioch, thus in the early 1060s, would have him born around 1040–1045.

⁸⁵ See IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ’ A, *History of the Physicians*, 10, 37; and CONRAD, « Ibn Buṭlān in Bilād al-Shām », p. 143 and 153.

⁸⁶ See IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ’ A, *History of the Physicians*, 11, 8.

⁸⁷ See IBN ABĪ UṢAYBĪ’ A, *History of the Physicians*, 10, 22.

⁸⁸ PAUL MAGDALINO, « From ‘Encyclopaedism’ to ‘Humanism’: the Turning Point of Basil II and the Millennium », in MARC D. LAUXTERMANN, MARC WHITTOW (eds.), *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Being in Between*, Routledge, London–New York, 2017, p. 3–18.

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A HITHERTO UNKNOWN GREEK TRANSLATION
OF AL-MAJŪSĪ'S *KĀMIL ŠINĀ 'A AL-ṬIBBIYYA*
DISCOVERED IN
MS PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, SUPPL. GR. 638:
A PRELIMINARY STUDY*

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Abstract

The main objective of the current paper is to offer a preliminary study of a hitherto unknown Byzantine translation of al-Majūsī's *Kitāb al-malakī* preserved in a single manuscript: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 638 (fourteenth century). After a brief introduction, the Paris manuscript is presented and described, and its content – a Greek translation of the first part of al-Majūsī's *Kitāb al-malakī* – identified. The study then focuses on John Dioikêtês of Constantinople, responsible for the Greek text, showing that it is no less than the translator of the Arabic work as well as the copyist of the manuscript. The last part formulates an hypothesis as to where the manuscript could have been produced, and gives some details on its subsequent story. An Appendix compares Greek text samples of the Paris manuscript with Arabic text samples of the *Kitāb al-malakī* (based on two editions and a manuscript), showing that the Greek text is a translation of the Arabic.

Key Words

Al-Majūsī, *Kāmil šinā 'a al-ṭibbiyya*, *Kitāb al-malakī*, Byzantine medicine, Arabic medicine, Arabic-to-Greek translations, Minas Minoidis.



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I. Introduction

The role of Arabic translations, from Bagdad in particular, in the transmission of antique Greek medical knowledge has long been emphasized. However, the reversed scheme, from Arabic to Greek, is far less studied. Fortunately, it is the object of recent and still on-going research (as the present cluster of articles shows) that falls into the scope of a more general study of translations from Arabic to Greek.¹ This field offers multiple points of interest: because it is less studied, it allows us to bring to light new research perspectives on the history of medieval medicine in the Mediterranean. It also demonstrates the diversity of Arabic-to-Greek translators' production: the Byzantines, especially in the Palaeologan era (1261–1453) – a paradoxical period of political decline and scientific Renaissance – demonstrated an acute curiosity with regard to Arabic medical knowledge. Among other examples, the case of the Greek version of the *Provisions of the Traveller* (Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος) by Ibn al-Jazzār is interesting: in that period, not only were the majority of preserved manuscripts copied, but a revised version was also made, probably in the milieu of physicians and scholars in the first half of the fourteenth-century in Constantinople.² Finally, through a meticulous analysis of books containing these translations, it is possible to cast new light on how this Arabic knowledge was read and understood by Greek medieval scholars.

As a consequence, it is of major importance to carefully reconstruct this Arabic-to-Greek transmission phenomenon: therefore, scholars must endeavour to

¹ See DIMITRI GUTAS, « Arabic into Byzantine Greek: Introducing a Survey of the Translations » in ANDREAS SPEER, PHILIPP STEINKRÜGER (eds.), *Knotenpunkt Byzanz. Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2016 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 36), p. 246–262 as well as a list prepared and enriched regularly by Anthony Kaldellis (ANTHONY KALDELLIS, « Catalogue of Translations into Byzantine Greek from Texts in Any Other Languages, 300–1453 AD » <https://www.academia.edu/44869822/Kaldellis_Catalogue_of_Translations_into_Byzantine_Greek_version_IV_>, accessed August 2021). As far as medicine is concerned, a conference held at Reims University in 2018 and organized by Marie Cronier, Alessia Guardasole and Antoine Pietrobelli (« De Bagdad à Constantinople: le transfert des savoirs médicaux [XI^e–XV^e s.] », in course of publication), concentrates specifically on this topic.

² See the PhD thesis I defended in November 2019 in Paris (THIBAUT MIGUET, « Recherches sur l'histoire du texte grec du *Viatique du voyageur* d'Ibn al-Ğazzār », Ph.D. Diss., École pratique des Hautes Études, 2019) of which I am now preparing the publication; also a paper from a conference on translation issues in Late Byzantium that deals specifically with the most significant revised version of the text (THIBAUT MIGUET, « La traduction grecque du *Viatique du voyageur* [Zād al-musāfir] d'Ibn al-Ğazzār et l'une de ses révisions à l'époque paléologue » in PANAGIOTIS ATHANASOPOULOS [ed.], *Translation Activity in Late Byzantine World. Contexts, Authors and Texts*, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York [Byzantinisches Archiv, Series Philosophica, 4], to be published in 2022). The first results of this research, with an updated presentation of the text and especially the Greek version, was published in 2017: THIBAUT MIGUET, « Premiers jalons pour une étude complète de l'histoire du texte grec du *Viatique du voyageur* (Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος) d'Ibn al-Ğazzār », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 12 (2017), p. 59–105.

identify new Greek medical texts that are, in fact, translations from the Arabic, in order to obtain a more faithful picture of this production. A return to the manuscripts themselves appears to be the only solution to make real progress. In the medical field, they have been relatively little analysed, even though they contain unexpected treasures that only a thorough inquiry could bring forth: some are complex miscellany volumes, often – understandably – insufficiently described in catalogues; other contain anonymous texts, the origin of which can only be found through an analysis of their sources. It is therefore necessary to combine knowledge of Arabic, knowledge of Greek and Arabic medical literature, and expertise in the field of manuscripts in order to obtain tangible results.

I would like to give, in this paper, an example of these results, demonstrating that there still remain, hidden in manuscripts, noteworthy texts which, in certain cases, enrich remarkably our understanding of transfers of knowledge between Arabic and Greek cultures.

I have recently discovered a Greek manuscript containing a Byzantine translation from the Palaeologan era of books VI–X of the first part of 'Alī ibn al-Abbās al-Majūsī's *Kāmil šinā'a al-ṭibbiyya* (known also as *Kitāb al-malakī*) (tenth century), one of the most famous medieval Arabic medical encyclopedias. This mutilated *unicum* is the autograph book of a trilingual scholar from Constantinople, active in the first half of the fourteenth century, whose identity remains for the moment full of mystery. This preliminary work aims to present this discovery and lay the groundwork for a larger study that I am currently preparing.

II. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 638: A Medical Manuscript of Exceptional Value

II.1. Presentation

MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 638³ belongs to the part of the Supplément grec collection that has not yet been described in a modern catalogue, unlike the first and last parts (Supplément grec 1–150 and 901–1371).⁴ It has not been digitalized nor microfilmed, which is one of the reasons why it has remained unknown to this day. According to Hermann Diels's catalogue of medical Greek manuscripts, this manuscript, thought to be from the fifteenth century, is the only one to bear the work of a little known (to say the least) author, here given in its Latin form: *Ioannes Diæcetas Constantinopolitanus*. Only books VI–X of his work,

³ Henceforth, « MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 ».

⁴ CHARLES ASTRUC, MARIE-LOUISE CONCASTY, *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, vol. III: *le Supplément grec, numéros 901–1371*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris 1960; CHARLES ASTRUC, MARIE-LOUISE CONCASTY, CÉCILE BELLON, CHRISTIAN FÖRSTEL et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Supplément grec, numéros 1 à 150*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris 2003.

cautiously named in Diels, between square brackets, [Τέχνη ιατρική?], are present in the book;⁵ in the catalogue's supplement can be read a title, τῆς τελείας τέχνης τῆς ιατρικῆς βιβλία, found by Diels's collaborator Max Treu (1842–1915).⁶ Neither Alain Touwaide's *Census* nor his new edition of Diels's catalogue offer complementary information on the work.⁷

This *Ioannes* (PLP 8442)⁸ is otherwise unknown. The few references made in further prosopographical repertoires come from Diels's catalogue⁹ which draws partly on Henri Omont's *Inventaire*, whose description is very brief.¹⁰

638. Joannis Diœcetae Constantinop. de medicina libri VI.–X., cum notis arabicis. XV s. Parch. et pap. 154 fol. P.

One learns however – and this is of particular interest – that the book is accompanied by « Arabic notes » (*cum notis arabicis*), that it is made both of paper and parchment (*Parch. et pap.*), and finally that it is of reasonable thickness (154 folios) and small dimensions (P). In the absence of a new catalogue of the Supplément grec collection, this description is the most recent at our disposal.

II.2. MSS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 1121 and 1122's descriptions

The Bibliothèque nationale holds, however, a hand-written catalogue by librarians and scholars Emmanuel Miller (1812–1886) and Carle Wescher (1832–1904), in two

⁵ HERMANN DIELS, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. Griechische Abteilung*, vol. II: *Die übrigen griechischen Ärzte ausser Hippokrates und Galenos*, Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1906, p. 53.

⁶ HERMANN DIELS, *Bericht über den Stand des interakademischen Corpus medicorum antiquorum und erster Nachtrag zu den in den Abhandlungen 1905 und 1906 veröffentlichten Katalogen: Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte, I. und II. Teil*, Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1908, p. 54: « So lautet der Titel nach Treu ».

⁷ ALAIN TOUWAIDE, *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts. From Byzantium to the Renaissance*, Routledge, London–New York 2016, *ad indicem*; ID., *Greek Medical Manuscripts. Diels' Catalogue*, vol. I: *Diels' Catalogue with Indices*, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2021 (Medical Traditions, 2/1), p. 267 and 400; ID., *Greek Medical Manuscripts. Diels' Catalogue*, vol. IV: *Ceteri Medici* De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2021 (Medical Traditions, 2/4), p. 140; ID., *Greek Medical Manuscripts. Diels' Catalogue*, vol. V: *The Manuscripts and Their Texts*, De Gruyter, Berlin–New York 2021 (Medical Traditions, 2/5), p. 298.

⁸ ERICH TRAPP (ed.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 12 vol., 2 vol. Addenda et Corrigenda, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1976–1995, *ad indicem* [henceforth, PLP].

⁹ For instance in Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopedia (GEORG WISSOWA, WILHELM KROLL, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung*, vol. IX/2: *Imperium–Iugum*, J. B. Metzler^{sche} Verlagsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart 1916, col. 1800). The work's title, περὶ τελείας τέχνης τῆς ιατρικῆς, certainly comes from Diels's supplement.

¹⁰ HENRI OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. III: *Ancien fonds grec, Belles lettres, Coislin–Supplément, Paris et départements*, Alphonse Picard, Paris 1888, p. 288.

volumes: MSS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 1121 and 1122. MS suppl. gr. 1121 contains the description of suppl. gr. 1–655 and MS suppl. gr. 1122, datable by an « Avis au lecteur » of 1869 (fol. 1v), that of suppl. gr. 607, 609–913: our manuscript is therefore described twice. Here is a transcription of the description in MS suppl. gr. 1121, in Latin (fol. 246r):

DCXXXVIII

Codex partim membranaceus, partim chartaceus, in octavo, a Mina | Minoïde ex Oriente allatus, quo continentur:

Joannis Constantinopolitani, cognomine Διοικητοῦ, libri de Medicina | VI, VII, VIII, IX, X. Initium libri sexti ac finis decimi deside|rantur.

Constat hic codex fasciculis undecim numeratis, a numero κη´ ad | numerum λη´. Sunt folia 154 vel paginae 308.

Accedunt marginibus notulae aliquot arabice scriptae.

Scriptura codicis videtur ad saeculum decimum quartum referenda.

MS suppl. gr. 1122's description, written in the same hand, gives more or less the same information, this time in French (fol. 27r):

Suppl. gr. n° 638

M. 496

Manuscrit sur vélin et sur papier.

Petit format.

Écriture du XIV^e siècle.

Ce ms. renferme une partie de l'ouvrage de Jean Διοικητής | de Constantinople sur la Médecine.

Il contient:

le livre VI (moins le début)

le livre VII

le livre VIII

le livre IX

le livre X (la fin manque)

Il se compose de onze cahiers numérotés depuis κη´ jusqu'à λη´, | formant 154 feuillets ou 308 pages.

Il porte en marge un grand nombre de mots arabes.

Below are written in the same hand, with a pencil, the words: « non relié » and, below again, « D ».

These two descriptions teach us more about the book: MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 constitutes one part of an originally complete manuscript, since it contains only quires 28–38. Books VI and X are incomplete, mutilated at the beginning (book VI) and the end (book X). Moreover, the indication of the number of quires and the total number of folios allows us to determine the type of quires we are dealing with: supposing that the quires belong to the same type (and they do, as we shall

see), if eleven quires correspond to 154 folios, then each quire is composed of 14 folios: these are septenions. Secondly, one can presume that the original volume was very thick: if quires lost in the beginning were also septenions, then they should have contained 378 folios. Therefore the volume, without taking into account lost quires at the end (the number of which is unknown), should have comprised at least 532 folios. Finally, these descriptions interestingly propose a different dating than Omont's: the fourteenth century, and not the fifteenth (dating accepted by Omont and, after him, Diels). This is not surprising: dating discrepancies are frequently observed, especially between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, and it is not uncommon that a manuscript thought to be from the fifteenth century should be in fact correctly dated to the fourteenth. I will show below that this is the case here.

II.3. Minas Minoidis's description

A fourth and last description of MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 can be read on the recent guard-leaves of the manuscript itself. Written in violet ink, it is in Greek and French, and is by the hand of Minas Minoidis,¹¹ who was mentioned in MS suppl. gr. 1121's description (*a Mina Minoïde ex Oriente allatus*). Here is a transcription:

Τοῦ Σοφωτάτου ἱατροῦ Ἰωάννου | Διοικητοῦ Κωνσταντινου|πόλεως
 l'ouvrage parait être volumineux. ce frag|ment que j'ai découvert commence par |
 le 28^{eme} cahier. l'auteur l'avait écrit à l'instart (sic) de l'ouvrage d'Aëtius
 ὁ τόμος οὗτος ἄρχεται ἐκ τοῦ ιγ'ου κεφ. τοῦ | ζ' λόγου, καὶ λήγει εἰς τὸ λς'.|
 ὁ ζ'ος λόγος περιέχει κεφ. ιη'|
 ὁ η' Ἰωάννου Διοικητοῦ etc. περιέχων | κεφ. κβ'
 ὁ θ' τοῦ α' τμήματος τῆς τελείας | τέχνης τῆς ἱατρικῆς περιέχων | κεφ. μα'
 ὁ ι' περιέχει κεφ. ιγ' ἑλλειπῆς | περὶ τὸ τέλος:-|
 ἄδηλον δὲ εἰς πόσα διηρεῖτο τμήματα:-
 M. Mynas

The author's identity is no clearer, but the number of chapters in each book is given: 36 in book VI (the manuscript starts at chapter 13), 18 in book VII, 22 in book VIII, 41 in book IX, 13¹² in book X. Before going into the details of the content, let us begin with a brief codicological description of the manuscript.

¹¹ The name is spelled in French « Minoïde Mynas », but I follow here the spelling adopted in an English-written contribution by a specialist, Zisis Melissakis (ZISIS MELISSAKIS, « 'Monsieur le Ministre, je fais un catalogue de la bibliothèque de chaque couvent': Minas Minoidis and the First Effort to Produce Systematic Catalogues of the Libraries of Mount Athos », in ANDRÉ BINGGELI, MATTHIEU CASSIN, MARINA DETORAKI [eds.], *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, Brepols, Turnhout 2020 [Bibliologia, 54], p. 399–410). On this character (with bibliography), see below.

¹² There are actually 12 chapters in book X.

II.4. Codicological analysis

MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 is today bound in a Gardien 1873 red binding with, on the back, the words *Tractatus / De / medicina*. The mention « non relié » in MS suppl. gr. 1122's description is therefore older than 1873. The book is of small dimensions (220 × 150 mm, written surface 180 × 115 mm) and is formed of a unique codicological unit.

The volume is indeed composed of parchment and paper: each of the 11 quires is constituted by a bifolium of parchment enveloping six bifolia of paper. This process, used in order to protect the quires, is not at all common, as we shall see. The quires are septenions, a quire-type very rare in Greek manuscripts.¹³ They are all complete, a fact which indicates that the parchment at the beginning and the end has well fulfilled its assigned role. They were not originally numbered; only numbered by a later hand on the recto of the first folio and the verso of the last folio of each quire, in the middle of the lower margin (thus on parchment). A second quire numbering is visible, from another hand, starting with β' and ending with <ιβ'>, partially erased, next to the first numbering.

The parchment is very thin and of bad quality; the paper is quite thick and stiff. It shows thin wire-lines, running at a right angle to the writing line (in-quarto folding). Two watermarks are visible: *Aigle*, very similar to Mošin-Traljić 34 (a. 1323) and *Lettre A* of a very peculiar type, very similar to Mošin-Traljić 5094 (a. 1325 [1315–1320]).¹⁴ The watermarks lead us to a dating in the first half of the fourteenth century, corresponding to Miller and Wescher's dating.

The manuscript was copied by a single scribe whose small, scholarly, fast and sharp writing is very well mastered and presents some likeness to that of Maximos Planoudēs (c. 1255–c.1305, RGK I 259bis; II 357).¹⁵ The *mise-en-page* is quite dense (30 lines per page) but the margins leave some space for potential notes. There is no line break, except for new chapter beginnings or some important divisions within chapters; in most cases, the structuring of ideas within chapters is made by little blanks in the writing line by the scribe, corresponding to major articulations of the argumentation.

¹³ Jean Irigoin underlines the rareness of this type of quire, and says that he encountered it only in mixed quires (parchment and paper) (JEAN IRIGOIN, « Typologie et description codicologique des manuscrits de papier », in DIETER HARLFINGER, GIANCARLO PRATO [eds.], *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale [Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983]*, 2 vol., Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 1991 [Biblioteca di Scrittura e Civiltà, 3], vol. 1, p. 275–303, here p. 283).

¹⁴ VLADIMIR A. MOŠIN, SEID M. TRALJIĆ, *Filigranes des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 2 vol., Académie yougoslave des sciences et des Beaux-Arts, Zagreb 1957, *ad indicem*.

¹⁵ ERNST GAMILLSCHEG, DIETER HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, 3 vol., Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1981 (vol. I), 1989 (vol. II), 1997 (vol. III) (henceforth, RGK).

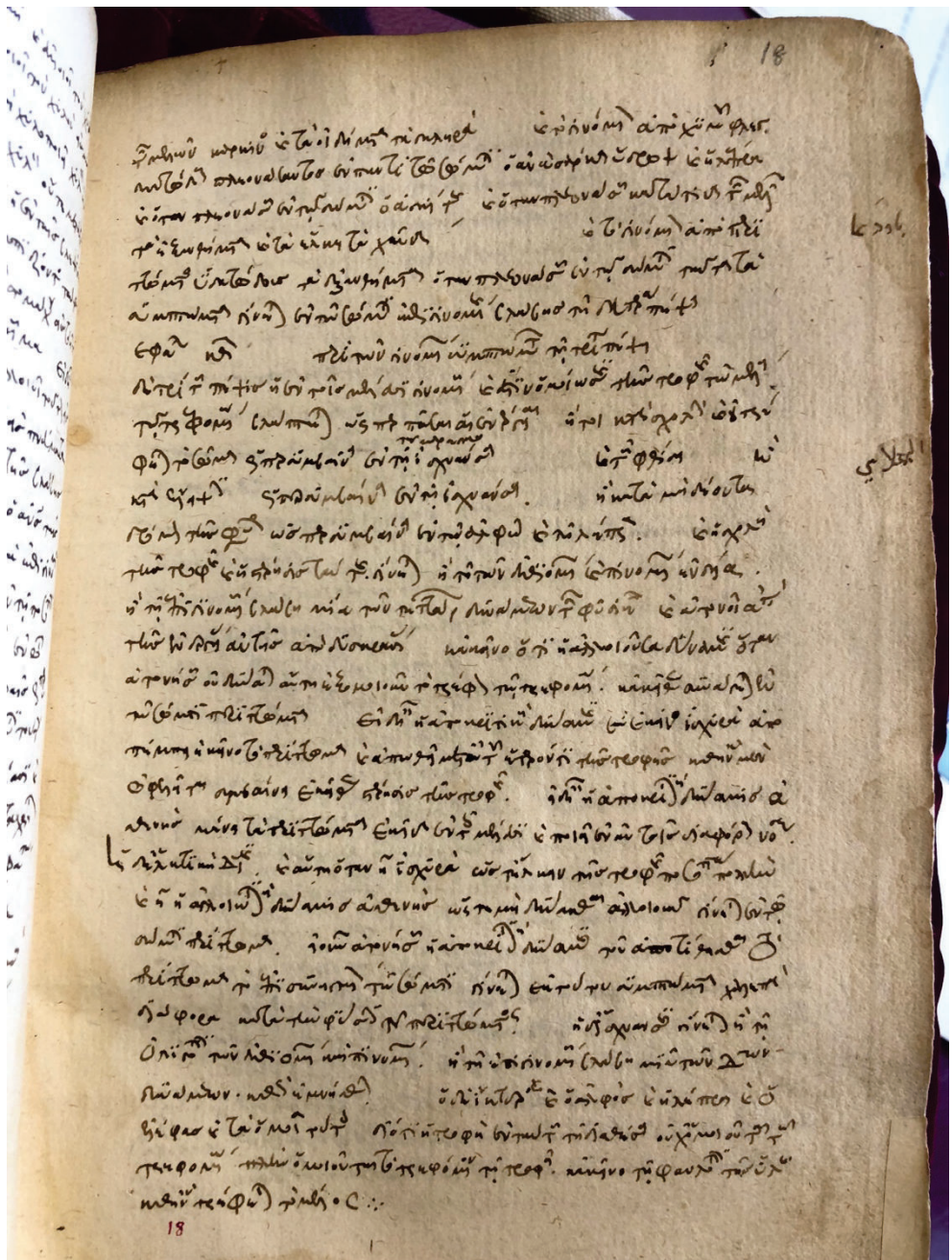


Fig. 1: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 638, fol. 18r
(Copyright BnF)

III. A Greek Translation of Al-Majūsī's 'Kāmil šinā 'a al-ṭibbiyya' (as Known as 'Kitāb al-malakī') (10th cent.)

The work in the manuscript is not at all easy to identify since the manuscript, mutilated in the beginning, does not have a title. Moreover, it does not seem to be preserved in any known Greek manuscript. It is a perfectly organized medical treatise and, obviously, of a very high level. The content is mostly theoretical: it is not a practical medical handbook describing drugs and their posology, but more of an encyclopedia allowing one to identify illnesses and their causes. Each book is preceded by its title and an index of chapters. Book VII teaches the reader how to recognize the general signs of illnesses (περὶ τῆς διαγνώσεως τῶν καθόλου σημείων τῶν νόσων), book VIII describes illnesses that manifest through sensation (περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων τῇ αἰσθήσει νόσων καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν αὐτῶν), book IX the signs of affections which affect internal organs (περὶ τῶν σημειώσεων τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἔνδον μελῶν), book X does not have a title but focuses on prognosis and crises.

Thanks to the title, the reader learns that books VII to IX belong to the first part (μέρος [books VII–VIII] / τμήμα [book IX]) of the treatise, book VII's title specifying that it is the « theory » (λόγος ἑβδομος τοῦ πρώτου μέρους ἤτοι τῆς θεωρητικῆς). Thus the treatise is very firmly divided into parts (μέρος / τμήμα), probably two (theory and practice), books (λόγος) and chapters (κεφάλαιον). Its overall title is then given (in the genitive): the « perfect book of medical art » (τοῦ τελείου βιβλίου τῆς ἰατρικῆς τέχνης), a very uncommon title (not to say unknown) amongst Greek physicians.

This title is in fact the precise translation of *Kitāb kāmīl šinā 'a al-ṭibbiyya*, (« Perfect book of medical art »), an encyclopedia best known as *Kitāb al-malakī* (« Royal book ») by 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Majūsī (tenth century). The *Kitāb al-malakī* has the same structure as the Greek text in the manuscript: two parts (theory and practice), each one containing ten books which offer a variable number of chapters. The number of chapters for books VII–X is the same as in the Greek text in the manuscript, with the same topic. The comparison I made between the Greek and the Arabic text on several text samples confirms that the Greek is a translation from the Arabic (see Appendix).

Kitāb al-malakī is undoubtedly one of the jewels of Arabic medical literature. Written by the Persian physician 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Majūsī (tenth century), it constitutes the clearest summary of Galenism as it was received by the Arabs.¹⁶

¹⁶ For an overview on al-Majūsī, see FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 3: *Medizin, Pharmazie, Zoologie, Tierheilkunde bis ca. 430 H.*, Brill, Leiden 1970, p. 320–322. On his life and milieu, see FRANÇOISE MICHEAU, « 'Alī Ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī et son milieu », in CHARLES BURNETT, DANIELLE

The treatise has been very popular: 128 Arabic copies are preserved to this day, according to the most recent list made by Gérard Troupeau.¹⁷ The vast majority of copies do not comprise the complete treatise, but often either only the first or the second part in its entirety, or sections of one or the other part.

The *Kitāb al-malakī* furthermore circulated in numerous translations, including Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic.¹⁸ However, its fortune in the West is due to the translation into Latin made by the famous Constantine the African (eleventh century), under the title *Pantegni*, which is considered as the first encyclopedic medical text in Latin.¹⁹ While the first part (*Theorica Pantegni*) corresponds more or less to the theoretical part of the *Kitāb al-malakī*, the second (*Pratica Pantegni*) is in fact a patchwork of translations of other Arabic medical texts, some pre-Salernitan, embedded in occasional chapters of the original work. Stephen of Pisa / Antioch (twelfth century) is responsible for a later Latin translation of the *Kitāb al-malakī*, with a less widespread circulation, under the title *Regalis dispositio*.²⁰ This translation is faithful to the Arabic original.

The Greek translation contained in MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 completes this rich textual transmission and helps us to better understand the role of Greek versions in the transmission of Greek medical knowledge in the Middle Ages. This translation is a supplementary piece of evidence that the Palaeologan era plays a prominent role in the study and transmission of scientific texts, Arabic ones in particular.

JACQUART (eds.), *Constantine the African and 'Alī Ibn al-'Abbās al-Mağūsī. The Pantegni and Related Texts*, Brill, Leiden–New York–Köln 1994 (Studies in Ancient Medicine, 10), p. 1–15. For a concise and clear presentation of his works and doctrine, see DANIELLE JACQUART, FRANÇOISE MICHEAU, *La médecine arabe et l'Occident médiéval*, Maisonneuve et Larose, Paris 1996, p. 69–74.

¹⁷ GÉRARD TROUPEAU, « Manuscripts of the *Kāmil šinā'a* », in BURNETT, JACQUART, *Constantine the African*, p. 303–315.

¹⁸ For an overview of these translations, see RON BARKAI, « The Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew Versions of the *Kitāb Kāmil aš-šinā'a* », in BURNETT, JACQUART, *Constantine the African*, p. 57–70.

¹⁹ For an overview of the *Pantegni*, see JACQUART, MICHEAU, *La médecine arabe*, p. 103–106; the major study on it remains the volume edited by Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (BURNETT, JACQUART, *Constantine the African*).

²⁰ On Stephen of Pisa, see CHARLES BURNETT, « Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries », in BAUDOUIN VAN DEN ABEEL, ISABELLE DRAELANTS, ANNE TIHON (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, Brepols, Turnhout 2000 (Reminiscences, 5), p. 1–78 (repr. with corrections in CHARLES BURNETT, *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The Translators and their Intellectual and Social Context*, Routledge, Farnham 2009 [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 939], Article IV). The text of the *Regalis dispositio* still lacks a critical edition. The prefaces to the two parts have been edited by Charles Burnett (« Antioch as a link », Appendix I.A, p. 20–40); the rest can be conveniently read in the 1523 Lyon edition (HALY FILIUS ABBAS, *Liber totius medicine necessaria continens quem sapientissimus Haly filius Abbas discipulus Abimeher Moysi filii Seiar edidit: regique inscripsit unde et Regalis dispositionis nomen assumpsit...*, Lugduni, 1523).

IV. *The Mysterious John of Constantinople, dioikêtês and Trilingual Translator of the Book*

Who is the translator? It is the same *Ioannes Diæcetas Constantinopolitanus* we encountered as author of the book in Diels's catalogue. He gives his name in the titles of books VII, VIII and IX, here according to that of book VII (fol. 23r), the most developed:

Λόγος ἑβδομος τοῦ πρώτου μέρους ἦτοι τῆς θεωρητικῆς τοῦ τελείου βιβλίου τῆς ἱατρικῆς | τέχνης τοῦ ἐγνωσμένου διοικητοῦ. Ἑκδοσις Ἰωάννου Διοικητοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τριγλώσσου υἱοῦ Διοικητοῦ Μιχαήλ. Περὶ τῆς διαγνώσεως τῶν καθόλου σημείων τῶν νόσων καὶ εἰςὶ κεφάλαια δεκαὸκτώ.

Book VII of the first part i.e. theory of the perfect book of the medical art by he who is known as διοικητής. Edition / treatise by John, διοικητής, from Constantinople, trilingual, son of Michael διοικητής. On the recognition of general signs of illnesses, and there are 18 chapters.

Something strikes us immediately: John Διοικητής does not present himself as translator, but rather as author of the treatise. Yet the comparison of the chapters unquestionably shows that the Greek text is a translation of the Arabic, without modification. The word ἑκδοσις is employed: it means an « edition », but also a « publication », a « treatise », an « account », e.g., it is the meaning it has in the title of an adaptation from around 1435 by Michael Chrysokokkês of Immanuel Bonfils of Tarascon's (fourteenth century) *Hexapterygon* (treatise of Jewish astronomy). Interestingly, this is also a treatise translated (or at least adapted) from another language: Μιχαὴλ νοταρίου τῆς μεγάλῃς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χρυσοκόκκη, ἑκδοσις γεγонуῖα εἰς τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν ἑξαπτέρυγον κατὰ τὸ ,ζ' μγ' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ παντός.²¹ In the title of book IX, σύνταξις (composition) is used, whereas in the titles of books VIII and X, only the genitive is given. Perhaps one should not pay too much attention to the words chosen here: these variations can also be attributed to variants in the Arabic exemplar. For instance, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 2871 (a. 1261, containing only the treatise's first part), *ta 'lîf* (root 'LF, « form », « unite », « join ») is mostly used, but, for book I, one reads *taṣnîf* (root ṢNF, « arrange, organize », possibly what the translator was reading for book IX) : these are all *taf'il* forms of verbs, and thus can easily vary by scribal choice with only slightly different meanings.

John names himself διοικητής. It corresponds to a specific office in Byzantium. Originally, it was borne only by a fiscal official, but was replaced in 1109 by that of

²¹ See ANNE TIHON, « Astronomie juive à Byzance », *Byzantion*, 87 (2017), p. 323–347, here p. 324 (transcription of MS Hagion Oros, Monê Batopediou, 188, fol. 44v).

praktor (πρακτώρ).²² It is still mentioned in the lists of pseudo-Kodinos's *De Officiis* (fourteenth century), the main source for the knowledge of hierarchy and ceremonial rules in the middle of the fourteenth century, still under the form μέγας διοικητής. However this office « doesn't have any function » and appears to be honorific.²³ A survey in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* shows that the only John who bears this title is John Doukas Balsamon (PLP 91427), *megas dioikêtês* of Thessalonica in 1355, known from a unique act of the monastery of Docheiariou.²⁴ He is known neither as translator from the Arabic nor as engaging in any scientific or medical activity whatsoever. John διοικητής's father, Michael (Μιχαήλ), himself διοικητής, is not known from other sources.

However there is some evidence that διοικητής could also have become a family name, as is the case with other offices, e.g. *Oikonomos* or *Grammatikos*, offices which became widespread family names in Byzantium. In fact, it is possible to identify another probable member of this Dioikêtês family, Manouêl (Μανουήλ).²⁵ This Manouêl is mentioned in two Athos acts dated 1342: one praktikon (January 1342)²⁶ and one chrysobull (November 1342, issued by John V Palaiologos)²⁷. Both acts grant a series of possessions, the praktikon to John Margaritês (value: 55 *hyperpyra*) and the chrysobull to George Margaritês (value: 50 *hyperpyra*). The Margaritês were supporters of John V Palaiologos in the civil war between John V Palaiologos (and his mother, Anna, the patriarch John Kalekas and John Apokaupos) and John Cantacuzênos, who proclaimed himself co-emperor. It is therefore no wonder that these possessions were taken away from supporters of John Cantacuzênos, amongst whom was Manouêl the Dioikêtês, *oikeios* of John Cantacuzênos. The praktikon speaks of a land that belonged to « Sir Manuel the *dioikêtês* » (κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ διοικητοῦ),²⁸ whereas in the chrysobull by John V, the land belonged to the « unfaithful Manuel the *dioikêtês* » (τοῦ ἀπίστου Μανουήλ

²² ALEXANDER P. KAZHDAN, « Dioiketes », *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, Oxford University Press, New York–Oxford 1991, p. 627–628.

²³ « Ὁ μέγας διοικητής οὐδεμίαν ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχει » (PSEUDO-CODINUS, *Traité des Offices*, ed. JEAN VERPEAUX, Éditions du CNRS, Paris 1966 [Le Monde byzantin, 1], p. 185, lines 15–16.

²⁴ See NICOLAS OIKONOMIDES, *Actes de Docheiariou*, P. Lethielleux, Paris 1984 (Archives de l'Athos, 13), p. 191–193 (act n°29).

²⁵ For all this prosopographical excursus, I am very much indebted to Raúl Estangüi Gómez (University Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne), whom I thank very warmly, for telling me about these documents.

²⁶ Edition in PAUL LEMERLE, « Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakala (janvier 1342) et la situation de la Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène », *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, vol. I, Ἡ ἐν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικὴ Εταιρεία, Athens 1965, p. 278–298 (repr. in PAUL LEMERLE, *Le monde de Byzance: histoire et institutions*, Routledge, London 1978 [Collected Studies Series, 86], n° XVIII).

²⁷ Edition in VASSILIKI KRAVARI, « Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou », *Travaux et mémoires*, 10 (1987), p. 261–356, here p. 291–298 (act n° 2).

²⁸ LEMERLE, « Un praktikon inédit... », p. 285, line 40 in the edition.

τοῦ διοικητοῦ).²⁹ The editors of the acts (along with the PLP: PLP 16684) thought that Manouêl had the office of *dioikêtês*, but since this office didn't exist anymore at this period (*megas dioikêtês* was used, and it was honorific) and that no other patronym is given in the acts, one can reasonably presume that *dioikêtês* is in fact his family name. Manouêl was indeed a supporter of John Cantacuzênos and was appointed with the charge of governor (κεφαλῇ) of Thessalia in 1359³⁰. Given the rarity of this patronym, it is probable that this Manouêl belongs to the same family as John or his father Michael. Complementary prosopographical research could allow us to know more about these historical characters.

V. MS Paris Suppl. Gr. 638, John Dioikêtês's Autograph Manuscript

There is more: MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 is the translator's autograph manuscript, as confirmed by several pieces of evidence.

First of all, the numerous marginal notes. The book is indeed completed, as has been seen in the descriptions, by « Arabic notes ». A close examination shows that these are notes in Arabic, and not notes in languages written in the Arabic alphabet (Turkish or Persian). They are in their vast majority isolated nouns or group of nouns, for instance, fol. 55v: جدري (*judarī/jadari*, smallpox), جذام (*judhām*, leprosy). Whole sentences are rarely found (e.g. fol. 92v). Arabic notes in medical Greek manuscripts at this period are fairly rare.³¹ But most importantly, two facts make them key elements of the puzzle: first, they are written in the main scribe's hand, who was without doubt, as we shall see, a native Greek speaker from Constantinople, and perfectly coeval to the writing of the manuscript;

secondly, these notes correspond to blanks in the Greek text, showing that the work is in progress: the copyist, who is also the translator, has the Arabic text in front of him and translates. From time to time, he struggles with a word that he cannot read, translate, or translate as he wishes. Consequently he leaves a blank in the Greek text, and writes the Arabic word in the opposite margin, perhaps in anticipation of a future revision of the work.

²⁹ KRAVARI, « Nouveaux documents... », p. 297, lines 11–12 in the edition. The name Μανουήλ, originally at the end of the line, has disappeared because of a mutilation, but its restitution is made by Kravari thanks to the *praktikon* edited by Lemerle.

³⁰ See KRAVARI, « Nouveaux documents... », p. 296, who relies on a chrysobull issued by emperor Symeon in 1359 (edition in ALEKSANDAR SOLOVJEV, VLADIMIR ALEKSEJEVIČ MOŠIN, *Grčke povelje Srpskih vladara. Diplomata Graeca regum et imperatorum Serviae*, Routledge, London 1974, p. 212–229, in particular p. 224 [act n° 31]).

³¹ Marie Cronier knows about around ten Dioscorides manuscripts with Arabic notes, from all periods, but the case of Dioscorides is in itself rather specific due to its vast and multilingual transmission.

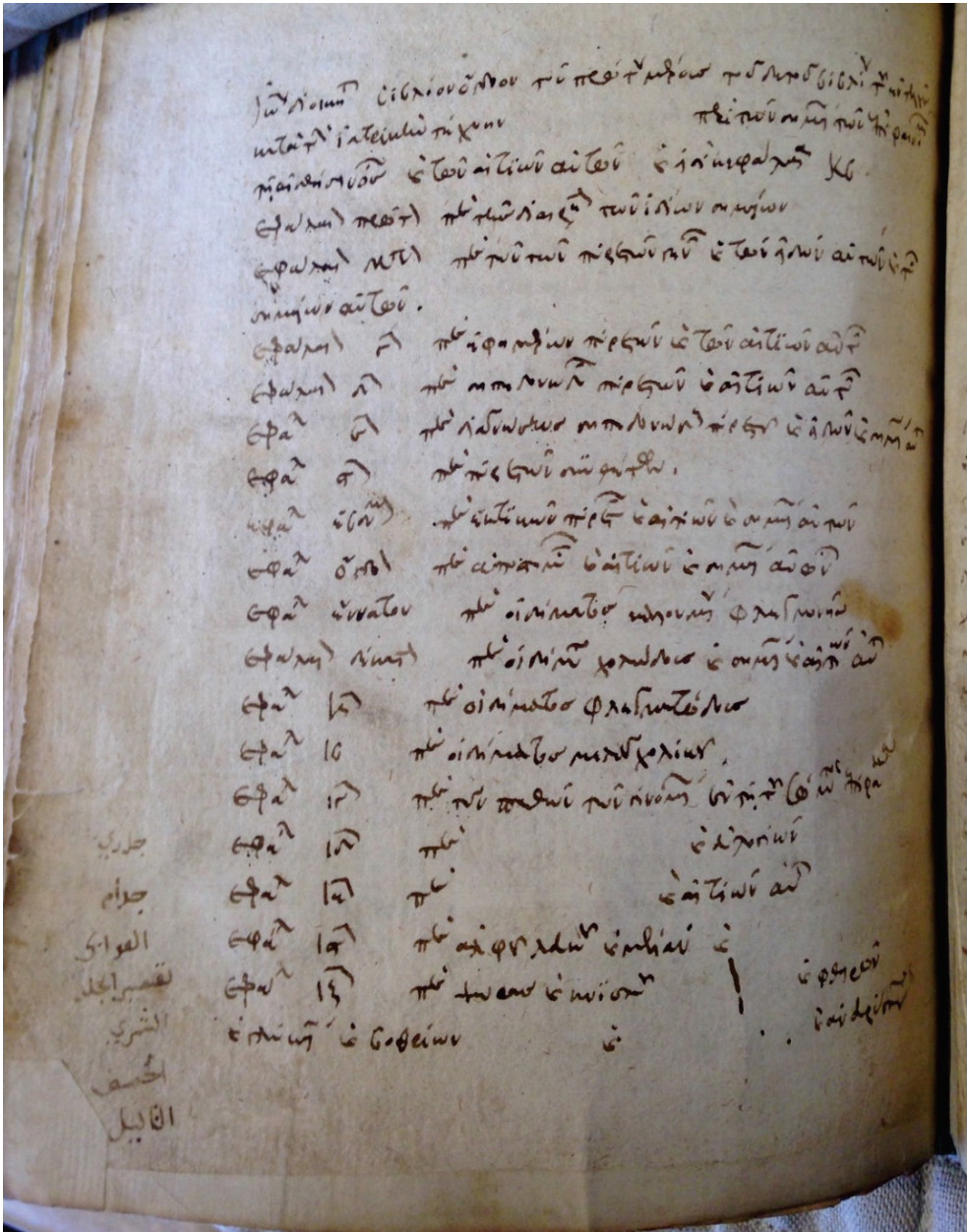


Fig. 2 : MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 638, f. 55v
(Copyright BnF)

Another important element escaped those who made the descriptions of the manuscript: the presence, on four folios in the book, of Latin medical notes, written in a proficient writing which proves again to be the scribe's writing.³² Therefore he knew and could write three languages: Greek, Arabic and Latin, which is quite exceptional in medical literature and Greek medical manuscripts. It should also be linked to the adjective τριγλώσσου used by John Dioikētēs to describe himself in the title of book VII: it seems obvious that it also qualifies the copyist of the manuscript, therefore they are one and the same person and the manuscript is an autograph.

The last argument is codicological: the manuscript is obviously of personal use. There is no decoration and the *mise-en-page* is very dense, with numerous marginal notes in Arabic, Greek and Latin. The Arabic words, in particular, transcribed such as they were read by the translator (diacritical signs are not systematically noted) are here only for the translator himself, and would not have been of any use for the random reader. The quire type, very rare, along with the use of a bad quality parchment to protect the quires, leads me to consider the manuscript as a workbook, made by and for its author.

At which stage of the work are we? It is clearly not the draft of the translation's first version, but a clean copy of the draft. For instance, the chapter initials, both in the indexes and in the text, have been omitted by the copyist, in anticipation of a future rubrication, probably in vermilion ink. The numerous Arabic words in the margins testify to the persistent difficulties of the translator, despite his high level of proficiency in Arabic.

It is not possible at the moment to determine the possible Arabic exemplar(s) that were used by our translator. My punctual collations of a couple of digitalized manuscripts did not allow me to find an answer. To do so, a survey of the Arabic manuscript tradition, lacking today, would be necessary.³³ The most recent (2018) edition by Khālīd Ḥarbī is based on three manuscripts, but the reasons for choosing these three in particular as well as the edition principles are not explained.³⁴

³² I would like to express my gratitude to Jérémy Delmulle, Dominique Poiré (Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris), and Iolanda Ventura (Alma Mater University of Bologna), for their help in the deciphering of the notes and comments on the writing.

³³ A preliminary work based on manuscripts preserved in Paris has been made by GÉRARD TROUPEAU, « Les manuscrits du *Kāmil šinā'a* à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris », in BURNETT, JACQUART, *Constantine the African*, p. 48–56. He chose three manuscripts of different origins (one Syrian, one Iraqi and one Spanish) and compared the lists of chapters for the first five books of the first part of the treatise, as well as the chapters' first lines. His conclusion is that the text is completely identical in the three manuscripts.

³⁴ AL-MAJŪSĪ, *Kāmil šinā'a al-ṭibbiyya*, 6 vol., ed. KHĀLID ḤARBĪ, *Dār al-wafā' li-dunyā al-ṭibā'a wa-al-nashr*, Al-Iskandariyya 2018, vol. 1, p. 29 et 42. The manuscripts are: Cairo, National Library of Egypt, ṭibb 199; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 3996; El-Escorial, Real Biblioteca, 815.

VI. *Origin and Subsequent Story of the Manuscript*

We know that the translator and copyist was from Constantinople.³⁵ This does not imply that he was necessarily active there, nor that the manuscript was produced there. Its codicological structure (mixed septenions, parchment and paper) is most rare. A quantitative investigation of mixed quires in manuscripts in several languages (Arabic, Greek, Latin, Hebrew) was made about thirty years ago by a group of scholars who specialized in the codicology of western and eastern manuscripts: its first results conclude that it is not possible, in the case of Greek manuscripts, to link this codicological habit to a specific region, even though it seems primarily Western (it is found in Arabic manuscripts of Spanish origin, and it was well developed in Hebrew and Latin manuscripts).³⁶ This corroborates Jean Irigoin's conclusions, according to which mixed quires were used only in Southern Italy and Sicily, as well as in Venice-ruled regions (Ionian Islands, Morea, Crete).³⁷

In any case, the very rare quire-type (septenions), combined with this mixed composition, seems to exclude Constantinople as the place of production. Had this been the case, one could barely understand why the copyist-translator specifies that he is from Constantinople. Moreover, one can spot catchwords at the end of the quires, in the right lower corner of the verso: it is clearly a Western codicological habit, and is to be found almost exclusively in Renaissance Greek manuscripts, under the influence, precisely, of Western habits. Before the Renaissance, it is very scarcely used in Greek manuscripts: one can think of manuscripts copied by the scribe Ioannikios (RGK II 283; III 341) and his collaborators, as well as that of Maximos Planoudēs³⁸.

³⁵ The adjective Κωνσταντινουπολίτης in my opinion means that he indeed comes from Constantinople. The Greek community used to clearly mention their place of origin, through adjectives (Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος [see MARIA PAPANICOLAOU, « Ἀρμόνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. Bibliofilo e copista, maestro di greco e diplomatico », *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 52 [1998], p. 283–301], Κύριλλος Ναυπάκτιος [RGK I 222; II 310]) or expressions such as ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (copyist George Basilikos, see MORGANE CARIU, « La production manuscrite de Georges Basilikos », in MARIE CRONIER, BRIGITTE MONDRAIN [eds.], *Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IX^e Colloque international de Paléographie grecque, Paris, 10-15 septembre 2018*, Association des amis du centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Paris 2021 [Travaux et mémoires 24/1], p. 483–519), especially when in exile after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and Greece.

³⁶ See FRANCESCO BIANCHI et al., « Une recherche sur les manuscrits à cahiers mixtes », *Scriptorium*, 48/2 (1994), p. 259–286, especially the conclusive part p. 281–282.

³⁷ JEAN IRIGOIN, « Typologie et description codicologique des manuscrits de papier », in DIETER HARLFINGER, GIANCARLO PRATO (eds.), *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983)*, 2 vol., Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 1991 (Biblioteca di Scrittura e Civiltà, 3), vol. I, p. 275–303, here p. 289–290.

³⁸ See BRIGITTE MONDRAIN, « Les signatures des cahiers dans les manuscrits grecs », in PHILIPPE HOFFMANN (ed.), *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident*, Presses de l'École normale supérieure, Paris 1998, p. 21–48, here p. 40–41.

Thus, I am inclined to locate the creation of this manuscript in a contact zone (probably peripheral) between communities (Greek, Arabic and Latin) in the Mediterranean basin, predominantly Latin: could it be Crete? The Morea? If Minas Minoidis had found the manuscript in continental Greece – and there is some evidence for that, as we shall see – one might consider this last region, but we do not know if Arabic manuscripts were in circulation there. Cyprus (and to a certain extent Rhodes) is also a possibility, given the connections between Arabic, Latin and Greek communities on the island, as well as the flourishing medical school of nearby Damascus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³⁹

What do we know of the subsequent story of the manuscript? A cautious examination of the book shows that it has Greek notes from at least two other later hands, which is an element of interest. Moreover, the manuscript has, on fol. 22v and 23r, two marks of ownership of a certain John Palaiologos (Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιόλογος), perhaps from the fifteenth century according to the writing, entirely different from that of the main copyist, despite their identical names⁴⁰. Such a family name arouses in many respects curiosity, though I have not yet been able to identify it with a historical figure: there are many Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιόλογος and it would demand very cautious work on prosopography, combined with an analysis of the writing, to obtain firm results.

The next chronological milestone is Minas Minoidis (1788 or 1798–1859), a flamboyant character, Greek professor, adventurer and scholar who carried out, on behalf of the French Government, three missions in the Near East from 1840 to 1855 to acquire manuscripts.⁴¹ The archives and correspondance of Minas should

³⁹ On this question, see the recent contribution by Marie Cronier on a Greek medical manuscript of the Austrian National Library of Vienna (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, med. gr. 21, fourteenth century), probably produced in Cyprus or, but less probably, Rhodes: MARIE CRONIER, « Le copiste du *Vindob. med. gr. 21* (XIV^e s.), un traducteur de l'arabe au grec », in MARIE CRONIER, BRIGITTE MONDRAIN (eds.), *Le livre manuscrit grec: écritures, matériaux, histoire. Actes du IX^e Colloque international de Paléographie grecque, Paris, 10–15 septembre 2018*, Association des amis du centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Paris 2021 (Travaux et mémoires 24/1), p. 279–304. However, the Vienna manuscript and our Paris manuscript are quite different from a codicological point of view.

⁴⁰ Note on fol. 22v: τὸ παρὸν χαρτίον εἶναι ἐμοῦ ἰωάννου τοῦ | παλαιολόγου +; note on fol. 23r, same hand: ἱατροσόφιν καλὸ ἐμοῦ.

⁴¹ On Minas Minoidis, see the study by Henri Omont: HENRI OMONT, « Minoïde Mynas et ses missions en Orient (1840–1855) », *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France*, 40 (1916), p. 337–421. More recently, see also DANIELLE GOUREVITCH, « Minoïde Mynas, un 'drôle de pistolet': érudition, escroquerie et histoire politique autour de l'indépendance de la Grèce, à propos de la 'Gymnastique' de Philostrate », in VÉRONIQUE BOUDON-MILLOT, ANTONIO GARZYA, JACQUES JOUANNA, AMNERIS ROSELLI (eds.), *Ecdotica e ricezione dei testi medici greci. Atti del V Convegno Internazionale, Napoli 1–2 ottobre 2004*, M. D'Auria, Napoli 2006 (Collectanea, 24), p. 481–503 and ZISIS MELISSAKIS, « 'Monsieur le Ministre, je fais un catalogue de la bibliothèque de chaque couvent': Minas

be thoroughly examined in the hope to find a clue as to where he could have found the manuscript: research into the material published by Omont does not allow one to advance further; one learns only that the manuscript appears in an inventory, drawn up by Minas, of books he had temporarily left at « MM. Abbott frères à Salonique » on 15 August 1842.⁴² An investigation into the origin of the other manuscripts in this inventory could help to determine one or several possible places. It is well known that Minas spent a lot of time in the Mount Athos monasteries, whence he took a great number of manuscripts, including medical ones (in particular from the rich monastery of Lavra), but there is no evidence that our manuscript comes from there.

The rest of the Romanesque story of manuscripts acquired by Minas is well known:⁴³ Minas sent two shipments to France, the first one of eleven manuscripts on 18 November 1842, the other of forty-five manuscripts on 5 August 1844.⁴⁴ Most of his findings remained at his residence in Paris, for reasons that have not yet been clarified. It was only after his death, especially during the inheritance process on 5 May 1860, that the manuscripts he had kept were classified in an inventory by an official receiver. They should have been sold by 14 May but the day before, the ministry of public instruction seized the eighty volumes that had been described in the inventory; they were deposited in the Bibliothèque Mazarine on 16 May before joining, almost four years later, on 12 February 1864, the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Despite all that, around thirty manuscripts still remained untraceable, kept in the house of the son of one of Minas's creditors. They were found in 1898 and were once and for all put in the Bibliothèque nationale. Our manuscript belongs to the selection which was at Minas's residence, then seized by the ministry: it was already in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale in 1869, in the catalogue made by Emmanuel Miller and Carle Wescher. Most importantly, it is found in the abridged copy by Charles Daremberg (1817–1872, historian of medicine and then librarian at the Bibliothèque Mazarine) of a now lost catalogue by Minas himself, that roughly

Minoidis and the First Effort to Produce Systematic Catalogues of the Libraries of Mount Athos », in ANDRÉ BINGGELI, MATTHIEU CASSIN, MARINA DETORAKI (eds.), *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, Brepols, Turnhout 2020 (Bibliologia, 54), p. 399–410.

⁴² OMONT, « Minoïde Mynas », p. 399 (Appendix III, 1). Our manuscript bears the number XXXIV, and is described as from the tenth century. The same number is found on fol. 1r of the manuscript, in the upper margin.

⁴³ See OMONT, « Minoïde Mynas », in particular p. 349–352.

⁴⁴ These manuscripts are described by Minas in the official report addressed to the ministry of public instruction: our manuscript is not there, it consequently belongs neither to the first nor the second shipping.

corresponds to the manuscripts written in the official inventory that should have been sold.⁴⁵

VII. Conclusion

MS Paris suppl. gr. 638 is a testimony of exceptional value of a translation undertaken somewhere in a peripheral region of the Mediterranean in the first half of the fourteenth century by a trilingual scholar from Constantinople. It is a new example of Arabic medical material translated into Greek, and the material in question is nothing less than one of the most famous and remarkable Arabic medieval encyclopedias. Many questions remain unresolved. Did John Dioikêtês translate the totality of this enormous work? Or only the first, theoretical part, which offered him clear, innovative data from which he could benefit the most? Is there any relation between this Greek translation and the two Latin translations (one by Constantine the African, the other by Stephen of Pisa)?

In any case, the investigation hereby proposed is merely a beginning: the translation methodology will be scrutinized, and compared to other translations from the Arabic; the Latin notes and their content will also be cautiously analyzed, as well as the other Greek marginal notes. Finally, a diplomatic edition of the Greek translation will be offered, in the hope that it will stimulate the studies of scholars in the field of Arabic medicine, on al-Majūsī and the manuscript tradition of the work, which are sorely lacking in current research.

⁴⁵ See Omont, « Minoïde Mynas », p. 399 (Appendix V), p. 411–417. This copy by Daremberg is today the MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. gr. 728, digitalized on Gallica: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8585608f/f1>>. Our manuscript, which bears the number 26, is described on fol. 32r. The description is quite interesting, since it delivers pieces of information lacking in the other notices (or different from them): the manuscript is thought to be from the eleventh century; the title of book VII is given in its entirety; John Palaiologos's possession mark of fol. 22v is quoted (albeit erroneously τότε βιβλίον ἔναι Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου).

Appendix

Text samples of each of the preserved books, in Greek and Arabic

The Arabic text of the *Kitāb al-malakī* comes from the recent edition by Khālīd Ḥarbī (= Ḥarbī), published in Alexandria in 2018;⁴⁶ it is the most recent text at our disposal. I collated this edition with that of Būlāq (= Būlāq) [1887], with which there are only a few discrepancies.⁴⁷ Finally, I collated both editions with MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ar. 2871 (a. 1261 = MS 2871),⁴⁸ which Gérard Troupeau at the time considered to be a very good manuscript, on the basis of the text samples he worked on.⁴⁹ In some cases, the Greek text is closer to the manuscript than the Arabic editions; in these instances, the manuscript's variant in footnote is in **bold**. For the Greek text, the spelling of the manuscript has been retained (especially the accents on the verb εἶναι), but I have added subscribed iotas where necessary; for the Arabic, I have respected the spelling of the edition.

Book VI, chapter 36 (end)

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 22v

Καὶ ἡμεῖς τεμοῦμεν τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν τὸν περὶ τούτου κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τόπον, καὶ ληψόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ ἐστὶν ἀνάμνησις τῶν σημείων καὶ τῶν δηλώσεων τῶν σημαινόντων τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς νόσους, τοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξερχομένων τέλειον καὶ ἀληθέστερον. Καὶ δοξαζέσθω θεὸς μήτηρ τε αὐτοῦ ἢ πανεύδοξα θεότοκος τιμάσθω καὶ ὑμνήσθω διὰ παντός.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 2, p. 356 = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٢٥٢ (= 252) = MS 2871, fol. 109v, 111r (fol. 110 is misplaced)

⁴⁶ AL-MAJŪSĪ, *Kāmil šināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, 6 vol., ed. KHĀLID ḤARBĪ, Dār al-wafāʾ li-dunyā al-ṭibāʿa wa-al-nashr, Al-Iskandariyya 2018.

⁴⁷ AL-MAJŪSĪ, *Kāmil šināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, 2 vol., Būlāq 1877.

⁴⁸ The manuscript is available on Gallica: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11002062z/>>, accessed August 2021. The foliotation, modern and Western, has been given as it would have been for a Western manuscript which is read from left to right. As a consequence, the folio numbers are systematically placed in the upper margin or the right-hand folio, when the reader has the volume open before him, whereas they should be on the left folio. Thus, below, fol. 20v = folium on which one finds the number 20.

⁴⁹ GÉRARD TROUPEAU, « Les manuscrits du *Kāmil šināʿa* à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris », in BURNETT, JACQUART, *Constantine the African*, p. 48–56, here p. 55 : « En cas d'une édition critique du *Kāmil aṣ-šināʿa*, je crois qu'il faudrait prendre en considération certains manuscrits anciens de la collection parisienne, en particulier le très bon manuscrit de la première partie, le MS 2871 ».

ونحن نقطع كلامنا في⁵⁰ هذا الموضوع ونأخذ فيما يتلوه وهو ذكر الدلائل والعلامات التي تدل⁵¹ على سائر العلل والأمراض ليكون كلامنا في الأمور الخارجة عن الأمر الطبيعي تاما واضحا والله المسؤول على⁵² معونتنا على تمام ما نقصد إليه إنه على ما يشاء قدير وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل⁵³.

Book VII (beginning)

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 23v

[Δ]εδηλώκαμεν τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστην τῶν συμπτωμάτων καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν διάθεσιν τῶν ποιουσῶν αὐτά, καὶ εἰσὶν αἱ νόσοι καὶ ἔστι τὸ κεφάλαιον ὃ δὴ καλοῦμεν ἐπιστήμην τῶν τῶν συμπτωμάτων αἰτιῶν. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δηλώσομεν ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ ἐκάστην τῶν νόσων καὶ τῶν συμπτωμάτων τῶν ἐπομένων αὐταῖς, καὶ εἰσὶν τὰ σημεῖα καθ' ἃ δηλοῦνται τὰ καθ' αὐτὰ καὶ ὀνομάζεται ἐκεῖνο ἐπιστήμη τῶν σημείων. Καὶ φημὶ ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν σημείων τριχῶς.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 2, p. 361 = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٢٥٢–٢٥٣ (= 252–253) = MS 2871, fol. 111v

قد بينا الحال في كل واحد من الأعراض والأسباب الفاعلة لها وهي الأمراض وهو الباب الذي سميناه علم أسباب الأمراض، ونحن نبين في هذا الموضوع كل واحد من العلل والأمراض⁵⁴ بالأعراض التابعة لها وهي الدلائل التي يستدل بها عليها ويسمى⁵⁵ ذلك علم الدلائل فنقول إن أجناس الدلائل ثلاثة⁵⁶.

Book VII, chapter 13

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 48r.

[Κ]εφάλαιον ιγ'. περὶ τῆς ποιότητος τῶν τοῦ οὐρου σημείων καὶ διαίρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως τοῦ οὐρου καὶ τοῦ σημειομένου καθ' αὐτό.

[Ὅ]τι τὰ σημεῖα τὰ λαμβανόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρου γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς ὑδατότητος τῆς διακεχυμένης τῷ κλοκίῳ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διακεκριμένου καὶ ὑφίζανοντος ἐν⁵⁷ αὐτῷ. Ἡ δὲ ὑδατότης διχῶς· εἰς χρῶμα καὶ εἰς σύστασιν. Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸ χρῶμα διασημαίνεται ἡ τῶν χυμῶν διάθεσις καὶ ἡ πέψις καὶ ἡ ἀπουσία τῆς πέψεως. Τὸ δὲ χρῶμα διαιρεῖται ἐπταχῶς· λευκόν⁵⁸, ξανθόν, ὠχρόν, πυρὸν καὶ ἐστὶ χρῶμα πυρός, ἐρυθρόν διανγές καὶ ἐστὶ χρῶμα τριχῶν κρόκου, ἐρυθρόν ζοφῶδες καὶ ἐστὶ χρῶμα αἵματος, μέλαν.

⁵⁰ add. MS 2871 ذلك من

⁵¹ MS 2871 يدل

⁵² om. MS 2871 على

⁵³ om. MS 2871 وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل

⁵⁴ MS 2871 الأمراض والعلل

⁵⁵ MS 2871 تسمى

⁵⁶ MS 2871 ثلاثة

⁵⁷ ἐν s.l.

⁵⁸ λεπτόν a.c.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 2, p. 457 = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٢٨٢ (= 282) = MS 2871, fol. 122r.

الباب الثالث عشر في كيفية الاستدلال من⁵⁹ البول و تقسيمه⁶⁰ في صفة ألوانه⁶¹ وما يدل عليه إن الاستدلال المأخوذ من البول يكون من المائية المسكوبة في القارورة ومن الشئ الذي يتميز ويرسب فيها. أما المائية فتقسم قسمين أحدهما اللون والثاني القواء، أما اللون فيستدل منه على حال الأخلاط ونضجها وعدمها للنضج⁶² واللون ينقسم إلى ستة⁶³ أقسام، وهي الأبيض والأصفر الأترجي⁶⁴ والناري وهو لون النار والأحمر الناصع وهو لون شعر الزعفران والأحمر القاني وهو لون الدم والأسود.

Book VIII, chapter 20, a few lines after the beginning

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 76r-v.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς δηλώσομεν πρῶτον τοῦ γινώσκειν ποῖα τὰ δάκνοντα, καὶ πρῶτον ὁ λυσσῶν κύων. Καὶ λέγω ὅτι τὸ φάρμακον τοῦ λυσσῶντος κυνὸς ξηρὸν καὶ ἡ πλείστη τοῦτου βλάβη γίνεται τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ. Καὶ οὕτω γίνεται ἐκ τοῦτου ὁ σπασμὸς καὶ ὁ φόβος τοῦ ὕδατος. Καὶ ὁ λυσσῶν, ὅταν δάκη τὸν ἄνθρωπον, συμβαίνει αὐτῷ συμπτώματα φαῦλα. Καὶ ὅταν οὐκ ἐπισπεύσει ὁ δηχθεὶς τὴν θεραπείαν, θνήσκει. Καὶ χρὴ πρῶτον τοῦ γινώσκειν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦτου τοῦ κυνὸς τοῦ παραφυλάσσεσθαι τοῦτον καὶ γινώσκειν ὡς ἡ δῆξις αὐτοῦ δῆξις λυσσῶντος καὶ θεραπεύειν καθ' ὃ δεῖ τοῦ θεραπεύειν αὐτό. Καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ ὅτι γίνεται ὡς μαινόμενος καὶ κωλύεται ἀπὸ τροφῆς καὶ πότου καὶ βιάζεται τῇ δίψῃ καὶ οὐ πλησιάζει τῷ ὕδατι καὶ φεύγει αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκφέρει τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξεῖσι τοῦ στόματος τοῦτου ἀφρὸς ὁμοῖος ἀφρῷ ἐξερχομένῳ ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν καμῆλων στομάτων ὅταν ὀρμῶσιν.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 3, p. 99–100 (= chap. 19) = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٣١٦ (= 316, chap. 20) = MS 2871, fol. 168r-v (chap. 20).

ونحن نبين أولا أعلام ما كان منها يعرض، وأول ذلك الكلب الكلب فأقول إن سم الكلب الكلب يابس مجفف⁶⁵ وأكثر مضرته⁶⁶ بالدماغ ولذلك صار يحدث عنه التشنج والفرع من الماء. والكلب الكلب متى عض إنسانا⁶⁷ عرضت له أعراض رديئة فمتى لم يتدارك المعضوض بعلاجه هلك. فينبغي لذلك أن تعرف أولا علامات الكلب الكلب⁶⁸ ليتوقى منه ويحذر ليعلم⁶⁹ أن نهشته⁷⁰ نهشة كلب كلب فيعالج بما ينبغي أن يعالج به، وعلامته أن يصير كالمجنون ويمتنع من الأكل والشرب

⁵⁹ في Būlāq MS 2871 ب

⁶⁰ و add. MS 2871

⁶¹ MS 2871 اللون

⁶² MS 2871 النضج

⁶³ MS 2871 سبعة

⁶⁴ MS 2871 والأترجي

⁶⁵ MS 2871 يابساً ومجففاً

⁶⁶ add. MS 2871 تكون

⁶⁷ MS 2871 الإنسان

⁶⁸ MS 2871 وينبغي أولاً أن تعرف علامات هذا الكلب

⁶⁹ MS 2871 منه ويعلم

⁷⁰ MS 2871 نهشته

ويشتد عطشه ويلتهب ولا يقرب الماء ويهرب منه ويفتح فمه ويخرج لسانه ويخرج <من> فيه ⁷¹زيد شبيه بالزيد الذي يخرج من أفواه الجمال إذا هاجت.

Book IX, chapter 35

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 128v.

[K]εφάλαιον λε'· περί τῶν παθῶν τῶν γινομένων ἐν τῇ κύστει.

[T]ὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ γινόμενα ἐν τῇ κύστει εἰσὶν ὁ γεννώμενος ἐν αὐτῇ λίθος καὶ τὸ ἀπόστημα καὶ ἡ πληγὴ καὶ ἡ στραγγουρία καὶ ἡ δυσουρία καὶ ἡ ἀκούσιος ἔκκρισις. Ὁ δὲ λίθος γεννᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν αἰτιῶν ὧν ἐπιμνήσθημεν ἐν τοῖς νεφροῖς, καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ χυμὸς ὁ παχὺς ὁ γλίσχρος καὶ ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος τῆς κύστεως καὶ ἡ στενότης τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῆς. Καὶ πλεῖστον γίνεται τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τοῖς παισὶ τῇ ὑγρότητι τῆς κράσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ὀρέξεως αὐτῶν τῆς τροφῆς, ὡς ἐμνήσθημεν πολλάκις, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς χρήσεως τῶν τροφῶν τῶν γεννωσῶν τὰ περιττώματα τὰ παχέα.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 3, p. 331 (ch. 34) = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٣٨٠ (p. 380, ch. 35) = MS 2871, fol. 152r (ch. 35).

الباب الرابع ⁷² والتلثون في العلل الحادثة في المثانة وأسبابها وعلاماتها ⁷³.
فأما العلل الحادثة في المثانة فهي الحصى المتولد فيها والورم والقرحة وتقطير البول وأسرده وخروجه من غير إرادة. أما الحصة ⁷⁴ فتولدها عن الأسباب التي ذكرناها في الكلى وهي الخلط الغليظ اللزج وحرارة جرم المثانة وضيق رقبته. وأكثر ما تحدث هذه العلة في الصبيان لرطوبة مزاجهم وشرهم وقوة شهوتهم للأغذية كما ذكرنا آنفا وكثرة ما يستعملون ⁷⁵ من الأغذية المولدة للفضول الغليظة.

Book X, chapter 1

- Greek: Paris suppl. gr. 638, fol. 140r.

[K]εφάλαιον α'· περί τῶν σημείων τῶν ἀγγελλόντων τὸ γεννησόμενον καὶ διαίρεσεως αὐτῶν.

[Φ]ημὶ ὡς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς τῶν σημείων ἐπιστήμης τῶν γεννησομένων οὐχ ἥττων τῆς ὠφελείας τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῶν ἐνεστώτων σημείων πλὴν ἔχει μείζονα τὴν ὠφέλειαν καὶ εὐτυχέστερα τὰ σφάλματα. Κακεῖνο ὡς τὰ σημεία τὰ ἀπαγγέλλοντα τὴν δυνησομένην νόσον ταῦτα γίνεται ἐν τοῖς ὑγίεσι σώμασι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγγέλλει σωτηρίαν τῆς νόσου, τὰ δὲ ἀγγέλλει

⁷¹ MS 2871 ويسيل من فمه

⁷² Būlāq + MS 2871 الخامس

⁷³ deest in MS 2871 في العلل ... علاماتها

⁷⁴ MS 2871 الحصى

⁷⁵ MS 2871 يستعملونه

⁷⁶ Būlāq في

φαιλότῃ τῆς νόσου καὶ σφάλμα⁷⁷, τὰ δ' ἀγγέλλει ἀπώλειαν. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τρία εὐρίσκεται ἐν τοῖς νοσοῦσι⁷⁸ σώμασι.

- Arabic: Ḥarbī, vol. 3, p. 373 = Būlāq, vol. 1, p. ٣٩٤ (= 394) = MS 2871, fol. 170v.

الباب الأول في ذكر صفة جملة الكلام على الدلائل المنذرة وتقسيمها وأسبابها وعلاماتها⁷⁹
اعلم أرشدك الله تعالى إن الدلائل المنذرة الدالة⁸⁰ على ما هو كائن ليست هي بدون⁸¹ المنفعة بعلم العلامات الدالة على ما هو خاص بل هي تكون [أعظم⁸²] نفعا وأجل خطرا، وتلك المنذرة⁸³ منها ما ينذر لمرض⁸⁴ سيحدث وهذا يكون في أبدان الأصحاء ومنها ما قد ينذر⁸⁵ بالسلامة من المرض، ومنها ما ينذر برداءة المرض والخطر فيه، ومنها ما ينذر بالهلاك وهذه الثلاثة⁸⁶ توجد في أبدان المرضى.

⁷⁷ σφάλμα s.l., ἀπαθίαν in ras.

⁷⁸ νοσοῦσι s.l., ὑγιέσι in ras.

⁷⁹ MS 2871 الباب الأول في الدلائل المنذرة بما هو كائن وتقسيمه

⁸⁰ MS 2871 أقول إن المنفعة بعلم العلامات الدالة

⁸¹ MS 2871 ما هو كائن ليس بدون

⁸² MS 2871 بل هو أعظم بدون المنفعة

⁸³ Būlāq + MS 2871 وذلك أن العلامات المنذرة

⁸⁴ MS 2871 بمرض

⁸⁵ MS 2871 ينشر

⁸⁶ MS 2871 ثلاثة

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OUT OF MARAGHA: OBSERVATIONS, TEACHINGS, AND TRANSLATIONS

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Abstract

This paper examines the context for the Greek translations and adaptations of Islamic astronomical works which came out of Maragha and Tabriz at the end of the thirteenth century. It discusses the observation programs and the teaching activities of astronomers at the Maragha Observatory in order to shed light on the relation of the translated texts to the intellectual activities at the observatory and to the broader picture of education in the astral sciences in these two cities. The paper argues that astronomical education in these centers drew from a combination of more established teaching texts and of newer works by the astronomers and teachers at the observatory, and that the selection of sources that received translations and adaptations in Greek was motivated by the particular needs of the Byzantine student or students in question.

Key Words

Astronomy, Gregory Chioniades, Maragha Observatory, education.



The end of the thirteenth century saw a variety of texts and tables enter into Greek from Arabic and Persian astronomical works. Many of these have been attributed to the Byzantine scholar Gregory Chioniades, who is reported to have travelled to Persia, studied astronomy there, and brought back works which he translated into Greek.

In general throughout the medieval period, translations of Islamic astronomical material into Byzantine Greek were scattered and variously motivated – while a source text may be identified, the context in which it entered Greek is often unknown. It is a different story for this grouping of translations and adaptations from the thirteenth century. Several of them speak to having come from teaching contexts in Tabriz, the Ilkhānīd capital. All of them entered Greek in the half century after the founding of a significant and long-lived observatory in Tabriz's neighboring city, Maragha. This small cluster of Greek translations serve as a case where something can be said about the context of the translations.

While scholarship on this cluster of translations has acknowledged these teaching contexts, there has been little examination into what form astronomical teaching in thirteenth-century Tabriz and Maragha actually took. What kinds of texts might be taught to the student of astronomy in Maragha and Tabriz? To what extent did those pedagogical texts present the most up-to-date astronomical data that was available from work at the Maragha Observatory? And to what extent do the texts that received translation into Greek reflect those pedagogical texts?

Section I of this paper will offer a brief historical overview of astronomical activities in thirteenth-century Maragha and Tabriz. Section II will introduce the cluster of relevant Greek translations and the Arabic and Persian sources behind them. Sections III, IV, and V will show how these intellectual centers brought together scholars who engaged in both astronomical observation and teaching. It will be seen that there was a wealth of new astronomical data available from the efforts of the same individuals who taught the astral sciences and who wrote didactic texts on the subject. The astronomical texts taught in these centers thus comprised a range of material. Section V will in particular highlight the example of Bar Hebraeus as an astronomical student in Maragha, since there survives evidence to show that he worked with a range of different subjects and texts within the astral sciences. The texts read by students will show that while newer works that presented the results of the latest observation programs did receive attention, other existing texts by the relevant teachers along with more established texts formed the larger part of what was taught. With this examination of the astral sciences' study in Maragha and Tabriz complete, section VI will return to the cluster of translations that entered into Greek out of this pedagogical context. It will show how the texts that were translated fit into the picture developed in the prior sections. It will furthermore argue that the particular selection of texts that the Byzantine student or students studied (and ultimately translated and adapted) was likely motivated by the particular needs of that student or those students in question.

I. Historical Background: Maragha and Tabriz

Maragha Observatory was founded in 1259 by the order of the Ilkhānid ruler Hülagü Khan. Its establishment is set against a backdrop of Hülagü Khan's ongoing campaigns in Western Asia. In 1258 the Ilkhānids had captured Baghdad and conquered the fractured 'Abbāsīd Caliphate; in 1260 their conquests in Syria brought an end to the Ayyūbid dynasty. The Ilkhanate united these territories and several other Muslim states of the period such as the Nizari Ismā'īlī state. Hülagü Khan established Maragha as the Ilkhanate's capital.

In the preface to his *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī reports that Hülagü Khan ordered him to observe the stars and that he and the other astronomers chose

Maragha as the site for the observatory. Biographical sources report that al-Ṭūsī, already a part of Hülagü Khan's court, had come to the khan with the request to construct an observatory in Maragha. This request was granted, and the observatory even secured *waqf* funds for its continuing activities.¹ The Maragha Observatory would bring together personnel from across the Ilkhanate.² Research at this observatory led to new astronomical tables, mathematical models, and planetary theory.³

The construction of the observatory included the construction of a library. Bar Hebraeus reports studying at this library and describes it as preserving the books of the Syrians, Arabs, and Persians.⁴ Fourteenth-century biographers report that books were collected from Baghdad, Syria, and al-Jazira; they put the number of books at the library at 400,000 volumes. While there is likely exaggeration here, the observatory library did collect books seized in the course of the Mongol

¹ For the text of the *Zij-i Ilkhānī*'s preface, see JOHN ANDREW BOYLE, « The Longer Introduction to the *Zij-i-Ilkhani* of Nasir al-Din Tusi », *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 8/2 (1963), p. 244–254. For al-Ṣafadī's report on al-Ṭūsī, see AHMAD AL ARNĀ'ŪT, TURKĪ MUṢṬAFĀ (eds.), *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, Dār Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, Beirut 2000, p. 146. The *waqf* fund is often pointed to as one of the factors which contributed to the length and success of the observatory, since with this fund it was able to persist after the death of its original patron Hülagü Khan in 1265 and its original director al-Ṭūsī in 1274. Naturally, the continuing favor of the khans remained an important factor as well: on their continuing patronage, see QIAO YANG, « Like Stars in the Sky: Networks of Astronomers in Mongol Eurasia », *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 62 (2019), p. 394.

² In the preface to the *Zij-i Ilkhānī*, al-Ṭūsī names in addition to himself four other scholars involved in the observation program at Maragha: Mu'ayyid al-Dīn 'Urḍī of Damascus, Fakhr al-Dīn Khilāṭī of Tiflis, Fakhr al-Dīn Marāghī of Mosul, and Najm al-Dīn Dabirān of Qazvīn. For this preface, see BOYLE, « The Longer Introduction to the *Zij-i-Ilkhani* of Nasir al-Din Tusi », p. 246. This is not a comprehensive list of all the figures involved in observation programs in Maragha – it makes no mention of astronomers such as Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Maghribī or, later, Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī. In addition, far more individuals were present in the observatory in other capacities: teachers, students, librarians, scribes, and scholars of non-astronomical subjects. The biographical dictionary *Talkhiṣ Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb* by the observatory's librarian, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, offers insight into many of these figures. For the edition, see MUHAMMAD AL-KAZIM (ed.), *Talkhiṣ Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*, Vezarat-e Farhang va Ershad-e Eslami, Tehran 1955. Unfortunately the treatise survives only partially and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's other works on the observatory are no longer extant.

³ As is frequently the case for the astral sciences in this period, these advancements were intended to serve astrological purposes. This is supported by an anecdote about Hülagü Khan's initial reluctance to build the observatory where al-Ṭūsī responds by stressing that the astral sciences are valuable for the foreknowledge they provide. He provides the khan with an example to show that this foreknowledge is beneficial even if one cannot change what would come to pass. See AYDIN SAYILI, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1960, p. 202. The anecdote in question appears in AL ARNĀ'ŪT, MUṢṬAFĀ (eds.), *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, p. 147.

⁴ BAR HEBRAEUS, *The Chronography of Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, trans. ERNEST WALLIS BUDGE, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1932, p. 2.

conquest, leading to a significant collection.⁵ While the library was associated with the observatory, these descriptions make it clear that its contents were not limited to works on the astral sciences. This library would have served to attract scholars to Maragha just as the experts located at the site did.

The city of Tabriz, approximately 77 km north of Maragha, came to replace it as the capital of the Ilkhanate during the reign of Abaqā Khan (r. 663–680/1265–1282). Tabriz saw the growth of its own scholarly community: several scholars practiced in the astral sciences settled and engaged in teaching there, as is evidenced by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and his students and by Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī and Chioniades.⁶ In 1300, Ghāzān Khan ordered the construction of an observatory in Tabriz after visiting Maragha and being impressed by the astronomical activities there.⁷ Unfortunately nothing is known about what observations or other activities were carried out at the observatory in Tabriz.

This paper considers Maragha and Tabriz together as related intellectual centers. While several of the Greek translations discussed in this paper are known to derive from their translator's studies at Tabriz, the Maragha Observatory was the center of gravity that had first amassed astronomical expertise and produced new data and theories in the latter half of the thirteenth century. As will be seen, multiple individuals who worked in Maragha spent time or settled in Tabriz. They contributed to the transmission of material out of Maragha.

II. *The Islamic Sources of the Greek Translations and Adaptions*

Groupings of astronomical and astrological treatises derived from Islamic sources appear in several Greek manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards.⁸ The treatises which receive focus in this article are the following:

⁵ As recorded in al-Ṣafādī and al-Kutubī. See in the respective editions AL ARNĀ'ŪṬ and MUṢṬAFĀ (eds.), *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, p. 146 and 'ĀDİL AḤMAD 'ABD AL-MAWJŪD (ed.), *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Dar al Kotob al ilmiyah, Beirut 2000, p. 251. Unfortunately, little evidence is available regarding the sizes of library collections in this period. The exception is the catalogue of the Ashrafiya library in thirteenth-century Damascus. Hirschler describes its collection of 2000 books as a « remarkably large collection for an unremarkable library in Damascus »; see KONRAD HIRSCHLER, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library. The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2016, p. 3. Since Maragha's library contained the collections of Baghdad among other cities, it should be expected to be at least an order of magnitude larger.

⁶ YANG, « Like Stars in the Sky », p.395–396. Al-Shīrāzī's *Fa'alta fa-lā talum* seems to suggest a network of scholars present in Tabriz: see RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 235.

⁷ See Rashīd al-Dīn's report in MUḤAMMAD RAWSHAN, MUṢṬAFĀ MŪSAVĪ (eds.), *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, vol. II, Alborz, Tehran 1994, p. 1296 and 1340.

⁸ Three of the significant manuscripts for the texts discussed here are Rome, Vaticanus graecus 211 (before 1308 CE), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.17 (1323 CE), and Rome,

1. a translation of the *Zīj al-‘Alā’i*,⁹
2. a translation of the *Zīj al-Sanjari*,¹⁰
3. the *Persian Syntaxis* of Chrysokokkes (ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν σύνταξιν τῶν Περσῶν), possibly based on several *zīj*es,
4. the *Revised Canons*, which depends on several *zīj*es,¹¹
5. the *Schemata of the Stars* (περὶ τῶν σχημάτων τῶν ἀστέρων), perhaps drawn from a *hay’a* treatise,¹²
6. a translation of a work on the astrolabe (ποίημα τοῦ Σιάμψ τοῦ Πέρσου περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἀστρολάβου),¹³
7. and *On the Genethiological Computation* (περὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ψήφου τοῦ γενεθλιαλογικοῦ), showing a worked example of a horoscope for an individual born on 25 August 1268 in Tabriz.¹⁴

Several of the works in this list are *zīj*es, i.e., astronomical handbooks which provided tables and procedures for calculating the positions of the sun, moon, and planets. These were a standard genre of the Islamic astral sciences. Conversely, *hay’a* treatises dealt with cosmographical subjects, focusing more on geometrical models and the configuration of the universe. The following overview will highlight the Arabic and Persian sources that have been identified or proposed for each of these Greek translations and adaptations. This will allow for a comparison of these works with what texts the Islamic sources show were being used for astronomical study in Maragha and Tabriz.

The *Zīj al-‘Alā’i* was an originally Arabic text that was composed in the twelfth century by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shīrwānī al-Fahhād (fl. 575/1180). Al-Fahhād is reported to have composed five *zīj*es in addition to this, but none of these six *zīj*es

Vaticanus graecus 1058 (14th–15th cent.). They are described in DAVID PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, vol. I: *The Zīj al-‘Alā’i*, Gieben, Amsterdam 1986, p. 23–28.

⁹ For the edition and discussion, see *ibid.*, p. 36–243.

¹⁰ For the edition and discussion, see JOSEPH GERARD LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjari* of Gregory Chioniades: Text, Translation and Greek to Arabic Glossary », Ph.D. Diss., Brown University 2004.

¹¹ For the edition and discussion, see PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 21–22 and 260–333.

¹² For the edition and discussion, see EMMANUEL A. PASCHOS, PANAGIOTIS SOTIROUDIS, *The Schemata of the Stars, Byzantine Astronomy from A. D. 1300*, World Scientific, Singapore 1998.

¹³ For the text of the preface and discussion of the treatise, see ELIZABETH A. FISHER, « Arabs, Latins, and Persians Bearing Gifts: Greek Translations of Astrolabe Treatises, ca. 1300 », *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 36/2 (2012), p. 168–175.

¹⁴ For the edition, see PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 242–259.

are extant today. A report from a later *zīj* by al-Fārisī records that the data in the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* was based on observations made in 541/1176.¹⁵

The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* was written in the twelfth century by Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī (fl. 509/1115), the Greek slave of Shaykh al-‘Amīd al-Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Khāzin. In 1131 al-Khāzinī produced an epitome of this text, titled the *Wajīz*, which is the version which was translated into Greek.¹⁶

George Chrysokokkes writes that his *Persian Syntaxis* (c. 1347) made use of astronomical tables which Gregory Chioniades had translated into Greek. There has been some disagreement over exactly which tables this treatise depends on. Mercier argued that Pingree was incorrect to point to the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* as sources for the *Persian Syntaxis* and he instead put forth the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* (670/1272) as the primary source. Pingree reemphasized his position in an article responding to Mercier, holding that material was indeed drawn from the former two *zīj*es in addition to material from the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*.¹⁷ The first two *zīj*es have already been introduced; the latter *zīj* was the work of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who wrote the treatise for his patron Hülagü Khan and completed it during the reign of his successor, Abaqa Khan. It was originally composed in Persian, though al-Ṭūsī did produce an Arabic version as well. The *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* was an important product of al-Ṭūsī’s work at the observatory at Maragha, as will be discussed further below.

The *Revised Canons* draws upon several *zīj*es throughout its text, directly citing the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*, the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*, and the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*.¹⁸ Pingree sees this text as the work of Chioniades demonstrating his ability to use the tables in the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*; Ragep, conversely, notes that this might simply be the work of Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī himself.¹⁹ In any case, at least parts of the *Revised Canons* are derived from the oral teachings of Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī.²⁰

¹⁵ PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works*, p. 7–8.

¹⁶ LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of Gregory Chioniades », p. 6–8.

¹⁷ DAVID PINGREE, « Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 142; RAYMOND MERCIER, « The Greek ‘Persian Syntaxis’ and the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* », *Archives internationales d’histoire des sciences*, 34 (1984), p. 37–38. Pingree subsequently responded to Mercier’s argument in DAVID PINGREE, « In Defence of Gregory Chioniades », *Archives internationales d’histoire des sciences*, 35 (1985), p. 436–438.

¹⁸ See e.g. PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 307 and 319 for the first two and the last, respectively.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 21; F. JAMIL RAGEP, « New Light on Shams: the Islamic Side of Σάμψ Πουχάρης », in JUDITH PFEIFFER (ed.), *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, Brill, Leiden 2014, p. 236. Mozaffari raises the idea that the *Revised Canons* was part of a preliminary version of Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī’s *Zīj muḥaqqaq al-sultānī* (c. 1320), though further research is needed to establish a connection. See S. MOHAMMAD MOZAFFARI, « Astronomical Observations at the Maragha Observatory in the 1260s–1270s », *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 72 (2018), p. 593.

²⁰ See chapter 27 of the text in PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 307.

The Greek treatise *Schemata of the Stars* has a format quite like an *hay'a* treatise, albeit a rather short one.²¹ It has received some attention in the secondary scholarship because one of its manuscripts contains a diagram that closely matches the figure used by al-Ṭūsī in his demonstration of what is today called the Ṭūsī couple – an important new mathematical device with a parallel found later in Copernicus.²² This figure shows the author or translator's familiarity with a concept found first in al-Ṭūsī's edition of the *Almagest* (644/1247) and later elaborated in his *Ḥall-i Mushkilāt-i Mu'iniyye* (643/1245) and his *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (659/1260–1).²³ This figure and other similarities that are present in the text have caused some scholars to posit that the *Schemata of the Stars* was a translation of an Arabic work related to al-Ṭūsī's *Tadhkira*. The recent editors of the *Schemata of the Stars* see it instead as an original work by a Byzantine author who was adapting and extending Islamic astronomical material. Ragep argues that it is a translation of fragments of earlier treatises written in Persian by al-Ṭūsī: his *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya* (632/1235) and its appendix, the *Ḥall-i Mushkilāt-i Mu'iniyye*.²⁴ If this is correct, then the *Schemata of the Stars*'s apparent similarity to the *Tadhkira* is a result of it drawing on earlier works by al-Ṭūsī whose theories and models would be finalized in the later text.

The treatise on the astrolabe listed above was translated from an Islamic work: it displays both transliterated vocabulary and topics relevant to the Muslim hours

²¹ RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 238.

²² The manuscript in question is Vaticanus graecus 211, and the figure appears on fol. 116r. For discussion of this mathematical device, see MARIO DI BONO, « Copernicus, Amico, Fracastoro and Ṭūsī's Device: Observations on the Use and Transmission of a Model », *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 16 (1995), p. 133–154 and F. JAMIL RAGEP, « The Origins of the Ṭūsī-Couple Revisited », in ALEXANDER JONES and CHRISTIÁN CARMAN (eds.), *Instruments – Observations – Theories: Studies in the History of Astronomy in Honor of James Evans*, New York University Faculty Digital Archive, New York 2020, p. 229–237.

²³ GEORGE SALIBA, EDWARD STEWART KENNEDY, « The Spherical Case of the Ṭūsī Couple », *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 1 (1991), p. 286. For the dating of the *Tahrir al-majisti* and the *Tadhkira*, see GEORGE SALIBA, « The Role of Almagest Commentaries in Medieval Arabic Astronomy: A Preliminary Survey of Ṭūsī's Redaction of Ptolemy's Almagest », *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 37/118 (1987), p. 5–6. For the dating of the *Ḥall-i Mushkilāt-i Mu'iniyye*, see RAGEP, « The Origins of the Ṭūsī-Couple Revisited », p. 229.

²⁴ For the relation to the *Tadhkira*, see NOEL M. SWERDLOW, OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's De Revolutionibus*, vol. I, Springer, New York 1984, p. 47–48. Swerdlow and Neugebauer assume this to be a translation by Chioniades. For the argument that it is an original composition, see PASCHOS, SOTIROUDIS, *The Schemata of the Stars*, p. 16–17. They follow PINGREE, « Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy » in noting Chioniades as the likely candidate, though acknowledge that there is no definitive evidence. For the argument that it translates the *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya*, see RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 240–242. For further details on the *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya* and the *Ḥall-i Mushkilāt-i Mu'iniyye*, see F. JAMIL RAGEP, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a)*, vol. I, Springer Science+Business Media, New York: 1993, p. 65–70.

of prayer. The translator's name is preserved as Σιάμψ τοῦ Πέρσου in the title and preface. If this is Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, it is not impossible that he was the author of the original work as well.²⁵

On the Genethiological Computation lastly is an example of a worked horoscope. It uses the example of an individual born in Tabriz in 1268. Pingree presumes that Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī was the original author.²⁶

This overview of the sources shows that they are primarily astrological material: zijes, worked problems, a text on the astrolabe, and a horoscope. Cosmography is covered by the *hay'a* text. Most of these treatises rely on tables and numerical parameters – parameters which could be updated and improved through observation programs, such as the ones that had already been completed at the Maragha Observatory.

Despite this, the sources listed above are largely not the most recent and up-to-date astronomical works. By the time Gregory Chioniades (or perhaps any of his contemporaries) would have come to Tabriz in the 1290s, the *Zīj al-'Alā'i* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* were already a century or more old. The *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya* was sixty years old, written prior to al-Ṭūsī's time in Maragha, and already superseded by the updated *Tadhkira*. Even the product of al-Ṭūsī's Maragha observations, the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, makes less use of astronomical observations than another *zīj* available at the time, as will be discussed below.

III. Three Scholars at Maragha and Tabriz

Key scholars at Maragha and later Tabriz were involved both in new astronomical research (updating parameters through observational activities) and in didactic activities (producing editions of curricular texts and teaching). The following brief overviews of three astronomers in particular – Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī, and Shams al-Dīn al-Wābkanawī (plausibly Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī) – will introduce relevant aspects of their astronomical activities and how they came to work at Maragha. The subsequent sections will discuss their observational activities and the experience of their students in more detail.

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) came from Tus, was educated in Mosul and previously worked in the Nizari state.²⁷ He acquired a respected position in Hülagü Khan's court after the khan conquered the Nizari Ismā'īlī fortress at Alamut in

²⁵ FISHER, « Arabs, Latins, and Persians bearing gifts », p. 168–170. There does exist a Persian treatise on the astrolabe, *Kitāb-i Ma'rifat-i usṭurlāb-i shamālī* by Shams al-Dīn al-Wābkanawī (who has been plausibly identified as Shams al-Bukhārī, as will be elaborated below). It is possible that this was the source of the Greek translation, but this has not yet been confirmed: see RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 243–244.

²⁶ PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 21; RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 16.

²⁷ For a recent overview on al-Ṭūsī, see RAGEP, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy*, p. 3–23.

1256. By this time al-Ṭūsī was already accomplished in the astral sciences: prior to this date he had written works such as his *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya* and his edition of the *Almagest*. Indeed, during his time in the Nizari state he additionally produced his own editions of Euclid's *Elements* and the Middle Books (*Kutub al-Mutawassitāt*), the latter of which was a series of texts which had a history of being studied between Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*.²⁸ As noted, al-Ṭūsī's output at Maragha included his *Tadhkira* as well as his *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, the latter of which presented the results of his observation program. He wrote in both Arabic and Persian.

Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī (d. 682/1283) was responsible for the second major *zīj* to come out of observations at Maragha: the *Adwār al-anwār* (675/1276–7). He came from al-Andalus and previously worked in Syria under the Ayyūbids, where he composed his first *zīj*.²⁹ Al-Maghribī was captured during Hülagü Khan's campaigns in Syria in 1260 and it was his expertise with the astral sciences which saved his life, according to the account which he himself told to Bar Hebraeus. Upon hearing about al-Maghribī's astronomical expertise, Hülagü Khan sent him to Maragha to take part in the work there.³⁰ Like al-Ṭūsī, al-Maghribī's work at Maragha included both observations and teaching. He wrote in Arabic.

A figure similarly involved in observations, *zīj* writing, and teaching was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Khwāja al-Wābkanawī. Recent studies have plausibly identified this figure with the Shams al-Bukhārī who taught Gregory Chionides in Tabriz.³¹ He hailed from the small village of Wābkana near Bukhārā. He was present at the observatory by 1272, as is evidenced by an astronomical observation

²⁸ For al-Ṭūsī's description of the Middle Books, see AL-ṬŪSĪ, « Kitāb Mānālāwus », *Majmū' al-rasā'il*, vol. II, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1939–40, p. 2. He completed his edition of the *Elements* in 646/1248, as is recorded in the edition's colophon. (See for example British Library Add MS 23387, fol. 216v) Colophons in the manuscripts of al-Ṭūsī's *Tahrīr al-Mutawassitāt* show dates of completion between 651–653/1253–1255. According to Kātip Çelebi, the edition of Menelaus's *Spherics* was completed later in 663/1265 (hence, during al-Ṭūsī's time at Maragha); see GUSTAV LEBRECHT FLÜGEL (ed.), *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallach Katib Jelebi, dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa, celebrato compositum*, vol. I, Printed for The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain & Ireland, London 1835, p. 391.

²⁹ For more on Muḥyī al-Milla wa al-Dīn Yaḥyā Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Shukr al-Maghribī al-Andalusī, see e.g. IBN AL-FUWAṬĪ, *Talkhiṣ Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb*, vol. V, p. 115; GEORGE SALIBA, « An Observational Notebook of a Thirteenth-Century Astronomer », *Isis*, 74/3 (1983), p. 391–392; and MERCÈ COMES, « Ibn Abī al-Shukr », in *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer, New York 2014.

³⁰ See the account by Bar Hebraeus in ANṬŪN ṢĀLIḤĀNĪ AL-YASŪ'Ī (ed.), *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, al-Maṭba'a al-Kāthulīkiyah li l-Ābā' al-Yasū'īyīn, Beirut 1958, p. 280–281.

³¹ For an overview, see BENNO VAN DALEN, « Wābkanawī », in *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 2014. On the identification of Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī with al-Wābkanawī, see MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 53 and RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 243–245.

he reports making in Maragha during that year.³² If indeed the Shams al-Dīn al-Wābkanawī known from the Islamic sources can be identified with the Shams al-Bukhārī of the Greek sources, then he would have been 18 at the time of this observation.³³ Al-Bukhārī therefore numbered among the next generation of scholars at the observatory. He worked in both Maragha and Tabriz.³⁴ Like al-Ṭūsī and al-Maghribī, al-Bukhārī's astronomical work and observations led to the production of a *zīj*, the *Zīj muḥaqqaq al-sultānī* (completed between 716–736 / 1316–1335). Al-Wābkanawī worked in both Arabic and Persian, though it is possible he wrote more in the latter language. Despite the Arabic title of his *zīj*, its text is in Persian.³⁵

IV. The Observation Programs at Maragha³⁶

The biographer al-Ṣafadī presents a report from al-Ṭūsī which summarizes the history of astronomical observations leading up to the work at Maragha. He lists the observations of Hipparchus, those of Ptolemy, those for al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad, those of al-Battānī in Syria, those for al-Ḥākimī in Egypt, and those of Ibn al-A'lam in Baghdad. Al-Ṭūsī then notes that the latter two are the best of the listed observations, but are themselves over two hundred and fifty years old.³⁷ With this record of significant observations, al-Ṭūsī situates the work at Maragha as the latest in a long history and as a necessary update to astronomical data that was two and a half centuries out of date.

The report preserved in al-Ṣafadī additionally notes that a full observation program should properly extend for thirty years, as this is the time required for all planets to have completed their revolutions. However, Hūlagū Khan desired the observations be completed in twelve years and so al-Ṭūsī sought to do so. This is

³² MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 53.

³³ Shams al-Bukhārī's date of birth is recorded as 11 June 1254; see PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chionides*, p. 16.

³⁴ MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 49, fn. 9 discusses datable observations made by the astronomer that show he made observations at Maragha both before and after the years he is known to have been in Tabriz.

³⁵ As noted in VAN DALEN, « Wābkanawī ». The text has not yet been edited. Al-Wābkanawī also is known for a treatise on the astrolabe written in Persian. He has additionally been raised as a possible author for a Persian treatise on observational instruments: see MOZAFFARI and ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 80.

³⁶ This section will focus on Maragha since, as noted above, nothing is known about the activities at the Tabriz Observatory.

³⁷ AL ARNĀ'ŪT and MUṢṬAFĀ (eds.), *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, p. 150. The relevant *zīj*es in this list are Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr's *al-Zīj al-Ma'mūnī al-mumtaḥan* (9th century), al-Battānī's *Kitāb al-Zīj* (10th century), Ibn Yūnus's *al-Zīj al-kabīr al-Ḥākimī* (c. 1000), and Ibn al-A'lam's *zīj* (variously known as *al-Zīj al-Aḍudī*, *al-Zīj al-Sharīf*, and *al-Zīj al-Baghdādī*) (10th century).

perhaps intended as an explanation for why the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* was produced in 1272, after only twelve years of work at the observatory. Al-Bukhārī similarly stresses that the *zījes* from Maragha available to him had not accomplished a thirty-year observation program.³⁸

Recent scholarship has shown that there were three observation programs which occurred at Maragha. These included observations by al-Ṭūsī and observatory staff made through 1272, which were used in the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*; al-Maghribī's observations between 1262 and 1274, which were used in his *Adwār al-anwār*; and al-Bukhārī's observations between 1272 and 1305–6, which were used in his *Zīj muḥaqqaq al-sultānī*. Al-Bukhārī's observations were intended to test al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and al-Maghribī's *Adwār al-anwār*.³⁹

The *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* is usually viewed as the major product of the observatory at Maragha. Much of it, however, is derived from older material (the *zījes* of Ibn Yūnus and Ibn al-A'lam). Further, soon after it was produced it faced criticism from astronomers like al-Bukhārī, who found al-Maghribī's *Adwār al-anwār* to produce more accurate results.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, certain values for parameters in the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* are not found in earlier *zījes* and do appear to derive from observations made at Maragha. These would be the observations made by al-Ṭūsī and the observatory staff – the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* does not include values derived from any of al-Maghribī's observations. While the observation programs overlapped, they appear to have been distinct endeavors.⁴¹

It is notable that material from the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* saw transmission into Greek, while that from the *Adwār al-anwār* did not. The latter had already been written for nearly twenty years by the time Chionides (or any of his contemporaries) were in Tabriz in 1295, so the difference is not due to timing. But it is the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* whose tables influenced parts of the *Persian Syntaxis*, and it is the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* which is cited in the *Revised Canons*. The *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, unlike the *Adwār al-anwār*, was available in

³⁸ In his *al-Zīj al-muḥaqqaq*; see SAYILI, *The observatory in Islam*, p. 212–213 and RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 233–234.

³⁹ On the observations by al-Ṭūsī and staff, see EDWARD S. KENNEDY, « A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables », *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 46/2 (1956), p. 161–162, 169. On those by al-Maghribī, see e.g. SALIBA, « An Observational Notebook of a Thirteenth-Century Astronomer » and MOZAFFARI, « Astronomical observations at the Maragha observatory in the 1260s–1270s ». On the observations by al-Bukhārī, see MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 ». Ibid., p. 61–63 provides important updates to the narrative of Maragha Observatory's later history that had been presented in SAYILI, *The observatory in Islam*.

⁴⁰ SAYILI, *The observatory in Islam*, p. 214. On al-Bukhārī's criticisms, see MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 64.

⁴¹ The parameters which appear to derive from new observations include values for the longitude of solar apogee, one of the star tables, and the radius of the epicycle of Mars: see *ibid.*, p. 56–57. On the absence of any of al-Maghribī's values, see MOZAFFARI, « Astronomical Observations at the Maragha Observatory in the 1260s–1270s », p. 595.

Persian, and perhaps this is one factor that encouraged the former's transmission and discouraged the latter's. But as will be seen below, al-Bukhārī was quite capable of teaching an Arabic treatise using the Persian language. His own work shows enough expertise with (and partiality to) the *Adwār al-anwār* that he might have been expected to have taught it.

Meanwhile, the *Zīj muḥaqqaq al-sultānī* would not be completed until after 1316 (based on its dedication to Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan), twenty years after the time in which al-Bukhārī was known to be teaching in Tabriz. It naturally would not have been among the materials transmitted into Greek in the 1290s. Al-Bukhārī did compile an earlier and preliminary version of this *zīj* for Sultan Öljaitü (r. 1304–1316), but this too was finished after his dated teaching activities.⁴²

Instead, the *zījes* which saw translation into Greek – the *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* – were ones which had been written over a century ago. The reasons for this might be better understood by considering the teaching activities which were ongoing in Maragha and Tabriz.⁴³

V. Students at Maragha and Tabriz

Sources speak of numerous students at the Maragha Observatory. Many of these were attached to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, though their studies persisted after his death, as the report about Abaqā Khan funding them afterwards shows.⁴⁴

Several of al-Ṭūsī's students are known by name: an example can be found in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who studied astronomy under him.⁴⁵ An impression of some of the texts al-Shīrāzī must have read under al-Ṭūsī can be gleaned from the student's subsequent works as well as from manuscript evidence. Al-Ṭūsī's edition of the *Almagest* was evidently one of these works studied, and the multiple early manuscript copies in al-Shīrāzī's hand or copied from his hand show

⁴² See MOZAFFARI, ZOTTI, « The Observational Instruments at the Maragha Observatory after AD 1300 », p. 52. The dating for al-Bukhārī's teaching in Tabriz is dependent on the datable examples used in the Greek *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* and the *Revised Canons*, discussed below.

⁴³ A different possible explanation – that Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī intentionally did not teach Chioniades the most up-to-date astronomy – has been raised in RAGEP, « New Light on Shams », p. 237, 243. The suggestion comes from Chrysokokkes's prologue to his *Persian Syntaxis*, where Chrysokokkes relates the claim that the Persians generally did not permit astronomy to be taught to foreigners due to an ancient story that the Romans would use astronomical knowledge acquired from the Persians to overthrow them. For the prologue, see HERMANN USENER, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, in *Kleine Schriften*, vol. III, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1914, p. 356–357.

⁴⁴ SAYILI, *The observatory in Islam*, p. 219. Bar Hebraeus's *Chronography* reports al-Ṭūsī allotting stipends to the teachers and students under him during his lifetime: see BAR HEBRAEUS, *The Chronography of Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, p. 451.

⁴⁵ IBN AL-FUWATĪ, *Talkhiṣ Majmaʿ al-ʿĀdāb fī Muʿjam al-Alqāb*, vol. III, p. 440–441. While in Maragha, al-Shīrāzī also benefited from studies with the philosopher Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī and the astronomer Muʿayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī.

that al-Shīrāzī contributed to the broader circulation of this edition after he left Maragha.⁴⁶ Al-Shīrāzī also studied the *Tadhkira* under his teacher: a colophon to a manuscript of the *Tadhkira* copied from al-Shīrāzī's own copy reports that the scholar had read it back to al-Ṭūsī. The *Tadhkira* proved to be an important influence on al-Shīrāzī's subsequent astronomical works.⁴⁷

Among other intellectuals who spent time at Maragha and/or Tabriz, the most notable in terms of distance would be the Chinese astronomer Fao Munji – he is reported to have worked with al-Ṭūsī and is likely the source of the Chinese calendar which is found in al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and al-Maghribī's *Adwār al-anwār*.⁴⁸ The Syriac scholar Gregory Bar Hebraeus made several visits to Maragha and appears to have engaged in astronomical study during these, as will be examined below. And of course, the Byzantine Gregory Chionides came to Tabriz for the purpose of astronomical study. This is not an exhaustive list, and others whose names have been lost to the passage of time passed through the observatory as well.⁴⁹ Bar Hebraeus for instance mentions al-Ṭūsī's circles as comprising wise men from numerous countries.⁵⁰ A couple decades later the cosmopolitan nature of Ghāzān Khan's (r. 694–704/1295–1304) court was presented as a point of pride when Rashīd al-Dīn wrote that « philosophers, astronomers, scholars, and historians of all religions and nations – Cathay, Machin, India, Kashmir, Tibet, Uyghur, and other nations of Turks, Arabs, and Franks – are gathered in droves at our glorious court ».⁵¹

Some of the work at Maragha Observatory seems to have been accomplished with these broader audiences in mind. Notably, the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* circulates with a preface which does not presume a Muslim audience. In it, the scholar takes the time to summarize the rise of Islam and explain such details as the fact that Muḥammad was a native of Mecca.⁵² The *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* furthermore was first written in Persian, with the Arabic translation following after. This choice to use Persian –

⁴⁶ E.g. Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 3637 (691/1292), Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2941 (684/1285), and Bibliothèque nationale de France ar. 2485 (9th / 15th century).

⁴⁷ On al-Shīrāzī's authorized copy of the *Tadhkira*, see RAGEP, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy*, p. 72–73 and 78. On the influence of the *Tadhkira* on his works, see *ibid.*, p. 57. On al-Ṭūsī's intentions for the *Tadhkira*'s usefulness to students and nonspecialists, see *ibid.*, p. 37–38 and 56.

⁴⁸ See YOICHI ISAHAYA, « History and Provenance of the 'Chinese' Calendar in the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* », *Tarikh-e Elm*, 8 (2009), p. 20.

⁴⁹ Note for example the Jewish astronomers Ibn al-Dā'ī al-Isrā'īlī al-Irbīlī and Muntajab al-Dawla al-Isrā'īlī al-Dahistānī, as mentioned in YANG, « Like Stars in the Sky », p. 395.

⁵⁰ BAR HEBRAEUS, *The Chronography of Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, p. 451.

⁵¹ Translation from RASHĪD AL-DĪN, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami' u' t-tawārikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, vol. I, trans. WHEELER M. THACKSTON, Harvard University Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Cambridge 1998, p. 6.

⁵² For the text of this preface, see BOYLE, « The Longer Introduction », p. 244–254.

the *lingua franca* on the rise in the Ilkhanate – could also reflect a choice to make the treatise more accessible.

V.1. Bar Hebraeus as a Student of the Astral Sciences

One sample case of a non-Muslim scholar studying at Maragha is provided by Bar Hebraeus. This section will look at the Syriac scholar in more detail as an example of an individual who plausibly interacted with a range of subjects in the astral sciences at Maragha: spherical geometry, *hay'a*, and *zījēs*.

Bar Hebraeus pursued the astral sciences in several ways as part of his time in Maragha. Part of this involved work with the curriculum that proceeded from Euclid's *Elements*, through the Middle Books, and ended with Ptolemy's *Almagest* – all of which, as previously noted, had been edited by al-Ṭūsī. Bar Hebraeus writes that his first visit to Maragha in 1268 included work with Euclid and his second in 1273 with the *Almagest*.⁵³ Scholars have previously interpreted the Syriac verb used in connection with these texts to mean that Bar Hebraeus was involved in teaching or commenting on the *Elements* and the *Almagest* at the observatory. Takahashi has more recently put forth the suggestion that the verb in question should be interpreted as « studied ».⁵⁴

Bar Hebraeus's writings furthermore demonstrate familiarity with al-Ṭūsī, though it is not certain whether he studied with him directly.⁵⁵ Regardless, the Syriac scholar worked with the astronomical curriculum mentioned above through al-Ṭūsī's editions of many of the texts. This is suggested by two manuscripts from this curriculum, one of which is plausibly connected with Bar Hebraeus and the other of which names him in an ownership note.

The first of these is London, British Library, Add. 23387, which contains al-Ṭūsī's edition of the *Elements*. Syriac and Garshuni notes written in a thirteenth-century Western *serto* appear in this manuscript. A recent study has compared the handwriting of these notes with a sample of Bar Hebraeus's own writing and argues it is plausible these notes come from the Syriac scholar.⁵⁶ The colophon on folio 216v declares that the manuscript in question was completed on 15 Rabi' II

⁵³ In his *Ecclesiastical Chronicle*: see JEAN BAPTISTE ABBELOOS, THOMAS J. LAMY (eds.), *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. III, Maisonneuve-Peters, Paris–Louvain 1877, p. 441–443.

⁵⁴ HIDEMI TAKAHASHI, *Bar Hebraeus. A Bio-Bibliography*, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2005, p. 84. The verb is the Syriac « šrā » – past scholars have interpreted this to mean Bar Hebraeus taught or orally explained Euclid and the *Almagest*. Takahashi compares its use to that of its Arabic equivalent « ḥalla » which Bar Hebraeus uses to mean « study ». For an overview of these passages in Bar Hebraeus have been interpreted, see PIER GIORGIO BORRONE, « Marāgha mdittā arškītā: Syriac Christians in Marāgha under Mongol rule », *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 40 (2017), p. 125–126.

⁵⁵ See Bar Hebraeus's comments on al-Ṭūsī in BAR HEBRAEUS, *The Chronography of Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, p. 451–452. See also the similarities between Bar Hebraeus's *Ascent of the Mind* and al-Ṭūsī's *hay'a* treatises, discussed below.

⁵⁶ BORRONE, « Marāgha mdittā arškītā », p. 129–131.

656 (21 April 1258). It is not, therefore, a manuscript which was written during Bar Hebraeus's study of the *Elements* in Maragha, since this occurred ten years later. If the Syriac scholar used it during his time at the observatory, he acquired an existing codex for his studies.⁵⁷

The second of these manuscripts is Istanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa 743, which contains al-Ṭūsī's edition of the Middle Books. A Syriac ownership note written in a Western *serto* states that the codex belonged to « Gregory, the lowly maphrian » with a year that corresponds to 1280–1 CE.⁵⁸ Several of the texts in the manuscript have dates of completion, ranging from 671–678 / 1272–1279.⁵⁹ It is unclear precisely when this manuscript came into Bar Hebraeus's possession. He may have acquired several initial treatises during his second visit to Maragha, and added to the compilation manuscript over time. He may have acquired it during one of his later visits to Maragha, such as the one in 1279. Or the manuscript may have come into his possession elsewhere. He certainly owned it by 1281 at the latest.⁶⁰

Bar Hebraeus's study of this astronomical curriculum can also be seen in a third manuscript: Mashhad, Kitābhāna-yi Markazī Astān-i Quds 5232. The codex's first folio is marked by an ownership statement that matches the ownership statement in the prior manuscript. Unlike the prior manuscript, however, the two Middle Books texts contained in this codex are the editions of al-Maghribī.⁶¹

⁵⁷ The manuscript additionally would have had to have been copied outside of any circles associated with al-Ṭūsī, since in the colophon the scribe seems to have erroneously believed that al-Ṭūsī had already died.

⁵⁸ The ownership note appears on f. 136r; see HIDEMI TAKAHASHI, « L'astronomie syriaque à l'époque islamique », in ÉMILIE VILLEY (ed.), *Les sciences en syriaque*, Geuthner, Paris 2014, p. 322. The contents of the manuscript are the fifteen treatises which comprised al-Ṭūsī's edition of the Middle Books: Theodosius's *Sphaerica*, Theodosius's *Nights and Days*, Autolycus's *Risings and Settings*, Hypsicles's *Anaphoricus*, Aristarchus's *Sizes and Distances*, pseudo-Archimedes's *Lemmata*, Thabit's *Data*, the Banu Musa's *Book of Knowledge*, Archimedes's *Sphere and Cylinder*, Menelaus's *Spherics*, Autolycus's *On the Moving Sphere*, Euclid's *Data*, Theodosius's *On Habitations*, Euclid's *Optics*, and Euclid's *Phaenomena*.

⁵⁹ Euclid's *Data*: 14 Rabī' II 671 H, Euclid's *Optics*: Rabī' II 671 H, Autolycus's *Moving Sphere*: 4 Muḥarram 672 H, Menelaus's *Spherics*: 9 Jumadā 678 H, Theodosius *On Habitations*: 671 H. See MAX KRAUSE, « Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker », *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik, Abteilung B, Studien*, 3 (1936), p. 499–504.

⁶⁰ For his visit in 1279, see BAR HEBRAEUS, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. III, p. 447–450. For the suggestion that Bar Hebraeus personally transcribed the Arabic of the editions of Archimedes in this manuscript, see AYDIN SAYILI, « Khwāja Naṣir-i Ṭūsī wa raṣādkhāna-i Marāgha », *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 14/1-2 (1956), p. 11 and BORBONE, « Marāgha mdittā arṣkitā », p. 130–131.

⁶¹ For a description of this manuscript, see SAJJAD NIKFAHM-KHUBRAVAN and OSAMA ESHERA, « The Five Arabic Revisions of Autolycus' On the Moving Sphere (Proposition VII) », *Tarikh-e Elm*, 16/2 (2019), p. 48.

There is further evidence for Bar Hebraeus having studied the *Almagest* at Maragha, though not in the recension by al-Ṭūsī. Kâtip Çelebi reports that the Syriac scholar requested a new edition of the *Almagest* from al-Maghribī.⁶²

Outside of the above Greek geometrical and astronomical treatises, hints of other texts Bar Hebraeus may have encountered at Maragha are offered by the Syriac scholar's own works. His *Ascent of the Mind*, completed in 1279, is a handbook of astronomy that bears similarity to al-Ṭūsī's *hay'a* treatises. Some scholars have pointed to al-Ṭūsī's *Tadhkira* as its model based on its agreements in structure and values. More recently, al-Ṭūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk fī hay'at al-aflāk* (undated) has been raised as a possible model for Bar Hebraeus's text.⁶³ The *Zubdat al-idrāk* is a short and simplified *hay'a* treatise that is intended to epitomize works on the subject.⁶⁴ While this shorter work appears to have had little lasting influence compared to al-Ṭūsī's other treatises, it is possible that it was being used as an elementary teaching text during Bar Hebraeus's time in Maragha.

Lastly, Bar Hebraeus reports that he wrote a book on *zīj*es for beginners in Syriac.⁶⁵ This work has not been found, so it is not certain which *zīj*es Bar Hebraeus may have drawn upon for it. In any case, the (former) existence of this treatise raises the possibility that his astronomical studies at Maragha included various *zīj* texts.

V.2. Astronomical Texts Taught in Maragha

The example of Bar Hebraeus suggests a range of astronomical texts received study in Maragha. Established teaching texts like the *Elements*, Middle Books, and *Almagest* formed one component. Newer works formed another component, as is seen by Bar Hebraeus's familiarity with the *Tadhkira* or perhaps the *Zubdat al-idrāk*.

⁶² KÂTIP ÇELEBİ, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, p. 387, 389. There exists a *Talkhīṣ al-majisī* by al-Maghribī that is extant: see SALIBA, « An Observational Notebook of a Thirteenth-Century Astronomer ». In the preface to this al-Maghribī also mentions a summary of the *Almagest* he had produced titled *Khulāṣat al-majisī*, which has not been discovered. It is not clear if either of these treatises are the edition produced for Bar Hebraeus.

⁶³ For its relation to the *Tadhkira*, see FRANÇOIS NAU, *Le livre de l'ascension de l'esprit sur la forme du ciel et de la terre. Cours d'astronomie rédigé en 1279 par Grégoire Aboulfarag, dit Bar-Hebraeus*, pt. II, Librairie Émile Bouillon, Paris 1899, p. vii. For the possible connection with the *Zubdat*, see HIDEMI TAKAHASHI, « The Mathematical Sciences in Syriac: From Sergius of Resh'Aina and Severus Sebokht to Barhebraeus and Patriarch Ni'matallah », *Annals of Science*, 68/4 (2011), p. 486–487.

⁶⁴ Al-Ṭūsī may have intended the *Zubdat al-idrāk* as an abridgement of his *Tadhkira*, but the former text has received very little study and so its relationship to the scholar's other treatises is unclear: see RAGEP, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy*, p. 66–67. One difference between the *Zubdat al-idrāk* and the *Tadhkira* is the former's avoidance of criticisms of the Ptolemaic system. The idea that Bar Hebraeus preferred it as a model because of this closer adherence to Ptolemy has been raised by TAKAHASHI, « The Mathematical Sciences in Syriac » p. 487.

⁶⁵ BAR HEBRAEUS, *The Chronography of Abu'l-Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, p. xxxiii.

Unfortunately it is not clear whether Bar Hebraeus's study of *zīj* texts comprised older established *zīj*es or new products of the observatory.

While the *Elements*, Middle Books, and *Almagest* were indeed long-established teaching texts in the Islamic world, it should be emphasized that at Maragha they were taught through new editions: those of al-Ṭūsī and al-Maghribī. The above has already noted al-Ṭūsī's editions and al-Maghribī's edition of the *Almagest*. Like his colleague, al-Maghribī's editing project extended to other texts in the curriculum as well. He produced editions of the *Elements* and of at least three of the Middle Books texts.⁶⁶

These texts had received study in the Islamicate world since their translation from Greek into Arabic in the ninth century. The separate editorial projects of al-Ṭūsī and al-Maghribī both aimed to produce versions with increased pedagogical usefulness. In the introduction to his edition of the *Almagest*, al-Ṭūsī writes that he had deemed past editions and summaries of the *Almagest* insufficient. He aimed to produce a work that preserved all the component parts of Ptolemy's text but in a more concise and clear Arabic style. He allowed additions to the work where such additions would clarify mathematical difficulties or simplify a convoluted argument, but took care to indicate what he had added to the text versus what was original. The introduction to his edition of the *Elements* lays out a similar set of goals as the introduction of the *Almagest* did.⁶⁷ While al-Ṭūsī does not write so explicitly about his goals for his editions of the Middle Books, these texts show the same interest in conciseness and the same allowance for mathematically useful

⁶⁶ For the *Elements* see discussion in ABDELHAMID I. SABRA, « Simplicius's Proof of Euclid's Parallels Postulate », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 32 (1969), p. 13–18. On al-Maghribī's edition of Theodosius's *Sphaerica*, see BERNARD CARRA DE VAUX, « Notice sur deux manuscrits arabes: Remaniement des *sphériques* de Théodose par Yahia ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Schukr Almaghrabi Alandalusi », *Journal Asiatique*, 17 (1891), p. 287–295. Al-Maghribī's edition of Menelaus's *Spherics* is noted by ROSHDI RASHED and ATHANASE PAPADOPOULOS, *Menelaus's Spherics: Early Translation and al-Māhānī / al-Harawī's Version*, Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin 2017, p. 15. His edition of Autolycus's *On the Moving Sphere* is noted by NIKFAHM-KHUBRAVAN, ESHERA, « The Five Arabic Revisions of Autolycus's *On the Moving Sphere* (Proposition VII) ».

⁶⁷ For the introduction to al-Ṭūsī's edition of the *Almagest*, see GEORGE SALIBA, « The Role of the *Almagest* Commentaries in Medieval Arabic Astronomy: a Preliminary survey of Ṭūsī's Redaction of Ptolemy's *Almagest* », *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 37 (1987), p. 5–6. For the introduction to his edition of the *Elements*, see for example British Library Add MS 23387, fol. 2v. Note that al-Ṭūsī's edition of the *Elements* has not been edited or printed: the text printed in *Kitāb Tahrīr uṣūl li-Ūqlīdis*, Rome: Typographia Medicea, 1594 has been shown to be not by al-Ṭūsī, but rather by an unnamed thirteenth-century individual. For more on this, see GREGG DE YOUNG, « Further adventures of the Rome 1594 Arabic redaction of Euclid's *Elements* », *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 66 (2012), p. 265–294.

additions.⁶⁸ Al-Maghribī expresses similar goals in the introduction to his edition of the *Elements*.⁶⁹

These, however, were not the kinds of teaching texts that would be translated into Greek. It is natural that a Byzantine student would not have felt a need to retranslate originally Greek texts, even in new editions or adaptations.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, the *Tadhkira* and associated *hay'a* texts also appear to have numbered among the texts taught at Maragha. The evidence from al-Shīrāzī shows that the *Tadhkira* was definitely taught; the subsequent influence of the *Tadhkira* shows that it was read widely. That Bar Hebraeus possibly drew from the *Zubdat al-idrāk* rather than from the *Tadhkira* would suggest that *hay'a* texts besides the *Tadhkira* remained available and continued to be studied, despite the latter's significant usage.

In the case of *zījes*, Maragha did see the production of at least one intended specifically for students. The manuscript Cairo, Egyptian National Library, MM 188 preserves a *zīj* titled '*Umdat al-hāsib wa-ghunyat al-ṭālib* (c. 1262). This text appears to have been compiled by one of al-Maghribī's students during studies with the astronomer. The prologue names al-Maghribī as the teacher and states that the

⁶⁸ The conciseness of al-Ṭūsī's editions is readily apparent when they are compared to the corresponding earlier Arabic translations. The sentence structure of the latter frequently took care to replicate what was found in the Greek with all its verbosity and repetitions. For al-Ṭūsī's editions of the Middle Books, a print edition is available in *Majmū' al-rasā'il*, vol. I and II, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1939-40. These texts have not been critically edited in full. Compare with the earlier Arabic translations and revisions, several of which have been critically edited: NATHAN SIDOLI, YOICHI ISAHAYA, *Thābit ibn Qurra's Restoration of Euclid's Data: Text, Translation, Commentary*, Springer, Cham 2018; ELAHEH KHEIRANDISH, *The Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics (Kitāb Uqlidis fī Ikhtilāf al-manāẓir)*, Springer Science+Business Media, New York 1999; VITTORIO DE FALCO, MAX KRAUSE, OTTO NEUGEBAUER, *Hypsikles Die Aufgangszeiten der Gestirne*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1966; PAUL KUNITZSCH, RICHARD LORCH, *Theodosius. De habitationibus: Arabic und Medieval Latin Translations*, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich 2010; PAUL KUNITZSCH, RICHARD LORCH, *Sphaerica: Arabic and Medieval Latin Translations*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010; and PAUL KUNITZSCH, RICHARD LORCH, « Theodosius, De diebus et noctibus », *Suhayl*, 10 (2011), p. 9–46.

⁶⁹ See SABRA, « Simplicius's Proof of Euclid's Parallels Postulate », p. 14–15.

⁷⁰ It is possible, however, that the study and production of such texts in Maragha encouraged a renewed interest in their study and production in the Byzantine Empire. Later Byzantine scholars such as Theodore Metochites (d. 1332) turn again to treatises which had once formed part of the Little Astronomy (i.e. the late antique Greek predecessor to the Middle Books). Metochites chooses these works as part of a syllabus to prepare himself for the production of an epitome of the *Almagest*. See his comments in his *Introduction to Astronomy* I.1.32: BÖRJE BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis Astronomike and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium*, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Göteborg 2003, p. 436–437. Whether such developments may have been influenced by contemporary work in Persia requires further study.

text is intended to be a benefit to students and beginners. It presents material from a number of different sources.⁷¹

VI. Greek Translations out of Maragha and Tabriz

VI.1. The Translators: Gregory Chioniades and Contemporaries

The narrative of Gregory Chioniades's studies in Tabriz comes largely from the prologue to the *Persian Syntaxis* by George Chrysokokkes (fl. 1350).⁷² The latter astronomer notes his own studies in Persian astronomy under a teacher named Manuel in the city of Trebizond and he then transmits an account from Manuel on how this material came to be translated into Greek. In this narrative, Gregory Chioniades was educated in the sciences in Constantinople and then traveled to Persia to further his learning. He was particularly interested in a science that would aid him in the practice of medicine.⁷³ Chioniades travelled through Trebizond and began studies in an unnamed Persian city. He was initially barred from learning the astral sciences because of a prohibition against teaching the subject to Romans, but was able to acquire an exemption. He subsequently returned to Trebizond with many astronomical books, which he translated into Greek. Chrysokokkes later used these works in the composition of his *Persian Syntaxis*.

Chioniades's own works offer further details to this narrative. His letters make it clear that he travelled through Trebizond and that he spent time at the Ilkhanate capital, Tabriz, as the Orthodox archbishop there.⁷⁴ Tabriz would therefore seem to be the location in which Chioniades learned the astral sciences in Persian. His long stay in the Ilkhanate is also seen in the fact that Chioniades found it necessary to write a *Profession of Faith* (Ὁμολογία τοῦ ἱατροσοφιστοῦ Χιονιάδου) (c. 1305) defending himself against accusations of heterodoxy that arose because of his time there.⁷⁵ There are additionally scholia and diagrams which Chioniades added to a

⁷¹ MOZAFFARI, « Astronomical observations at the Maragha observatory in the 1260s-1270s », p. 594–595.

⁷² For the prologue, see USENER, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, p. 356–357. It has been translated and discussed in e.g. MERCIER, « The Greek 'Persian Syntaxis' and the Zīj-i Ikhān », p. 35–36 and ANNE TIHON, « Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Palaiologan Period », in PAUL MAGDALINO, MARIA MAVROUDI (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'or, Geneva 2006, p. 274–275.

⁷³ Tihon suggests this to be for the purpose of medical astrology: see TIHON, « Astrological Promenade », p. 274–275.

⁷⁴ JEAN B. PAPADOPOULOS, Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου Ἐπιστολαί, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονικῆς, vol. I, 1927, p. 151–205. The biographical details from these letters are summarized in LEENDERT WESTERINK, « La profession de foi de Grégoire Chioniadès », *Revue des études byzantines*, 38 (1980), p. 235–236.

⁷⁵ See WESTERINK, « La profession de foi », p. 236 and 243–245.

manuscript of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge* that show his knowledge of the Islamic astral sciences.⁷⁶

Such is what can be gathered from material from Chioniades or which names him directly. Meanwhile, Chioniades's association with Shams al-Din al-Bukhārī and the attribution of particular translations to the Greek scholar have been inferred based on what is found in several fourteenth-century Greek manuscripts.⁷⁷ These manuscripts contain the Greek works which were presented above: translations of the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*, texts attributed to Shams al-Bukhārī, and other astronomical material. Pingree argued that since the *Persian Syntaxis* can be seen to be drawing from the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*, the Greek translations found in the manuscripts should be identified with the translations of Persian astronomy which Chrysokokkes says he used in the *Persian Syntaxis* and which he attributes to Chioniades. These translations, furthermore, were made as a result of astronomical study in Tabriz, where Chioniades is known to have been located.⁷⁸ Shams al-Bukhārī – identified with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Khwāja al-Wābkanawī, as discussed above – is therefore taken to have been Chioniades's teacher because the Greek translations of the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī*, the *Revised Canons*, and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* all mention material coming from the oral teaching of Shams (al-Bukhārī).⁷⁹

Granted, the attributions of the translations in these manuscripts to Chioniades is not definitive – Chioniades is nowhere mentioned in the relevant manuscript

⁷⁶ These marginalia are found in Chioniades's own hand in the manuscript New York, Columbia University, Smith Western Add. 10 (manuscript completed in 1296, with subsequent annotations in 1301–2). They are discussed briefly in PINGREE, *Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 18–21. A more detailed examination is offered by ALEXANDRE M. ROBERTS, « Byzantine-Islamic Scientific Culture in the Astronomical Diagrams of Chioniades on John of Damascus », in JEFFREY HAMBURGER, DAVID ROXBURGH, LINDA SAFRAN (eds.), *The Diagram as Paradigm: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ The manuscripts in question are Rome, Vaticanus graecus 211 (before 1308 CE), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.17 (1323 CE), and Rome, Vaticanus graecus 1058 (mid 14th cent.). They are described in PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 23–28. Pingree's descriptions are followed by LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of Gregory Chioniades », p. 12–13 and PASCHOS, SOTIROUDIS, *The Schemata of the Stars*, p. 12–13.

⁷⁸ PINGREE, « Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy », p. 142. As noted above, Mercier disagreed with Pingree and argued that the source of the *Persian Syntaxis* was rather the *Zīj-i Ikhānī*: MERCIER, « The Greek 'Persian Syntaxis' and the *Zīj-i Ikhān* », p. 37–38. Pingree subsequently responded to Mercier's argument in PINGREE, « In Defence of Gregory Chioniades », p. 436–438. While material from the *Zīj-i Ikhānī* is present in the *Persian Syntaxis*, Pingree maintained that Chrysokokkes's treatise drew on the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* as well.

⁷⁹ See PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 36: « ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῖνυν τοῦ Σάμψ Πουχάρης »; p. 306: « ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῦ Σάμψ Μπουχαρή »; and LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of Gregory Chioniades », p. 564: « ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῦ Σάμψ ».

texts, let alone as author or translator.⁸⁰ But the scholar was undoubtedly involved in the transmission of Persian material, as his own notes and Chrysokokkes suggest. For the translations of the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* in particular, the preponderance of evidence does point to him as the most likely translator. With that said, he may not have been the only Byzantine scholar active in Tabriz. Other Greek-Arabic contacts in this period are suggested by a work by Maximos Planoudes, which was derived from an earlier Byzantine treatise on Indian numerals but which – unlike its source – used numerals in the same form as those used in Persian.⁸¹ While it is plausible that among Chioniades’s contemporaries there numbered further translators and adaptors working with Persian material, details on these individuals are unfortunately scarce.⁸²

VI.2 The Greek Translations and Adaptions

The *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* appear to have been the subject of study by their translator in the last decade of the thirteenth century. The translation of the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* can be roughly dated based on the examples used in the text, which are largely drawn from the years 1295 and 1296. Examples are also set in Tabriz, indicating the location of study as well.⁸³ That the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* were translated by the same person is suggested not only by their grouping in manuscripts but also their shared technical terminology, including shared

⁸⁰ ANNE TIHON, « Les tables astronomiques persane à Constantinople dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle », *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), p. 474–475. Tihon also compares the handwriting of Chioniades, known from New York, Columbia University, Smith Western Add. 10, with the hand responsible for texts in the above manuscripts written at the end of the thirteenth century and sees no similarities. She additionally suggests that the variations in the spellings of e.g. Persian names and the value zero would imply multiple individuals behind the texts in Vat. gr. 211, Laur. Plut. 28.17, and Vat. gr. 1058.

⁸¹ For comments on these other Persian-Greek contacts, especially that of Planoudes, see BYDÉN, *Theodore Metochites’ Stoicheiosis Astronomike*, p. 241–242, 261–262. See more recently ANNE-LAURENCE CAUDANO, « Astronomy and Astrology », in STAVROS LAZARIS (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, Brill, Leiden 2020, p. 222–223, who notes that multiple translators may have been at work in this period besides Chioniades.

⁸² As noted above, Rashīd al-Dīn offered laudatory comments on the range of intellectuals attracted to Ghāzān Khan’s court. It is worthwhile to note the existence of a question and answer text by Rashīd al-Dīn, in which he answered the questions of a Frank physician; see ZEKİ VELİDİ TOĞAN, « İlhanlılarla Bizans Arasındaki Kültür Münasebetlerine Ait Bir Vesika » (« A Document Concerning Cultural Relation between the İlkhānide and Byzantiens »), *İslām Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 3 (1959–1960). This may have been one of Chioniades’s unknown contemporaries. Alternatively, Chioniades did travel to Tabriz with interests in medicine: *ibid.*, p. 15, notes the possibility that this Frank physician was Chioniades himself.

⁸³ For an overview, see PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 17. Chapters 32–35 use an example from an earlier year, 1293, because 5 July 1293 was the date of a solar eclipse. Conversely, the examples for chapters 38–60 are largely from al-Fahhād’s original text.

incorrect technical terminology.⁸⁴ As noted above, the texts of both state that they come from the teachings of Shams al-Bukhārī, as does that of the *Revised Canons*, whose examples largely use the year 1296.⁸⁵

The vocabulary of the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*, *On the Genethiological Computation*, and the *Revised Canons* makes it clear that this teacher dictated these texts to his student in Persian. The Arabo-Greek translation of the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* therefore had an intermediary language. The translation of the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* conversely does not seem to have been translated via Persian. It may have benefitted from the use of an Arabic-Greek dictionary, or was simply produced at a point in time when the translator had improved his knowledge of Arabic.⁸⁶

It would appear that these two *zīj*es were ones which had already been established as useful teaching texts. They were not the product of recent research at the Maragha Observatory, but this is not surprising: the most recent *zīj*es were not necessarily the ones best suited for a student early in his studies. It is also known that al-Bukhārī was at the time involved in making observations to test the results of both the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and the *Adwār al-anwār* – thus, neither of these *zīj*es had yet been tested and found useful as fully as the two earlier *zīj*es being discussed had been. The *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī* had already seen significant usage and influenced several *zīj*es that came after it.⁸⁷ Meanwhile the version of the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* that was translated into Greek was an epitome of the original *zīj* – this abbreviated version may have been selected as particularly handy for a student. It should be noted that while these were not new *zīj*es, they still received updates, as can be seen in the contemporary examples that replaced most of al-Fahhād’s original examples in the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*.

The *Revised Canons*, however, show that by 1296 the student had indeed worked with one of the treatises that came out of Maragha Observatory: the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*. The transmission of material from this treatise into Greek is also shown by Chrysokokkes’s *Persian Syntaxis*, which makes use of it alongside material from the

⁸⁴ LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of Gregory Chioniades », p. 10–11.

⁸⁵ See the dates given in the computational commentary in PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 386–394. An exception is in chapter 17, which concerns a lunar eclipse that occurred on 30 May 1295.

⁸⁶ On the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*, *On the Genethiological Computation*, and the *Revised Canons*, see *ibid.*, p. 16–17. Pingree points to the regular absence of the Arabic « al- » and presence of the Persian « -i » in transliterated terms, as well as the non-technical Persian terms in the texts. On the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*, see LEICHTER, « The *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of Gregory Chioniades », p. 11–12. Leichter notes the near absence of Persian terms in this text and the significantly fewer transliterations of Arabic technical terms when compared to the *Zīj al-‘Alā’ī*.

⁸⁷ PINGREE, *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, p. 7–8. Material from it furthermore saw transmission into Hebrew derivatives.

Zīj al-‘Alā’i and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*.⁸⁸ The choice of al-Ṭūsī’s *zīj* for study at this stage rather than al-Maghribī’s may have been influenced by language: the former was available in Persian while the latter was in Arabic. As noted above, al-Ṭūsī’s treatise also may have been viewed as more accessible to a non-Muslim audience, potentially influencing its selection. However, it is not possible to rule out its selection being simply an accident of timing: al-Bukhārī’s own work at the time could have happened to focus more on testing the methods of the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, and so this was the *zīj* which he taught.

Meanwhile, if the *Schemata of the Stars* is indeed mostly a translation of the *Risāla-yi Mu‘iniyya* as Ragep contends, this would fit with what is seen above: a Greek student who is to some extent more accustomed to Persian than to Arabic. While al-Ṭūsī’s Arabic *Tadhkira* updated and superseded his earlier Persian *Risāla-yi Mu‘iniyya*, this does not imply that the former text made the latter unavailable. As discussed, Bar Hebraeus may have worked with still another *hay’a* treatise by al-Ṭūsī in Maragha, the *Zubdat al-idrāk*. While the *Tadhkira* proved quite influential, al-Ṭūsī’s other treatises on the subject appear to have remained in use alongside it. As for the *Schemata of the Stars*, it is notable that it makes very few references to Persian or Arabic terms.⁸⁹ If it is to be connected with Chioniades, then (similarly to the translation of the *Zīj al-Sanjārī*) it would have been written at a later stage when he was more experienced with the language.

The translation of the work on the astrolabe came from an Arabic or Persian original.⁹⁰ The text shows several differences from the treatises above. It is not grouped with the rest in all three of the relevant manuscripts, appearing instead only in Vaticanus graecus 1058, which is later and contains a larger mixture of texts.⁹¹ Its translator does not go unrecorded but rather names himself in the text. In the preface, an individual who gives his name as Σιάμψ τοῦ Πέρσου presents the translation to accompany the gift of an elaborate astrolabe to the Byzantine emperor Andronicus Palaeologus – most likely Andronicus II (r. 1282–1328). This individual was plausibly Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī.⁹² This translation seems to have

⁸⁸ Unfortunately, although Chrysokokkes’s prologue states that he is using Greek translations of Persian material and presumably had a translation of the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* in some form at hand, this source has not been found.

⁸⁹ PASCHOS, SOTIROUDIS, *The Schemata of the Stars*, p. 14.

⁹⁰ A summary of transliterated terms is available in ANNE TIHON, « Traités byzantins sur l’astrolabe », *Physis*, 32 (1995), p. 334–335. A couple show the Persian « -i », though this small sample is not enough evidence to say definitively that the original text was Persian instead of Arabic, especially when the translator himself was Persian.

⁹¹ This however is not the only manuscript which contains this translation of the work on the astrolabe: see e.g. the manuscripts given in *ibid.*, p. 333.

⁹² It should be noted that some doubts have been raised regarding this attribution by *ibid.*, p. 333. Tihon notes that the earliest manuscripts date from the mid fourteenth century and that the

been exchanged as part of diplomatic contacts between the Byzantines and the Ilkhānids – it is undoubtedly an outlier among the other translations in terms of motivations and usage.

VII. Conclusion

The Arabo- and Perso-Greek translations and adaptations attributed to Gregory Chioniades have long been acknowledged to come from study in Persia, thanks both to the narrative account of astronomical transmission presented by Chrysokokkes and to the acknowledgement in several of the translated texts themselves of the student's teacher. This paper has delved into what is known from the Islamicate sources about astronomical study in Persian centers for the subject at the end of the thirteenth century.

The Maragha Observatory and its contributions to the astral sciences loom large in this period. It has been shown that the astronomers whose efforts were producing these new results were often the same astronomers who were involved in teaching the subject. Indeed, texts that were output from work at Maragha did feature in what was studied by students. One, however, should not focus overmuch on these new products when considering the broader picture of astronomical study in this period, which relied largely on texts that were more established. The curriculum of spherical geometry – the *Elements*, the Middle Books, and the *Almagest* – serves as a more dramatic example, since these were texts with a tradition of study in Arabic going back to their translation out of Greek in the ninth century. Regardless, it should similarly not be surprising to see al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* drawing on the *zīj*es of Ibn Yūnus and Ibn al-A'lam, nor to see the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* and the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* being taught in 1290s Tabriz, more than a century after their composition. The ongoing observation program by al-Bukhārī to test the results of the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and the *Adwār al-anwār* makes it clear that these *zīj*es were still the subject of active work and confirmation. They were not texts already tested and proven, and as such may not have been a first choice for teaching purposes, especially more preliminary ones.

Those of the discussed translations and adaptations into Greek that came out of didactic contexts had their sources in this melding of old and new texts. The libraries of Maragha and Tabriz amassed established works in the astral sciences, the teachers in these centers had already produced their own editions of older texts and composed many of their own contributions, and those same teachers

dedicatee could have been Andronicus III (r. 1328–1341) rather than Andronicus II. She also notes that the spelling Σιάμψ in this treatise differs from the spelling Σάμψ found in the translated *zīj*es. FISHER, « Arabs, Latins, and Persians bearing gifts », p. 169–170 concludes that the attribution to Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī is plausible, though not definitive.

were astronomers engaging in observation programs and publishing their new results.

From this available corpus, then, the specific selection of materials that received study by the Byzantine student or students appears to have been motivated by their particular needs. Much of the cluster of translations and adaptations, taken together, speak to a student who acquired increased skill with Persian and Arabic over time, but for whom Persian was perhaps the more familiar language. This could explain the choice of al-Ṭūsī's *zīj* over al-Maghribī's, and it could similarly support the *Schemata of the Stars*' source in the *Risāla-yi Mu'iniyya* rather than the Arabic *Tadhkira*. While certain works which were used or produced in Maragha and Tabriz may have proved more influential over time, understanding the fuller picture of education in the astral sciences in these centers is necessary when exploring these more individually motivated transmissions of knowledge.

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IN MEMORIAM

IN MEMORIAM
HERBERT A. DAVIDSON
(25.V.1932–28.IV.2021)

JOSEP PUIG MONTADA
COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID



Herbert Alan Davidson was born on May 25, 1932, in Boston, Massachusetts; his father was born in the United States and his mother had emigrated from Russia. He graduated in Semitics and Philosophy from Harvard University in 1953 and earned the degrees of Master of Arts in 1955 and of Doctor of Philosophy in 1959, from the same university. Harry A. Wolfson (1887–1974) an eminent scholar of Greek, Christian, Jewish and Muslim philosophies, was his professor and adviser and decisively influenced his academic life.¹

Professor Davidson wrote his PhD dissertation on the Catalan Jewish philosopher-theologian Abraham ben Isaac Shalom (d. 1492), whose main work, *Neveh Shalom*,² was a collection of homilies dealing with the basic tenets of philosophy and theology: being, God's unity and incorporeality, the Divine attributes, the creation of the universe, the human intellect, man's immortality, etc. Abraham Shalom embraced Maimonides' doctrines and defended him against the criticisms made by Hasdai Cresques and others. In his book, *The Philosophy of Abraham Shalom: A Fifteenth-century Exposition and Defense of Maimonides* (University of California, 1964), Davidson analyzed the thought of Abraham Shalom, his development, and his sources. Although Davidson admitted to me that Shalom was not an original thinker, he added that we should not overlook that he belonged to the last chapter of the Iberian Jewish community, a chapter that began with the riots in 1391 and ended with the expulsion in 1492. Under trying

¹ I thank Michael Fishbein, Emeritus at UCLA, for his constructive comments.

² *The Dwelling of Peace*, first printed in Venice, Di Gara 1574.

circumstances, Shalom and other thinkers accomplished the revival of Jewish scholarship in the land of Sefarad.

From 1961 through 1966, Davidson was assistant professor at the University of California at Los Angeles. His second major publication dates from the period of his post-doctoral stay at Harvard (1959–1960), although it was printed in 1969: *Averrois Cordubensis Commentarium Medium in Porphyrii 'Isagogen' et Aristotelis 'Categorias'*, (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem. Versio Hebraica, vol. 1, a). Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America.³

Professor Davidson put his thorough command of Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin to work for the critical edition of Averroes' Middle Commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*. The edition is a masterpiece of philological thoroughness and a valuable resource for the study of Averroes' logic.

In 1966, he was appointed Associate Professor, and in 1972 Professor at the same university, retiring in 1994 to become Professor Emeritus. During his tenure he delivered seminal works on two issues essential to medieval philosophy, in addition to many articles. One issue is the creation of the universe, its eternal or temporal character, and the other is the human intellect and its modalities. In 1987, Oxford University Press published *Proofs for Eternity, Creation and the Existence of God in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Philosophy*. As the first term of the title indicates, the book focuses on the proofs (rational arguments) produced by Muslim and Jewish thinkers of the Middle Ages. Davidson presented the texts in their original languages and analyzed the proofs clearly and precisely.

The other work is *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (Oxford University Press, 1992). The style changes as proofs are difficult to produce in such a subject matter, so that theories were developed to explain how intellectual knowledge is possible and how the human intellect is part of the universe. Davidson painstakingly examined the Greek antecedents and then the contributions by three major Islamic philosophers.

After his retirement in 1994, Davidson concentrated his efforts on Maimonides, whose Renaissance follower, Abraham Shalom, had been object of his research for the PhD. I dare to say that he felt deeply identified with Maimonides for their profound love for Judaism and for their rational attitude interpreting its legacy. *Moses Maimonides: The Man and His Works* (Oxford University Press, 2005), a densely argued but eminently readable work of 567 pages, describes in detail Maimonides' life, education, interests, and, most importantly, his intellectual output. Throughout the work, the reader notices

³ Complemented by his own English translation: *AVERROES, Middle commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*, The Mediaeval Academy of America–University of California Press, Cambridge, MA–Berkeley, CA 1969 (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevii, 79).

Davidson's empathy with the Rambam. In my review of the book, I summarized Davidson's contribution and views; now I want to highlight again his view that philosophy and Law had been once a unity for Maimonides.⁴

Six of Professor Davidson's shorter articles on the Rambam were collected in the volume *Maimonides the Rationalist*, (Liverpool University Press, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011). Scholarly articles provide an opportunity to deal in depth with selected issues, as these six articles and three additional chapters do. I think that the last article, which gives the name to the volume, crowns his research on Maimonides: Maimonides had to face a large amount of rabbinic literature that he thoroughly knew, and he complained that most readers took the texts literally. Davidson refers to a passage of the *Commentary on the Mishnah*,⁵ the Judeo-Arabic *Sirāj*, and quotes broadly:

When the literal meaning of a piece of Aggadah contains something impossible, perspicacious readers are confident that the Aggadah has an inner meaning, and they search it out.⁶

Davidson admired Maimonides' strenuous efforts to liberate contemporary Judaism from the literal reading and update it to the intellectual standards of the Islamic seventh century (twelfth century C.E.), but he recognized that the efforts made by the Rambam to interpret Aggadah often resulted in farfetched explanations. As for the prohibitions and pieces of advice found in the Halakha, Davidson remarks that Maimonides found many justifying reasons according to his scientific standards, but that he also had to ignore some Talmudic recommendations. Davidson saw that the project was valid only under temporally limited circumstances:

His rationalistic enterprise was valiant, intriguing, and I would submit, admirable, but the philosophic and scientific pillars on which it rested have crumbled. A new marriage of a wholly rational picture of the universe with traditional Jewish religious thought would seem to be possible only, oxymoron though it may be, through a sturdy act of faith.⁷

These are Davidson's final words for the chapter and the book *Maimonides the Rationalist*. He shared with the Rambam a profound, sincere Judaic faith and a confidence in the human reason. The Rambam had tried to bring together

⁴ *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval*, 12 (2005), p. 291–295.

⁵ *Mishnah 'im perush Rabenu Moshe ben Maimon*, ed. JOSEPH D. KAPACH, Mossad Harav Kook, Jerusalem 1963–1964.

⁶ HERBERT A. DAVIDSON, *Maimonides the Rationalist*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2011 (Library of Jewish Civilization), p. 279.

⁷ DAVIDSON, *Maimonides the Rationalist*, p. 298.

Rabbinic wisdom and Aristotelian philosophy; Davidson admired his endeavor but recognized the shortcomings, and saw that a « sturdy act of faith » would be required for our contemporary approach.

In 2016, Davidson suffered a stroke, but he fought back and continued to engage in research. On October 4, 2017, he wrote to me that he had finished an article « deflating possible Almohad influence on Maimonides ».⁸ On January 1, 2018, he emailed: « My recovery from the stroke is close to complete as far as my arm is concerned, but I am very disappointed with the recovery of my leg. The larger part of the day I spend walking and exercising ». However, on September 7, 2018, his daughter emailed me for him: « I had a medical reversal and am not very well ».

Professor Davidson died on April 28, 2021, in Los Angeles and is buried in Israel on the Mount of Olives. He is survived by his wife Kinneret Bernstein, their two daughters and sons-in-law, and grandchildren. זיכרונו לברכה.

⁸ HERBERT A. DAVIDSON, *Maimonides and the Almohads*, in CHARLES H. MANEKIN, DANIEL DAVIES (eds.), *Interpreting Maimonides. Critical Essays*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 2019, p. 6–25.

IN MEMORIAM
DAVID LUSCOMBE
(22.VII.1938–30.VIII.2021)

MICHAEL W. DUNNE
MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY



David Luscombe who died on 30 August 2021 at the age of 83, was well known to medievalists on the conference circuit both for his dapper appearance as well as his unfailing courtesy, but with a penchant for preciseness. As the Department of History of the University of Sheffield put it, he was « A man of great personal charm, a committed and scrupulous teacher, and a scholar of great distinction, he played a formative role in our work for fifty years ». This statement captures nicely his personal commitment and dedication at all levels of the profession which marked his life as an exceptional university scholar, teacher, and administrator.

I first knew David Luscombe through his book *Medieval Thought* which I used with my undergraduate students in second year Medieval Philosophy at Maynooth. I later met him in person for the first time at the Leeds Medieval Congress where he encouraged my research into Richard FitzRalph's *Lectura on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard for the ABMA. This kindly encouragement of young scholars was typical of him. He was also extremely supportive of our hosting of the SIEPM Colloquium in Maynooth in 2015 where he impressed his listeners with his elegant paper on Toleration and Rights, showing that his interests did not remain confined to the medieval period but also connected with contemporary reflections.

David Luscombe took his B.A. degree with First Class Honours in the Historical Tripos Parts in the University of Cambridge in 1959 where he also gained his PhD in 1964. At this time he sat at the feet of Dom David Knowles whom he would later acknowledge as a teacher and as encouraging his students through his own

example and personality.¹ From his studies would come in 1969 *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period*.

He was a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge in 1962–64 and a Fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge in 1964–72. In 1972 he was appointed Professor of Medieval History in the University of Sheffield where from 1995 to 2000 he was Leverhulme Personal Research Professor of Medieval History. He later became Research Professor of Medieval History until the end of September 2003 when he retired. He filled the roles Head of Department (1973–76, 1979–84), Dean of the Faculty of Arts (1985–87), Pro-Vice-Chancellor (1990–94), and Research Director for Arts and Humanities (1994–2003), showing his dedication to the running of the University. His scholarly achievements were recognised when he was conferred with the degree of LittD from the University of Cambridge and of LittD honoris causa from the University of Sheffield.

His commitment to the profession was outstanding as can be seen from the many commitments he took on tirelessly over the years: Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1986 he filled a number of key roles. From 1990 to 1997 he served as the Publications Secretary of the British Academy. He was also Chairman of the Medieval Texts Editorial Committee of the British Academy which publishes editions in the series *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*. From 1992 to 1998 he was a member of the Joint Supervisory Committee of the British Academy and Oxford University Press for the new Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and also an Associate Editor with responsibility for philosophers and theologians 1100–1499. Between 1994 and 2000 he was a member of the Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships Commission of the UK with responsibility for selecting Scholars and Fellows (both coming in and going out of the UK). From 1997 to 2002 he was appointed President of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Philosophy (SIEPM) and in this capacity he presided over the annual colloquia held in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve in 1998, Sofia in 1999, Firenze/Pisa in 2000 and the International Congress held in Porto in 2002.

David Luscombe's main interests lay in the history of medieval thought and religion from late antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages, particularly in the following areas: the writings of Peter Abelard and of other medieval scholars and thinkers; the history of the medieval schools and universities, and the history of medieval (and Dionysian) conceptions of hierarchy.

As already mentioned, David Luscombe's doctoral work was on the school of Peter Abelard, under the Benedictine historian, David Knowles. He obtained major grants, from the Leverhulme Trust and the British Academy to facilitate

¹ DAVID LUSCOMBE, « David Knowles and his pupils », in CHRISTOPHER BROOKE, ROGER LOVATT, DAVID LUSCOMBE, AELRED SILLEM (eds.), *David Knowles Remembered*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1991, p. 123–139.

the publication of new editions of all of Abelard's works. His own edition of *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise* was published in Oxford Medieval Texts in 2013. It was described in the *Times Literary Supplement* as « a veritable Abelardian encyclopedia », and was awarded the British Academy Medal in 2014. In addition to the *Letter Collection*, he edited, along with Lisa Liddy and the late David Hey, the cartulary of Beauchief Abbey, an important Premonstratensian house, now in suburbs of Sheffield. In 2011 a *Festschrift* was published in his honour, *Knowledge, Discipline and Power in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of David Luscombe*, edited by Joseph Canning, Edmund King and Martial Staub (Leiden: Brill). Finally, his collected papers were published in *Peter Abelard and Heloise. Collected Studies* (Routledge 2018).

On a more personal note, the Department of History at Sheffield noted that members of the University community would remember David Luscombe in a wide variety of contexts: as opening batsman of the Staff Cricket Club; as President of the University's branch of the teaching union, UCU; as an active member of the Catholic Chaplaincy; and as a scrupulous attender at University events, including degree conferrings. Again, we saw his active energy in Maynooth, where he walked every morning from the accommodation in Carton House rather than taking the transport provided. He showed a keen interest in Ireland and all things Irish, including pints in the local pub.

His funeral was held at 12.30 p.m. on Friday, 24 September, in St Marie's Catholic Cathedral, Sheffield. He is survived by his wife, Megan, and their four children, Nicholas, Mark, Philip, and Amanda.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

IN MEMORIAM
JOSEF VAN ESS
(18.IV.1934–20.XI.2021)

JORDI AGUADÉ
INSTITUTO DE LINGÜÍSTICA APLICADA
UNIVERSIDAD DE CÁDIZ



El 20 de noviembre de 2021 fallecía en Tübingen Josef van Ess, el conocido especialista en teología islámica.

De padres neerlandeses,¹ van Ess había nacido en Aquisgrán el año 1934 y su infancia se vio seriamente afectada por la Segunda Guerra Mundial con sus desastrosas consecuencias:² tal como él mismo comenta, acabada la contienda – y en una Aquisgrán reducida a escombros – había que recuperar el tiempo perdido, y por ello su bachillerato solo duró cuatro años en lugar de los nueve reglamentarios.

Como tenía facilidad para los idiomas, en el colegio aprendió inglés, francés y español (además de griego y latín, obligatorios entonces en el bachillerato de letras). Que hablaba español ya me constaba desde mi época de estudiante, pero de que lo hablaba con soltura no me di cuenta hasta más tarde, cuando en otoño de 1982 – con motivo del congreso de la UELAI en Portugal – los llevé en mi coche, a él y a su esposa, de Madrid a Évora y Faro, haciendo de paso turismo por Extremadura y Andalucía.

Entre 1953 y 1957 estudió árabe, persa y turco (además de hebreo y algo de *ge'ez*) en las universidades de Bonn y Frankfurt. En esta última tuvo la oportunidad de ser alumno durante un semestre de Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971), el gran especialista en filología árabe, persa y turca, además de fundador de la revista *Oriens*. Fue Ritter

¹ Adquirió la nacionalidad alemana cuando ya estudiaba en la universidad.

² Del frío y el hambre que había padecido por culpa de la contienda me habló en alguna ocasión.

quien le propuso como tema de doctorado que estudiara la figura del místico Ḥarīt al-Muḥāsibī.³ Van Ess siempre lo consideró como su maestro y modelo: prueba de ello es que escribiera una detallada, y muy documentada, biografía de Ritter,⁴ así como un interesante artículo acerca de la redacción de su tesis doctoral donde comenta las extensas observaciones – no siempre favorables – que este le iba haciendo.⁵

Terminada la tesis doctoral, fue profesor asistente en Fráncfurt entre 1958 y 1963, luego seguirían una estancia en Beirut – en el Orient-Institut de la DMG – entre 1963 y 1964, otra como profesor visitante en la University of California en 1967, y de nuevo en Beirut (entre 1967 y 1968), esta vez como profesor en la American University of Beirut.

Como él mismo en diversas ocasiones ha comentado, la visita a Estados Unidos le sirvió para ampliar su horizonte académico y aprender nuevos enfoques, mientras que las dos estancias en Beirut le sirvieron para vivir de primera mano la realidad de Oriente Medio así como para conocer a filólogos árabes (como por ejemplo a Iḥsān ‘Abbās o Wadād al-Qāḍi) cuyo dominio de la lengua clásica siempre supo apreciar y tener en cuenta. Más adelante tendría la oportunidad de visitar la mayoría de los países de Oriente Medio y África del Norte.

En 1968 rechazó una cátedra que le proponía la universidad de Princeton para aceptar la que, al mismo tiempo, le ofrecían en Tübingen, una universidad pequeña pero ya con una larga tradición de estudios orientales.⁶ Aunque la idea de enseñar en Princeton le resultaba atractiva, prefirió quedarse en Alemania a causa del idioma, y por ello también rechazó más adelante otras ofertas de universidades anglosajonas. En sus propias palabras (pronunciadas en Barcelona con ocasión del World Congress of Middle East Studies en 2012): « When I got offers from non-German universities I refused them mainly because I did not want to change my idiom permanently ». En varias ocasiones destacó que en este aspecto siempre tuvo muy presente lo sucedido con Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003) – arabista alemán emigrado a Estados Unidos – cuya traducción al inglés de la *Muqaddima* de Ibn Ḥaldūn fue objeto de críticas.

Van Ess publicó frecuentemente en inglés y francés, pero sin perder jamás de vista que era el alemán la lengua en la que mejor podía desplegar su estilo personal.

³ JOSEF VAN ESS, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥarīt al-Muḥāsibī anhand von Übersetzungen aus seinen Schriften dargestellt und erläutert*, Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, Bonn 1961.

⁴ JOSEF VAN ESS, *Im Halbschatten. Der Orientalist Hellmut Ritter (1892–1971)*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013.

⁵ Véase JOSEF VAN ESS, « Die Doktorarbeit. Erinnerungen aus der Steinzeit der Orientalistik », *Die Welt des Islams*, 51 (2011), p. 279–326. Las observaciones de Ritter superaron los doscientos folios. En palabras del propio van Ess: « En aquella época los profesores todavía leían las tesis ».

⁶ Allí habían enseñado desde el siglo XIX conocidos arabistas y semitistas como, por ejemplo, Christian Friedrich Seybold (1859–1921, arabista), Enno Littmann (1875–1958, semitista) o María Höfner (1901–1983, especialista en sudarábigo).

Escribía en un alemán elegante, claro y preciso – sarcástico si necesario, con frecuente ironía y sentido del humor – en el que hacía gala de su vasta erudición.⁷

Supongo que también influyó en su elección el hecho de que Tübingen – la pequeña ciudad provinciana de Suabia por la que habían pasado Hölderlin y Hegel – contara con una excelente biblioteca universitaria especializada en Oriente Medio (en aquellos años, y sin la menor duda, la mejor de toda Alemania). Sin los extraordinarios fondos de esta biblioteca (junto con su generosa política de préstamo) le hubiera resultado imposible acceder a la impresionante bibliografía con la que siempre enriqueció sus publicaciones.

Al llegar a Tübingen para ocupar la cátedra – vacante por la jubilación de Rudi Paret (1901–1983), el gran especialista en el Corán – se encontró con un pequeño instituto infradotado y casi sin estudiantes: desde hacía dos o tres años Paret se negaba a dirigir tesis doctorales por considerarlo poco ético al acercarse su retiro.

Con van Ess la situación mejoró, y el *Orientalisches Seminar*,⁸ situado entonces (y durante muchos años más) en la Alte Aula (un venerable edificio de mediados del siglo XVI, con inmejorables vistas al río Néckar y a los Alpes de Suabia), se convirtió al poco tiempo en un importante instituto con varios profesores y una buena biblioteca presencial.

Yo tuve la suerte de ser uno de los primeros estudiantes (luego doctorandos) que van Ess tuvo al iniciar su docencia en Tübingen. Sus clases eran siempre seminarios prácticos – jamás lecciones magistrales – en los que cada semestre se leía y comentaba un texto diferente (generalmente algo relacionado con lo que estuviera investigando en aquel momento). Además, solía dar a cada estudiante un tema para que este lo preparara durante el curso y expusiera luego en clase, donde él hacía los comentarios que le parecían pertinentes: era un excelente entrenamiento mediante el cual se aprendía tanto a redactar correctamente como a exponer un trabajo en público.

Las clases se daban en alemán, pero podían darse también en otro idioma si asistía algún visitante extranjero. Conocía bien la literatura española y no era raro que – al comentar algún texto árabe medieval – aludiera a Góngora, Teresa de Jesús o Borges (escritor este último al que apreciaba, y cuyo estilo y erudición alabó en varias ocasiones).

Con sus doctorandos no era muy dado a malgastar tiempo en esbozos generales o discusiones metodológicas. A mi – algo ingenua – pregunta acerca de cómo debía enfocar la tesis que él me sugería, se limitó a responder: « Con lógica y sentido

⁷ Tal como justamente comenta Hinrich Biesterfeldt en el prólogo de la edición de JOSEF VAN ESS, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vol., Brill, Leiden 2013, vol. I, p. XIX: « Josef van Ess prefers to write in German. (His is a joy to read, and if you, dear colleague, chère lectrice, want to learn the language – this is the occasion!) ».

⁸ Desde 2008 lleva el bastante más prosaico nombre de 'Abteilung für Orient- und Islamwissenschaft'.

común ». Al principio podía dar la impresión de que sus doctorandos no éramos precisamente lo que más le interesaba en esta vida: sin embargo, cuando se le entregaba un capítulo, ya terminado y mecanografiado (en los años setenta los ordenadores personales ni siquiera despuntaban por el horizonte), lo leía con suma atención y lo devolvía al poco tiempo con sus observaciones escritas al margen.

Tanto en sus clases como en privado era una persona afable, dotado de un fino sentido del humor, y un gran conversador (entre otras cosas, su repertorio de anécdotas acerca de otros arabistas estaba bien surtido).

En sus seminarios comentó en varias ocasiones que la mayoría de las conferencias resultaban aburridas: las suyas, en cambio, siempre fueron amenas y sugestivas, y a más de uno de sus antiguos alumnos les sirvieron de modelo a seguir.

Josef van Ess era desde muy joven un asiduo asistente a todo tipo de congresos, workshops y encuentros, lo que contribuyó a que enseguida fuera conocido fuera de Alemania. Ya a principios de los años setenta muchas universidades estadounidenses comenzaron a invitarle a impartir cursos: debido a la frecuencia con la que sobrevolaba el Atlántico (y en una época en la que los vuelos no eran tan frecuentes como ahora), algunos colegas lo apodaron *the Flying Dutchman* en alusión a su apellido neerlandés.

A van Ess le gustaba el senderismo, afición que podía practicar fácilmente por los bosques que hay no muy lejos de su vivienda, y que a veces compartía con colegas, tanto alemanes como extranjeros, que le visitaban.

Otra de sus aficiones – aparte de la música – era el canto que ya practicó en su niñez, en la coral infantil de la catedral de Aquisgrán. En Tübingen cantaba en la coral de la Colegiata (Stiftskirche), que para él tenía la gran ventaja de estar situada justo al lado de la Alte Aula en la que impartía su docencia.

Probablemente sea van Ess uno de los arabistas más traducidos del siglo XX e inicios del XXI, pues hay traducciones de sus obras al árabe, persa, turco, inglés, francés, español,⁹ italiano, neerlandés, checo, croata, polaco e incluso al catalán.¹⁰

En lo que respecta a sus publicaciones, hay que señalar que una bibliografía muy completa (y comentada) la incluye Biesterfeldt en su edición de las *Kleine Schriften* (p. XXI–LXVI).¹¹ Aquí me limitaré a señalar algunas de las que me parecen más significativas.

Desde muy pronto se interesó por los orígenes y formación de la teología islámica en los primeros siglos de la hégira así como por la *mu'tazila* y las primeras sectas. Entre sus primeros libros dedicados a estos temas cabe destacar:

⁹ Cf. HANS KÜNG, JOSEF VAN ESS, HEINRICH VON STIETENCRON, HEINZ BECHERT, *El cristianismo y las grandes religiones*, Libros Europa, Madrid 1987.

¹⁰ Cf. JOSEF VAN ESS, « Dieu en l'Islam », in AMADOR VAGA ESQUERRA (ed.), *El Dieu de les religions, el Dieu dels filòsofs*, Cruïlla, Barcelona 1992, p. 47–68.

¹¹ Cf. VAN ESS, *Kleine Schriften*.

Traditionistische Polemik gegen 'Amr b. 'Ubaid. Zu einem Text des 'Alī b. 'Umar ad-Dāraqutnī (Beirut–Wiesbaden 1967), *Frühe mu 'tazilitische Häresiographie. Zwei Werke des Nāši' al-Akbar* (Beirut–Wiesbaden 1971), *Zwischen Ḥadīṭ und Theologie. Studien zum Entstehen prädestinationistischer Überlieferung* (Berlín 1975) y *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie. Zwei antiqadaritische Traktate aus dem ersten Jahrhundert der Hīġra* (Beirut–Wiesbaden 1977).

Fruto de toda esta investigación previa es su monumental obra (seis volúmenes) titulada *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* (Berlín–Nueva York 1991–1995), ahora disponible también en versión inglesa.¹²

Muy original es su estudio del califa fatimí al-Ḥākim cuyo peculiar comportamiento él interpreta en clave de quiliasmo islámico: *Chiliastische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākim (385–411 h.)* (Heidelberg 1977).

En inglés se han publicado, además de la traducción antes mencionada, trabajos como *Theology and science: the case of Abū Ishāq an-Nazzām* (Ann Arbor 1978), *The Youthful God: Anthropomorphism in early Islam* (Tempe 1989) así como *The flowering of Islamic theology* (Cambridge, MA 2006).

En francés publicó *Une lecture à rebours de l'histoire du Mu 'tazilisme* (París 1984) y *Les prémices de la théologie musulmane* (París 2002).

En cuanto a sus publicaciones en revistas académicas, me limito a señalar aquí dos que son menos conocidas y que surgieron a raíz de sus estancias en el Líbano. Me refiero a las « Libanesische Miszellen » que publicó en la revista alemana *Die Welt des Islams*. En las « Libanesische Mizzellen » 2 figura,¹³ entre otros temas, un curioso articulito titulado « Metaphysische Lesebriefe » en el que se ocupa del revuelo que causó la carta de un lector en el periódico beirutí *an-Nahār* en la que este planteaba la provocadora cuestión acerca de si Dios podría crear un ser que le superara en fuerza. Las respuestas no se hicieron esperar y – amén de acusaciones de herejía – entre ellas había quienes le reprochaban la falta de lógica de su pregunta, haciéndole ver que lo que ya es perfecto no se puede mejorar, otros le respondían que hay cosas que Dios podría hacer pero que simplemente no las hace. Unos años más tarde van Ess retomaba el tema en otro artículo titulado « Göttliche Allmacht im Zerrbild menschlicher Sprache »¹⁴ donde edita y comenta fragmentos de un texto del siglo V/XI en el que tales cuestiones (¿Dios puede destruirse a sí mismo?, ¿puede crear un ser semejante a él?, etc.) se refutan por ser absurdas (*muḥāl*) al plantearse como si Dios poseyera atributos humanos.

¹² JOSEF VAN ESS, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, 5. vol., Brill, Leiden–Boston 2016–2020.

¹³ *Die Welts des Islams*, 12 (1969), p. 97–125.

¹⁴ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 49 (1975–1976), p. 653–688.

En las « Libanesische Miszellen 5: Drusen und Black Muslims »¹⁵ plantea – con muy sólidos argumentos a favor – la hipótesis de que el enigmático Fard, el fundador del movimiento religioso de los Black Muslims en Estados Unidos, fuera en realidad un druso de origen sirio o libanés. Por lo que veo, su hipótesis sigue siendo hoy en día muy poco conocida entre los estudiosos de este movimiento.

Josef van Ess era miembro de la Academia de Ciencias de Heidelberg y miembro correspondiente de la British Academy. Contaba además con dos importantes condecoraciones de su país: la Orden del Mérito de la República Federal de Alemania y la orden Pour le Mérite para las Ciencias y las Artes.

رحمه الله y descanse en paz allí donde esté.

¹⁵ *Die Welts des Islams*, 14 (1973), p. 203–213.

REVIEW ARTICLES

SPECTERS OF PICO: A NOTE CONCERNING A RECENT BOOK ON THE *ORATIO DE DIGNITATE HOMINIS*

LUCA BURZELLI
KU LEUVEN



I. Introduction

With his most recent book, *Magic and the Dignity of Man*, Brian Copenhaver carries out the bold attempt to tame the vast amount of interpretations on Pico and his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*.¹ The author claims from the very beginning that the mainstream reading of Pico's *Oratio* as a celebration of human dignity appears only in the twentieth century, fostered by Kantian and existentialist concepts of freedom and the autonomy of man.² Copenhaver's book reconstructs in detail « Pico's fame as it has changed over the very long haul » and, step by step, deconstructs the legend that has surrounded the *Oratio* for the last century. It is useful to recall briefly the editorial history of the well-known speech, in order to understand better Copenhaver's remarks concerning the dignity of man.

This text appeared in several printed editions, which testifies to the diffusion of Pico's idea throughout Europe: the *editio princeps* of the *Oratio* was printed in Bologna in 1496; then followed editions printed in Lyon 1496, Venice 1498, Strasbourg 1504, Reggio Emilia 1507, Paris 1517, Venice 1519 and 1557, and Basel 1557 and 1572.³ The original title did not contain any reference to the dignity of

¹ BRIAN COPENHAVER, *Magic and the Dignity of Man: Pico della Mirandola and his 'Oration' in Modern Memory*, Belknap of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA–London 2019.

² The same interpretation has been proposed by Copenhaver in his introduction to GIANFRANCESCO PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Life of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oratio*, ed. and transl. BRIAN COPENHAVER, The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA–London 2022 (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 93), p. XXXIII–XLIV.

³ Useful remarks on these editions have been provided by MICHAEL PAPIO, « The Oration's Printed Editions », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Oration on the Dignity of Man. A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. FRANCESCO BORGHESI, MICHAEL PAPIO, MASSIMO RIVA, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, p. 44–51; RAPHAEL EBGI, « Nota al testo e bibliografia », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA

man (*Oratio quaedam elegantissima*): such a notion surfaced for the first time in a marginal reference to *hominis dignitas* in the 1498 Venetian edition, and later became the new title of the Strasbourg edition (*Oratio de hominis dignitate*).⁴ Due to these two editions, the *Oratio* was widely identified as a text concerning human dignity. As such it was read in the nineteenth century by Burckhardt and then later by Cassirer, Gentile, Kristeller and Garin, who, inspired by Kant, saw Pico as the forerunner of the modern idea of man as a free creature and *artifex* of his own fortune.⁵ This tradition was harshly challenged in 1981 by William Craven, who tried to refute contemporary readings of Pico's anthropology and turned him into an ascetic anti-humanist. Meanwhile, Henri de Lubac, Giovanni Di Napoli, and Pier Cesare Bori read Pico in the wake of the medieval tradition, and they refuted the idea of a 'dawn' of modernity, even though they allowed the presence of the issue concerning dignity.⁶ A fundamental contribution came from Chaim Wirszubski, who described Pico's cabalistic sources and lexicon – recently discussed also by Giulio Busi and Raphael Ebgli.

In this paper the reader will find an overview of the contents of the book (§ II), the exposition of the author's main hermeneutical assumptions (§ III), a historical criticism against these assumptions (§ IV), a discussion about the circulation of the *Oratio* in Italy (§ V), further analysis of its circulation throughout Europe (§ VI), some final remarks about the book's methodology and findings (§ VII), and a conclusion (§ VIII).

II. Exposition of the Contents

The book is made up of three main parts, titled respectively « Dignity », « Stories about Pico » and « Pico's *Oration* ». The first part represents the theoretical core of the book, in which Copenhaver examines the modern concept of *dignitas* from

MIRANDOLA, *La dignità dell'uomo*, ed. RAPHAEL EBGli, transl. FRANCESCO PADOVANI, Einaudi, Turin 2021 (Nuova Universale Einaudi, 28), p. xxxv–xxxvi.

⁴ On the composition of the text and the different draft versions, see FRANCESCO BAUSI, « Introduzione », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Discorso sulla dignità dell'uomo*, ed. FRANCESCO BAUSI, Guanda, Parma 2003 (Biblioteca di Scrittori Italiani), p. x; other useful remarks about Emser's edition, printed in Strasbourg, can be found in Copenhaver's introduction to PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Life of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oratio*, p. xxxvi–xxxix.

⁵ Kant's influence on Kristeller and Garin has already been discussed by JAMES HANKINS, « Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller: Neo-Kantianism, and the Post-War Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism », in OLIVIA CATANORCHI, VALENTINA LEPRI (eds.), *Eugenio Garin: Dal Rinascimento all'Illuminismo*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2011 (Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 269), p. 481–505; THOMAS LEINKAUF, « The Structure and the Implications of Giovanni Pico's Famous *Oratio de dignitate hominis*: Is It Really on the 'Dignity of Man'? », *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica*, 110/4 (2018), p. 911–928: 912.

⁶ HENRI DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento. Pico della Mirandola*, Jaka Book, Milan 1977 (Già e non ancora, 24), p. 53, but especially p. 84. See also p. 65–66 on Cassirer, Gentile and Garin and the idea of man as *faber fortunae suae*.

a semantic point of view. After referring the literary narrations concerning Pico's descentance from ancient pagan Gods (p. 9–24), the author begins to explore Kant's concept of dignity, which represented the main interpretative paradigm for twentieth-century readers of Pico's *Oratio* (p. 24–31). Copenhaver extends the analysis to some traditional authors dealing with dignity, such as Giannozzo Manetti (p. 31–34, p. 45–55), Cicero (p. 34–38) and Christian sources, including among others Pope Innocent III (p. 38–45). The last chapter of this part brilliantly discusses recent cases of Pico's influence: the most interesting of them is perhaps that of B.F. Skinner, the famous behaviorist who wholly rejected the idea of human freedom and dignity based on his reinforcement experiments.

The second part – which is the longest and most complex – represents an interesting hermeneutical challenge. It is a section of deconstruction, where the author examines the entire interpretative history of the *Oratio* up to the present day, exploring their genesis and features. The first chapters of the section deal with Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, the work that first exalted Pico's anthropology as a *topos* of Italian Renaissance (p. 71–91). Much of this second part (p. 93–158) concerns Italian twentieth-century interpreters and in this circumstance Copenhaver displays enormous erudition concerning texts and anecdotes of Italian culture: he writes about Papini's idealized Pico, the cabalistic readings by Oreglia and Massetani, and the metaphysical interpretation by Di Giovanni. The core of this section is, of course, the description of Gentile's and Garin's readings of Pico (p. 105–158), as well as the Kantian, idealistic, and existentialist backgrounds of their thought. The sixteenth-century reception of Pico is discussed at p. 159–199, and it includes a comparison with Desiderius Erasmus, a thorough exposition of Gianfrancesco Pico's project to 'sanctify' his uncle, Thomas More's *Life of Pico* dedicated to a nun, and the cabalistic influence on Henry More. Copenhaver also carries out an interesting analysis of Pico's letters, especially those addressed to Ficino. There follows an overview of the modern historians who wrote about Pico, including not only Stanley, Buhle, Brucker, Tennemann, and Tiedemann, but also Voltaire, Thomasius, Tiraboschi, and Bartoli. Useful remarks about Kant, Hamann, and Schiller are provided at p. 241–261, as well as about Hegel, Ritter, Zeller, Sigwart, Windelband, and Tilly. A large section is devoted to the image of Pico in Max Beerbohm's parodic book *Seven Men*, published in 1920 (p. 276–310). The last chapter of this second part discusses the interpretations by Cassirer, Randall, Miller, Walker and Yates, and it ends with the celebrations in Mirandola in 1994 and the debate between Garin and Craven (p. 311–336).

The third part of the volume provides a detailed commentary of the *Oratio*. Copenhaver elaborates upon the text by dividing it into thematic areas, namely the rhetorical *incipit* about human mediety (p. 358–374), the description of angelic orders and the mystical entrance into Paradise (p. 375–404), the

accusations against Pico (p. 404–409), the concordance of philosophers (p. 409–419), magic and Cabala (p. 420–445), and the rhetorical conclusion (p. 446–449). From the beginning of this part, Copenhaver declares his intention to provide a cabalistic reading of the speech – as does Chaim Wirszubski – and he summarizes Pico's contacts with Hebrew sources and intellectuals like Maimonides, Abulafia and Flavius Mithridates. Finally, the book ends with an *appendix* that provides a translation of the text (p. 459–482), a selection from the *Conclusiones* (p. 483–501) and a useful glossary (p. 502–528).

The book is a clear witness to Copenhaver's wide erudition, which encompasses bibliographical references from every country and century. Besides the traditional studies on Pico, the author draws also on literary sources, pop documents (such as comic books), and current events: even Silvio Berlusconi is useful to the author to reflect on current interpretations of Pico and his *Oratio* (p. 323). The writing is fluid and raises no obstacle to the comprehension of the arguments – despite some difficulties in the commentary, which however depend on cabalistic technicalities. The reader is easily driven through the narration, which is made by way of concepts, as well as facts, anecdotes, unknown backgrounds and intellectual conflicts. All this would be enough to make the book a reference point for a history of criticism – in this case, criticism concerning Italian humanism. From a theoretical point of view, Brian Copenhaver's reading provides powerful lenses through which to understand both Pico's works and the history of the numerous interpretations that have appeared through the centuries. As a whole, this work appears to be complex but well structured, supported by a great amount of historical and textual references and carried out with acumen: upon completing the book, one has a clear picture of the historical readings about the *Oratio*, as well as of its contents. At the same time, however, there remain some – apparently marginal – lingering issues concerning the text which one might expect to encounter in the many pages of Copenhaver's study. These are issues that – I believe – we must consider if we want to offer an overall judgment of the book.

III. Exposition of the Author's Assumptions

Firstly, the assertions with which Copenhaver opens his volume cannot but stand out: « I claim that the usual stories about Pico and his Oration are wrong [...]. The main problem is that Pico never wrote an *Oration* about human dignity » (p. 2); « Most statements about Pico as a champion of dignity have been made since World War I, though the modern idea itself came out of the Enlightenment in works by Kant and Schiller » (p. 5). At p. 94 the author sums up his thought with a list of statements, some of which are meaningful:

My account is different:

- after he died in 1494, Pico's celebrity never faded;
- he continued to be famous
 - for his remarkable life
 - for his opposition to astrology
 - for his invention of Christian Kabbalah,
- but not as the author of an *Oration on the Dignity of Man*;
- The *Oration* attracted little attention before the nineteenth century;
- It was seldom published before the twentieth century;
- The speech does not exalt the dignity of man;
- It promotes ascetic mysticism;
- the notion of dignity usually ascribed to it is post-Kantian and Romantic;
- This anachronistic reading of the *Oration* started late in the Enlightenment;

Copenhaver's interpretation is mostly welcomed by other scholars such as Anthony Grafton, who has summarized the issue by claiming that « the idea that Pico's oration has something to do with human dignity is [...] a modern anachronism »; or Thomas Leinkauf, who states that « it is astonishing enough that the *Oratio* not to mention part A [i.e. God's speech to Adam] doesn't play nearly any role in the reception of Pico in the 16th and 17th century nor Erasmus, nor Morus, nor Colet or others seemed to be really impressed by that chef-d'oeuvre of humanist rhetoric and spirit ».⁷

Copenhaver points to those he believes responsible for such an historical misunderstanding, namely all the twentieth-century commentators who read Pico's *Oratio* as a Renaissance manifesto of anthropocentrism and human dignity: « The prince's celebrity was tied to the speech only after World War I, when Cassirer, Garin, and Gentile amplified a few sentences from Burckhardt to broadcast them as a Gospel According to Pico » (p. 451). This charge says nothing new: Henri de Lubac – curiously ignored by Copenhaver – first drew attention to this hermeneutical problem in 1974 in a chapter entitled « Neither Sartre nor Kafka », but at the same time he admitted to the presence of human dignity in Pico's *Oratio*;⁸ likewise, William Craven (1981) allowed the presence of dignity, even though he contested Garin's interpretation.⁹ Copenhaver, instead,

⁷ ANTHONY GRAFTON, « Thinking Outside the 'Pico Box' », *The New York Review*, 2020/11/05; LEINKAUF, « The Structure and the Implications of Giovanni Pico's Famous *Oratio* », p. 915, fn. 12.

⁸ DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 236–244.

⁹ WILLIAM CRAVEN, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Symbol of His Age: Modern Interpretations of a Renaissance Philosopher*, Droz, Geneva 1981 (*Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 185), in part. chapter 2 (« Pico's idea on Man »). See also EUGENIO GARIN, « Un nuovo libro su Giovanni Pico della Mirandola », *Belfagor*, 40/3 (1985), p. 343–352; PAOLA ZAMBELLI, *L'apprendista stregone. Astrologia, cabala e arte lulliana in Pico della Mirandola e seguaci*, Marsilio, Venice 1995 (Saggi Marsilio), p. 25–26.

radicalizes Craven's position and seems to reject as a whole both the presence of the topic as well as the entire interpretation – leaving out, for instance, a different remark about the relation between Garin, Gentile, and Burckhardt, proposed by Michele Ciliberto.¹⁰ His position is so radical that Anthony Grafton, in a recent review of the book, applauds the author with verses from the *Magnificat*: Copenhagen is portrayed as the forefront of a 'revisionist movement' which, from the 1980s has been exploring Pico's texts with the aim to « bring down the mighty [scholars] from their seats ».¹¹

IV. Initial Remarks

A few years ago, Vittoria Perrone Compagni brought to light several significant excerpts and references about Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525)¹²: the well-known professor, who was by no means a Platonic,¹³ knew Giovanni Pico's works perfectly well and quoted them both in his classes and his written works. Furthermore, he knew and quoted Pico's *Oratio* mainly with respect to the exaltation of human mediety and dignity. In the first chapter of his *Tractatus de immortalitate animae* (1516), Pomponazzi declared that the human being possesses an amphibolous, indeterminate nature, an intermediate kind of nature between purely mortal and immortal beings; only the human being has received the

¹⁰ See at least MICHELE CILIBERTO, « 1492: Garin, Pico, l'Oratio », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *De hominis dignitate*, ed. EUGENIO GARIN, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 2012 (Forme, 5), p. v-xix: xi; ID., « Una meditazione sulla condizione umana », *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, 63/4 (2008), p. 653–692: 660–661: « Da questo punto di vista, insieme al libro su Pico [...] è assai notevole il saggio *La 'dignitas hominis' e la letteratura patristica* pubblicato nel 1938, aperto – e va sottolineato – da un significativo riferimento a Burdach (citato poi, con consenso, anche nel corso del saggio, e da un simmetrico distacco dalla lezione di Burckhardt e dello stesso Gentile, pur citati con parole di ammirazione e apprezzamento ».

¹¹ GRAFTON, « Thinking Outside the 'Pico Box' ».

¹² I am referring to VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Pomponazzi critico di Giovanni Pico », *Schifanoia*, 46–47 (2014), p. 44–54; see in addition EAD., « Problemi di causalità: Pico sulla magia », in MARCO BERTOZZI (ed.), *Nello specchio del cielo. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e le 'Disputationes' contro l'astrologia divinatoria*, Mirandola Ferrara, Aprile 2004, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 2008 (Studi pichiani, 12), p. 95–115: while this essay takes up the same topic treated by Copenhagen in his book, there is no mention of it.

¹³ On the Aristotelianism of Pietro Pomponazzi see VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Critica e riforma del Cristianesimo nel *De fato* », in PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Il fato, il libero arbitrio e la predestinazione*, a cura di VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, Nino Aragno, Turin 2004 (L'età nuova, 1), p. LVII–XCII. A different opinion, but without any serious reference to the texts, has been carried out by SERGIO LANDUCCI, *I filosofi e Dio*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2005 (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna, 1181), p. 62–66; FRANCESCO P. RAIMONDI, JOSÈ MANUEL GARCIA VALVERDE, « Monografia Introduttiva », in PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Tutti i trattati peripatetici*, ed. FRANCESCO P. RAIMONDI, JOSÈ MANUEL GARCIA VALVERDE, Bompiani, Milan 2013, p. 9–188: 52.

possibility to assume one nature or the other.¹⁴ At the end of § 14, Pomponazzi employed a hermetical lexicon and alluded to ‘some’ [*quidam*] who said that « the human being is a great miracle, as he is the entire world and he can take on the nature he prefers: he was given the possibility to follow any peculiarity of things he prefers ».¹⁵

The reference to Pico’s *Oratio* seems to be clear; but in case we had doubts about the identity of one of those *quidam*, we only need to read Pomponazzi’s course on *De partibus animalium* (1522): here we find the argument repeated together with an explicit quotation from the *Oratio*, nearly *ad litteram*:

Petri Pomponatii <i>Expositio de partibus animalium</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
Homo autem qui est medius, cui natura et Deus dedit quod respiciat inferiora et superiora et est imaginandum quod Deus et natura dixerit homini:	Medium te mundi posui, ut circumspiceres inde commodius quidquid est in mundo. Nec te celestem neque terrenum, neque mortalem neque immortalem fecimus,
« Homo, ego posui te in medio generabilium et corruptibilium et posui in arbitrio tuo quod possis videre et aspicere eterna et non eterna	ut tui ipsius quasi arbitrarius honorariusque plastes in quam malueris tute formam effingas.
et posui in arbitrio tuo	Poteris in inferiora quae sunt bruta degenerare; poteris in superiora quae sunt divina ex tui animi sententia regenerari
quod tu possis te transmutare in deum et in bestias ». ¹⁶	

¹⁴ PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, in ID., *Tutti i trattati peripatetici*, ed. RAIMONDI, GARCIA VALVERDE, p. 928: « Initium autem considerationis nostrae hinc sumendum duxi: hominem scilicet non simplicis, sed multiplicis, non certae, sed ancipitis naturae esse, mediumque inter mortalia et immortalia collocari. [...] Ex quibus tota colligi potest conclusio, non simplicis scilicet naturae esse, cum tres animas, ut fere ita dixerim, includat, vegetativam videlicet, sensitivam et intellectivam, ancipitemque naturam sibi vindicare, cum neque simpliciter mortalis neque simpliciter immortalis existat, verum utramque naturam amplectitur ». The same conclusions in POMPONAZZI, *Il fato, il libero arbitrio e la predestinazione*, p. 404: « Humana enim natura est quoddam universum; cum enim media sit inter aeterna et generabilia et corruptibilia utranque naturam debet continere. Unde debent esse aliqui homines veluti Dii [...] ».

¹⁵ POMPONAZZI, *Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, p. 1096: « quapropter non immerito homo dictus est microcosmus sive parvus mundus. Grande igitur miraculum quidam dixerunt esse hominem, cum totus mundus sit et in unamquamque naturam vertibilis, cum sibi data est potestas sequi, quamcumque proprietatem rerum maluerit ». The same topic of the ‘great miracle’ is repeated in POMPONAZZI, *Il fato, il libero arbitrio e la predestinazione*, p. 422–423.

¹⁶ PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Expositio super primo et secundo. ‘De partibus animalium’*, ed. STEFANO PERFETTI, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 2004 (Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento. Studi e testi, 45), p. 110; this excerpt was already published by FRANCO GRAIFF, « Aspetti del pensiero di Pietro

This telling quotation is part of a greater *quaestio* within § 5 of the *Expositio*, where Pomponazzi goes on for several pages discussing human nature, quoting, among other things, the same sources Pico had used (starting from an altered excerpt from Psalm 8: *Minuisti paulo minus ab angelis*). Unfortunately, there is no way to discover whether Pomponazzi was quoting from the edition printed in Bologna (1496), from that of Venice (1496) or from that of Strasbourg (1504); nor can we determine under what title he knew the speech. In any case, he definitely knew and quoted the *Oratio* for one specific reason: to his eyes, that text represented the emblem of a certain kind of anthropology which exalted the nature and freedom of the human being; an anthropology, however, of which Pomponazzi could not approve.¹⁷

Further quotations from Pico surface from the various texts stemming from the courses Pomponazzi offered at the university for over two decades. In his *Quaestio de universalibus*, discussed in Padua around 1503, he mentioned Pico's conviction that Aquinas and Scotus agree on the main philosophical cornerstones, adding that he was not at all convinced of this idea.¹⁸ This argument may come from Pico's *Conclusiones paradoxae*, as rightly suggested by Perrone Compagni, but it may also refer to an excerpt of the *Oratio*, where Pico asserts the harmony between Scotus, Aquinas, Averroes and Avicenna.¹⁹ On the other hand, the *Oratio* is undoubtedly the source of some of Pomponazzi's references to Pico contained in the *Expositio duodecimi Metaphysices*, a course delivered in Bologna between 1511 and 1512. In that circumstance, Pomponazzi

Pomponazzi nelle opere e nei corsi del periodo bolognese », *Annali dell'Istituto di filosofia, Università di Firenze, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia*, 1 (1979), p. 69–130: 122, on the basis of the witness of MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 6537, fol. 39r.

¹⁷ On Pomponazzi's refusal of Pico's theme of human dignity see VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Introduzione », in PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Trattato sull'immortalità dell'anima*, ed. VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1999 (Immagini della ragione, 1), p. xiv; TIZIANA SUAREZ NANI, « Dignità e finitezza dell'uomo: alcune riflessioni sul *De immortalitate animae* di Pietro Pomponazzi », *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, 50/1 (1995), p. 7–30.

¹⁸ PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Expositio super I De anima Aristotelis et Commentatoris*, ed. MASSIMILIANO CHIANESE, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2018 (Temi e testi, 172), p. 113: « Verum est tamen quod comes Picus tenuit quod Thomas ipse a Scoto non sit differens, licet ego hoc non credam ». The excerpt was already published in PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Corsi inediti dell'insegnamento padovano*, 2 vol., ed. ANTONINO POPPI, Antenore, Padua 1970 (Saggi e Testi, 6), vol. II, p. 142.

¹⁹ PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Pomponazzi critico di Giovanni Pico », p. 45, fn. 7, believes that Pomponazzi referred to Pico's *Conclusiones paradoxae numero XVII secundum propriam opinionem, dicta primum Aristotelis et Platonis, deinde aliorum doctorum conciliantes qui maxime discordare videntur*, 6 (in STEVEN A. FARMER, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486). The Evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems*, with Text, Translation and Commentary, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, Tempe 1998 [Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 167], p. 366). See the passage from Pico's *Oratio* in COPENHAVER, *Magic and the Dignity of Man*, p. 475: « I have also added several passages in which I assert that statements by Scotus and Thomas, by Averroes and Avicenna, agree in several places where they are thought to disagree ».

made a fool of Pico, making him say that Avicenna was a Platonic philosopher.²⁰ In addition, Pomponazzi proved to be familiar also with Pico's *Commento sopra una canzone d'amore*, as he borrowed the example of the Talmudists who talk about the creation of the world.²¹ Lastly, other references to Pico in Pomponazzi's works have been signaled by Franco Graiff within the *reportationes* from his course on *Meteors*; however, I was not able to consult the manuscript for the preparation of this paper.²² This large amount of quotations allows us to fix two points in order to outline our problem more clearly: (a) Pomponazzi had a wide knowledge of Pico's works, not only of his *Disputationes*, but also of his *Oratio*, *Conclusiones*, and *Commento*; (b) Pomponazzi knew and quoted the *Oratio* with respect to two topics, namely the concord of philosophy and the exaltation of human nature and freedom.

V. Discussion: the Circulation of the *Oratio* in Italy

Evidence from Pomponazzi's texts unexpectedly opens a breach in an interpretation which, at first glance, would otherwise seem solid and exhaustive. After considering the case of Pomponazzi, one might wonder whether ideas such as human mediety and freedom – perhaps even 'dignity' – could be found also in other authors, who read Pico's text. As a matter of fact, there are intellectuals from the sixteenth century who are not considered or discussed by Copenhaver, although they seem indispensable in order to reconstruct a reliable picture of the early diffusion of the *Oratio*. A suitable starting point might be Pico's immediate context, namely the Platonic Academy of Careggi, i.e. the Florentine school founded by Marsilio Ficino, to which Pico belonged since 1484. It has been widely recognized that Francesco Cattani da Diacceto (1466–1522), Ficino's pupil and successor at the Academia, composed his *De pulchro* (1499) in order to challenge

²⁰ PIETRO POMPONAZZI, *Expositio duodecimi Metaphysices*, ed. VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI (forthcoming), tc. 18: « Et ad Averroem adducentem Aristotelem, dicendum quod Avicenna non fuit aristotelicus, sed platonius, ut bene dicit Picus ».

²¹ POMPONAZZI, *Expositio duodecimi Metaphysices*, tc. 18: « [...] quia balbutiens fuit in principio philosophia ipsa, sicut dicit Calarmuthos, doctor Hebreorum, movens quaestionem quid faceret deus ante creationem mundi: et dicit quod faciebat mundos parvos et rumpebat [...] ». Cf. IOHANNIS PICI *Commento*, I, 7, in Eiusd. *Opera omnia*, Heinrich Peter, Basileae 1557, p. 469–470: « E così concederebbono [i Platonic] essere stati infiniti mondi, perché infinite volte el mondo è stato dalla confusione del caos in ordine ridotto ed infinite volte è in quello ritornato; al che pare concordare la opinione de' talmudisti, e' quali domandavano che faceva Dio ab aeterno e rispondecono che creava mondi e poi gli guastava, quantunque seguendo e' fundamenti de' cabalisti alle loro parole si possa dare e più vero e più conveniente senso ».

²² GRAIFF, « Aspetti del pensiero di Pietro Pomponazzi », p. 74. An edition of Pomponazzi's *Expositio in IV libros Meteororum* is under preparation by Vittoria Perrone Compagni, whom I thank very much for permitting me to see some transcriptions.

some of Pico's main theories about henology.²³ Pico's position is often silently summoned by Cattani, but it is sometimes explicitly mentioned, and in any case it is easy to detect. An interesting case study lies in the third book of *De pulchro*, where Cattani, after treating universal beauty, starts to discuss the human being, « *admirabilis factus* ». His inquiry begins with the very same quotation that Pico sets at the beginning of his *Oratio*: the hermetic argument from *Asclepius*, followed by a short argument on the assimilation of man to God.²⁴

Another well-known case is represented by Francesco Zorzi (1466–1540), a Franciscan friar inspired by Neoplatonic and cabalistic theories, who deeply knew Pico's texts and freely employed the *Oratio* in his *De harmonia mundi* (1525).²⁵ The presence of Pico can be detected in almost every part of this work, and it concerns topics such human nobility and prominence above the angels (III, iii, 2, p. xxxr–xxxiii), human mediety (III, iv, 7, p. xlvr–xlvi), the human process of deification (III, vi, 1–2, p. lvv–lviii) and the human power to connect the entire universe (III, vi, 4, p. lviii–v). In particular, one concluding excerpt from the fifth tone seems to be extremely significant, as it repeats almost *verbatim* Pico's words about the Chaldeans:

Francisci Georgii <i>De harmonia mundi</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
Et quia transmutabilis est spiritus hominis in <i>diversas</i> naturas, hinc dixere Chaldei hominem esse <i>dissolutoriae naturae</i> animal,	Idcirco scribit Evantes Persa, ubi Chaldaicam theologiam enarrat, non esse homini <i>suam ullah et nativam imaginem</i> ,

²³ On Cattani's opposition to Pico, see the important monograph by SIMONE FELLINA, *Alla scuola di Marsilio Ficino. Il pensiero filosofico di Francesco Cattani da Diacceto*, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 2016 (Clavis, 5), p. 35–66; see also LUCA BURZELLI, « 'Unum indivisum'. Il problema dell'uno da Pico a Contarini », in ANNA RODOLFI, GIANLUCA GARELLI (eds.), *Fructibus construere folia. Omaggio a Vittoria Perrone Compagni*, Società Editrice Fiorentina, Florence 2020 (Biblioteca Palazzeschi, 19), p. 161–175: 167–169.

²⁴ FRANCISCI CATANEI DIACETII *De pulchro*, III, 1, ed. SYLVAIN MATTON, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 1986 (Nuova Collezione di Testi Umanistici Inediti o Rari, 18), in part. p. 162: « Quamobrem divine a Mercurio dictum 'Magnum o Asclepi miraculum est homo, animal adorandum atque honorandum'. Hic enim in naturam Dei transit, quasi ipse sit Deus; hic daemonum genus novit, utpote qui cum eisdem se ortum esse cognoscat; hic humana naturae partem in se ipse despicit, alterius partis diuinitate confisus ». The dependence of these passages from Pico's idea of human excellence has been shown in detail by FELLINA, *Alla scuola di Marsilio Ficino*, p. 181–187.

²⁵ On Zorzi's commentaries on Pico's *Conclusiones* see PAOLO EDOARDO FORNACIARI, « L'Apologia di Arcangelo da Borgonovo in difesa delle Conclusiones Cabalisticæ di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola », *Vivens Homo*, 5/2 (1994), p. 575–591; JEAN FRANÇOIS MAILLARD, « Sous l'invocation de Dante et Pic de la Mirandole: les manuscrits inédits de Georges de Venise (Francesco Zorzi) », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 36/1 (1974), p. 47–61. On Zorzi, more generally, see FRANÇOIS SECRET, « Pico della Mirandola e le origini della Cabbala Cristiana », *Convivium*, 25 (1957), p. 31–47; ID., *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Dunod, Paris 1964. More recently, see RUGGERO LORENZIN, « Francesco Zorzi Veneto. *De Harmonia Mundi Totius Cantica Tria* (Venezia, 1525). Teorie Musicali E Kabbalah », Ph.D. Diss., University of Padua 2013 (supervisor, prof. ANTONIO LOVATO).

<i>nullam habens determinatam imaginem, sed adventitias et extrarias quam plurimas. Nam transmutatur spiritus non solum in naturam superiorem et inferiorem, quae sunt in homine, sed in daemonem, angelum et Deum, ut tetigimus.</i>²⁶	<i>extrarias multas et adventitias.</i> Hinc illud Chaldeorum «Enosh hu shinnum vekammah tebhaoth baal haj» idest ‘homo variae ac <i>multiformis et desultoriae naturae animal</i>’.

It is important to underline how Zorzi exposes the exaltation of human nature in an even more radical way than Pico: not only does Zorzi speak about the nobility, divinity and honorability of man, but he also provides a definition of *dignity*:

hinc elementa caeteraque omnia hominem componentia in eo tamquam in capite sublimiori quadam dignitate conspiciuntur. Elementa igitur etsi in omnibus crassioribus rebus comperiuntur consonantia, in homine tamen tanto maiori quanto ipse est meliori vita donatus: est namque – ut diximus – solus ex cunctis animantibus coelestis divinaeque vitae particeps.²⁷

Zorzi defines human dignity with respect his proximity to God: human beings have no dignity *per se*, as autonomous creatures, but rather partake of the nature of the divinity, and thus can approach God.

Furthermore, Copenhaver reserves only a very brief analysis to Giovanni Battista Gelli (1498–1563), a Florentine cobbler with philosophical interests, who attended the Platonic Academia and the Orti Oricellari. In 1549 Gelli published an interesting dialogue entitled *Circe*, where he staged the conversation between Ulysses and his companions when transformed in animals. This dialogue had been studied by Eugenio Garin who pointed out that Gelli took significant excerpts from Pico’s *Oratio*, and put them in vernacular. The presence of Pico can be clearly traced in the prologue to Cosimo I de’ Medici:

in potestà del’uomo è stato liberamente posto il potersi eleggere quel modo nel quale più gli piace vivere; e questi, come un nuovo Prometeo, trasformarsi in tutto quello che egli vuole, prendendo, a guisa di cameleonte, il colore di tutte quelle cose alle quali egli più si avvicina con l’affetto; e finalmente farsi o terreno o

²⁶ FRANCISCI GEORGII VENETI *De harmonia mundi totius cantica*, III, v, 7, in aedibus Bernardini de Vitalibus Chalchographi, Venetiis, September 1525, p. LIVV. Francesco Bausi asserts that the Chaldaic source of these lines is still unknown, and thus it is likely that Zorzi translated it on the basis of Pico (PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Discorso sulla dignità dell’uomo*, p. 20, fn. 43).

²⁷ FRANCISCI GEORGII VENETI *De harmonia mundi*, I, vi, 4, p. CIIIV. On this passage see also MYRIAM JACQUEMIERE, «Le *De Harmonia Mundi* de Francesco Zorzi Veneto (1525) dans sa traduction française par Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie en 1578, une oeuvre initiatique Exemplaire», *Studi Francesi*, 146/2 (2005), p. 240–256: 247.

divino, e a quello stato trapassare che alla elezione del libero voler suo piacerà più.²⁸

Even more significant is the end of the tenth chapter, where Gelli translates Pico's *Oratio* almost *ad literam* and makes Pico's speech his own:

Johannis Baptistae Gelli Circe	Johannis Pici Oratio
Tutte l'altre creature <i>hanno avuto una certa legge</i>, per la quale elle non possono conseguire altro fine che quello che è stato ordinato loro da la natura; né possono uscire in modo alcuno di que' termini che ella ha assegnato loro. E l'uomo, <i>per avere questa volontà libera</i>, può acquistarne uno più degno e uno manco degno, <i>come pare a lui</i>: o inchinandosi verso quelle cose che sono inferiori a lui, o rivolgendosi inverso quelle che gli sono superiori. Imperò che se egli <i>si darà tutto al ventre</i>, tenendo sempre la bocca e la faccia fitta nella terra, egli diventerà stupido e simile alle piante; e se <i>egli si immergerà troppo nella delectazione sensitiva</i>, diverrà simile ai bruti. Ma se egli voltando la faccia al cielo, <i>considererà filosofando la bellezza de i cieli</i> e il meraviglioso ordine della natura, egli <i>si muterà di terreno in animale celeste</i>; e se egli, sprezzati tutti gli impedimenti del corpo, attenderà a contemplare le cose divine, si farà quasi uno Iddio. <i>Chi sarà addunque che non ammiri di questo uomo</i>, il quale non è solamente più nobile e signore di tutti gli altri animali, ma egli ha questa condizione particolare, avuta dalla natura, che egli può farsi quello che egli vuole?²⁹	Definita caeteris natura intra praescriptas a nobis leges coercetur. Tu, nullis angustiis coercitus, pro tuo arbitrio, in cuius manu te posui, tibi illam prefinies. [...] Si quem enim videris deditum ventri, humi serpentem hominem, frutex est, non homo, quem vides; si quem in fantasiae quasi Calipsus vanis praestigiis cecucientem et subscalpenti delinitum illecebra sensibus mancipatum, brutum est, non homo, quem vides. Si recta philosophum ratione omnia discernentem, hunc venereris; caeleste est animal, non terrenum. Si purum contemplatorem corporis nescium, in penetralia mentis relegatum, hic non terrenum, non caeleste animal [...] Ecquis hominem non admiretur?

²⁸ GIOVAN BATISTA GELLI, *Dialoghi*, ed. ROBERTO TISSONI, Laterza, Bari 1967 (Scrittori d'Italia, 240), p. 145. Cf. GARIN, *Un nuovo libro*, p. 349.

²⁹ GELLI, *Dialoghi*, p. 285–286. Cf. EUGENIO GARIN, « Notarelle su Giovanni Pico e G.B. Gelli », *Rinascimento*, Ser. 2, vol. 19 (1979), p. 259–264: 261; DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 226.

In the lines that immediately precede this excerpt, the author provided a new definition of human dignity, which touches upon the concept of freedom. This definition shows that, like Zorzi, Gelli considered Pico's *Oratio* as a description of human excellence and dignity:

ELEFANTE: E che dignità dà a l'uomo questa sua volontà libera?

ULISSE: Una dignità tanto meravigliosa, che que' primi sapienti di Egitto (come io t'ho detto) lo chiamaron solamente per questo 'il gran miracolo della natura'.

Therefore, Pico's text was read and re-used in virtue of its exposition of the essential properties of the human being, an amphibious creature that can assume any nature it wishes. We may question whether this was Pico's own intention, but the fact still remains: fifty years after Pico's death, intellectuals from different philosophical backgrounds knew and quoted the *Oratio* for its idea of human dignity. Unfortunately, Copenhaver's book does not consider (or treats in a cursory way) all these authors. Cattani da Diacceto is never mentioned. Zorzi is quoted three times, but twice in passing (p. 208, p. 266); in the third occasion, there is a brief mention of *De harmonia mundi*, yet without acknowledging the influence of Pico (p. 219). As for Gelli, Copenhaver restricts his analysis of this author to three lines, stating that « Gelli never mentioned Pico in his Homeric animal fable on human misery » (p. 195).³⁰

Another reader of Pico's *Oratio* was Alessandro Farra (d. 1577), who governed the fief of Casalmaggiore, not far from Mirandola, on behalf of the D'Avalos family. Farra had been a pupil of Giulio Camillo Delminio, and he had studied

³⁰ Fundamental contributions to enlighten Gelli's sources have been provided by ARMAND L. DE GAETANO, *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy: the Rebellion Against Latin*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1974 (Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, ser. I, Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia, 119), in part. p. 175. In addition, despite Copenhaver's remark, Gelli himself mentioned Pico among his sources inside his commentary on Dante's *Comedy*: « Scrive il dottissimo Pico ella Mirandola, in una orazione che egli fece nel Senato Romano, aver letto nelle memorie degli Arabi che uno de' loro sapienti il quale era chiamato Adala Saracino, usava dire che non aveva trovato mai in questa scena mondana [...] cosa alcuna la quale fusse più eccellente e più meravigliosa che l'uomo » (quoted by GARIN, « Notarelle su Giovanni Pico e G.B. Gelli », p. 261). One reads, perhaps surprisingly, in Paul J. Miller's review of De Gaetano's monograph that « the most interesting part of this book for a philosopher deals with Gelli's writings on the dignity of man, a characteristic humanist topic. Gelli was influenced by the philosophies of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola on this point » (*Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 16/2 [1978], p. 228). Later the same Miller applauded Craven's monograph, who « shows most convincingly [...] that such prestigious modern investigators as Nardi, Garin, Cassirer, Wind and Saitta [sic!] present interpretations of Pico's philosophy devoid of historical value or authenticity » (*Renaissance Quarterly*, 37/2 [1984], p. 233–234). Perhaps Miller did not realize that the influence of Pico's *dignitas hominis* (which he approved for De Gaetano) was exactly the major thesis contested by Craven.

Neoplatonic and Hermetic texts.³¹ In 1564 he published his *Tre discorsi*, one of which, entitled *Della divinità dell'uomo*, might be considered a free translation of Pico's *Oratio*.³² We can observe that the alternation between the concepts of 'dignità' and 'divinità' appeared almost ordinary: the text indeed dealt with the definition of human dignity; and the publisher, Girolamo Bartoli from Pavia, wrote alternatively 'dignità' and 'divinità' in the top header of the edition (as it stands twice at p. Aiii), as if there were synonymous. Pico's *Oratio* inspired Farra's speech, which adapted several arguments from it in the vernacular. A synoptic table of these arguments is set out below:

Alexandri Farrae <i>Della divinità dell'huomo</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
Dico dunque, c'havendo 'l sommo Architetto questo venerabile tempio della sua Deità con segretissime et inviolabili leggi della sapienza sua dirutto a fine, et quelle parti che immediatamente da esso procedono, sovracelesti, eterne e divine, piene di menti sciolte e di spiriti angelici, e l'ultime vere feci di tutto 'l magistero suo fatte albergo d'animali di ciascuna sorte, hebbe desiderio ch'alcuna creatura fosse la quale il grande artificio mondano veggendo, contemplasse, conoscesse et amasse e finalmente amando possedesse, e dalle produtte cose al fattore rivolgendosi verso di lui tutto d'amore s'accendesse [...]. Laonde (come scrivono Mosè legislatore de gli Hebrei, e 'l padre de' filosofi Platone) dopo l'haver finite tutte le cose, deliberò di produr l'huomo, ma vide che nelle sempiterne forme non era esemplare alcuno, alla cui sembianza lo potesse formare [...] anzi, ch'in tutte le parti del mondo non restava luoco dove questo contemplator dell'universo agiatamente sedersi potesse. [...]	Iam summus Pater architectus deus hanc quam videmus mundanam domum, divinitatis templum augustissimum, archanae legibus sapientiae fabrefecerat. Supercaelestem regionem mentibus decorarat; ethereos globos aeternis animis vegetarat; excrementarias et feculentas inferioris mundi partes omnigena animalium turba complerat. Sed, opere consumato, desiderabat artifex esse aliquem qui tanti operis rationem perpenderet, pulchritudinem amaret, magnitudinem admiraretur. Idcirco iam rebus omnibus (ut Moses Timeusque testantur) absolutis, de producendo homine postremo cogitavit. Verum nec erat in archetipis unde novam sobolem effingeret nec in thesauris quod novo filio hereditarium largiretur, nec in subsellis totius orbis, ubi universi contemplator iste sederet.

³¹ On Alessandro Farra see SIMONETTA ADORNI BRACCESI, « Tra ermetismo ed eresia: Luca Contile, Alessandro Farra e la 'filosofia simbolica' », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 17/2 (2011), p. 545-554: 549.

³² The edition of *I tre discorsi* is discussed by ARMANDO MAGGI, « Il principe neoplatonico secondo i *Tre discorsi* di Alessandro Farra (1564) », *Italianistica. Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 29/3 (2000), p. 381-394.

Così gli disse: «Oh ultima e più cara di tutte l'altre nostre operationi, ecco i' te pongo nel mezo del mondo, a fine che più comodamente intorno intorno riguardando, quel luoco, quell'aspetto e quella natura, quasi Chamaleonte, ti prenda a cui più di tutti gli altri da propri desideri inchinato sarai [...]. Da qui inanzi potrai da te stesso o sommergerti nel fango e nella fece della materia, o con le sostanze eterne alzarti a me, e farti Iddio immortale». [...] O incomprendibile bontà divina, o incomparabile ventura dell'huomo, al qual è concessa facoltà d'haver tutto quello ch'egli desidera et d'essere tutto ciò che vuole.³³	[...] sic est alloquutus: «[...] Medium te mundi posui, ut circumspiceres inde commodius quidquid est in mundo. [...] Poteris in inferiora quae sunt brutadegenerare; poteris in superiora quae sunt divina ex tui animi sententia regenerari». O summam Dei patris liberalitatem, summam et admirandam hominis foelicitatem! Cui datum id habere quod optat, id esse quod velit.

These are but a few significant excerpts from Farra's *Discorso*. The entirety of the speech could be transcribed to show that it amounts to a vernacular translation of Pico. In this context, however, two aspects should be emphasized. Firstly, it must be observed that the typographic mistake in the top header occurs in concomitance with the lines quoted above: the editor changed the title 'divinità' with 'dignità' in correspondence of Pico's translation – a fact that goes beyond a simple typographical mistake. Secondly, this alternation between dignity and divinity particularly is meaningful when considered from a semantic point of view. Farra often employs the term 'dignità' – perhaps more often than Pico – and he always associates it with the elevation to God: human dignity is not an exaltation of autonomy, but rather the awareness of human ability to come closer to God.³⁴ This clarification is indeed necessary, as it answers one of the most debated points raised by Copenhaver: he rightly contrasts the modern, idealistic myth of human self-sufficiency and self-realization (p. 361); however, it seems very plausible that no reader from the sixteenth century understood Pico's conception of dignity in these terms. I will return to this point again in my closing remarks.

³³ ALESSANDRO FARRA, *Tre dialoghi*, in Pavia, appresso Girolamo Bartoli 1564, passim, p. Aiiii sgg.

³⁴ FARRA, *Tre dialoghi*, p. Bii: «Eccovi dunque affidati la gran dignità dell'huomo, per la quale da natural desiderio spinto sovra tutte l'altre creature alzandosi può finalmente trasformarsi in Dio [...]. Tutte queste cose sono introdotte perché l'huomo, questa sua gran dignità conoscendo, [...] con l'unità sopra si congiunga, ivi si fermi et ivi s'acquisti la deificatione, che dio finalmente lo rende ».

Moreover, one should consider whether Pico's influence can be detected in Girolamo Cardano's *De subtilitate* (1550). Cardano (1501–1576), like Alessandro Farra, was a member of the Accademia degli Affidati in Pavia.³⁵ A section of book XI of *De subtilitate* describes the features of human nature. There are no actual translations from Pico, but all the main concepts of his text are present. The human being was created for four reasons: (i) in order to know the divine things; (ii) in order to connect the mortal and celestial levels of the universe; (iii) in order to rule mortal things; (iv) in order to have a medium intellect between angels and beasts.³⁶ Even Giulio Cesare Vanini mentioned these same arguments in the *secunda exercitatio* of his *Amphiteatrum aeternae providentiae* (1615).³⁷ Miguel Angel Granada and Fabrizio Meroi have already recognized Pico's – and Gelli's – influence in Bruno's *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* (1584), which appears to take inspiration from Pico concerning the mediety and the mobility of man through the *scala naturae*: « Onde sempre più e più <gli uomini> per le sollecite et urgenti occupazioni allontanandosi dall'esser bestiale, più altamente s'approssimano a l'esser divino ». ³⁸ Copenhaver's book, however, does not reference the works and ideas of Bruno or Cardano in comparison to Pico's *Oratio*.

Further information about Pico's circulation in the sixteenth century may be gathered through the analysis of some unpublished manuscripts collected in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: MS *Vat.lat.* 3651 contains an *Expositio* about how God created man in his own image, by Giovanni Paolo Peruschi, canonic of the Lateran under Sixtus V; MS *Vat.lat.* 5577 contains a treatise *De homine* by Pietro Colonna (1460–1540), a Franciscan friar interested in Cabala. In addition, one should consider interesting similarities in the works of Cornelio Musso and Gian Battista della Porta.³⁹ Finally, we may consider the diffusion of the *Oratio* 'in the

³⁵ Cf. ADORNI BRACCESI, « Tra ermetismo ed eresia », p. 554.

³⁶ HIERONIMI CARDANI *De subtilitate*, apud Johannem Petreium, Norimbergae 1550, c. IX, p. 250: « Homo vero ipse propter quatuor factus est. Primum, ut divina cognosceret. Secundum ut illis mortalia medius existens connecteret. Tertium ut mortalibus imperaret: necesse enim erat et in hoc genere velut et in coelesti aliquod esset optimum ac nobilissimum quod imperitet caeteris. Hic autem vi, illic vero sponde. Quartum ut omne cogitanti munus impleretur, essetque animal fallax. Nam belvae fallaces esse non poterant ob stultitiam, superi vero ob probitatem. Homo igitur intelligendo divis similis efficitur, pravitatem autem bellvis ».

³⁷ JULII CAESARIS VANINI *Amphiteatrum aeternae providentiae*, apud viduam Antonii de Harsy, Lugduni 1615, p. 25.

³⁸ GIORDANO BRUNO, *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*, ed. EUGENIO CANONE, Mondadori, Milan 2001² (Biblioteca dell'Utopia, 10), p. 206. A dependence on Pico's *Oratio* and on Gelli's *Circe* as well (that means, indirectly, on Pico himself) is proposed by EUGENIO CANONE, « La profonda note animale dello *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 8/1 (2002), p. 23–46, in part. p. 34, fn. 47. On the topic of dignity in Bruno see LAURA FEDI, « Dignità », in MICHELE CILIBERTO (ed.), *Giordano Bruno. Parole, concetti, immagini*, 2 vol., Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 2014, vol. I, *ad indicem*.

³⁹ GUIDO LAURENTI, « 'Miracolo di natura è esser uomo, miracolo di grazia è esser cristiano': la presenza del *De hominis dignitate* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nell'oratoria sacra di Cornelio

very long haul' with Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), who recalled Pico's concept of dignity in his *Dissertatio de mente heroica* (1732).⁴⁰

VI. Expansion of the Discussion: the Circulation of the *Oratio* in Europe

It is neither possible nor necessary here to trace the history of Pico's reception in early modern culture – for this Copenhagen's monumental book is more than enough. However, thus far in the present analysis Italian authors have been privileged, whose knowledge of Pico may have depended on the intensity of local diffusion and on geographical proximity. Outside the Italian context, one might wonder about the impact the *Oratio* had in the rest of Europe. In this respect, Copenhagen states that the importance of dignity did not surface among Pico's readers before the twentieth century. Yet, the absence of sixteenth-century readers of Pico outside of Italy in the monograph might give any reader pause: what of the *Oratio*'s fortune in France, Spain, and the Empire?

A fundamental starting-point might be the *Liber de sapiente*, published in 1509 by Charles de Bovelles (1479–1566).⁴¹ Bovelles was one of the most relevant French philosophers of the early sixteenth century, who studied with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and was inspired by medieval mysticism (Ramon Lull) and Neoplatonism (Nicholas of Cusa). Cassirer and Garin have widely remarked the importance of Bovelles' *De sapiente*, « die merkwürdigste Schöpfung der Renaissance-Philosophie »⁴², for its similarity to Pico's *Oratio*: part of the book

Musso », *Schifanoia*, 46–47 (2014), p. 159–168; DONATO VERARDI, « L'ambigua presenza di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella *Coelestis physiognomonica* di Giovan Battista della Porta », *Schifanoia*, 46–47 (2014), p. 113–120.

⁴⁰ GIAMBATTISTA VICO, *De Mente Heroica*, in Id., *Il 'De Mente Heroica' e gli scritti latini minori*, ed. GIAN GALEAZZO VISCONTI, Alfredo Guida Editore, Naples 1996, online edition by LEONARDO PICA CIAMARRA, ASSUNTA SANSONE, in « Laboratorio dell'ISPF », V, 2008, 1, <www.ispf.cnr.it/ispf-lab> (accessed 10/03/2022); MASSIMO LOLLINI, « Filosofia ed eroismo tra Socrate e Vico », in ENRICO NUZZO (ed.), *Eroi ed età eroiche attorno a Vico*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Fisciano, Vatolla, Raito, 24–27 maggio 1999), Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2004 (*Uomini e Dottrine*, 42), p. 3–18; 6; ENZO PACI, *Ingens Sylva. Saggio sulla filosofia di G.B. Vico*, Mondadori, Milan 1949 (*Il Pensiero Critico*, 11), p. 34–57; 46–48, 54; ANTONIO CORSANO, *Giambattista Vico*, Laterza, Bari 1956 (*Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna*, 511), p. 32.

⁴¹ An overview of the French diffusion can be found in ANNAMARIA CASALE, « Excellence et dignité de l'homme au XVI^e siècle: la vision réformée », Ph.D. Diss., University of Padua 2017/18 (supervisor. prof. ANNA BETTONI). See also DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 221; ANNA LESIUK-CUMMINGS, « 'Indiscretæ opus imaginis'. La debolezza del soggetto nell'*Oratio* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, nel *De Sapiente* di Charles de Bovelles, nella *Fabula de homine* di Juan Luis Vives e il problema dell'Umanesimo Rinascimentale », *Schifanoia*, 46–47 (2014), p. 21–29.

⁴² ERNST CASSIRER, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Springer Verlag, Berlin 2013, in part. p. 93; CHARLES DE BOVELLES, *Il libro del sapiente*, ed. EUGENIO GARIN, Einaudi, Turin 1987 (*Nuova Universale Einaudi*, 192).

does in fact bear the signs of Pico's influence, which is particularly evident in § 26, titled *The man mirrors the universe*:

Caroli Boveli <i>De sapiente</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
Nam, consumatis et perfectis omnibus, postquam actus singuli sua loca sortiti sunt, vidit deus deesse omnium speculatorem et universorum oculum [...].	Sed, opere consumato, desiderabat artifex esse aliquem qui tanti operis rationem perpenderet, pulchritudinem amaret, magnitudinem admiraretur. [...]
Viditque nullum supremo huic oculo inter cetera superesse locum. Plena quippe actuum erant omnia. Quodlibet suo gradu loco et ordine consisterat. Et ex actibus diversis disparatisque speciebus aut rerum differentiis et mundi luminaribus (que per se intermisceri, confundi, concurrere, et fas et possibile non est) fieri homo haudquaquam poterat.	Verum nec erat in archetipis unde novam sobolem effingeret nec in thesauris quod novo filio hereditarium largiretur, nec in subsellis totius orbis, ubi universi contemplator iste sederet. [...]
Extra igitur cunctorum differentias et proprietates in opposito omnium loco, in conflagratione mundi in omnium medio coaluit homo, tamquam publica creatura, que quod relictum erat in natura vacuum potentiis, umbris, speciebus, imaginibus et rationibus, supplevit. ⁴³	Statuit tandem optimus artifex, ut cui dari nihil proprium poterat commune esset quicquid privatum singulis fuerat. Igitur hominem accepit indiscretæ opus imaginis atque in mundi positum meditullio.

I will not dwell here on Cassirer's evaluation of Bovelles; however, I wish to underline a fact which clearly emerges from the textual comparison: even though the arguments regarding human dignity – as Pico recalled in the *Oratio* – were « triti in scholis », one made by Bovelles seems to be a quotation from the *Oratio*. The French philosopher did not simply quote a patristic topic: he rather mentioned specific points from Pico's text, taken as a manifesto of human exaltation.

Bovelles published his *De sapiente* in 1509 and, through his writing, many other intellectuals came to know and describe the dignity of man on the model (directly or indirectly) of Pico. This milieu of French poets and philosophers crossing two generations has been described by Lionello Sozzi in a well-known essay, « *La dignitas hominis dans la littérature française de la Renaissance* », which,

⁴³ CAROLI BOVILI, *Liber de sapiente*, in ID., *Que hoc volumine continentur: Liber de intellectu. Liber de sensu. Liber de nichilo. Ars oppositorum, Liber de generatione, Liber de sapiente, Liber de duodecim numeris, Epistole complures*, Ambianis, in edibus Francisci de Halleivin, et emissum ex officina Henrici Stephani, 1510, fol. 133r.

however, is absent from Copenhaver's treatment.⁴⁴ If we follow Sozzi's analysis, we see that after Bovelles, there were many explicit quotations, translations, or reformulations of Pico's dignity in French literature. Barthelemy de Chasseneuz (1480–1541), a jurist from Picardy who studied also in Turin and Pavia, composed a *Catalogus gloriae mundi* (1529)⁴⁵ where he quoted Pico, as it stands in this excerpt of the *prima pars*:

Ut ait Trismegistus, 'Miraculum est homo, ad similitudinem Dei factus' [...] In tantum ut ipse pater architectus Deus omnipotens, omnium creaturarum creator, cunctis rebus creatis, ultimum, divinum hominem creavit ad imaginem et similitudinem suam, ut postquam ipse Deus, *hanc quam mundanam domum videmus, divinitatis templum augustissimum, arcanæ legibus sapientiae fabrefecerat, super coelestem regionem mentibus decoraret, aethereos globos, aeternis animis vegetaret, excrementarias et feculentas mundi partes, omnigena animalibus turba, complerat. Opere consummato, considerabat aliquem esse qui tanti operis rationem perpenderet, pulchritudinem amaret, magnitudinem admiraretur.*

[...] O hominum quanta est natura temperata felicius ac diis cognata divinitate coniunctus, partem sui qua terrenus est despicit.⁴⁶

Chasseneuz did not only repeat Pico's arguments: in another section of the *pars prima* he mentioned the *Oratio* explicitly when writing about human dignity:

Unde ergo merito dicit Hermes Trismegistus quod miraculum est homo, prout ample recitat Pico Mirandula in sua *eleganti oratione, in coetu Romanorum per eum recitata*, ubi dicit legisse in monumentis Arabum Abdalam Saracenum interrogatum fuisse, quod in hac mundana scena admirandum spectaret, qui nihil homine admirabilius spectandum respondit.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ LIONELLO SOZZI, « La dignitas hominis dans la littérature française de la Renaissance », in Id., *Humanisme in France*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1970 [now reprinted in Id., *Rome n'est plus Rome. La polémique anti-italienne et autres essais sur la Renaissance suivis de «La dignité de l'homme»*, Classique Garnier, Paris 2002 (Études et essais sur la Renaissance, 41), p. 339–366]. See also LIONELLO SOZZI, « La dignitas hominis chez les auteurs lyonnais du xvi^e siècle », in *L'humanisme lyonnais au xvi^e siècle*, Presses Universitaires, Grenoble 1974, p. 295–338; Id., « Un désir ardent. Études sur la 'dignité de l'homme' à la Renaissance », Il Segnalibro Editore, Turin 1997. On Sozzi's interest for the topic of *dignitas hominis* see also DARIO CECCHETTI, « La dignitas hominis. Una tematica al centro degli interessi di Lionello Sozzi, studioso del Rinascimento francese », *Studi Francesi*, 60/1 (2016), p. 1–12.

⁴⁵ The derivation from Pico has been already noted by FRANÇOIS SECRET, « Le *Catalogus Gloriarum Mundi* de Barthélemy de Chasseneuz et la *Dignitas Hominis* », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 20/1 (1958), p. 170–176, who however did not mention the long passage we are now analyzing. On Chasseneuz see CASALE, *Excellence et dignité de l'homme*, p. 43–53.

⁴⁶ BARTHOLOMAEI CHASSANAEI *Catalogus gloriae mundi*, Coloniae, apud Samuelem de Tournes 1690, p. 82. Text in italics is a literal quotation of Pico's *Oratio*.

⁴⁷ BARTHOLOMAEI CHASSANAEI *Catalogus gloriae mundi*, p. 83. See also Asclepius, §3: « O hominum quanto est natura temperata felicius ac diis cognata! ».

It is a rather brief quotation, but there was not much Chasseneuz could add: had he quoted explicitly the full passage from Pico, every reader would have noticed that the entire section of the *Catalogus* was but a plagiarism from the *Oratio*. In addition, this excerpt proves that any reference to Abdallah the Saracen (perhaps also in other authors) came directly from Pico's *Oratio*.

Throughout the following years, many other authors from different backgrounds (poets, jurists, navigators) addressed the same topic. The explorer Jean Parmentier (1494–1529) composed a poem entitled *Des meraveilles de ce monde et de la dignité de l'homme*, published in 1530; later, the humanist Pierre Boaistuau (1500–1566) wrote a *Bref discours de l'excellence et dignité de l'homme* in 1558; the poet Pierre Ronsard (1524–1585) wrote his poem *L'Excellence de l'esprit de l'Homme* in 1559; the cardinal Pierre de Bèrulle (1575–1629) explicitly mentioned *dignitas* in some treatises; and finally the poet Maurice Scève (1501–1564) quoted the topic in his *Microcosme*, in 1562.⁴⁸ Boaistuau introduced his speech with the image of God creating man in order to contemplate the beauty of the universe, providing several hermetic quotations. Although the references are identical to the ones contained in the *Oratio*, Copenhaver finds a place for the *Bref discorus* to a footnote, in which he states: « As far as I can see, there is no sign of the *Oration* in the *Discours* » (p. 556). This footnote raises the question: why is Boaistuau's text – as well as that of Gelli, Chasseneuz and Parmentier – not discussed in Copenhaver's book? Although Pico's presence within those texts may appear doubtful to the author, they do in any event treat the precise topic he is tracing through the early modern and modern tradition.⁴⁹

Francisco Rico, in his 1978 monograph, asserted that topics concerning human dignity widely circulated in the Realm of Spain during the reign of Charles V.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Sozzi, « La *dignitas hominis* dans la littérature française de la Renaissance », p. 58–59. On Boaistuau see CASALE, *Excellence et dignité de l'homme*, p. 55–72. On Maurice Scève see MICHIO PETER HAGIWARA, *French Epic Poetry in the Sixteenth Century. Theory and Practice*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2018 (De Proprietatibus Litterarum. Series Maior, 16), p. 48–84. On Ronsard and Bèrulle see DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 60, p. 131–145.

⁴⁹ The analysis of the French diffusion of the *Oratio* would require a focus on Michel de Montaigne, which however cannot be done here. Nonetheless, I would like to remark that many scholars have underlined how Montaigne could have criticized Pico's idea of human dignity, opposing a new reading of that humanistic concept against it. On this topic see at least CHRISTOPHE BOURIAU, « Dignité humaine et Imagination selon Montaigne », *Camenae*, 8 (2010), p. 1–17; NICOLA PANICHI, « La vendetta di Circe. Montaigne, gli animali e l'ordine de nature' », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 17/1 (2011), p. 117–128 [reprinted in EAD., *Ecce homo. Studi su Montaigne*, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa 2017 (Bibliotheca, 15), in part. p. 75]; JEAN-LUC MARTINET, *Montaigne et la dignité humaine. Contribution à une histoire du discours de la dignité humaine*, Eurédit, Paris 2007.

⁵⁰ FRANCISCO RICO, *Laudes literarum. Humanismo y dignidad del hombre en la España del Renacimiento*, Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja, CIS, Barcelona 1978, p. 895–914: 900: « En la España (y en la Europa) del Emperador, los tópicos del expediente de la *dignitatis hominis* aparecen en distintos géneros literarios, en el pùlpito, en el derecho de gentes, en los comentarios a Aristóteles, en los debates theològicos... ». See also ASCENSIÒN RIVAS HERNÁNDEZ, « Humanismo Cristiano en el

This observation can be narrowed down to the fortune of Pico's works, which not simply circulated in Spain, but additionally had a significant impact on the so-called Second Scholastic (Vitoria, Suarez, Mas...).⁵¹ The most interesting case to prove a wide circulation of the *dignitas hominis* is the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), with his *Fabula de homine* (1518). Vives had attended the Sorbonne from 1509 – when Bovelles was publishing *De sapiente* – and later moved to Belgium in 1512: in these contexts he met Pico's works and appropriated many of his ideas.⁵² There are several studies on the relationship between the *Fabula* and the *Oratio*, therefore it will suffice to refer to them⁵³, but not before listing some useful pieces of textual evidence:

Diàlogo de la dignidad del hombre, de Fernàn Pérez de Oliva », *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos*, 34 (2011), p. 173–188: 175.

⁵¹ See at least SANTIAGO ORREGO, « The 16th Century School of Salamanca as a Context of Synthesis between the Middle Age and the Renaissance in Theological and Philosophical Matters », in CHARLES BURNETT, JOSÉ MERINHOS, JACQUELINE HAMESSE (eds.), *Continuities and Disruptions between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Brepols, Turnhout 2008 (Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 48), p. 113–138; LUCA BURZELLI, « Giordano Bruno e il pensiero ontologico del Rinascimento. Note a margine di uno studio recente », *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 98 (2019), p. 190–205.

⁵² On Pico's fortune in the Netherlands, see MARC LAUREYS, « The Reception of Giovanni Pico in the Low Countries », in GIAN CARLO GARFAGNINI (ed.), *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*. Convegno Internazionale di Studi nel Cinquecentesimo Anniversario della Morte (1494–1994), 2 vol., Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1997 (Studi Pichiani, 5), vol. II, p. 625–640.

⁵³ JOSÉ CORTS, « La dignidad humana en Juan Luis Vives », *Archivo de derecho público*, 3 (1950), p. 3–21; MARCIA COLISH, « The Mime of God: Vives of the Nature of Man », *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23 (1962), p. 3–21; AUGUST BUCK, « Einleitung. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola und seine Über die Würde des Menschen », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Über die Würde des Menschen*, ed. AUGUST BUCK, Felix Meier, Hamburg 1990 (Philosophische Bibliothek, 427), p. VII–XXVII; ID., « Vives' *Fabula de homine* im Kontext der *dignitas hominis*-Literatur der Renaissance », in CHRISTOPH STROSETZKI (ed.), *Juan Luis Vives. Sein Werk und seine Bedeutung für Spanien und Deutschland*, Vervuert, Frankfurt a.M. 1995 (Studia Hispanica, 1), p. 1–8; CHARLES FANTAZZI, « Vives' *Fabula de homine* as a Dramatic Representation of Pico's *Oratio* », *Nieuwsbrief Neolatinistenverband*, 15 (2003), p. 10–19; [reprinted in FRANCISCO JORDI PÉREZ I DURA (ed.), *La Universitat de Valencia i l'Humanisme: Studia Humanitatis e renovació cultural a Europa i al Nou Mon*, Universitat de València, València 2003, p. 79–87]; MANFRED LENTZEN, « Il libero arbitrio e la dignità dell'uomo. A proposito dell'*Oratio de hominis dignitate* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e della *Fabula de homine* di Juan Luis Vives », in LUISA SECCHI TARUGI (ed.), *Il concetto di libertà nel Rinascimento*. Atti del XVIII Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano–Pienza 17–20 luglio 2006), Franco Cesati, Florence 2008 (Quaderni della Rassegna, 52), p. 401–411; ERIK DE BOM, « *Homo ipse ludus ac fabula*. Vives's views on the dignity of man as expressed in his *Fabula de homine* », *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 57 (2008), p. 91–114; LUIS FERNANDO HERNÁNDEZ, « *La Fabula de homine* de Juan Luis Vives en la tradición literaria antigua y renacentista », *Vivesiana*, 2 (2017), p. 33–47; JOSEP SOLERVICENS, « *La Fabula de homine* de Juan Luis Vives: dignidad humana, cristianismo y retórica », in GUIDO M. CAPPELLI (ed.), *La dignità e la miseria dell'uomo nel pensiero europeo*. Atti del convegno internazionale di Madrid, 20–22 maggio 2004, Salerno, Milan 2006 (Studi e Saggi, 40), p. 239–269; DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 222.

Johannis Vives <i>Fabula</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
- [2] Erit itaque prior libellus, <i>Fabula de homine</i>, id est, <i>de mundana scena</i>, in qua suam unaquaeque rerum personam agit, primaeque sunt partes ipsius hominis. - [18] Sapientissimi deorum nihil esse homine admirabilius responderunt, quibus et ipse deorum pater nutu assensus est. - [30] Detectus totus homo, ostendit immortalibus diis naturam suam illis germanam, quae natura, persona corporeque intacta, animal reddit tam varium, tam desultorium, tam versipellem, polypum et cameleonta, quam in scena viderant.⁵⁴	Legi, Patres Colendissimi, in Arabum monumentis, interrogatum Abdalam sarracenum, quid in hac quasi mundana scena admirandum maxime spectaretur, nihil spectari homine mirabilius respondisse. Quis hunc nostrum chamaeleonta non admiretur? Aut omnino quis aliud quicquamc admiretur magis? Quem non immerito Asclepius Atheniensis versipellis huius et se ipsam transformantis naturae argumento per Protheum in mysteriis significari dicit.

As these excerpts show, Vives had Pico's *Oratio* under his eyes when writing the *Fabula* and, even though he reinterpreted the text according to his own idea and purpose, he nonetheless often reported Pico's words almost *verbatim*: for example, the response of the sages [2] must have been taken from Pico, since no alternative source has yet been identified.

According to Josep Solervicens, the influence of Pico's *Oratio* can also be found in Calderon's *Gran teatro del mundo*.⁵⁵ Furthermore, one might look to Fernán Pérez de Oliva's *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre*, published posthumously in 1546, to consider yet another witness to Pico's circulation in Spain.⁵⁶ Oliva was rector of the University of Salamanca, and he was among the first who composed philosophical texts in Spanish. His *Diálogo* is a proof of Pico's fame in Spain, and especially of the influence of the *Oratio*, from which Oliva took concepts, hermetic quotations and the division of human beings according to their *modus*

⁵⁴ I am quoting from the edition cured by Luis Fernando Hernández, LUIS VIVES, *Fabula sobre los hombres*, in *Vivesiana*, 3 (2018), p. 9–25. My numbers in brackets follow this edition.

⁵⁵ LOUIS C. PÉREZ, « La relación formal entre la *Fábula del hombre* de Luis Vives y *El gran teatro del mundo* de Calderón », in GENE H. BELL-VILLADA, ANTONIO GIMÉNEZ, GEORGE PISTORIUS (eds.), *From Dante to García Márquez. Studies in Romance Literatures and Linguistics*, Williamston, William College, 1987, p. 76–84; SOLERVICENS, « La *Fabula de homine* de Juan Luis Vives », p. 239.

⁵⁶ On Oliva see PABLO SOL MORA, « El final del *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre* de Fernán Pérez de Oliva », in PATRIZIA BOTTA (ed.), *Rumbos del hispanismo en el umbral del Cincuentenario de la AIH*, 8 vol., Bagatto, Rome 2012, vol. III, p. 75–83; RIVAS HERNÁNDEZ, « Humanismo Cristiano ».

vivendi (plants, animals, angels).⁵⁷ Copenhagen, however, considers the text in a single line: « that Pérez de Oliva read Pico's *Oration* has been suggested but also denied by students of the *Diálogo* » (p. 556, fn. 90). One might object that this assertion is a *petitio principii*: as an interpreter of Pico's reception, perhaps Copenhagen should have (i) discussed the *Diálogo* itself and (ii) ground his position about Pico's alleged influence on Oliva on an explicit textual basis.

There is one final geographical region within which the *Oratio* circulated: namely, the Empire. The humanist Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528), a friend of Desiderius Erasmus, edited Pico's *Opera omnia* in 1504, and changed the title of the *Oratio* by adding the reference to *de dignitate hominis*. Before we uncover this intervention as spurious – as it is in fact! – we need to understand why a foreign intellectual, who never had personal contacts with Pico, decided to change the title: what did Wimpfeling think about Pico's circulation that led him to edit the title? Did he understand the impact of Pico's *Oratio* in terms that were similar to Bovelles' and Vives'? Pico's German circulation depends on very well-known names, such as Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486–1535) and Uldreich Zwingli (1484–1531). The German humanist Johannes Reuchlin met Pico during a journey in Florence in 1490 and we know that he was deeply inspired by him. The bond between the two philosophers had been already pointed out by Werner Beierwaltes in a 1997 study⁵⁸, but we can now add some new references from *De verbo mirifico*, that reveal the presence of the *Oratio* and of the *dignitas hominis*:

Posuit igitur hominem in medio universi, cum inferis et superis communem, qui gerat erga superos fidem, erga inferos rationem. Inter mortales ut deus per fidem, inter caelites ut homo per rationem. Inter alterutros excellens per sapientiam, parum a divinitate superatum, humanitate tamen victorem.⁵⁹

In addition, the second book recalls the hermetic apostrophe to human happiness, on the basis of Pico's text.⁶⁰ The treatise *De verbo mirifico* opens a path

⁵⁷ I refer to the partial translation by ELEAZAR GUTWIRTH, « Fernán Pérez de Oliva, 'Dialogue on the Dignity of Man': Selections », in JILL KRAYE (ed.), *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts*, vol. I: *Moral Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997, p. 37–44, in part. fn. 11, where the translator sets the reference to Pico.

⁵⁸ WERNER BEIERWALTES, « Reuchlin und Pico della Mirandola », *Tijdschrift voor filosofie*, 56 (1994), p. 313–337; see also JOSEPH DAN, « The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and Its Historical Significance », in Id. (ed.), *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters*, Harvard College Library, Cambridge (MA) 1997, p. 55–95.

⁵⁹ JOHANNIS REUCHLIN *Liber de verbo mirifico*, Tubingae, ex aedibus Thomae Anshelmi Badensis 1514, p. C.

⁶⁰ JOHANNIS REUCHLIN *Liber de verbo mirifico*, p. [Gvv].

from Reuchlin to Cornelius Agrippa, perhaps the most notorious alchemist and astrologer of his age.

Agrippa was inspired by Reuchlin's texts as well as by Neoplatonic and hermetic doctrines, firstly in Köln and later in his journey to Italy (1511–1518). In addition, thanks to Paola Zambelli and Vittoria Perrone Compagni, the extent to which Agrippa knew Pico's works has already been shown, as well as the ways in which Pico affected his texts, such as *De homine* (1515), *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* (1516, published in 1529), *De vanitate scientiarum* (1530) and *De occulta philosophia* (1531).⁶¹ In the preface to Lucian of Samosata's *Piscator* (1517), the German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer offered a list of authors who had put together mathematics, Neoplatonism and cabala: the list included Giovanni and Giovan Francesco Pico, Wimpfeling, Erasmus, Reuchlin, Eck, Spalatin and even Luther.⁶² This fact induced Zambelli to imagine a milieu of intellectuals, connected in part to the Reformation, who shared interests in cabalistic occultism, and were inspired by Pico's texts.⁶³ To furnish support regarding such a milieu, one need simply to open Agrippa's *De homine*, which contains entire sections from Pico's *Heptaplus* concerning the doctrine of the *microcosmus*.⁶⁴

Within the context of the Reformation, the case of Zwingli – the Swiss reformer who may have had the *Oratio* in mind when writing his *Sermonis de providentia anamnema* (1539) – deserves some attention.⁶⁵ A hypothesis

⁶¹ For a general overview of the issue see PAOLA ZAMBELLI, « Cornelio Agrippa, Erasmo e la teologia umanistica », *Rinascimento*, 10 (1970), p. 29–88; VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo in Agrippa. Il 'De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum'*, Polistampa, Florence 2005 (*Hermetica medievalia*, 3), p. 14, p. 41–44; EAD., « Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim », *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2017 (2021²); EAD., « Abracadabra: le parole della magia (Ficino, Pico, Agrippa) », *Rivista di estetica*, 42 (2002), p. 105–130; EAD., « Il *De occulta philosophia* di Cornelio Agrippa. Parole chiave: uomo microcosmo, prisca theologia, cabala, magia », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 13/2 (2007), p. 429–448. On *Dialogus de homine* see also DARIO GURASHI, *In deifico speculo. Agrippa's humanism*, Brill, Leiden 2021, p. 59–143; ID., « Religione e ideologia nel giovane Agrippa: Appunti sulla vocazione intellettuale », *Mediterranea*, 5 (2020), p. 153–192.

⁶² GARIN, « Un nuovo libro », p. 345–360, remarks that the miscellaneous MS 646 of the Erlangen University Library contains a witness of Pico's *Conclusiones* together with Lucian's *Opuscula* in the translations of More and Erasmus. Concerning Erasmus, see DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 224–225.

⁶³ ZAMBELLI, « Cornelio Agrippa, Erasmo e la teologia umanistica », p. 43. On Desiderius Erasmus see JEAN CLAUDE MARGOLIN, « La notion de dignité humaine selon Erasme de Rotterdam », in JAMES KIRK (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400–1643. Essays in honour of James K. Cameron*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1991, p. 37–56.

⁶⁴ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo in Agrippa*, p. 41–42.

⁶⁵ Useful remarks on Pico's influence are provided by ALFRED SCHINDLER, « Zwinglis Randbemerkungen in den Büchern seiner Bibliothek. Ein Zwischenbericht über editorische Probleme », *Zwingliana*, 18 (1989), p. 1–11; ID., « Huldrych Zwingli e Giovanni Pico della Mirandola », in *Dall'Accademia neoplatonica fiorentina alla Riforma. Celebrazioni del V centenario della morte di Lorenzo il Magnifico*. Convegno di studio. Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi 30 ottobre 1992, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1996 (Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere 'La Colombaria'. Studi 150) p. 51–

concerning Pico's influence on Zwingli was proposed 150 years ago by Christoph Sigwart, on the basis of the textual analysis of § 4 of the *Anamnema*:

Ulrici Zuinglii <i>Anamnema</i>	Johannis Pici <i>Oratio</i>
Hominem omnium quae in mundi theatro visuntur maxime mirabilem esse dixit Abdala Sarracenus. Nos autem, si quis interroget, omnium creaturarum rarissimum ed admirandissimum esse respondebimus, ut qui angelicam quoque pulcritudinem admiratione superet [...]. Sic angelus nobilis quidem substantia, purus puta spiritus est. At hominem si iuxta hunc expendas, non coeleste solum, sed etiam terrestre animal, quomodo te non consternabit? Cum in tanto spirituum choro nullum reperiās qui terreno visibilique corpore [...] sit amictus; et simul in tanta omnigenum animantium turba nullum invenias cui intellectualis substantia praefecta sit rex ac moderator. ⁶⁶	Legi, Patres Colendissimi, in Arabum monumentis, interrogatum Abdalam sarracenum, quid in hac quasi mundana scena admirandum maxime spectaretur, nihil spectari homine mirabilius respondesse. [...] Ecquis hominem non admiretur? [...] Supercaelestem regionem mentibus decorat; ethereos globos aeternis animis vegetat; excrementarias et feculentas inferioris mundi partes omnigena animalium turba complerat.

Copenhaver does recall Zwingli as part of the German reception of the *Oratio*. However, although he mentions the *Anamnema*, he neither quotes any excerpt nor does he expose any of its content. He rather prefers to use the page concerning Zwingli to discuss the controversy between Christoph Sigwart and Edwar Zeller in the nineteenth century (p. 269–279): the former read Pico as a forerunner and inspiration of the Reformation, while the latter disagreed. We can all agree that Sigwart's text was partisan, but this is not the point: to reject Pico's influence on the Reformation *tout court* should not automatically imply the refutation of Pico on Zwingli. One would have expected an analysis of the texts – something that has already been carried out by Alfred Schindler – and not only of their historiographical interpretations.

Copenhaver stresses that our concept of dignity comes from Kant's definition of it (p. 4–5, p. 451). It would have been useful to explore – just as a hypothesis – whether Kant's concept of dignity itself might have, in turn, received influence

65; CARLA CALVETTI, « Presupposti e postulati filosofici nel pensiero di Zwingli », *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica*, 49/1 (1957), p. 25–53.

66 HULDREICH ZWINGLI, *Sermonis de providentia anamnema*, in Id., *Sämtliche Werke*, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich, vol. VI, t. III (1983), p. 115–116.

from the Renaissance. Greater attention, indeed, might have been paid to the position of Descartes and Pufendorf on the human passions:

Renati Des Cartes <i>De passionibus</i>	Samuelis Pufendorffii <i>De iure naturae</i>
Art. 152: <i>Propter quam causam nos aestimare possimus</i> [...] Unum duntaxat in nobis observo quod iustam causam nobis possit suppetitare nosmetipsos existimandi, nempe legitimum usum liberi nostri arbitrii et imperium, quod in nostras voluntates exercemus. Nam praeter solas actiones pendentes ex isto arbitrio, nihil est unde possimus cum ratione laudari vel vituperari, illudque nos quodammodo reddit Deo similes, nos nostri dominos faciendo, modo per ignaviam, non amittamus iura quae nobis confert.⁶⁷	Eleganter tradidit Carthesius <i>de passionibus</i> art. 152 segg. [...] dehinc ostendit: iustam causam nos aestimandi unicam promanare ex legitimo usu liberi arbitrii nostri et ex imperio [...]. Inde veram generositatem quae efficit ut homo re vera suum esse, praeter hancce liberam dispositionem suae voluntatis et quod ex solo istius recto aut pravo usu laudari debeat aut vituperari, quodque sentiat in se constans propositum eadem bene utendi.⁶⁸

This path of inquiry may shed light on the transfer of knowledge from Renaissance dignity, as freedom, to Kant's dignity, as 'intrinsic property of value' of a being – a path which has been taken by some scholars, and that I cannot but fleetingly mention.⁶⁹

As the present essay concerns Pico's readers throughout the sixteenth century, the survey will be concluded with Zwingli. However, upon meeting Copenhagen's claims concerning Hegel's view of the Renaissance, it seems worthwhile to include some brief remarks. Copenhagen asserts that «Hegel's small interest in Renaissance philosophy reflected his theory of history, but he did not ignore the period entirely» (p. 265). This seems only partly true. It is true that Hegel (1770–1831) reserved a very small place to the Renaissance; however those references are meaningful from a systematic perspective. Thanks to some letters he addressed to Schelling, we know that from 1800, Hegel decided to focus

⁶⁷ RENATI DES CARTES *Observationes de passionibus animae*, apud Nicolaum Foersterum, Hannover 1707, p. 161–162.

⁶⁸ SAMUELIS PUFENDORFFII *De iure naturae et gentium libri octo*, Londini Scanorum, sumtibus Adami Junghans imprimebat 1672 (book III, chap. 2) p. 275.

⁶⁹ KARI SAASTAMOINEN, «Pufendorf on Natural Equality, Human Dignity, and Self-Esteem», *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 71/1 (2010), p. 39–62; YASUSHI KATO, «The Heuristic Use of the Concept of Dignity in Kantian Philosophy», in YASUSHI KATO–GERHARD SCHÖNRICH (eds.), *Kant's Concept of Dignity*, De Gruyter, Berlin 2020 (*Kantstudien-Ergänzungshefte*, 209), p. 231–260; STEFANO BACIN, «Kant's Idea of Human Dignity: Between Tradition and Originality», *Kant-Studien*, 106 (2005), p. 7–106.

on the human operativity, which is symbolically represented by the cooperation of the hands and the head. As he maintained in his *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, the realm of Spirit must not be expected lazily; freedom is authentic only when concretely realized through action; and the human being is an enlivening force that moves the action.⁷⁰ According to Hegel's view, Renaissance represented the époque in which this operativity was firstly and fully realized. As Leo Lugarini remarked, « il riconoscimento della dignità dell'uomo, del suo potere di libertà, costituisce la radicale premessa filosofica per una trasformazione storico-politica altrettanto radicale ».⁷¹ Hegel's main references all come from Renaissance authors who promoted this 'operative' idea of human power, such as Bruno and Cardano. But one excerpt is particularly meaningful, and it comes from young Hegel's diary:

Voluit [Deus] enim non deficere in rerum universi catena membrum aliquod, quod esset inter bestias, qui ferreis instincti vinculis coacti, libertate carentes, bonum an malum eligant, suo nihil consilio faciunt, et inter aethereum illud angelorum genus, qui ab omni malo alieni nonnisi recta perficiunt. Relictus est igitur homini medius inter hos locus, cujus plane arbitrio datum utrum bonum an malum eligat.⁷²

Hegel wrote this marvelous passage in Latin when he was in Stuttgart. It was March 1786, he was only 15 years old, and he could have read neither Kant's *Kritik* (1790), nor *Pragmatische Anthropologie* (1798), nor Schiller's *Über Anmut und Würde* (1793). Brucker did not quote anything like this for Pico, nor did Kant in his

⁷⁰ GEORG W. F. HEGEL, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie*, in *Ausgewählte Nachschriften und Manuskripte*, Felix Meiner, Hamburg, vol. IX, part IV (1986), p. 47, ll. 446–450: « Die Menschen sind dazu gekommen, sich frei zu wissen, ihre Freiheit anerkennen zu machen; sie sind dazu gekommen, in ihre Hände zu schauen, daß sie es waren, die für eigene Interessen, für eigenen Zwecke tätig zu sein die Kraft hatten ». See also GEORG W. F. HEGEL, *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, in ID., *Gesammelte Werke*, Meiner, Hamburg 1989-, vol. IX, p. 174, ll. 27–30: « Daß aber die Hand das Ansich der Individualität in Ansehung ihres Schicksals darstellen muß, ist leicht daraus zu sehen, daß sie nächst dem Organ der Sprache am meisten es ist, wodurch der Mensch sich zur Erscheinung und Verwirklichung bringt. Sie ist der beseelte Werkmeister seines Glücks; man kann von ihn sagen, sie ist das, was der Mensch tut, denn an ihr als dem tätigen Organe seines sich selbst vollbringens ist er als beseelender gegenwärtig, und indem er ursprünglich sein eignes Schicksal ist, wird sie also dies Ansich ausdrücken ». In this respect see MICHELE BISCIONE, « Hegel e il Rinascimento », in FULVIO TESSITORE (ed.), *Incidenza di Hegel*, Morano, Naples 1970, p. 439–451: 442.

⁷¹ LEO LUGARINI, « Hegel a Berna », in TESSITORE (ed.), *Incidenza di Hegel*, p. 29–52: 36. Cf. LUCA BURZELLI, « Dignitas hominis and Hegel's Anthropology », in BRADY BOWMAN, MYRIAM GERHARD, JURE ZOVKO, *Hegel-Jahrbuch. Erkenne dich selbst – Anthropologische Perspektiven*. Zweiter Teil, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin 2022 (forthcoming), p. 953–960.

⁷² GEORG W. F. HEGEL, *Gesammelte Werke*, Meiner, Hamburg 1989, vol. I, p. 28, ll. 20–25.

Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten (1785). Therefore, one wonders where Hegel might have taken this suggestion, so similar as it is to Pico.

VII. *Final remarks*

After having come to the end of this text – Copenhaver's book, or perhaps the present note – the patient reader may have lingering concerns about this much-discussed concept of 'dignity': was this concept truly a Kantian idea, unduly applied to the Renaissance by twentieth-century readers? Or was it in fact an idea with a distinctive place in the Renaissance, having its own diffusion? I think that, if we want to better understand this issue, we should offer a preliminary distinction: namely, among (i) what Pico believe, (ii) the reception of his oeuvre in his age, and (iii) the ways in which contemporary readers interpret of him (i.e. the history of the critics). These three perspectives create a problematic stratification, yet they need not be confused one with another: when we criticize recent interpretations, we must not extend our conclusions in application to the previous centuries. The present note has placed emphasis on many European authors deemed essential to understanding Pico's immediate reception: indeed, textual comparison alone could say something about Pico's circulation, which was clearly linked to the dignity of man – two hundred years before the interpretations of Kant or the existentialists. In the sixteenth century, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was widely known for his *Cabala*, for the *concordia philosophica*, and for the *dignitas hominis*. In 1985 Garin remarked that

una certa interpretazione dell'*Oratio*, della concezione pichiana dell'uomo, e della sua filosofia, lungi dall'essere il frutto degli 'errori' dell'idealismo moderno, e della storiografia post-burckhardtiana, risale ai tempi di Pico [...]. Questo non significa che oggi debba essere accolta; significa che non può essere né cancellata, né ignorata.⁷³

Copenhaver's book shares the methodological structure already present in Craven's monograph: they both are 'studies on historiography' and provide no new global interpretations of Pico – an accomplishment which would have required a more detailed textual analysis.⁷⁴ The volume is focused on the modern and contemporary interpretations and it nearly leaves the Renaissance in the shadow (except for a very few cases). A cursory overview on its contents and the

⁷³ GARIN, « Un nuovo libro », p. 350.

⁷⁴ See, for example, GARIN, « Un nuovo libro », p. 344: « quello che il Craven vuol significare [...] è che egli intende fare opera di storia della storiografia – o, come una volta si diceva da noi, di storia della critica. E questo perché, per una nuova sintesi avrebbe avuto 'bisogno di un retroterra di edizioni critiche [...]」 ».

thematic index reveals this tendency very clearly. After presenting Pico's family and the Florentine context, the book proceeds as follows:

p. 24-31: Kant's dignity	p. 71-91: Burckhardt
p. 31-34: Manetti's dignity	p. 92-127: Papini, Gentile, Garin, Anagnine.
p. 34-38: Cicero's dignity	p. 128-158: Garin, Sartre.
p. 38-45: Medieval Christian authors	p. 159-199: G.F. Pico, More, Ficino, Giovio, Moore.
p. 45-55: Manetti again	p. 200-275: Modern reception.
p. 55-68: Actuality (Trollope, Skinner...)	p. 276-310: Contemporary literature

Copenhaver begins the exposition with Kant's concept of dignity (p. 24–31) and he points out that this paradigm was unduly applied on Pico by twentieth-century scholars (from Burckhardt to Garin). What about the Renaissance *per se*? Only a few remarks are dedicated to Giovan Francesco Pico, Giovio, or Thomas More inside the space of forty pages: but what about the rest of the European Renaissance? It is safe to assume that none of the Renaissance thinkers treated here above (viz., Pomponazzi, Gelli, Zorzi, Bovelles, Vives, Zwingli) had Kantian or existentialistic paradigms in mind: yet, they all defined and conceived of human dignity through Pico's *Oratio*.

Another interesting point to consider is the argument that, once one proves that twentieth-century interpreters were wrong, then one may also conclude that Pico did not write about human dignity. Burckhardt, Cassirer, and Garin might have been wrong, but what implications then follow for Pico? Copenhaver is right when he says that the twentieth-century idea of *dignitas hominis* derives from Kant and Existentialism, and has no basis within Pico's texts. Yet, we also have to ask whether or not Pico had his own particular concept of *dignitas*. As Charles Trinkaus pointed out, «the question of 'man' however, was a central patristic, medieval, and Renaissance concern, whether or not Burckhardt featured it as exclusively Renaissance».⁷⁵ To contest the twentieth-century idea of *dignitas* means to hit Garin's interpretation – not an uncommon practice, of which Craven was the torchbearer.⁷⁶ This does not, however, allow a total rejection of the concept of *dignitas* for Pico: perhaps, rather, one must consider dignity in a new way, *iuxta propria principia*. De Lubac and Di Napoli perfectly understood this difference: they were the first who challenged the existentialistic

⁷⁵ CHARLES TRINKHAUS, «Review of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Symbol of His Age*, by W. Craven», *Speculum*, 59/1 (1984), p. 133–137: 136.

⁷⁶ This was recently remarked by MASSIMO CACCIARI, «Ripensare l'Umanesimo», in RAPHAEL EBGI (ed.), *Umanisti italiani. Pensiero e destino*, Einaudi, Turin 2016 (I Millenni), p. VII–CI: VII–VIII. In this respect, it might be worth mentioning that Copenhaver's book includes a some pages (p. 128–132) on Garin's politics, especially his connection with Fascism.

readings and who warned against misinterpretations of the text, but they never dreamed of contesting the presence of dignity.⁷⁷

Copenhaver often remarks that there is no page of Pico where we can find a celebration of man as a self-subsistent creature without any reference to divine grace; therefore, we cannot speak about dignity of man *as such* but rather about the ‘transcendence’ of the human condition or its annihilation (p. 30–31, p. 118, p. 123, p. 451). One might ask, however, which Renaissance philosopher ever celebrated the autonomy of man *as such*, as self-subsistent.⁷⁸ Lorenzo Valla described human nobility through the metaphor of a meeting between man-God and god-man in Paradise; Cusanus mixed philosophy and mysticism writing about the Paradise-wall; Bruno described God and man as Diana with Acteon.⁷⁹ There is no Renaissance author who spoke about the nobility of man *as such*; they all celebrated dignity as freedom of movement, but this movement always had a clear direction – Garin already remarked on this in his 1938 essay on *dignitas hominis* and patristic tradition.⁸⁰ Pico himself spoke about dignity as freedom directed to God in his *Commento sopra una canzone d’amore*. Writing about the fifth stanza, Pico noted that « l’anima sopra il corpo prostrata, mai in se non dirizza et in se stessa rivolgendosi, e sua thesori non riconosce; ma come dice Asaph, essendo in dignità et honore posta, non si conosce et diventa simile a bruti insipienti ».⁸¹ A few lines later, he wrote about the path of the intellectual soul towards divine fusion: *Binsica*, which means ‘death by kiss’, requires God’s

⁷⁷ DE LUBAC, *L'alba incompiuta del Rinascimento*, p. 51–53. Likewise, LEINKAUF, « The Structure and the Implications of Giovanni Pico's Famous *Oratio* », p. 925: « So the question mark, that Brian Copenhaver has put at the end of his phrase 'on the dignity of man', is to be cancelled and to be substituted by an exclamation mark: 'on the dignity of man!' ».

⁷⁸ Cf. TRINKHAUS, « Review of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola », p. 135.

⁷⁹ See, for example, the end of LORENZO VALLA, *De vero falsoque bono*, III, xxv, 22, in Id., *Scritti filosofici e religiosi*, ed. G. RADETTI, Sansoni, Florence 1953, p. 242–243; GIORDANO BRUNO, *Degli eroici furori, parte prima*, IV, in Id., *Opere italiane*, 2 vol., ed. GIOVANNI AQUILECCHIA, Utet, Turin 2002, vol. II, p. 578.

⁸⁰ This has been clearly remarked by EUGENIO GARIN, « La *dignitas hominis* e la letteratura patristica », in Id., *Interpretazioni del Rinascimento*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2009 (Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 250), vol. I, p. 1–32; as well as Id., *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Vita e dottrina*, Le Monnier, Florence 1937 [reprinted by Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2011 (Uomini e Dottrine, 5)], p. 206–208. See also FRANCO BACCHELLI, *Giovanni Pico e Pierleone da Spoleto. Tra filosofia dell'amore e tradizione cabalistica*, Leo S. Olshki, Firenze 2001 (Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento. Quaderni di «Rinascimento», 39), p. 58: « è in fondo uno dei tanti modi – sia che questa visione si articoli su una base astrologica oppure religioso-provvиденziale – nel quale si pensa, in questa età, la centralità e la 'dignitas et excellentia' dell'opera umana per la vita del mondo ». Useful remarks have been provided by CACCIARI, « Ripensare l'Umanesimo », p. LXXI–LXXII; RAPHAEL EBG, « Introduzione », in GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *La dignità dell'uomo*, p. XX–XXII, in part. fin. 23; LEINKAUF, « The Structure and the Implications of Giovanni Pico's Famous *Oratio* », p. 924.

⁸¹ JOHANNIS PICI *Commento*, p. 920.

correspondence through grace.⁸² Bruno employed the same cabalistic concept in his *Eroici furori*.

Copenhaver seems surprised that he did not find in Pico what could not possibly have been there: namely, Kant's or Schiller's idea of dignity as 'autonomy from the phenomenon'.⁸³ Such a position sheds lights on the Kantian influences on literature concerning Pico: a perspective that – as Grafton and Hankins have pointed out – in American academia owes its widespread diffusion to Kristeller (and Baron).⁸⁴ Despite his criticisms of Garin's position – which Garin himself deliberately never printed again –, sometimes Copenhaver seems to think of the Renaissance through the same categories. An example of this can be found where he observes that

deification so conceived, the goal promoted by Pico's speech, eliminates humanity – along with any merely human trait like dignity, though dignity was not the prince's concern. [...] His project in the *Oration*, often misunderstood as a proto-romantic individualism that aggrandizes the human self, actually liquidates it (p. 361).

This remark is valid only if we hold the Kantian notion of dignity, but it does not consider the possibility that we can admit one that is not Kantian self-subsistence and is more proper to Pico: as Garin noted in 1937, « è Dio che rende possibile la *copulatio* con Dio [...]. La dignità dell'uomo è la sua divinità ».⁸⁵

VIII. Conclusion

In conclusion, Brian Copenhaver's imposing volume offers the opportunity to rethink the scholarship on Pico, in order to understand and control the hermeneutical stratifications that occurred through the centuries. Copenhaver has the merit of stressing the difference between the fifteenth-century Pico and the twentieth-century one, the latter filtered through the lens of post-Kantian and existentialist presuppositions. What the reader might find lacking in his book is what precisely lies in between those two junctures: namely, the line of Pico's

⁸² JOHANNIS PICI *Commento*, p. 917. On this topic see the useful remarks by LEINKAUF, « The Structure and the Implications of Giovanni Pico's Famous *Oratio* », p. 920.

⁸³ Cf. FRIEDRICH SCHILLER, *Über Anmut und Würde*, in Id., *Sämtliche Werke in 4 Bänden*, Cotta, Stuttgart 1883, vol. IV, p. 486. See also SERGIO LANDUCCI, « L'operare umano e la genesi dello spirito in Hegel », *Rivista critica di Storia della filosofia*, 20 (1965), p. 16–50 and 151–181: 48.

⁸⁴ In this respect see HANKINS, « Garin and Paul Oskar Kristeller », p. 490. This American circulation has been clearly highlighted by GRAFTON, « Thinking Outside the 'Pico Box' »: « Even Kristeller, a master philologist and historian, presented Pico in partly anachronistic terms in his introduction to the translation of the oration that generations of English-speaking students have read. The conventional wisdom ruled for generations ».

⁸⁵ GARIN, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, p. 208.

readers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who were all void of Kantian and existentialist attitudes, yet were all sincerely interested in the topic of human dignity. At p. 4, the author says that James Hankins suggested to him « to take the investigation back to Italy », and thus Copenhaver analyzed Pico's fortune from the *Risorgimento* up to the present. Perhaps Hankins intended to go back to Renaissance-Italy. This volume is an amazing attempt to digest the many modern interpretations of Pico's *Oratio*, in line with what Craven did some decades ago against Garin and Cassirer. All this considered, however, very little Renaissance remains, with the exception of a wide range of cabalistic references within the commentary of the *Oratio*. The present note has shown that Reuchlin, Agrippa, Vives, Bovelles, Pomponazzi, Zwingli, Gelli all knew and quoted Pico concerning dignity.⁸⁶ With these Renaissance philosophers in mind, upon completing Copenhaver's book we might recall that famous *motto*: a specter is haunting Europe – the specter of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

⁸⁶ In this respect, one should partly reconsidered what Copenhaver states in his introduction to PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Life of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oratio*, p. xxxix: « Moreover, no loyal Catholic – had such ideas [of dignity] been available at the time – could have accepted the moral autonomy and self-legislating freedom theorized by Kant, or even religious freedom from the Law as Luther would proclaim it ». As a matter of fact, the crux of the matter is not the loyalty to Catholicism or the influence of Kant: neither Pomponazzi nor Agrippa and the other philosophers were exactly 'loyal' catholic – and Pico himself, with his kabbalistic hybrids, was far from a saint –; neither, they read Kant. However, they all talked about dignity by quoting Pico. Hence, the real point is to understand why and how Pico, just twenty years after his death, was well known for the issue of dignity.

BREVI NOTE A MARGINE DI ALCUNE RECENTI EDIZIONI DEL *DE CONSOLATIONE* DI CARDANO*

A MARGINAL NOTE ON SOME RECENT EDITIONS OF CARDANO'S *DE CONSOLATIONE*

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[...] Denique finis meus is, qui semper in hoc genere studiorum fuit, non tam scribentis laus, quam legentis utilitas, si qua ex me percipi aut sperari potest: ad id maxime respexi, ne armarium evolvere, ad omnem hostis suspicionem ac strepitum sit necesse, quin mali omnis et nocentis boni, atque utriusque fortunae remedium breve, sed amica confectum manu, quasi duplicis morbi, ut non inefficax antidotum, in exigua pixide, omnibus locis atque temporibus ad manum, (ut aiunt) et in promptu habeas.¹

Con queste parole si esprimeva Francesco Petrarca nella *Praefatio* al *De remediis utriusque fortunae* degli anni Sessanta del Trecento quando, illustrando il fine dei suoi studi, li proponeva quale rimedio alle alterne vicende della vita, così come un amico medico poteva suggerire un antidoto contro ogni male e avverso a ogni nocevole bene, custodendolo, come si fa con un prezioso unguento, in due piccole ampolle. Proprio a questa immagine petrarchesca si ispirava e si richiamava Cardano nell'ultima parte

* GIROLAMO CARDANO, *De consolatione*, a cura di MARIALUISA BALDI, revisione filologica a cura di ELISABETTA TONELLO, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 2019 (Hyperchen. Testi e Studi per la Storia della Cultura del Rinascimento, 6), pp. vi + 284, ISBN: 9788822266231. GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Sulla consolazione*, a cura di MARIALUISA BALDI, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 2021 (Hyperchen. Testi e Studi per la Storia della Cultura del Rinascimento, 7), pp. xvi + 194, ISBN: 9788822267450.

¹ FRANCISCI PETRARCHAE V. C. in *Libros de Remediis utriusque Fortunae*, Praefatio, in Id., *Opera que extant omnia*, Henrichus Petri, Basileae 1554, p. 4; PÉTRARQUE, *Les remèdes aux deux fortunes. De remediis utriusque fortune*, ed. CHRISTOPHE CARRAUD, Éditions Jérôme Millon, Grenoble 2002, vol. I, p. 16, 125–131.

del tardo scritto, *Norma vitae consarcinata, sacra vocata*,² dell'agosto 1576 (morirà nel settembre di quello stesso anno), rinviando idealmente ai temi del giovanile *De consolatione* – come osservava Marialuisa Baldi nel suo contributo al convegno milanese del maggio 2002,³ ricostruendo il processo di evoluzione e maturazione del concetto cardaniano di *consolatio*, « compresa tra i due poli dell'aspirazione a un sommo bene extramondano e l'attenzione minuta alle necessità elementari della quotidianità »,⁴ punto più elevato ed obiettivo ultimo di una 'norma sacra' di vita –, dialogando il Cardano sicuramente con Petrarca e la tradizione umanistica, ma anche, e forse soprattutto, come avverrà nella maturità, con Federigo Pendasio (c. 1525–1603), divenuto professore a Bologna nell'ottobre del 1571, cui dedicherà il più tardo *Pendacius, Cardanus, Dialogus*.⁵

Al motivo della *consolatio*, alle vicende del manoscritto, alla storia e ai temi del *De consolatione*, Baldi aveva posto attenzione già nel dicembre del 1997 con il suo intervento⁶ al primo convegno di Milano dedicato al Pensatore lombardo che aveva per titolo: *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita*, delineando così con le attuali edizioni proposte una ininterrotta attività di scavo e di studio che ha radici lontane e

² In HIERONIMI CARDANI *Opera Omnia* ..., cur. CAROLI SPONII, sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Huguetan et Marci Antonii Ravaud, Lugduni 1663, t. I, p. 339a–347b; *Secunda pars*, p. 348a–353a; p. 346b–347a: « Inter reliqua unguentaria duo vascula ex Chalcedonio aut Porcellana, quam myrrhinam antiquorum putabant: unum ex adipe ursino puro, aliud populeonis unguento florentis, ac suaviter spirante, quorum alterutro liceat inungere xvij. illa loca alias dicta ».

³ MARIALUISA BALDI, « Dalla *consolatio* alla norma consarcinata. Un 'opuscolo aureo' di Cardano e il dialogo con Pendasio », in MARIALUISA BALDI, GUIDO CANZIANI (eds.), *Cardano e la tradizione dei saperi*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Milano (23–25 maggio 2002), Franco Angeli, Milano 2003, p. 307–333, p. 331.

⁴ BALDI, « Dalla *consolatio* alla norma consarcinata », p. 332.

⁵ GIROLAMO CARDANO, *Pendacius, Cardanus, Dialogus*, in *Id.*, *Opera Omnia*, t. I, p. 353a–354b. Di Federigo Pendasio scrive EUGENIO GARIN in *Storia della Filosofia italiana*, Einaudi, Torino 1966, vol. II, p. 576–577. Si veda anche CHARLES H. LOHR, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, vol. II: *Renaissance Authors*, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 1988 (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevii, Subsidia, 6), p. 305–311; ROBERT B. TODD, « Themistius », in VIRGINIA BROWN, JAMES HANKINS, ROBERT A. KASTER (eds.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, vol. VIII, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2003, p. 57–102, pp. 85–86. Per l'opera manoscritta di Pendasio si veda: Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, BU 1264: *Lectiones excellentissimi Philosophi Federici Pendasii in Libros de Anima*, fol. 1–224; *Federici Pendasii Mantuanii Philosophi, in Gymnasio Patavino primo loco Philosophiam profitentis in Librum tertium de Anima lectiones dictatae 1577 quas ego Aloysius Quirinus excepi*, fol. 225–860; *Federici Pendasii in Gymnasio Patavino atque Bononiensi primi Professoris de Animae immortalitate*, fol. 861–997.

⁶ MARIALUISA BALDI, « Il *De consolatione*. L'opera e il manoscritto », in MARIALUISA BALDI, GUIDO CANZIANI (eds.), *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1999, p. 35–59.

che oggi si concreta con la proposta di una traduzione italiana (con la collaborazione di Guido Canziani) per i tipi di Olschki, presso il quale era uscita a stampa, nel 2019, l'edizione critica del testo latino con la revisione filologica a cura di Elisabetta Tonello, e presso cui sono state pubblicate altre opere dello stesso Cardano.

Itinerario di ricerca coevo, coincidente, e indistricabilmente legato – almeno nella sua parte iniziale – al sorgere e all'evolversi del « Progetto Cardano » del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, importante progetto strategico che nella seconda metà degli anni Novanta del secolo scorso poneva le basi per una riconsiderazione storico critica, più approfondita e meditata, del percorso filosofico e scientifico di Cardano, proponendosi al contempo l'obiettivo di un'edizione filologicamente rigorosa delle sue opere.⁷

L'esigenza di una rilettura critica del pensiero del filosofo, medico e matematico – che già traspariva dalle pagine del volume di Alfonso Ingegno, *Saggio sulla filosofia di Cardano*⁸ e dal successivo saggio « Vita civile, razionalità dell'uomo, perfezione del filosofo: Cardano e Bruno »⁹ degli anni Ottanta – aveva trovato un iniziale organico punto di confronto e di sintesi nell'incontro di studio alla Herzog August Bibliothek di Wolfenbüttel dell'ottobre del 1989, e nella stampa degli atti, che apparvero col titolo: *Girolamo Cardano: Philosoph, Naturforscher, Artz*, a cura di Eckhard Kessler¹⁰ – alla cui memoria Baldi dedica le pagine premesse alla versione italiana –, volume nel quale furono raccolti i contributi di August Buck,¹¹ Guido Canziani,¹² Eugenio di Rienzo,¹³

⁷ Un primo elenco dei materiali prodotti si trova in MARIALUISA BALDI, « Pubblicare Cardano. I *Contradicentium medicorum libri* in DVD », in MARIALUISA BALDI, BARBARA FAES DE MOTTONI (eds.), *Edizioni e traduzioni di testi filosofici. Esperienze di lavoro e riflessioni*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2006, p. 119, n. 35. La storia del « Progetto Cardano » è stata ricostruita da ENRICO I. RAMBALDI, « Breve storia delle edizioni cardaniane del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche », *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, 65/4 (2010), p. 745–773, e nella comunicazione del 5 giugno 2014 ai Soci dell'Istituto Lombardo: Id., « L'edizione cardaniana del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche: un'occasione perduta », *Rendiconti Scienze*, 148 (2014), p. 143–147. Si veda anche JOSÉ MANUEL GARCIA VALVERDE, MASSIMO TAMBORINI, ENRICO I. RAMBALDI, « Ancora sulle recenti edizioni cardaniane », *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, 66/2 (2011), p. 295–301.

⁸ La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1980.

⁹ In DAVIDE BIGALLI (ed.), *Ragione e 'civiltas'. Figure del vivere associato nella cultura del '500 europeo*, Atti del Convegno di studio, Diamante (7–9 novembre 1984), Franco Angeli, Milano 1986, p. 179–196.

¹⁰ Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1994.

¹¹ « Krisenbewußtsein und Festschrittsgläubigkeit in Cardanos *De vita propria* », p. 1–10.

¹² « *Sapientia e Prudentia* nella filosofia morale di Cardano », p. 11–48.

¹³ « La religione di Cardano. Libertinismo e Brescia nell'Italia della Controriforma », p. 49–76.

Alfonso Ingegno,¹⁴ Eckhard Keßler,¹⁵ Massimo L. Bianchi,¹⁶ Nancy G. Siraisi,¹⁷ Germana Ernst,¹⁸ Jacques Le Brun,¹⁹ Tilman Krischer,²⁰ Judith V. Field,²¹ Giovanna C. Cifoletti,²² Kristian Jensen,²³ Ian Maclean,²⁴ Constance W.T. Blackwell.²⁵ Ma anche dagli studi di Nancy G. Siraisi²⁶ e di Anthony Grafton²⁷ degli anni Novanta, che portarono nuova linfa alla rilettura del Lombardo, di cui dava conto Ingegno nel suo intervento, « Nuovi studi sull'opera di Cardano », del maggio 2002.²⁸ Lo spirito dei lavori e la riflessione critica sull'opera del Filosofo vennero ripresi nel successivo convegno cardaniano, e primo milanese, del dicembre 1997, quando intorno al « Progetto Cardano » cominciò a riunirsi una cerchia di studiosi di diversa formazione, i quali diedero impulso ad una interessante e mirata serie di ricerche e di approfondimenti, che contribuirono a dare svariati frutti. La pluralità delle competenze e l'intenso scambio tra diverse discipline consentirono di sondare in modo approfondito, e da molteplici angolature, i numerosi e differenti aspetti dell'opera cardaniana e di sbarrare il passo ad interpretazioni esposte a suggestioni filosofiche ed a letture non adeguatamente ancorate alla realtà

¹⁴ « Cardano e Bruno. Altri spunti per una storia dell'uomo perfetto », p. 77-90.

¹⁵ « Alles ist Eines wie der Mensch und das Pferd. Zu Cardanos Naturbegriff », p. 91-114.

¹⁶ « Scholastische Motive in ersten und zweiten Buch des *De subtilitate* Gerolamo Cardanos », p. 115-130.

¹⁷ « Cardano, Hippocrates and Criticism of Galen », p. 131-156.

¹⁸ « *Veritas amor dulcissimus*. Aspetti dell'astrologia in Cardano », p. 157-184.

¹⁹ « Jérôme Cardan et l'interprétation des songes », p. 185-206.

²⁰ « Interpretationem zum *Liber de ludo aleae* », p. 207-218.

²¹ « The Relation between Geometry and Algebra: Cardano and Kepler on the Regular Heptagon », p. 219-242.

²² « Cardano's Algebra in the Manual of Peletier and Gosselin », p. 243-264.

²³ « Cardanus and His Readers in the Sixteenth Century », p. 265-308.

²⁴ « Cardano and His Publishers 1534-1663 », p. 309-338.

²⁵ « The Historiography of Renaissance Philosophy and the Creation of the Myth of the Renaissance Eccentric Genius. Naudé through Brucker to Hegel », p. 339-370.

²⁶ *The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1997.

²⁷ *Cardano's Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA-London 1999. Di Cardano ANTHONY GRAFTON scriverà anche con WILLIAM R. NEWMAN nella raccolta di saggi *Secrets of Nature. Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA-London 2001, p. 1-37 (volume nel quale comparirà alle p. 39-68 la traduzione inglese dell'intervento di Germana Ernst a Wolfenbüttel). Indubbiamente utile, per inquadrare l'attenzione volta al Filosofo e meglio comprendere la lettura di Grafton del pensiero di Cardano, anche lo scritto di ANNA BLAIR, NICHOLAS POPPER, « Anthony Grafton: A Short Biography to 2015 », in ANNA BLAIR, ANJA-SILVIA GOEING (eds.), *For the Sake of Learning. Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, 2 vol., Brill, Leiden-Boston 2016, p. XXXVII-L, seguito dalla bibliografia dei suoi scritti: C. PHILIPP E. NOTHAFT, « Anthony Grafton: A Bibliography to 2015 », p. LI-LXXXVII.

²⁸ In BALDI, CANZIANI (eds.), *Cardano e la tradizione dei saperi*, p. 9-18.

storica dei fatti, ma anche ad un'esegesi filologicamente fragile e non appropriatamente fondata e rigorosa dei testi. In quell'occasione l'indagine di Baldi si focalizzò sull'esame della struttura dell'opera, le ragioni del titolo, la dialettica *accusatio-consolatio*, sul proemio e i tre libri che lo compongono, perimetrando l'orizzonte della *consolatio* cardaniana, e delineando una storia del testo. Questa ricostruzione viene ripresa ed approfondita in modo analitico nella *Introduzione* all'edizione latina del *De consolatione*, proposta nel 2019.

Lo scritto cardaniano era uscito per la prima volta a stampa presso Scoto, a Venezia, nel 1542 (*Hieronymi Cardani Castellionei Mediolanensis De consolatione libri tres*, Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum) – le ragioni delle scelte editoriali cardaniane ripartite in quegli anni tra Milano e Venezia sono puntualmente e analiticamente illustrate da Baldi nel primo paragrafo dell'*Introduzione* al testo latino –, seguito, due anni dopo, da una seconda edizione presso l'editore tedesco Johannes Petreius di Norimberga, conosciuto per il tramite di Andrea Osiander, unitamente al *De sapientia* e alla prima redazione del *De libris propriis* (*Hieronymi Cardani medici Mediolanensis, De sapientia libri quinque. Eiusdem De consolatione libri tres, alias aediti, sed nunc ab eodem autore recogniti. Eiusdem, de libris proprijs, liber unus. Omnia locupleti indice decorata*, 1544. Excusum Norimbergae apud Iohan. Petreium), mentre altre due stampe, successive alla sua morte, ebbero luogo a Ginevra nel 1624²⁹ e a Lione nel 1663.³⁰

La delineazione del quadro documentale delle fonti potrebbe sembrare particolarmente favorevole ai fini della definizione del testo critico, perché vi è anche un manoscritto dell'opera cardaniana conservato presso la Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma (Fondo Sessoriano 302), registrato come autografo, oltre ad una traduzione inglese di Thomas Bedingfield del 1573,³¹ riedita nel 1576³² e a una successiva, diversa versione apparsa a Londra nel 1683 col titolo: *Cardan his Three books of consolation*

²⁹ HIERONYMI CARDANI *De Sapientia Libri Qvinque, Qvibvs Omnis Hvmanae Vitae cursus viuendique ratio explicatur. Eiusdem De Consolatione Libri Tres. His propter similitudinem argumenti, et ipsius Cardani commendationem, adiecti sunt Petri Alcyonii viri vndequaque doctissimi De Exilio, Libri duo, perquam elegantes et eruditi*, apud Petrum et Iacobum Chouët, Avreliopoli 1624.

³⁰ HIERONYMI CARDANI *Opera Omnia ...*, cur. CAROLI SPONII, sumptibus Ioannis Antonii Huguetan et Marci Antonii Ravaud, Lugduni 1663, t. I, p. 588–636b.

³¹ *Cardanus Comforte Translated into Englishe. And published by commaundement of the right honourable the Earle of Oxenford*, imprinted at London in Fleetestreate, neare to S. Dunstones Church by Thomas Marshe, 1573.

³² Il testo verrà riedito in epoca moderna ad Amsterdam, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; New York, Da Capo Press nel 1969.

*English'd.*³³ Ma, come osserva Baldi nella sua *Introduzione* all'edizione latina, la situazione risulta in realtà piuttosto complessa, per svariate ragioni. La prima edizione veneziana del '42, innanzitutto, suscitò non poco disappunto nello stesso Cardano, fitta com'era di errori tipografici,³⁴ che a suo giudizio ne inficiarono il successo.³⁵ Cardano aveva consegnato il manoscritto a Ottaviano Scoto, fratello di Girolamo ed erede dell'omonimo fondatore della nota stamperia, conosciuto al tempo degli studi patavini,³⁶ a cui era legato da antica amicizia. Alla metà degli anni Trenta, Ottaviano aveva poi passato al fratello Girolamo l'attività commerciale, dopo una fase di gestione condivisa degli affari, ma continuò a coltivare relazioni significative con Cardano e fu suo tramite nei rapporti con Tartaglia.³⁷ Presso Ottaviano, Cardano aveva dato in precedenza alle stampe il *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu* e il *De simplicium medicinarum noxa*,³⁸ testi molto critici sulla pratica medica del tempo, e a lui aveva affidato anche altri materiali, come si evince dalla disamina della lettera di Cardano al Tartaglia del 18 ottobre 1539 contenuta nel *Quesito XXXIX*, nella quale osserva: « Anchora circa all'altra parte dico, che zavariati a dire, che haveti inteso, che voglio dar fuora a l'arte magna, et che voglio dar fuora li vostri capitoli. Ma penso ve radeitati

³³ Printed for B. Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons, and S. Crutch, at the Princes Arms, against the Royal Exchange.

³⁴ Nel *De metodo medendi* (1565) scriverà, parlando delle prime edizioni mediche a stampa: « Atque si unquam alias, nunc manifeste nobis illius memoria occurrit: quippe cum meminerim, quam audacter magis, quam consulto, opus hoc de malo medendi usu in publicum emisierim: cumque ab initio multa scripsissem, non solum inornate, sed sine ullo ordine, vix audeo dicere, quibus modis animarum addiderit, quaque demum necessitate ab eo impulsus ad edendum sim immaturum hunc foetum. Erubesco cum ultra etiam trecentos errores meos in hoc libro, praeter etiam admissos a librariis recognosco » (Parisiis, In Aedibus Rovillij, via Iacobaea, sub signo Concordiae, fol. tiij).

³⁵ « Neque enim, ut dixi, Octavianus sponte libros meos, neque libenter imprimebat iacturam veritas impensae: Nam tametsi lucrum fecisset in librorum De malo medendi usu, impressione, id tamen in libris de consolatione postea compensavit: non solum quod titulus et forsitan etiam stylus non arrideret, sed quod typographus ipse innumeros atque turpissimos errores imprimendo commisisset » (GIROLAMO CARDANO, *De libris propriis. The Edition of 1544, 1550, 1557, 1562, with Supplementary Material*, ed. IAN MACLEAN, Franco Angeli, Milano 2004, DLP [1557], p. 186).

³⁶ DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 181; (1562), p. 244. Sulle relazioni di Cardano con i suoi editori dal 1534, si veda il capitolo 7: « Cardano and his Publishers, 1534-1663 », in IAN MACLEAN, *Learning and the Market Place. Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2009, p. 131-162, p. 135-136. Il testo di Maclean, come ricordato da Baldi nella nota 11 a p. 4 dell'*Introduzione* all'edizione latina, era stato riprodotto alle p. 309-338 degli Atti del citato convegno di Wolfenbüttel a cura di Eckhard Kessler.

³⁷ DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 199; DPL (1562), p. 345-346.

³⁸ HIERONYMI CASTELLIONIS CARDANI *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu libellus ...*, *Eiusdem libellus de simplicium medicamentum noxa ...*, apud Octavianum Scotum, Venetiis 1536.

de messer Ottaviano Scotto, quanto all'opera de *Mysterijs aeternitatis*, che vi pensati sia l'arte magna, che io voglia dar fuori »;³⁹ e come si rileva dall'esame delle diverse redazioni del *De libris propriis*.⁴⁰ Sicuramente il *De arcanis aeternitatis*, ma forse anche altri scritti (probabilmente i *Commentaria super Posteriorum primum Aristotelis*), come annota lo stesso Cardano nelle successive ricostruzioni, alcuni dei quali però andarono perduti:⁴¹ « Anno igitur eodem cum sequente, duos libros scripsi, Commentaria Super Posteriorum primum Aristotelis, magnitudine Salustii, attamen non absolvi: ea cum Octaviano Scoto commodassem, tum aliis, nescio quomodo exciderint, puto tamen absque dubio superesse », scrive nella prima versione del *De libris propriis*.⁴² Parimenti scrive nella stesura del '50, quando in merito osserva: « Anno sequenti, cum iam me in Academiam Ticinensem contulissem, Commentaria in quinque primos testus primi Posteriorum scripsi, quae, cum Octaviano Scoto accommodassem, periire, nec doleo, tametsi magna satis essent ».⁴³ Narrazione che Cardano conferma anche nella successiva redazione del '57: « Anno quoque eodem scripsi folia quinquaginta commentariorum in quinque primas sectiones primi Posteriorum, quae mutuo cum dedissem Octaviano Scoto, nescio quo casu, amissa sunt »;⁴⁴ e ribadisce nella quarta e ultima del '62:

Cum vero me Patavium contulissem, conscripsi commentaria in libri Posteriorum primi initium, mediocris magnitudinis: e quibus decerpsi contradictiones, quarum exemplar extat apud Medicum Mediolanensem: et apud me liber cuius initium est [...]. Ipsa vero Commentaria cum dedissem Octaviano Scoto amico meo, interiere.⁴⁵

Scoto aveva stampato i due testi medici, accollandosi il rischio finanziario e mettendo anche in gioco la propria credibilità e Cardano ricorda, nel '57, che Ottaviano lo aveva fatto solo per affetto e amicizia nei suoi confronti.⁴⁶ Il *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu* riportava in apertura alla prima edizione una dedica a Filippo Archinto, data in Milano il 5 settembre del '36, « Mediolani. VIII Idus Septembris M. D. XXXVI »,

³⁹ « Quesito. XXXIX. Fatto dalla Eccellentia del medesimo messer Hieronimo Cardano, con una lettera de di .18. Ottobre .1539 », in *Quesiti et inventioni diverse de Nicolo Tartaglia ...*, In Nicolo de Bascarini, Appresso de L'Auttore, 1554, fol. 124r-v, fol. 124r.

⁴⁰ Cf. DLP (1544), ed. MACLEAN, p. 126; (1550), p. 140; (1557) p. 173; (1562), p. 231.

⁴¹ Cf. MACLEAN, *Learning and the Market Place*, p. 136.

⁴² DLP (1544), ed. MACLEAN, p. 126.

⁴³ DPL (1550), ed. MACLEAN, p. 140.

⁴⁴ DPL (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 173.

⁴⁵ DPL (1562), ed. MACLEAN, p. 231.

⁴⁶ DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 181; (1544), p. 130; (1562), p. 244.

nella quale, oltre all'elogio all'intelligenza e alla virtù dell'amico Archinto, esprimeva stima nei confronti del medico Ambrogio Cavenago, mentre nella successiva edizione del '45 dello stesso volume, portata a compimento e stampata presso Girolamo Scoto, nel frattempo succeduto al fratello alla guida della stamperia, Cardano sostituirà la dedicatoria con un'altra, sempre indirizzata all'Archinto, ma data in « Papiae, XV Cal. Martij M. D. XLV ». La medesima poi riproposta nella susseguente edizione della ristampa parigina del 1565.⁴⁷ Nella dedicatoria proposta nel '45, e riedita nel '65, Cardano ritornerà su quella primitiva stampa fitta di errori, assumendosi la responsabilità dell'insuccesso.⁴⁸ Ma, non ostante le considerazioni critiche di Cardano, le vendite di quella prima edizione non erano affatto andate male, rendendo così disponibile Ottaviano ad una nuova edizione, che non ebbe però luogo se non più tardi, nel 1545, quando ormai l'azienda era saldamente nelle mani del fratello Girolamo, presso il quale, in quello stesso anno, Cardano darà alle stampe oltre alla nuova edizione del *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu libellus, centum errores illorum continens, Eiusdem libellus de simplicium medicinarum noxa*⁴⁹ anche la prima impressione dei *Contradicentium medicorum libri*.⁵⁰

Intanto, a Milano, alla fine degli anni Trenta, Cardano curava la pubblicazione dell'opera aritmetica e delle opere astrologiche, forse perché vi trovava le competenze tecniche – come si può supporre –, o forse perché riteneva più opportuno separare i diversi ambiti di interesse, e considerava Venezia, vicina a Padova dove aveva studiato (e si era laureato nel '26), più attenta agli studi di medicina – sia del corpo sia della mente – e di logica, e dove poteva trovare lettori aperti e competenti come Giovanni Battista de Monte,⁵¹ divenuto nell'autunno del '39 ordinario di medicina pratica a Padova.⁵² Cardano si era addottorato in medicina in quell'università e a Milano, presso le scuole Piattine, insegnava dal novembre del 1534 matematica, ma al contempo, dal

⁴⁷ In Aedibus Rouillij, via Iacobaea, sub signo Concordiae, Parisiis.

⁴⁸ *Philippo Archinto Episcopo Sancti Sepulcri [...]*, in *De methodo medendi, Sectiones quatuor*, in Aedibus Rouillij, via Iacobaea, sub signo Concordiae, Parisiis 1565, fol. fiiij^r; apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetijs 1545, fol. 2r-v (A ijr-v).

⁴⁹ Apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetijs 1545.

⁵⁰ HIERONYMUS CARDANUS, *Contradicentium Medicorum liber. Continens contradictiones centum octo*, apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetijs 1545.

⁵¹ FERNAND-LUCIEN MUELLER, *Histoire de la Psychologie*, Payot, Paris 1976; tr. it.: ID., *Storia della Psicologia. Dall'antichità ai nostri giorni*, ed. PAOLO CARUSO, MARGHERITA LEARDI, Mondadori, Milano 1978, p. 141-143.

⁵² PAUL F. GRENDLER, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2002, p. 341-342.

giugno del '35, praticava consulti.⁵³ Vivendo a Milano si era direttamente occupato della stampa dei testi astrologici e della *Practica arithmetice*, pubblicati in quella città, ma non aveva potuto seguire, se non indirettamente, la stampa del *De consolatione*. Come scriverà nella più tarda ricostruzione del *De libris propriis* del 1557:

Neque enim, ut dixi, Octavianus sponte libros meos, neque libenter imprimebat iacturam veritas impensae: Nam tametsi lucrum fecisset in librorum De malo nedendi usu, impressione, id tamen in libris de consolatione postea compensavit: non solum quod titulus et forsitan etiam stylus non arrideret, sed quod typographus ipse innumeros atque turpissimos errores imprimendo commisisset. Quam ob causam Librum de astrorum iudiciis primum ego mea impensa Mediolani imprimi curavi, quod esset exiguus valde, folia continens decem tantum. Verum eo quoquo modo distracto, et etiam cum iactura, ubi libros de Consolatione tam foede a typographo Scoto conspurcatus vidissem, decrevi Practicam Arithmeticae Mediolani excudere: satis enim constabat implexum opus, quodque notis variis atque figuris indigeret, si alibi quam Mediolani excuderetur, tum ob causas dictas, tum materiae, quae tunc nova videbatur, difficultatem, tum etiam exemplaris obscuritatem infinitos errores habiturum.⁵⁴

I due scritti di medicina usciti nel '36 avevano un impianto fortemente critico nei confronti della pratica medica contemporanea, che di certo non aveva giovato al giovane medico. E di ciò Cardano ebbe a pentirsi anche in tarda età. Ma la cui considerazione può aiutarci a comprendere perché affidasse nel '42 a Girolamo Scoto, fratello di Ottaviano, titolare della stamperia veneziana, il testo del *De consolatione* – in precedenza consegnato, forse in una primitiva stesura, all'amico Ottaviano –, di evidente impostazione ed intento clinici, caratterizzato inoltre da un andamento metodologico argomentativo e procedurale fortemente improntato a quella organica sistematicità – scaturita e maturata nel corso delle ricerche matematiche sulla teoria delle equazioni, che vedranno la luce a stampa nel '45, presso Petreius a Norimberga, e che delineano una nuova visione della logica, fortemente innovativa –, che avrebbe trovato attenzione a Padova.

L'attività matematica aveva impegnato molto Cardano. Alle problematiche logico-algebriche e geometriche si era intensamente dedicato tra la fine degli anni Trenta e

⁵³ Cf. ANTHONY GRAFTON, NANCY SIRAISI, « Between the Election and My Hopes: Girolamo Cardano and Medical Astrology », in NEWMAN, GRAFTON (eds.), *Secrets of Nature*, p. 69–131, p. 92–107.

⁵⁴ « Quod si Venetiis apud eosdem Scotos excuderetur, ne umbram quidem superfuturam: ut mihi omnino labor et gloria. Typographo impensa peritura esset. Statui igitur Mediolani librum imprimere. Oblata est occasio: nam Bernardus Caluschus Bibliopola suis impensis id egit, suoque periculo, decemque coronatos mihi pro exemplari dedit », DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 186–187.

la prima metà degli anni Quaranta e, in certi aspetti procedurali, il *De consolatione* sembra voler riprendere un modello logico fortemente innovativo e sistematico osservato e studiato nel corso di quelle lunghe ricerche. È dunque comprensibile ritenere che Cardano pensasse che la trattazione di un tema che poteva essere ricondotto alla medicina della psiche – disciplina non ancora codificata all'epoca e ritenuta inesistente come ambito di ricerca clinica, il cui oggetto era considerato più affine alle discipline filosofiche che non all'ambito della riflessione medica – non poteva, senza nocumento per il suo autore, in quella modalità di presentazione, essere offerta ad una comunità scientifica arretrata e conservatrice, arroccata nella tradizione e chiusa a nuove prospettive di indagine, quale quella proposta dal giovane medico milanese, a lungo escluso nella sua città dalla ufficialità del rango. Può essere utile ricordare quanto scrive nel *De vita propria*,⁵⁵ e nel *De libris propriis*⁵⁶ a proposito del consulto richiestogli da Camillo Borromeo. L'approccio sistematico – ispirato ai nuovi modelli logico-procedurali di evidente derivazione matematica, con i quali è alle prese nella disputa con Tartaglia e nell'elaborazione della teoria delle equazioni cubiche e biquadratiche, ma anche, per molti aspetti, con la messa a punto del calcolo matematico dell'anticipazione di un risultato che sfocerà nella composizione del *De ludo aleae* –, e la stessa materia presa in esame da Cardano, che ai suoi occhi sembra aprire ad una nuova area di indagine sino ad allora rimasta estranea alla considerazione medica, sarebbero risultati incomprensibili e inappropriati se proposti ad un pubblico pregiudizialmente poco disponibile nei suoi confronti e radicato in una tradizione clinica dalla quale si sente lontano e dalla quale prende le distanze. Proposta che, per di più, giungeva da parte di un giovane medico ai primi passi, di nascita illegittima, da pochissimo accolto ufficialmente nella comunità scientifica e professionale rappresentata dal Collegio dei fisici, da cui a lungo era stato respinto. Avrebbe indubbiamente rafforzato nei suoi avversari le ragioni del rifiuto in precedenza oppostogli, confermandole, o comunque alimentato i dubbi sulla sua reputazione e competenza di medico, ponendolo così in cattiva luce. Più tardi, vent'anni dopo, nel '61, pensatore e clinico affermato e di fama europea, riprenderà il tema della medicina della mente e pubblicherà il *De utilitate ex adversis capienda*⁵⁷ –

⁵⁵ CARDANO, *De vita propria liber*, cap. XXXIII, in Id., *Opera omnia*, t. I, p. 25a-b.

⁵⁶ DLP (1557), Ed. MACLEAN, p. 182.

⁵⁷ HIERONYMI CARDANI *De utilitate ex adversis capienda, libri IIII ...*, per Henricum Petri, Basileae 1561. Sull'importante *Praefatio* che reca la data: « Ticini xv. Kal. Decembris, MDLX » si veda l'edizione critica a cura di RAFFAELE PASSARELLA, in *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia*, 4/suppl. (2008). Sulla storia del testo si veda di GUIDO CANZIANI, *Le riscritture del 'De utilitate'. Note preliminari*, in BALDI, CANZIANI (eds.), *Girolamo Cardano. Le opere, le fonti, la vita*, p. 105-127.

lavorando al testo tra il 1559 e il 1560 –,⁵⁸ di notevole interesse per la storia della psichiatria.⁵⁹ Ma all'inizio degli anni Quaranta, dopo le difficoltà riscontrate con il Collegio dei fisici milanesi – dal quale fu accolto solo nel 1539, sebbene gli fosse stato concesso di esercitare la professione sin dal '35 –, poteva non apparire prudente lasciare che il tema trattato in quest'opera, e in quella modalità, fosse proposto presso l'editore milanese. Così la affidò a Scoto e alla stamperia veneziana. È difficile ritenere, ripensando alla cronologia della composizione del *De consolatione*, nel confronto con la totalità dei suoi interessi di studio e della sua produzione scientifica, che negli anni compresi tra la seconda metà del 1538 e il 1542 Cardano potesse avere avuto il tempo e la tranquillità necessarie per la stesura dell'opera. Dobbiamo più ragionevolmente pensare, anche alla luce delle evidenze testimoniali, che la composizione dell'opera, nella forma della prima stesura, fosse anteriore, e non più tarda, della prima metà del '38 – se non addirittura della fine del '37 –, tempo a partire dal quale Cardano è intensamente coinvolto, tra gli altri, nel campo della ricerca matematica. Ha pubblicato a Milano la *Practica arithmetice, et mensurandi singularis*⁶⁰ nel '39, ma la lettera dedicatoria a Francesco Gadio è del primo gennaio del 1537, ed è fondato supporre che a quella data l'opera aritmetica fosse già conclusa e, salvo qualche ritocco, pronta per la stampa. Nel frattempo, ha composto l'*Ars magna arithmeticae* (di cui abbiamo una stesura manoscritta a Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS. N. 187) – divisa in due parti, la prima dedicata allo studio del libro degli *Elementi*, e la seconda volta alla illustrazione dei casi cubici e biquadratici avuti dal Tartaglia e da Ludovico Ferrari, la cui redazione è da collocarsi tra il 1538 e il 1543 –,⁶¹ ha commentato gli *Elementi* di Euclide (*Commentaria in Euclidis Elementa*, MS BNF. Lat. 7217) e pubblicato

⁵⁸ Nel DLP (1562) scriverà infatti: « Post hos, inchoatum opus De utilitate capienda ex adversis, anno quinquagesimonono absolvi, post obitum filii mei » (ed. MACLEAN, p. 281). Più oltre sciverà: « [...] et de his scripsimus non solum in libris de Sapientia et Consolatione, sed longe locupletius in libris de Utilitate capienda ex adversis » (p. 370).

⁵⁹ MUELLER, *Storia della Psicologia*, p. 141. Cf. GIROLAMO CARDANO, *De utilitate ex adversis capienda*, Praefatio, ed. PASSARELLA, p. 29–59.

⁶⁰ Colophon: Anno a Virgineo partu. MDXXXIX. Io. Antonins Castellioneus Mediolani Imprimebat Impensis Bernardini Calusci.

⁶¹ VERONICA GAVAGNA, « L'*Ars magna arithmeticae* nel corpus matematico di Cardano », in SABINE ROMMEVAUX, MARYVONNE SPIESSER, MARIA ROSA MASSA ESTEVE (eds.), *Pluralité de l'algèbre à la Renaissance*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2012, p. 237–268, la pone « tra il 1539 e il 1545 (o forse il 1542) », p. 240–241. Anche Sara Confalonieri la colloca tra il 1539 e il 1542: « [...] the *Ars Magna Arithmeticae* (probably composed between 1539 and 1542) » (SARA CONFALONIERI, *The Unattainable Attempt to Avoid the Casus Irreducibilis for Cubic Equations. Gerolamo Cardano's 'De Regula Aliza'*, Springer Spektrum, Wiesbaden 2015, p. 2).

l'*Artis magnae*, nel '45, a Norimberga,⁶² inserendola nel grandioso programma matematico dell'*Opus perfectum*, al quale lavora intesamente e che lo assorbe interamente.

Nei medesimi anni scrive di medicina e di astrologia,⁶³ insegna, e pratica consulti. Ritorna sul manoscritto del *De consolatione*, modificandone il titolo e rimaneggiando il testo, inizialmente chiamato *Accusator*. Ne rivede alcune parti, dividendo l'opera in tre libri. L'anticipazione delle possibili critiche, probabilmente, oppure i rilievi sollevati da amici, che nel frattempo avevano letto il manoscritto, lo inducono ad omettere la dedicatoria, e ad anteporre un *Proemium*, nel quale giustifica la trattazione. Più tardi, nel '44, lo condurrà ad associare l'opera al *De sapientia*, indirizzando il lettore ad una più accentuata e inequivocabile lettura ed interpretazione filosofica della materia, che ne modificava l'impatto e la collocazione, inserendola nel solco di una più consolidata tradizione di pensiero, avendo, per altro, nel frattempo, da gestire e presentare altri, diversi e certamente straordinari, e soprattutto inoppugnabili, risultati in campo matematico, che affidava all'editore tedesco.⁶⁴ A quarantun anni, dunque, Cardano aveva già pubblicato svariate opere appartenenti ad ambiti disciplinari piuttosto diversi. Il *De consolatione* era stata preceduto infatti da diversi scritti, il *Pronostico o vero iudicio generale composto per lo eccellente messer Hieronymo Cardano phisico milanese dal 1534 insino al 1550 con molti capitoli eccellenti*, stampato a Venezia nel 1534,⁶⁵ il *Pronostico del anno 1535*,⁶⁶ apparso a Milano nell'anno successivo, il menzionato *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu*, stampato unitamente al *De simplicium medicinarum noxa*, anch'essa a Venezia nel 1536,⁶⁷ cui avevano fatto seguito il *Supplementum Almanach* e il *De restitutione temporum et motuum coelestium*,⁶⁸ entrambi editi a Milano nel 1538, con

⁶² HIERONYMI CARDANI *Artis magnae, sive de regulis algebraicis, Lib. unus. Qui et totius operis de Arithmetica, quod Opus Perfectum inscripsit, est in ordine Decimus ...*, per Ioh. Petreium excusum, Norimbergae 1545.

⁶³ HIERONYMI CARDANI *Libelli duo. Unus, de Supplemento Almanach. Alter, de Restitutione temporum et motuum coelestium. Item Geniturae LXVII. insignes casibus et fortuna, cum expositione*, apud Io. Petreium, Norimbergae 1543.

⁶⁴ HIERONYMI CARDANI *De Sapientia Libri quinque. Eiusdem de Consolatione libri tres. alias aediti, sed nunc ab eodem authore recogniti. Eiusdem, de Libris proprijs, liber unus. Omnia locupleti indice decorata*, apud Iohan. Petreium, Norimbergae [1544].

⁶⁵ Bernardinum de Bindonis, Venetiis 1534 & 1535.

⁶⁶ *Pronostico del anno 1535. de lo eccellentissimo astrologo Hieronimo Gardano Milanese fatto per la via de Ptolomeo ...*, Gotardo da Ponte e M. Vincenzo da Medda, Milano 1535.

⁶⁷ Apud Octavianum Scotum, Venetiis 1536. L'opera verrà riedita a Venezia da Girolamo Scoto nel 1545 (apud Hieronymum Scotum, Venetijs 1545).

⁶⁸ HIERONYMI CASTILLIONEI CARDANI *Libellus qui dicitur supplementum almanach. Libellus alius de restitutione temporum motuum coelestium. Quinque principium geniture cum expositione. Quinque eruditorum virorum geniture cum expositione, [...]*, per Io. Antonium Castellioneum, Mediolani 1538.

dedica a Filippo Archinto.⁶⁹ Ma aveva già dato alle stampe, come ricordato, anche la *Practica arithmetice, et mensurandi singularis*, pubblicata a Milano nel 1539 da Bernardino Calusci. Nella dedica all'Archinto dell'ottobre del 1538, anteposta alla prima edizione del *Libellus alius de restitutione temporum et motuum coelestium* (fol. C 1v), annotava come « Unde iam magna libelli de practica numerandi mensurandique absoluta impressaque », confermando in tal modo che a quella data la *Practica arithmetice* era già in fase avanzata di stampa e dunque la data della dedicatoria del gennaio 1537, può essere considerata come indicativa della conclusione e del suo licenziamento per i torchi. Nel '45, nella dedicatoria all'Archinto⁷⁰ della seconda edizione del *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu libellus*, unitamente al *Libellus de simplicium medicinarum noxa*, presso Girolamo Scoto, ritornerà con la memoria a quegli anni, giustificando la nuova edizione e annoterà:

Quippe cum meminerim, quam audacter magis quam consulto, opus hoc de malo medendi usu in publicum emisim. cumque ab initio multa scripsissem, non solum inornate, sed sine ullo ordine, vix audeo dicere, quibus modis animum addiderit, quamque demum necessitate ab eo impulsus ad edendum sim immaturum hunc foetum. Erubesco cum ultra etiam trecentos errores meos in hoc libro, praeter etiam admissos a librariis recognosco.⁷¹

Nello stesso anno dà alle stampe l'*Artis magnae, sive de regulis algebraicis, liber unus*,⁷² la cui dedica ad Andrea Osiander reca la data « v. Idus Ianuarias M. D. XLV. Papiæ », ⁷³ dunque di poche settimane anteriore alla dedicatoria all'Archinto contenuta nella riedizione del *De malo recentiorum medicorum medendi usu*. Sono opere molto prossime alla stampa della nuova edizione del *De consolatione* del '44, ed è pertanto possibile – quanto meno non è da escludere – che la ricostruzione postuma cardaniana sia da imputare ad un errore, involontario o ricercato, nel racconto, che riconduce alla stampa della *Practica arithmetice, et mensurandi singularis* le preoccupazioni in realtà vissute per l'impressione dell'*Ars magna*, resoconto che lo stesso Cardano riprende e riplasma, con qualche ambiguità, nella successiva ricostruzione dei fatti nel '62, dove

⁶⁹ « Hieronimus Castillioneus Cardanus Reverendo Domino Philippo Archinto Protonotario. S. D. ».

⁷⁰ L'edizione sarà premessa da una lunga dedica all'Archinto (« Philippo Archinto Episcopo Sancti Sepulchri vicarioque Pontificis summi Pauli terij, viro eruditissimo, et bonarum literarum fautori egregie Hieronymus Cardanus medicus Mediolanensis D. P. D. », fol. 2r), data in Pavia « XV. Cal. Martij. M. D. XLV », fol. A ijr–(fol. 2r–5v).

⁷¹ Ibid., fol. A ijr–A ivj (fol. 2r–2v).

⁷² Per loh. Petreium excusum, Norimbergae 1545.

⁷³ Ibid., fol. 1r.

scrive: « Verum eo quoquo modo distracto, et etiam cum iactura, ubi libros de Consolatione tam foede a typographo Scoto conspurcatos vidissem, curavi ut artem Arithmeticae Mediolani excuderent ».⁷⁴ Maclean – nella nota alla sua edizione del testo – di fronte all’ambiguità del racconto cardaniano ripropone il passo corrispondente della narrazione del ’57: « decrevi Practicam Arithmeticae Mediolani excudere »,⁷⁵ ma il dato rimane problematico, perché Cardano non si reca a Norimberga né per seguire la stampa delle sue opere che riedita, né per l’opera algebrica che ha molto a cuore, e segue l’impressione delle opere da Milano o Pavia, dove insegna.

Morley scrive che Cardano ha completato nel ’39 i tre libri dedicati alla vita di Cristo (« De vita D. N. Jesu Christi tribus pariter libris contentum »)⁷⁶ e corretto e sistemato due o tre libri di lettere, mentre l’anno successivo lo destina a sistemare i diversi scritti che si accinge a dare alle stampe, tra i quali colloca il *De consolatione*, la cui prima stesura viene posta nel 1537.⁷⁷ Baldi ritiene però altamente improbabile l’ipotesi che il manoscritto del *De consolatione* fosse già nelle mani degli Scoto e che fosse rimasto presso la tipografia così a lungo.⁷⁸

Sicuramente Cardano negli anni compresi tra il 1537 e il 1542 era oberato di lavoro, giacché la preparazione dell’opera aritmetica per la stampa era piuttosto impegnativa e richiedeva una particolare attenzione e cura formale. Inoltre, stava completando la teoria delle cubiche e delle biquadratiche e lavorava alacremente alle due *ars magna*. Risulta difficile immaginare, data l’importanza che la sua attività teorica di matematico andava assumendo – oltre agli impegni professionali nei quali era coinvolto e alle altre attività editoriali in corso d’opera –, che riuscisse anche a concepire e a stendere il *De consolatione*. Anni dopo, nel « Liber secundus » del *Contradicentium medicorum* edito a Lione nel ’48 con dedica a Cosimo I de’ Medici (« Data x Calend. Aprilis M. D. XLVII. Papiae »), ritornando sull’argomento, scriverà parole amare: « Aetas nostra magna et praeclara ingenia tulit, a barbarie bonas literas

⁷⁴ DLP (1562), ed. MACLEAN, p. 249.

⁷⁵ DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 186; DLP (1562), ed. MACLEAN, p. 249, n. 88.

⁷⁶ « Carolus Quintus Romanorum Imperator [...] », in *Practica arithmetice* (1539), fol. SS IIIIr–v.

⁷⁷ « In 1539 Jerome finished his three books on the Life of Christ, and arranged two or three books of Letters. The whole of the next year was spent in the revision and emendation of his former writings, one of which, that on Consolation, written in 1537, he prepared next for the press » (HENRY MORLEY, *The Life of Girolamo Cardano, of Milan, Physician*, 2 vol., Chapman and Hall, London 1854, vol. I, p. 188). Pagine prima, osservava: « In the year 1537 – he being then thirty-six years old – the world still used him ill, and prompted him to write two works, one upon Wisdom, one on Consolation » (Ibid., vol. I, p. 159).

⁷⁸ MARIALUISA BALDI, « Introduzione », in CARDANO, *De consolatione*, p. 8–9.

vindicavit, artes in immensum auxit: sed tamen quosdam etiam aedidit viros, qui fucata doctrina et verborum lenocinio, cuncta corrumpereunt. Dum enim ambitioni nimis student, ut pulchre magis, quam vere dicant consulunt ». ⁷⁹ Nel '48, infatti, nella *Contradictio III* del secondo volume (« Libri II. Tract. VI »), ricondurrà il discorso sul *De consolatione*, rivendicando a sé un amore disinteressato per la verità e per la ricerca che lo fa sentire vicino a Vesalio e lo allontana dal rozzo ambiente patrio:

Sic enim Hippocrates, sic Galenus, caeterique qui veritatis dilectione flagrarunt, illiusque dulcedine inebriati sunt. Quod si par illis eruditione esse nequeam, quid quaeso prohibet, non quantum illos amare veritatem? Ostendunt libri nostri de Consolatione veritatis amore me plusquam illos periclitatum. hoc certius est argumentum amoris illius, quam praemii magnitudo. Itaque admirantur quidam, quod Andream Vessalium, mihi hominem è facie ignotum, alienaeque gentis, et (ut etiam quod illi obiiciunt addam) chirurgum, laudaverim, atque suspiciam: eamque etiam de causa adeo quidam veritatem oderunt, me accusant. ⁸⁰

La ricostruzione della gestazione, della stesura e dei rimaneggiamenti del testo risulta dunque particolarmente difficile, ⁸¹ come d'altro canto accade per altri scritti cardaniani, e le informazioni rese dal loro autore non sono sempre coerenti e facilmente interpretabili. L'opera che compare già nell'elenco dei titoli presentati da Cardano per la concessione del Privilegio imperiale del 25 giugno 1538, ⁸² accluso alla *Practica arithmetice*, è registrata con il diverso titolo di *Liber: qui dicitur accusator*, ⁸³ confermando che, pure con diverso titolo, l'opera è già scritta. L'esame, infine, dello stesso manoscritto autografo (Roma: Bibl. Naz. Centr. 'Vittorio Emanuele II', Fondo Sessoriano 302), di cui scrive Elisabetta Tonello nella *Nota al testo* (p. 47–59), evidenzia come il manoscritto si sia trasformato, nel corso del tempo, in una copia di lavoro nella

⁷⁹ *Contradictentium medicorum libri duo*, apud Seb. Gryphum, Lugduni 1548, Lib. II, Tract. VI, p. 373. E poco più oltre: « Ego quidem non Italus potius quam Barbarus sum, non Mediolanensis potius quam Memphiticus, proborum mihi patria una est, atque mundi ipsius civis » (Ibid., p. 373–374).

⁸⁰ Apud Seb. Gryphum, Lugduni 1548, vol. II, p. 373.

⁸¹ Cf. DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 186–187; DLP (1562), p. 249.

⁸² Cf. *Practica arithmetice, et mensurandi singularis*, Io. Antonins Castellioneus, Impensis Bernardini Calusci, Mediolani 1539, fol. Sr–v [601r–v (Num. a mano)]. Ora in *De Libris Propriis. The Editions of 1544, 1550, 1557, 1562*, ed. MACLEAN, p. 117–119; « The 1538 Privilege (Printed in *Practica arithmetice*, Giovanni Antonio Castellione for Bernard[in]o Calusco, Milan 1539, fol. SIIIIr–v), in MACLEAN, *Learning and the Market*, p. 160–161.

⁸³ Il *De consolatione*, come pone in rilievo la Curatrice (p. 9) venne stampato in tre libri, mentre nel disegno originario era stato concepito in un unico libro (*Liber: qui dicitur accusator*). Cf. MORLEY, *The Life of Girolamo Cardano*, vol. I, p. 188.

quale si susseguono e dalla quale traspaiono diverse fasi di intervento (p. 50). Infatti, le interpolazioni, le alterazioni e in genere gli interventi sul testo sono così frequenti che hanno indotto ad evitare « di registrarli per non sovraccaricare l'apparato », osserva ancora Tonello nella *Nota* (p. 51, n. 10). Baldi rileva almeno tre o quattro interventi in fasi e tempi diversi, che lasciano intravedere, appunto, anche un mutamento di intenti e di direzione della ricerca. Incontrovertibilmente – è lo stesso Cardano a parlarcene nel terzo libro del *De consolatione*–⁸⁴ il concepimento dell'opera è di molto anteriore: « Semper autem et ab initio et usque nunc primus hic liber (qui quanquam tunc a me non esset editus, mente tamen conceptus) solabatur », ⁸⁵ e subito aggiunge, fornendoci un'indicazione preziosa al fine di delineare la cronologia della concezione dell'opera: « Inde in patriam denuo reversus », evento che possiamo collocare nel corso del 1534. La stesura è portata a compimento nella prima formulazione entro la fine del 1537 e la riscrittura, seguita dalla revisione per la stampa, è posteriore alla composizione del *De arcanis aeternitatis* (« Sub illius anni fine [1538] [...] librum de arcanis aeternitatis inchoavi », ⁸⁶ come leggiamo nei *De libris propriis* del 1544), ⁸⁷ dal cui groviglio di carte scaturì, oltre all'*Accusator*, il *De sapientia* (« Scripsi igitur accusatoris librum, ac de sapientia alium »). ⁸⁸ Narrazione che però nel 1562 sembra essere rivista e riletta in modo più analitico dallo stesso Cardano, e con una diversa prospettiva. Osserva infatti: « Anno deinceps quadragesimo, cum conscripsissem tres libros De Aeternitate arcanis [...]. Superfluit ex ferragine illa folium unum, de Sapientia, quod anno quadragesimo secundo ». ⁸⁹ E poco oltre: « Ex eadem farragine sumpta est materia libri de Animi immortalitate », ⁹⁰ e nel capoverso successivo: « Simili ratione ex librorum de Consolatione farragine ». ⁹¹

⁸⁴ CARDANO, *De consolatione*, p. 179–180. « Si pensi, però, a quante preoccupazioni, a quale tristezza dovettero tormentare il mio animo. [...]. Da allora, cominciai a contrastare la debolezza della mia salute con l'astinenza, la cattiveria con la sopportazione, la povertà con la parsimonia, i conflitti con la cura attenta, gli insuccessi con l'impegno negli studi letterari. Sempre comunque, dall'inizio e fino ad ora, questo mio primo libro mi è stato di conforto (sebbene non lo avessi ancora scritto, ne avevo tuttavia concepito l'idea) » (trad. it. BALDI, p. 105).

⁸⁵ CARDANO, *De consolatione*, p. 179–180; trad. it. BALDI, p. 105.

⁸⁶ DLP (1544), ed. MACLEAN, p. 132. « Verum libri de arcanis aeternitatis, magnitudo dupla est de sapientia. Sequenti anno qui fuit XXXVIII [1539] » (*De libris propriis* [1544], p. 133).

⁸⁷ *De libris propriis* (1544), p. 132–133.

⁸⁸ « Primum vero in tres divisi, ac sub nomine libri de Consolatione aedidi in lucem; librum autem de sapientia, in quinque divisi » (*De libris propriis* [1544], p. 132–133).

⁸⁹ DLP (1562), ed. MACLEAN, p. 250–254.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 255. Nel 1557 scriveva: « Superfluit ex farragine illa folium unum de sapientia » (p. 192); « Ex eadem farragine sumpta est materia libri, De animi immortalitate » (p. 192); « Simili ratione ex

Cardano giustifica, nel *Proemium*, l'assenza della lettera dedicatoria, richiamando l'inadeguato rigore intellettuale con il quale sarebbe stato giudicato dal pubblico – spesso pervaso da pregiudizi e superstizione – se l'avesse dedicato a qualcuno: « Che sarebbe dunque successo se avessi dedicato questo libro a qualcuno? Non avrei forse dato l'idea che fosse stato pensato o addirittura destinato a consolare per qualche grande sciagura? Lungi da me il voler offendere qualcuno con un'opera tanto utile »⁹² e spiega, nel dar conto di ciò, del mutamento del suo titolo, inizialmente chiamato *Accusator*, « in quanto intendeva stigmatizzare i vari affetti degli uomini e le loro false convinzioni ».⁹³

Il libro primo si apre alla tematica con un approccio problematico, che lascia però trasparire l'intenzione cardaniana in merito allo sviluppo della trattazione dell'argomento e la strategia narrativa intrapresa. Rimanda da un lato ad un esempio letterario elevatissimo e di assoluto rilievo. E dunque irraggiungibile, rappresentato dallo scritto di Cicerone composto per la morte della figlia Tullia, che però non ci è pervenuto, dissolvendolo così in un ipotetico superlativo modello, del quale non possiamo disporre, e ciò diviene per Cardano il movente e l'espedito retorico per sgomberare immediatamente il campo da ogni preoccupazione stilistica e da ogni intenzione letteraria – considerate come inappropriate alla descrizione reale e in profondità della problematica –, che anzi risulterebbero da ostacolo alla comprensione del tema trattato, giacché « Ea vero consolationis ratio est ut, quanquam nullis argumentis muniatur nullaque facundia ornetur, ex se tamen locupletissimam materiam suggerat » (p. 65). Pertanto, ponendosi nella condizione di trovarsi senza un modello cui guardare, intraprende il suo percorso in autonomia e solitudine, affermando la necessità di affrontare l'argomento, poiché una consolazione è pur necessaria all'uomo e alla vita, così come gli è indispensabile un'abitazione. Inoltre,

librorum De consolatione farragine librum, qui dicitur Consolatorius amantium » (p. 193). Nel 1550 scriveva: « Post haec tres libros De archanis aeternitatis scripsi anno xlii aetatis. Aetatis xliii coepi Mediolani publice medicinam profiteri [...]. Anno eodem scripsi librum De animi immortalitate » [...]. Interim ex libris De archanis aeternitatis libros excerpti quinque De sapientia, quos una cum tribus De consolatione libris iam per quadriennium ante conscriptos » ([1550], p. 142). Cf. BALDI, « Introduzione », p. 2, n. 5.

⁹² CARDANO, *Sulla consolazione*, p. 3; « Quid igitur si cuiquam libros hos dedicassem? Nonne tanquam ad illius medendam egregiam aliquam calamitatem inscripti aut potius destinati viderentur? Absit igitur ut tam compendiosa opera quenquam offendam » (*De consolatione*, ed. BALDI, p. 63).

⁹³ *Sulla consolazione*, p. 3; « Fuerat autem ab initio eius nomen Accusatoris, ut qui vanos hominum affectus atque falsas argueret persuasiones » (*De consolatione*, ed. BALDI, p. 64). Cf. GUIDO GIGLIONI, « The Many Rhetorical Personae of an Early Modern Physician: Girolamo Cardano on Truth and Persuasion », in STEPHEN PENDER, NANCY S. STRUEVER (eds.), *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe*, Farnham–Burlington, Ashgate 2012, p. 173–193, p. 178–179.

nessun uomo può sfuggire ad essa, sia perché nessun uomo è integralmente felice, sia per la ragione che quand'anche si potesse eliminare dalla vita dell'uomo ogni elemento di infelicità, rimarrebbe la paura e l'inquietudine della morte, alla quale nessuno può sottrarsi. La sua cogenza si differenzia però da altre forme di necessità che sono proprie dell'essere umano, nota Cardano, perché non raggiunge il suo scopo come accade all'acqua per la sete o al cibo per la fame, ma persegue il suo obbiettivo e lo consegue obliquamente, blandendo il male cui si rivolge, attingendo alla retta ragione, che sola può governare i diversi mutamenti e le inquietudini degli stati della mente. Appare evidente fin dalle prime righe del testo che Cardano è profondamente impegnato su più fronti: sul fronte della considerazione clinica della materia innanzitutto – che, proprio a partire da una rilettura del *De remediis* e della 'psicoterapia' (guarigione dell'anima) di tradizione stoica e dell'opera mutila quasi omonima di Seneca (*De remediis fortuitorum*)⁹⁴, su cui lo scritto del Petrarca si basa, oltre che dalla lettura delle *Tusculanae disputationes*⁹⁵ di Cicerone, del *De Tranquillitate animi*⁹⁶ e delle *Lettere a Lucilio*⁹⁷ di Seneca, conduce ad una ricollocazione e riconsiderazione, sotto altra angolatura e con altro metodo, del problema, separandolo e allontanandolo dall'ambito della filosofia morale per avvicinarlo al mondo della considerazione clinica –;⁹⁸ ma anche su quello di una riflessione filosofica sull'ontologia e sulla epistemologia della scrittura e del linguaggio, sui quali indubbiamente attirava maggior attenzione il titolo primitivo assegnato allo scritto.

⁹⁴ LUCII ANNAEI SENECAE *ad Gallionem De Remediis fortuitorum liber*, in ID., *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. FRIEDRICH HAASE, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1853, vol. III, p. 446–457; RALPH GRAHAM PALMER, *Seneca's 'De remediis fortuitorum' and the Elizabethans*, Institute of Elizabethan Studies–Titus Wilson and Son, Chicago, IL–Kendal 1953, p. 27–66.

⁹⁵ M. TULLII CICERONIS *Tusculanarum disputationum ad Brutum libri quinque*, in *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, ed. CARL FRIEDRICH WILHELM MUELLER, pt. IV, vol. I, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1878, p. 276–466.

⁹⁶ L. ANNAEI SENECAE *Dialogorum liber IX. Ad Serenum De Tranquillitate animi*, in ID., *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. HAASE, vol. I, p. 171–196.

⁹⁷ L. ANNAEI SENECAE *Ad Lucilium epistolarum moralium*, in ID., *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. HAASE, vol. III, p. 3–417. Cf. HANS BARON, *Petrarch's 'Secretum'. Its Making and Its Meaning*, The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, MA 1965, p. 168.

⁹⁸ Cf. LETIZIA A. PANIZZA, « Stoic Psychotherapy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Petrarch's *De Remediis* », in MARGARET J. OSLER (ed.), *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquillity. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1991, p. 39–64, p. 40sgg. Panizza ricorda come nel 1475 Poliziano dedicasse la sua traduzione dell'*Enchiridion* a Lorenzo de' Medici dopo la congiura dei Pazzi, nella quale trovò la morte il giovane fratello Giuliano (p. 65). Utile per una ricostruzione dell'ambiente fiorentino il volume di ANN E. MOYER, *The Intellectual World of Sixteenth-Century Florence. Humanists and Culture in the Age of Cosimo I*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 2020. Sull'evento specifico cf. Cap. 1. « Florence and Cosimo », p. 1–28, p. 5.

La ricostruzione storico critica, premessa al testo latino, è puntuale e giustamente mette a fuoco l'interlocuzione cardaniana con alcuni autori contemporanei, cui è dedicata particolare attenzione nel paragrafo dell'*Introduzione* intitolato: « Dipingere senza colori. I modelli di Alciato e di Erasmo » – riprendendo un'espressione usata da Cardano nel libro primo « ut olim Asclepiodorus fertur non ineleganter absque coloribus pinxisse » (p. 66) –, dove però il ripudio cardaniano dell'eleganza stilistica è circoscritto a una cerchia piuttosto esigua di autori e limitato ai riferimenti agli *Emblemata*⁹⁹ dell'Alciato (che seguono di pochi anni l'edizione di Colonia degli *Epigrammata Graeca*¹⁰⁰), alla dedica del *De verborum significatione* di Lorenzo Valla, ad Erasmo (la cui relazione con lo scritto cardaniano è scandagliata nel § 4), o allo zibaldone di Giason del Maino, giurista maestro di Andrea Alciato. Indubbiamente appropriati e pertinenti. Ma ciò che sembra apparire come un limite, che necessita di essere superato, se non si vuole ridurre e sminuire la rilevante portata innovativa del pensiero di Cardano, è l'assenza nella *Introduzione* di un approfondimento o di una ricognizione sistematica sul confronto teoretico, invero piuttosto stringente, sotteso al discorso cardaniano, con l'universo filosofico padano della seconda metà del Quattrocento – ducale innanzitutto, nel quale egli è pienamente immerso¹⁰¹ (inizialmente mediato dal padre Fazio, suo primo maestro) –, e nel quale si radicano sia il modello filosofico ed epistemologico contro cui egli si scaglia, sia i semi di quella

⁹⁹ *Emblemata Andreae Alciati Iurusconsulti clarissimi*, Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, Sub Scuto Veneto, Lugduni 1548. Il testo dell'*Emblematum liber*, non autorizzato, era apparso il 28 febbraio del 1531 ad Augsburg, mentre la prima edizione autorizzata dell'*Emblematum libellus* apparve a Parigi nel 1534 (Excudebat Christianus Wechelus, sub scuto Basileiensi, in vico Iacobeo), mentre a Venezia usciva nel 1546 la seconda edizione (*Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus, nuper in lucem editus, cum privilegio Pauli III, apud Aldi filios Venetiis*, 1546). Utile l'edizione londinese del 1870: *Andreae Alciati Emblematum fontes quatuor*: Namely An Account of the Original Collection Made at Milan, 1522, and Photo-lith Fac-similes of the Editions, Augsburg 1531, Paris 1534, and Venice 1546, edited by HENRY GREEN, A. Brothers-Trübner & Co., Manchester-London 1870. Si veda anche *Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata: Cum commentaria ...*, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regij, Antverpiae 1577. Cf. *Andreas Alciatus*, ed. PETER M. DALY, VIRGINIA W. CALLAHN, SIMON CUTTLER, Index emblematicus, 2 vol., University of Toronto Press, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1985, vol. I: *The Latin Emblems Indexes and Lists*; vol. II: *Emblems in Translation*.

¹⁰⁰ *Epigrammata Graeca veterum elegantissima, eademque Latina ab utriusque linguae viris doctissimis versa, atque in rem studiosum e diversis autoribus per Ioannem Soterem ...*, Coloniae 1528. Seguita l'anno successivo dall'edizione *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca Latine versa, ex septem Epigrammatum Graecorum libris ... recens versa ab Andrea Alciato, Ottomaro Luscinio, ac Jano Cornario Zuicaviensi, ex Aedibus Io. Bebelii, Basileae* 1529.

¹⁰¹ Isabella Sforza pubblicherà nel luglio del 1544 presso l'editore Manuzio (« In casa de' figlioli di Aldo ») a Venezia, due anni dopo il *De consolatione* cardaniano, un trattato dal titolo *Della vera tranquillità dell'animo*.

nuova modalità teoretica che egli saprà cogliere e valorizzare, e in altri casi smascherare e superare, non semplicemente esprimendo giudizi critici, o posizioni differenziate, ma proponendo una nuova visione della realtà e della prospettiva conoscitiva che approderà alla elaborazione di un modello logico e argomentativo, da cui discenderà e dipenderà anche una visione filosofica, che lo porterà ad aprire la ricerca a modalità e procedure profondamente innovative.¹⁰² Ha dimostrato nella lettera a Cosimo I, premessa al secondo volume dei *Contradicentium medicorum* del '48, di avere ben presente il quadro filosofico che caratterizza la cultura dell'Italia settentrionale del Quattrocento, citando ed interloquendo con Marsilio Ficino, l'Argiropulo, il Poliziano, Landino e Pico. Dialoga con Lorenzo Valla, ma sicuramente legge ed interloquisce con il *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* di Giorgio Valla e con la sua scuola, Bartolomeo Zamberti innanzitutto, autori sui quali si è formato. Si pensi alla versione abbozzata ed inconclusa del testo euclideo contenuta nel manoscritto Lat. 7217 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), che lo pone in relazione non solo con Tartaglia, ma soprattutto con Luca Pacioli, Bartolomeo Zamberti e Giorgio Valla, e con le grandi questioni filologiche ed epistemologiche derivanti dal problema delle versioni dal greco, discusse sul finire del secolo decimoquinto nei territori del Ducato e della Serenissima, a contatto delle quali si è forgiata la sua mente. Ha già sperimentato, in ambito matematico, nel corso dello studio algebrico e geometrico della teoria delle equazioni – ma anche nelle riflessioni sul calcolo anticipatorio che lo condurrà alla stesura del *De ludis* –, quanto l'intera elaborazione della materia dipendesse da una organica configurazione logica e dalla definizione e perimetrazione di un linguaggio che potesse correttamente esprimerle, e in relazione alla discussione di alcuni casi specifici – quale il caso irriducibile – come si celassero tra le pieghe logico-procedurali complesse questioni teoretiche di ontologia della relazione tra scrittura algebrica, in fase di costituzione, e rappresentazione geometrica dello spazio. E studiato come la rappresentazione delle radici dei numeri negativi, per essere adeguatamente comprese, necessitasse di una nuova impostazione concettuale e linguistica nell'approccio al tema della costruzione geometrica degli enti aritmetico-algebrici

¹⁰² Importante, in merito, il quadro interpretativo delineato da HANS BARON nello studio: *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism. Essay on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vol., Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 1988, 1989², con particolare attenzione al cap. XI, « Fifteenth-Century Civilization North of the Alps and the Italian Quattrocento: Contrast and Confluence », vol. II, p. 3–39, già apparso separatamente nel 1957.

trattati, aprendo la problematica alla discussione filosofica più ampia dei rapporti tra entità del pensiero, stati emotivi e descrizione linguistico predicativa.¹⁰³

Nel primo libro del *De consolatione* sembra non casuale, infatti, il richiamo al tema della rappresentazione e della pittura, colto e posto in evidenza dalla Curatrice, sebbene non approfondito come avrebbe meritato (probabilmente per ragioni di spazio), tema che rinvia al trattato albertiano *De pictura*, ma che riporta anche agli studi di ottica del padre Fazio, amico di Leonardo, autore di una importante edizione a stampa del *De prospectiva communis* di Peckham¹⁰⁴ a Milano nel 1483 e, attraverso il rimando al tema della rappresentazione prospettica dello spazio, introduce la problematica al tema delle illusioni di determinate forme dell'apparire o del rappresentare. Cardano richiama Asclepiodoro, di cui narra Plinio il Vecchio nella sua *Naturalis Historia*: « Hic celeritatem praeceptoris secutus breviores etiamnum quasdam picturae compendiaria invenit » (XXXV, 36, 110), per affermare che ora sarà lui a mostrare in questo campo 'senza colori' e senza ingegnimenti la realtà nuda: « sic nobis continget ut nudam et absque fuco veritatem ostendentibus », in modo che ognuno possa intendere da se stesso quanto sbagli e sappia riconoscere « intelligat agnoscatque quaedam, etiamsi non elaborantur, tam foeliciter a natura ipsa instituta, ut se ipsa probent » (p. 67). Accenna alla letteratura sorta intorno alla riflessione sulla fragilità e sulla instabilità della vita, ma esecra quanto nell'ornare e nell'abbellire si possa perdere della verità della cosa, rivendicando al contempo il valore della cruda realtà disadorna, di contro alla capacità di adornare dell'arte oratoria e della retorica, che trasfigurano la datità della cosa, impedendone la conoscenza. Si accinge dunque ad affrontare un compito improbo, tali e tante sono le molestie che affliggono l'uomo, ma a ben considerare – e qui Cardano sembra voler perimetrare e distinguere l'ambito clinico dalla considerazione morale e filosofica – poche necessitano di una medicina, « ex illis medicina non indigere, quod ea sibi sponte homines accersant » (p. 67),

¹⁰³ Molto utile in relazione alla problematica la lettura del volume di PEDRO LAÍN ENTRALGO, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, ed. L. J. RATHER AND JOHN M. SHARP, Yale University Press, New Haven-London 1970; in particolare si veda il cap. 4, « The Word in Hippocratic Medicine », p. 139-170 (l'opera era apparsa in spagnolo nel 1958: *La curacion por la palabra en la Antigüedad Clasica*, Revista de Occidente, Madrid. Le parti indicate si trovano alle p. 199-241); e lo studio di PANIZZA, « Stoic Psychotherapy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance », p. 41-45.

¹⁰⁴ *Prospectiva communis d. Johannis archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ... Facium Cardanum Mediolanensem*, edito a Milano da Petrus de Corneno nel 1482 o nel 1483, e dedicato ad Ambrosio Griffo: « Reverendissimo in Christo patri apostolicoque protonotario nec non aurato et comiti palatino Ambrosio griffo artium medicineque doctori prestantissimo ac theologo peritissimo Facius Cardanus .s.d.p. » (fol. 1r). Come ricorda appropriatamente Baldi, in una nota al terzo libro dell'edizione latina, « Fazio fu docente di matematica alle Scuole Piattine di Milano dal 1503 e insegnò la disciplina al figlio », p. 178, n. 22.

concentrandosi su di esse. E precisa che tratterà solo di queste, poiché se trattasse di tutti gli altri casi, non sarebbe di alcun giovamento, e discuterà solo di ciò che gli uomini rifuggono: « *Melius itaque est de eis solum dicere, quae homines tanquam mala et fugiant et damnant* » (p. 69). Le classifica in tre tipi: i mali comuni, i propri semplici e i propri composti, proponendosi di iniziare la trattazione dai mali propri e semplici, mentre riserva il secondo libro ai temi della morte e del lutto e destina le pagine del terzo libro all'esame del dolore acuto, della schiavitù, dell'esilio, della prigionia, della vecchiaia – di cui Cicerone ha dato una rappresentazione ingannevole, osserva, e di cui scriverà nel capitolo IV, *De senectute*, del più tardo *De utilitate ex adversis capienda*¹⁰⁵ –; affronta il tema delle angustie provocate dalla povertà, dei mali che si « producono per accumulo » e dei mali comuni, o come riassumerà nel 1557: « *Primus generalem rationem consolationis continet. Secundus de mortis ac luctu consolatione. Tertius de consolatione infortuniorum quae contingunt circa externa* ». ¹⁰⁶

Ma entriamo nel merito, innanzitutto, dell'edizione latina. L'*Introduzione* (p. 1–45) è suddivisa in cinque parti ed è seguita da una *Nota al testo* di Elisabetta Tonello (p. 47–59) – che si compone di tre paragrafi, i primi due dei quali dedicati rispettivamente alla descrizione e alla classificazione dei testimoni, ed il terzo volto all'esame dell'apparato critico –; fa seguito la trattazione latina di Cardano (p. 63–243), al termine della quale sono posti la bibliografia e gli indici. Il testo cardaniano scelto come base è quello dell'ultima edizione di Norimberga del 1544, ritenuta la più prossima alla volontà del suo autore e la più corretta. L'apparato positivo registra e accoglie le varianti delle tre diverse stesure, la manoscritta del *Fondo Sessoriano* (Sess. 302) della Nazionale di Roma, l'edizione stampata a Venezia presso Hieronymum Scotum del 1542 e la citata edizione di Norimberga (Johann Petreius) del 1544. Il testo contenuto nel codice manoscritto *Sessoriano*, a giudizio di Tonello, « appartiene ad un'unica mano (che solo recentemente è stato possibile identificare con sicurezza con quella di Cardano) » (p. 47), precisando che solo le indicazioni alla c. 1r e alla c. 3v sono di altre mani. Il codice è, infatti, così descritto da Piero Giacosa nel *Catalogo dei Manoscritti*. – *Fondo Sessoriano* della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele: « Hieronimi Cardani medici medio-/lanensis de consolatione [libri tres]. Precede il *Proemium ad lectorem* »;¹⁰⁷ e nel *Catalogo Ragionato*: « N. 78. [...] Codice A. 1488. [MS

¹⁰⁵ « *Nec est ut verbis pulchris Ciceronis decipiaris, qui Catonem quendam Polyclleti statue instar nobis describit, incolumi corpore ac valido e sensibus etiam ac memoria vigentibus* » (HIERONYMI CARDANI, *De utilitate ex adversis capienda, libri IIII*, per Henrichum Petri, Basileae 1561, p. 171).

¹⁰⁶ DLP (1557), ed. MACLEAN, p. 186; (1562), p. 248.

¹⁰⁷ « Cart. 222 × 160, sec XVI, c. 68 autografo » (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti. Fondo Sessoriano*, p. 266–267 num. a mano).

Sessor. 302] Cardano 'De Consolatione'. Ms. cart. del secolo XVI, di cc. 68 numer., di mm. 158 x 220, legato in pergamena ».¹⁰⁸ Come osserva Piero Giacosa (puntualmente citato in nota da Tonello), il manoscritto cardaniano – precedentemente classificato come *Codice A 1488* – « È l'opera completa, apparentemente autografa, come attesta una nota 'Originale Cardani' a c. 1 di mano alquanto più recente. Vi sono qua e là note marginali di carattere eguale a quelle del testo. Poche correzioni e cancellature, il che evidentemente dimostra che si tratta della trascrizione di una prima copia. Non coincide tuttavia – continua Giacosa – perfettamente colla edizione di Lione delle opere complete di Gerolamo Cardano », ¹⁰⁹ rinviando conseguentemente alla « Tavola 5 » dell'allegato *Atlante*, nella cui *Spiegazione* compare insieme ad una « Lettera di Ambrogio Griffi, in data 14 ottobre 1463, proveniente dall'Archivio di Stato di Milano » (*Atlante*, 'Spiegazione delle Tavole', p. 3) e poco oltre alle immagini riportate alla *Tavola 5*, Giacosa osserva, commentando il foglio cardaniano sottostante (c. 2a): « Autografo di Girolamo Cardano; codice A. 1488 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, col principio del libro 'De consolatione' il cui titolo si legge in alto: Hieronimi Cardani medici mediolanensis de consolatione liber primus ». ¹¹⁰ Giudizio confermato anche da Livia Martinoli¹¹¹ e riportato in nota da Tonello, unitamente al raffronto con l'autografo custodito alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana (*Nota*, p. 47, n. 1). Tonello precisa che il codice Sessoriano « sembra essere nato come copia in pulito divenendo poi, nel corso della revisione, una copia di lavoro, che conserva svariate tipologie di intervento » (*Nota*, p. 50–51).

Il testo latino proposto è percorso da due fasce di note: una prima, che registra le varianti, ed una seconda, che accoglie le osservazioni storico-critiche ed esplicative, molto ricche, che accompagnano la lettura del testo e sono di notevole ausilio al lettore, fornendo nutriti rinvii ad altre opere cardaniane ed esplicitando i rimandi impliciti contenuti nel testo. I soli rilievi che ci sembra opportuno muovere a questa bella e importante edizione sono riconducibili a due, di ordine e peso, però, diversi: un primo, limitato alla segnalazione della mancanza di un *Index verborum*, foss'anche circoscritto e ragionato – da affiancare all'utile, ma non già sufficiente *Index alphabeticus rerum memorabilium* (p. 265–270), presente ai fol. α *ij*^r– γ *ij*^v dell'edizione di Norimberga del 1544 –, di cui lo studioso avrebbe potuto avvalersi nella disamina e

¹⁰⁸ PIERO GIACOSA, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi. Catalogo Ragionato della Esposizione di Storia della medicina aperta in Torino nel 1898*, Fratelli Bocca, Torino 1901, p. 523.

¹⁰⁹ GIACOSA, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*, p. 523.

¹¹⁰ GIACOSA, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi*, «Spiegazione delle Tavole», p. 3.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Scheda manoscritto* [CNMD\0000067064] di LIVIA MARTINOLI, Manus Online.

studio del testo cardaniano. Ed un secondo e diverso, di maggiore rilievo, cui si è accennato, riconducibile alla non sufficientemente tangibile e palpabile presenza di una sottostante, sistematica riflessione sulle relazioni profonde del testo di Cardano con il pensiero e le figure dell'ambiente ducale della fine del Quattrocento, nel quale si è formato e con cui direttamente, e indirettamente, interloquisce, del quale non si coglie la presenza. Non vi è alcun rimando al *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* di Giorgio Valla, che Cardano ha ben presente e al quale attinge in più circostanze. In particolare sarebbe stato importante sondare il problema del rapporto tra strutture logico-grammaticali della predicazione e costituzione logico-strutturale di entità immateriali, come i pensieri, le sensazioni e le emozioni, gli stati di coscienza, che pure si estrinsecano nella predicazione, e all'interno della quale trovano la loro allocazione per diventare oggetto di considerazione e riflessione; ma anche scandagliare il confronto con le riflessioni emerse nelle opere degli umanisti della seconda metà del Quattrocento intorno all'isomorfismo tra le strutture sintattiche e semantiche della lingua greca e latina, nate come indagine critica in margine al tema della traduzione nel corso degli ultimi decenni del secolo con Ermolao Barbaro e la scuola di Giorgio Valla, divenute poi oggetto di disamina filosofica nello studio e nel confronto con la capacità della lingua latina e del linguaggio predicativo di rappresentare e descrivere enti complessi e di esprimere le relazioni aritmetiche e geometriche euclidee, considerate da Zamberti ed approfondite con lo studio delle connessioni tra configurazioni morfosintattiche della proposizione e grandezze geometrico-algebriche in Cardano, ed estese, infine, alla ricerca filosofico-clinica con il *De consolatione*. Cardano sembra voler sospendere, da un lato, la tradizione oratoria umanista di stampo filelfiano, ma al contempo appare desideroso di cogliere i semi positivi e le riflessioni sorte all'interno dello stesso movimento tardo quattrocentesco, emerse con gli studi di Ermolao, Giorgio Valla e della sua scuola, volte a problematizzare la relazione tra la struttura logico-costitutiva del dato e la dimensione logico-grammaticale della lingua che la esprime, facendo emergere come all'interno della sfera predicativa possano costituirsi nuove e diverse conglomerazioni logico-descrittive che rispondano a dinamiche e a relazioni diverse da quelle che regolano l'ambito del linguaggio fondato su soggetto e predicato, capaci di esprimerne la struttura intima. Come aveva sperimentato nel corso dello studio delle relazioni algebriche e geometriche, e come stava studiando nelle analisi della anticipazione di un risultato nel *De ludo aleae*, che preludono al calcolo delle probabilità. Omettere di sondare da un punto di vista storico, ma anche filosofico, questo percorso equivale, se non a vanificare, a compromettere e mortificare la possibilità di leggere in profondità e in una nuova prospettiva lo sforzo filosofico di Cardano, depotenziandone la portata,

sebbene si comprenda che un'edizione critica abbia innanzitutto il compito di offrire un testo filologicamente fondato, obiettivo che la presente edizione raggiunge pienamente.

Uno sguardo, infine, all'edizione italiana – apparsa nel corso del 2021 a cura di M. Baldi con la collaborazione di G. Canziani – che rende finalmente accessibile il testo cardaniano in italiano dopo quasi cinque secoli. Iniziativa meritoria che dunque non può essere salutata che con plauso e favore, anche perché il testo si presenta scorrevole, fedele e godibile, rendendo l'opera disponibile ad un pubblico più ampio, favorendone così la conoscenza e la diffusione.

NAVIGATING THE SEAS OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE: HERNANDO COLÓN AND THE NEW WORLD OF BOOKS

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I. Maps and Compasses: Navigating (and Not Getting Lost) in a Universal Library

A few years ago, Edward Wilson-Lee published a revolutionary book: the intellectual biography of Hernando Colón (1488–1539).¹ In that volume, the author recounted the story of this Renaissance collector-navigator, the natural son of Christopher Columbus, and his extraordinary adventure as a bibliomaniac. Yet, unlike previous studies on Colón, primarily intended for scholars, Wilson-Lee's volume significantly broadened the range of readership. Thus even readers with little interest in the history of libraries learned that in Spain, between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, there lived a unique man with a singular ambition: to collect and catalogue all human knowledge. In Seville, Colón established what has been defined as the first universal library, in which he intended to house « all the books, in all languages and disciplines, that can be found within Christendom and beyond ». But this pioneering documentation center – the first of its kind in the Western world – was not solely intended to house great texts of literature, philosophy, theology, and other 'lofty' disciplines. It was conceived to collect mostly ephemeral typographical products, material testimonies of 'popular' written culture which, because of their physical fragility, risked disappearing and being forgotten. To safeguard this universal knowledge, and to help readers navigate the complex

¹ EDWARD WILSON-LEE, *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books: Young Columbus and the Quest for a Universal Library*, William Collins, London 2018. Aside from the numerous reviews of the book published in major newspapers and magazines such as the *Washington Post* and *The Spectator*, see the detailed review of the book published by TREVOR J. DADSON in *Hispanic Research Journal*, 19 (2018), p. 430–432.

mechanism of his library, Colón created a series of cross-referenced cataloguing tools; these provided the coordinates and location of the works housed on the shelves and in boxes of the collection.

Much of Colón's time was dedicated to the universal library, but it was not the only project to which he was devoted during his short life. His obsession with collecting and organizing information led him to compose works on lexicography, cosmography, botany, and cartography. The goal of these projects was always the same: to summarize and preserve a complete knowledge of the world, either in a book, map, or garden. The literature on this extraordinary figure of the Renaissance European intellectual arena, and his pioneering ventures, has recently been enriched by José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee. Their book, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, is the first entirely dedicated to reconstructing and interpreting Colón's projects, and to identifying their unique characteristics and points of commonality with other initiatives.² This well-constructed interdisciplinary volume is divided into five chapters, preceded by a general introduction. It concludes with a series of appendices, wherein the authors provide English translations of important documents related to the organization of Colón's universal library and geographical enterprises. The sections of the volume are linked by a narrative that highlights the uniform and systematic approach taken by Colón during each of his intellectual pursuits.

In the Introduction (p. 1–14), the authors emphasize Colón's range of interests and extraordinary skills in the field of information management. The desire to establish universal repositories of knowledge was certainly not original. Many scholars had embarked on similar enterprises, including the Italian humanists Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Coluccio Salutati, and Tommaso Parentucelli.³ Each ventured to compile universal repertoires of knowledge, or conceptualize libraries that could contain the totality of human knowledge. However, the projects of these illustrious intellectuals were inevitably limited by a 'humanistic-aristocratic' perception of knowledge, which included works belonging to, or connected with, the classical Greek and Roman tradition; and they excluded works produced by the 'less educated'. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee, by contrast, explain that it was precisely because of his mercantile background, connected with the proto-capitalist dimension of Renaissance society, that Colón was able to break down this gnoseological barrier in favor of a more concrete and universal view of written knowledge. His great familiarity with the

² JOSÉ MARIA PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ, EDWARD WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books. Toward a Cartography of Knowledge*, Yale University Press, New Haven–London 2021.

³ On Parentucelli's *canone* and the genesis of his bibliographic project see CESARE VASOLI, « La biblioteca progettata da un Papa: Niccolò V e il 'suo canone' », *Babel*, 6 (2002), p. 219–239.

mercantile milieu, and experience traveling to the New World, allowed Colón to model his cataloguing tools on a system of collection and production of information based on an articulated « framework of agents and technologies ». This, in turn, enabled the recording and circulation of new information produced in the 'Bibliotheca Hernandina'.⁴

Chapter 1 (« Life in the Library », p. 15–54) focuses on the genesis of Colón's most important and well-known project: the universal library. In these pages, Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee reconstruct Colón's book culture, its origins, evolution, and the approaches that led to the establishment of the largest and most diverse library of the early typographic age. With great skill, the two authors highlight the influence of Christopher Columbus' writing habits on his son's projects, and the ways in which Colón approached the world of books from his adolescence. This detailed book biography contains descriptions of Colón's bibliographic training and, above all, a fascinating and unprecedented analysis of his reading and writing habits. Specifically, the authors show how the practices of book annotation, developed by Colón, enable us to observe, for the first time, the obsession with the organization of knowledge that led him to conceive the universal library. The organization of knowledge, as envisioned by Colón, was not limited to the creation of indexes, catalogs, and other inventories. It also featured a pragmatic organizational component that would impact daily life within the walls of the Seville library. Colón employed collaborators who occupied different roles in his complex knowledge-storage system – librarians, indexers, gardeners, procurers of books – who carried out their tasks, with instructions given by Colón himself, to optimize the development, functionality, and survival of the library. In this way, the sophisticated organism of the 'Bibliotheca Hernandina' progressed and arrived ever closer to achieving the goal of its creator: to constitute a repository of knowledge for the benefit of all humanity.

In Chapter 2 (« Trade Secrets », p. 55–96), perhaps the most innovative chapter of the book, the authors analyze the complex and fascinating world of Renaissance mercantile civilization and highlight elements of the Colón family's commercial background that directly and profoundly influenced his projects. Colón was aware he would never succeed in completing his ambitious project alone and therefore elaborated an extensive program of information gathering and book acquisition. Just as his father had designed a network of maritime routes for the transit of goods, money, and information, between Spain and the New World, Colón established a complex network of intermediaries, on the mainland, subsidized by equally

⁴ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ, WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 7.

sophisticated financial transactions. This guaranteed an unending supply of books and news from the main centers of Europe to Seville. The undisputed protagonists of this continuous and unstoppable circle of information were the *obrezillas*, i.e. the printed pamphlets destined for rapid circulation and immediate use by the general European public, and which Colón considered essential for the creation of his universal library. I will discuss this topic and his interest in these typographical products later in more detail.

Chapter 3 (« Cartography », p. 97–124) is significantly shorter than the others, and focuses on Colón's cartographic projects and their theoretical and practical connections to the development of the universal library and its cataloguing tools. As *Piloto mayor* of the Casa de Contratación in Seville, Colón was responsible for gathering information on sea routes used by the imperial fleets. His experience with his father on maritime expeditions to the West, and Columbus' direct influence on his vision of cosmography and cartography, made Colón highly suitable for the role he was assigned by the emperor. At the same time, this wealth of experience allowed Colón to develop an innovative system of information management, which was vital to the cartographic projects of the imperial court.

Chapter 4 (« New World Order », p. 125–166) is undoubtedly the most dense and crucial chapter of the book. It is almost entirely dedicated to the catalogs of the universal library and to the new knowledge organizing system that Colón developed and perfected during his life.⁵ The rediscovery in 2019 of the hitherto considered lost catalog of epitomes (*Libro de los Epitomes*), at the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, has given new impetus to studies on the universal library. But it has also allowed Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee to provide a complete interpretive analysis of all the catalogs created by Colón for his great project.⁶ Each index is essential for understanding and navigating his conception of a universal library.⁷ But they were not

⁵ The first part of the chapter is indeed a comprehensive analysis of Colón's *Cosmografía*, *Vocabulario Latino* and catalog of prints (*Dibujos o Pinturas*). While Colón's collection of prints and its catalog have been thoroughly studied by Mark P. McDonald, his works in the fields of lexicography and cosmography wait to be further examined. MARK P. McDONALD, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, British Museum, London 2004.

⁶ University of Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection, Ms. Am 377 fol. On the rediscovery of the manuscript, see NURGUL KIVILCIM YAVUZ, *Hernando Colón's Book of Books: AM 377 fol.* (<https://manuscript.ku.dk/motm/hernando-colons-book-of-books/>, accessed March 2022).

⁷ The catalogs devised by Colón for his universal repository were: the *Índice Numeral* or *Registrum B* (register of books by date of entry in the library); the *Índice General Alfabético* or *Abecedarium B* (alphabetical index); the *Libro de las Materias* (subject index); the *Libro de los Epitomes* (collection of book epitomes or abstracts); the *Tabla de Autores y Ciencias* or *Anotaciones* (subject-oriented catalog); the

simply aimed at determining the quantity and quality of the books housed at the library in Seville. Rather, by enabling continuous and multiple cross-references, Colón's catalogs serve as a bibliographic compass to orient users in the vast sea of universal knowledge. In establishing a library containing all knowledge recorded in the books up to that time, Colón was driven by the same spirit that led his father to venture into the unknown of Western maritime routes. And, as a scrupulous cartographer, Colón spent much of his life preparing maps, interrogation tools, reference indexes, and other instruments to identify, know, and absorb the ocean of universal human knowledge, housed within the walls of his library. These tools differed from other bibliographic repertories at the time in terms of analytical thoroughness, organizational efficiency, wealth of information, and, above all, cross-reference functionality. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee not only reconstruct the creation and function of each of Colón's catalogs, they also clearly establish the theoretical relationships between them. The catalogs, the authors tell us, because of their interoperability offer – for the first time in the history of modernity – the opportunity to see knowledge not as something abstract, but instead concrete and quantifiable. The library constitutes a multidimensional snapshot of universal knowledge, to be implemented for the benefit of human progress.

In the fifth and final chapter (« After Hernando », p. 167–198), the authors focus on the history of Colón's library, from the death of its founder to the present day. In these pages, the authors trace the most significant events in the history of the Biblioteca Colombina, that is, Colón's collection in the rooms of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville, where it has been since the mid-sixteenth century. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee devote ample space to the history of scholars who, in past centuries, preserved the treasures of this extraordinary library. The authors importantly focus on the misadventures of the collection, which resulted in losses and damage; by the twentieth century the original collection had been reduced by more than two thirds. Part of the chapter is dedicated to book thefts that occurred in the nineteenth century, and to the public reaction following historian Henry Harrisse's condemnation of these

Índice de Autores y Obras (general alphabetical index of authors and works). Other catalogs related to the development of the library organization were: the old *Memorial de los Libros Naufragados* or *Registrum A*; the *Índice Alfabético Antiguo* or *Abecedarium A*; the old book of *Autores y Ciencias*. A facsimile edition of the *Registrum B* was published at the beginning of the twentieth century by ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, *Catalogue of the library of Ferdinand Columbus*, A.M. Huntington, New York 1905. On the occasion of the 1992 Columbus Celebration, the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville published an excellent facsimile reproduction of the *Abecedarium B* and its *Supplementum*: HERNANDO COLÓN, *Abecedarium B y Supplementum*. Ed. facsímil de los manuscritos conservados en la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla, Fundación Mapfre América-Cabildo de la Catedral de Sevilla, Madrid 1992.

events.⁸ Yet this and other scandals generated renewed interest in the history of the Biblioteca Colombina and its creator, which in turn gave rise in the twentieth century to modern Hernandine Studies.

Finally, the substantial appendix provides English speaking readers access to the most important documents related to Colón's life and intellectual undertakings. Juan Pérez's *Memoria* (p. 201–226) and Colón's *Will* are two of the most extraordinary texts in the history of libraries in the early modern age.⁹ Together, they constitute a handbook of librarianship that precedes other manuals in the field, such as Justus Lipsius' *De bibliothecis syntagma* (1602) and Gabriel Naudé's formidable *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627).¹⁰ The authors provide excellent translations of these two documents, and they also include a useful table of the 'biblioglyphs' created by Colón to describe and record his volumes. These complex symbols are transcribed within the translation of Pérez's *Memoria*, to offer readers a more comprehensive view of this precious testimony. The other three sources included in the appendix also provide perspective on Colón's cartographic interests and organizational skills. This section contains the *Proposal to King Ferdinand, for a Voyage around the World* (p. 238–242), and the brief *Appointment as the Coordinator for the Elaboration of a New Version of the Padrón Real* (p. 243–244). But it also includes the important petition *Memorial al Emperador* (p. 245–248) – never sent – in which Colón asked Charles V to transform his annual pension of 500 gold pesos into a perpetual grant for the development of his library.

Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee's study has many merits. Thanks to their unique ability to analyze the Renaissance material world and written culture, the authors have created a highly useful and understandable guide for navigating the complex knowledge organization projects devised by Hernando Colón. Furthermore, the book offers numerous insights into the character of this underestimated intellectual figure of the early modern age. The authors' analysis of the connections between the

⁸ HENRY HARRISSE, *Grandeur et décadence de la Colombine*, Chez tous les marchands de nouveautés [Macon, Imprimerie Protat frères], Paris 1885.

⁹ The critical edition of the *Memoria* is TOMÁS MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, '*Memorias de las obras y libros de Hernando Colón del Bachiller Juan Pérez*', CSIC, Seville 1970. The digital reproduction of Colón's will is available at: https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/archivos/web_es/contenido?id=d3149aa8-be0b-11e7-9569-000ae4865a5f&idActivo=&idContArch=209cf194-8f0d-11e3-9865-000ae4865a5f (accessed March 2022).

¹⁰ On Lipsius's treatise, see THOMAS HENDRICKSON, *Ancient Libraries and Renaissance Humanism. The De bibliothecis of Justus Lipsius*, Brill, Leiden 2017, and ENRICO PIO ARDOLINO, *Storiografia delle biblioteche: genesi, stabilità e fratture di una tradizione di studi*, Metauro, Pesaro 2020, p. 58–64. The most recent edition of Naudé's work is GABRIEL NAUDÉ, *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, edited with an Introduction and Notes by BERNARD TEYSSANDIER, Klincksieck, Paris 2008.

production and research of information in the Renaissance mercantile world, and the methodology of collection, storage, and dissemination of information conceived by Colón for his projects is excellent. Equally significant is the emphasis that Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee give to the documentary value of the *obrezillas* (ephemera) collected by Colón. The study of the popular literary production and of the reception of ephemeral typographic products such as calendars, almanacs, and other pamphlets, has experienced a renewed success in recent years; this is thanks mainly to the rise of the new Global Medieval and Renaissance Studies, devoted to the cultural dimension of the less educated social classes and non-specialist readers. The authors powerfully emphasize how the collection and recording of these publishing products represents one of the most important outcomes of Colón's project. Rejected by humanist bibliographers because they were not considered worthy of historical attention, as products of an 'inferior' culture and society, these small books were for Colón the most precious to collect and preserve. Their importance lies precisely in their fragility and in the rapidity of use of this material by the European public. Colón's 'mission' was to preserve all written evidence of human knowledge. Consequently, these small and fragile objects, which risked disappearing more easily than the ponderous tomes of theology or philosophy, cherished by the members of the emerging republic of letters, were for Colón the most prized and sought-after. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee fully capture this crucial aspect of Colón's project, pointing out that the volumes he collected often constitute today the only surviving evidence of texts from popular European Renaissance literature (p. 88). Unfortunately, once the dream of the universal library was over, these small books became targets of the nineteenth-century depredations of the Biblioteca Colombina, resulting in a diaspora of ephemera, from Spain, across Europe, to the American library collections (p. 172–173). Building upon the many ideas that arise while reading Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee's masterful book, in the following pages I offer some considerations about the origin of Colón's bibliographic projects, and the material reconstruction of the universal library.

II. *A Giant with Feet of Clay*

It is no mystery that today, as in the early modern age, to build a library one must meet certain basic requirements, including an excellent knowledge of the book market; a physical space to accommodate the volumes; a solid organizational plan; and, most importantly, the financial wherewithal. In the case of Colón, who strove for a potentially limitless library, to preserve the knowledge and memory of humankind, these requirements would certainly have to be increased tenfold. In thirty years of

uninterrupted research, Colón managed to collect, catalog, and organize over 15.000 volumes, including printed editions, manuscripts, and prints; the size of the 'Biblioteca Hernandina' at his death (1539) was unrivaled in Europe. As Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee suggest, in chapter 1 of their book, Colón likely began to systematically collect volumes after 1509. According to the inventory of his possessions, drawn up that same year, the young Hernando owned 'only' 238 titles, a number that, as the authors point out, did not require a precise cataloging organization to be managed:

It was probably the case that, with only 238 titles, Hernando could remember each volume clearly, meaning that it was not yet necessary to conceive of a firmly separate class of 'books,' a notion that (counterintuitively) only emerges when there are so many books that they need to be set aside, divided, and organized as a class in order not to become unmanageable.¹¹

Thus, up to that time, Colón's collection was what Victor Infantes referred to as a « patrimonial library ».¹² In this kind of library, usually consisting of less than 300 items, the book is considered a luxury, and is closely associated with other assets possessed (or inherited) by the owner. Though not entirely independent from the owner's estate, this kind of collection is, as Manuel Pedraza Gracia has pointed out, based on the owner's intellectual interests, and therefore allows insight into their intentions.¹³ Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee indicate that until at least 1511 – the year in which he proposed the circumnavigation of the globe to King Ferdinand – Colón acquired books exclusively for his own personal use (p. 27). The young Hernando's collection was not yet the library that he would assemble a few years later, but many elements of this 'patrimonial' version hint at how it would develop. In particular, his habit of recording information about the price and location (and later the date) of purchases testifies to the fact that Colón had already intended to substantially grow his library. Colón's journey to Rome in 1512 drastically changed his view of the book world.

His stay in the Eternal City, from 1512 to 1516, allowed Colón to exponentially expand his knowledge in the humanities and science by taking courses at the city's

¹¹ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ – WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 26.

¹² VÍCTOR INFANTES, « Las ausencias en los inventarios de libros y de bibliotecas », *Bulletin hispanique*, 99 (1997), p. 281–292, at p. 283.

¹³ MANUEL JOSÉ PEDRAZA GRACIA, *El conocimiento organizado de un hombre de Trento. La biblioteca de Pedro del Frago, obispo de Huesca en 1584*, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 2011, p. 24

studium. But, above all, he came in contact with one of the most flourishing and diverse book markets in Europe. In Roman bookshops, he could find tomes for advancing his studies, and he probably visited some of the religious libraries throughout the city. And, although there is no proof, he almost certainly would have visited the great collection of the Palatine Library in the Vatican, one of the great monuments to the human intellect of the former *Caput mundi*.¹⁴ As Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee suggest, Rome was not only the city that enhanced Colón's study of *humanae litterae*.¹⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Rome was a city of powerful social and cultural contrasts, and for Colón, it extended far beyond the noble palaces, the seat of the curial aristocracy, and the cultural centers of the university. In the shady slums of the city, nobles, merchants, scholars, plebeians, prostitutes, and people of ill repute mingled, as in a modern cosmopolitan center, where urban boundaries are not always well defined. It was therefore not uncommon for a wealthy 'tourist' like Colón to visit sections of the city that had little or nothing to do with his social status. As a matter of fact, during his four-year stay in Italy, the young Spaniard assiduously frequented the popular Roman suburbs. In those places, which were anything but safe, he probably began the real bibliographic revolution that would make the project of the universal library unique.

The streets of Rome, at the time of Pope Julius II, were teeming with storytellers, acrobats, peddlers, and itinerant printers. Among the goods on their stalls, and in their baskets, were simple printed works – sometimes of two or even of one single leaf of paper – which quickly circulated among the clientele. These were ephemeral publications: erotic poems, ballads, or 'barzelete', recited by street actors, prayers in rhyme, chivalric poems, almanacs, calendars, chronicles of recent events, etc. Buyers certainly read these works and, when done, often used them to wrap fish, balance the leg of a stool, or light a fire.¹⁶ Thus upon his arrival in the Eternal City, Colón had to navigate an ocean of popular publications printed in Rome, Venice, and other Italian printing centers, which did not fail to entice him as an explorer. Many have wondered

¹⁴ On the history of the Vatican Library in the Renaissance, see *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. I: Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e Rinascimento (1447-1534)*, ed. ANTONIO MANFREDI, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2010. Particularly interesting are the essays by ANTONIO MANFREDI, « La nascita della Vaticana in età umanistica da Niccolò V a Sisto IV » (p. 147-236), and ANDREINA RITA, « Per la storia della Vaticana nel primo Rinascimento » (p. 237-307).

¹⁵ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ – WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 29.

¹⁶ In the vast academic literature on popular typographic production in Italy see: ROSA SALZBERG, *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2014; GIANCARLO PETRELLA, *L'impresa tipografica di Battista Farfengo a Brescia. Fra cultura umanistica ed editoriale popolare (1489-1500)*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 2018.

about the origin of Colón's spasmodic interest in the *obrezillas* of popular typographic culture that constituted the core of his bibliographic project. Unfortunately, there is still no definitive answer. Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee cleverly suggest a connection between Colón's interest in the popular genre of prognostications and his father's explorations:

The particular interest of these pamphlets for Hernando is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated by the *sammelband* that today bears the shelf mark 12-1-13, which brings together a series of eleven prognostications for the year 1492. The collection is, of course, wholly in keeping both with the millenarian readings of Columbus's voyage from within his immediate circle and beyond and with Hernando's interest in the resources of cheap print.¹⁷

To be sure, Christopher Columbus' reading and writing habits deeply influenced his son's intellectual formation. The millenarian perspective with which the explorer's writings were imbued, as the authors point out, made an immediate impression on the young Hernando.¹⁸ In particular, the *Libro de las Profecías*, the collection of biblical quotations and classical texts composed by the explorer, to emphasize the providential nature of his maritime enterprises, seems to have had a powerful effect on Colón.¹⁹ Indeed, Hernando himself copied some sections of the *Libro*, in which he exalted the father figure and his mission decreed by heaven. However, Columbus' enterprise was not only the event that led the Spanish monarchy to dream of a millenarian and universal empire. It represented a pivotal moment in Columbus' personal history, an epoch-making achievement, the extraordinary (and tragic) consequences of which, political and economic, allowed him and the other members of his family (including the young Hernando) to lead a wealthy and privileged existence.

The 'discovery of the Indies', which would bring glory and prosperity to the Spanish monarchs, as well as to Columbus and his descendants, was exalted, and not only in the navigator's private writings. The whole of Europe became aware of this astonishing enterprise, and the surprising results, thanks to the circulation of the letter sent by Columbus to the Spanish court upon his return from his first voyage, in

¹⁷ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ, WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 85.

¹⁸ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ, WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 23–24.

¹⁹ On the *Libro de las Profecías* see JUAN LUIS DE LEON AZCARATE, « El *Libro de las Profecías* (1504) de Cristóbal Colón: La Biblia y el descubrimiento de América », *Religión y Cultura*, 53 (2007), p. 361–406. The English translation of the *Libro* is *The Libro de la profecias of Christopher Columbus*, eds. DELNO C. WEST, AUGUST KLING, University of Florida Press, Gainesville 1991.

March 1493.²⁰ Immediately after his arrival in Spain, a printed edition of the document in Spanish was published in Barcelona by Pedro Posa's printing house.²¹ It was a two-leaf folio of very modest quality, which appears to have been prepared very hastily, given the numerous typographical errors and the very approximate page layout.²² Even today, it has not been possible to establish the print run of this pamphlet, which is preserved in a single copy at the New York Public Library.²³ However, this method of news dissemination was formidable. In a short time, thanks to the rapid circulation of these extremely manageable publications, the news of Columbus' 'discovery' reached Italy. The Latin translation of the letter was published in Rome in 1493 by one of the greatest printers of the city, Stephan Plannck.²⁴ That same year, a second Roman edition was printed by Eucharius Silber, and a third one was published at the end of the year in Plannck's workshop. And editions of the Latin translation were then printed in Paris, Antwerp, Basel, and Strasbourg.²⁵ Columbus' name, and the news of his feat, quickly spread throughout Europe. Translating a vernacular text into Latin meant making it accessible in socially and culturally elevated environments, such as

²⁰ On Columbus' letter on the first voyage see: CARLOS SANZ LÓPEZ, *Bibliografía general de la Carta de Colón*, Librería General Victoriano Suárez, Madrid 1958; Id., *La Carta de Colón: 15 febrero-14 marzo 1493*, Gráficas Yagües, Madrid 1962.

²¹ CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *Epistola de su gran descubrimiento*, [Pedro Posa, Barcelona, after 4 March 1493], ISTC ic00756000.

²² « Esta carta se imprimió tan rápidamente en Barcelona que, para ganar tiempo, ni se corrigió el molde, ni se justificaron las líneas, igualándolas exactamente, ni tampoco se incluyeron muchos de los blancos que eran necesarios para la debida separación de palabras. Tal es el cúmulo de erratas que contiene esta impresión, además de la mezcla de cuerpos, que parece incomprensible. Incluso la segunda plana tiene una línea más, que por añadidura volvió a componerse, pues se ajusta en la cabeza de la plana tercera lo que ya se decía en la última de la anterior ». DEMETRIO RAMOS PÉREZ, *La carta de Colón sobre el Descubrimiento*, Diputación provincial de Granada, Granada 1983, p. 34–35.

²³ New York (NY), New York Public Library, KB+ 1493. The digital reproduction of the letter is available at: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/7fbc3989-f804-30a9-e040-e00a18067752/?uuid=7fbc3989-f805-30a9-e040-e00a18067752> (accessed March 2022). Another edition of Columbus' letter in Spanish was published in Valladolid in the printing shop of Pedro Giraldi and Miguel de Planes (ISTC ic00756500). Although we have not yet been able to establish an exact date for the edition, it appears that it is not a copy of the Barcelona publication, but instead is an independent edition based on the same manuscript as the Posa letter. The only copy of the Valladolid edition is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Inc. 2016). ROBERTO GALLOTTI, « Incunabolo Ambrosiano della lettera di Cristoforo Colombo », *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 67 (1992), p. 72–82.

²⁴ CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*, [Stephan Plannck, Rome, after 29 April 1493], ISTC ic00757000.

²⁵ On the early European reception of Columbus' letter, see the brief but detailed account *The Diffusion of Columbus's Letter through Europe, 1493-1497*: <https://oshermans.org/special-map-exhibits/columbus-letter/iv-diffusion-columbuss-letter-through-europe-1493-1497> (accessed March 2022).

courts, episcopates, and universities. But news like the discovery of ‘new lands’ beyond the sea could not fail to attract another type of audience, a popular audience, stingy with captivating news. Consequently, once again in Rome, in June of that vibrant 1493, Eucharius Silber printed a new version of a work he had published a short time before: a Tuscan translation in *ottava rima* verse of the letter, written by Giuliano Dati.²⁶

This edition, which would be reprinted four more times in Florence, Brescia, and Venice, is known through a single surviving copy, preserved in Seville at the Biblioteca Colombina. The volume was purchased in Rome by Hernando Colón a few weeks after his arrival in the city, in October 1512.²⁷ Sometime later, Colón also purchased a copy of one of the first Roman editions of the letter’s Latin translation.²⁸ He must have been considerably surprised to find those objects at Roman stalls, which had already been circulating in the streets of Rome and Italy for almost twenty years. Those fragile pamphlets told the story that had changed the world, and with it his and his father’s lives. But the news of the greatest event of the last few centuries had not been transmitted through luxurious folio editions. Rather, it was conveyed through small books of meager quality, that passed from reader to reader with lightning speed. The copies Colón managed to purchase in Rome were two of the few of those editions of the letter’s Italian and Latin translations that had survived. Other copies and editions, printed more than fifteen years before, were no longer on the market, and one can only imagine what became of them. Only a good deal of luck would have made it possible to recover some copies of those (for him) precious *obrezillas*, but it does not seem that young Hernando was able to find any in the squares he frequented.

The loss of documents that transmitted the memory of one of the most important events in the history of the world, and in his personal life, perhaps played an important role in Colón’s bibliographic career. Pamphlets designed for rapid circulation and consumption contained news that changed the world. Stories of battles, sieges, missions, conciliations, etc. were conveyed by ephemeral objects made of paper and ink. The memory of those events, and that of the society interested in them, was constantly in danger of being erased because of the delicacy of the medium that transmitted them. If it was in Rome that Colón began to shape his project of a

²⁶ GIULIANO DATI, *Lettera delle isole nuovamente trovate*, [Eucharius Silber], Rome, 15 June 1493, ISTC id00045890.

²⁷ Seville, Biblioteca Capitulary Colombina, 6-3-24(11).

²⁸ *REgistrum B*, n. 3028. This copy of the letter is no longer on the shelves of the Biblioteca Colombina. Probably it was removed in the second half of the nineteenth century and placed on the Parisian antiquarian book market.

universal repository of human knowledge, inspired by a millenarian vision like that which had guided his father's 'mission', then he was also likely inspired by the desire to save and preserve the memory of the modern world: a heterogeneous and ever-changing world, whose complex social, economic, religious, political, and cultural elements coexisted in a fragile yet intricate harmony.

Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee state that in his later years, Colón had clearly defined his library as a « repertorio de los tiempos », whose cornerstones were the *obrezillas* containing the most disparate texts, from annual predictions to accounts of wars in Middle Eastern lands, to religious controversies, to technical manuals, and even popular ballads and chivalric novels.²⁹ This gigantic repository, as a permanent work in progress, was based on objects that were precarious in their physical structure, but extraordinarily precious as testimonies of living and vibrant contexts that, together, comprised the multicolored mosaic of European civilization of the time. In turn, this ongoing civilization, characterized by new geographical discoveries, scientific advancements, technological developments, intellectual and religious disparities, but also by superstitions, fears, and violence, was able to be sustained and developed through channels of communication which, thanks to the new technique of printing, quickly connected the great urban centers and beyond. Colón understood that the world was moving much faster than before. His mission as savior and guardian of universal human knowledge, which virtually connected him with Poggio Bracciolini and his mission to recover classical texts, took into account this change and the factors that made it possible.³⁰ He therefore decided to take a path never embarked upon before and abandoned the rules of traditional *bibliophilia*. The only way to understand, grasp, and preserve the essence of human knowledge was to search for, and safeguard, the means that conveyed it. The success of the Colón family was due to an *obrezilla* which, traversing the European continent, forever changed the fate of the world. The decision to collect fragile volumes, like Columbus' letter, and salvage their memory, meant following the salvific mission his father began with his geographical explorations. At the same time, building a universal repository of knowledge on ephemeral texts, and on fragile and perishable volumes, meant, in an almost

²⁹ PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ – WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 96.

³⁰ Between 1415 and 1417 the humanist and papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini visited numerous German monasteries in search of manuscripts containing works of Latin literature. Among the many works he recovered there were also Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* and Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. Bracciolini narrated his many book hunts in his letters: POGGIO BRACCIOLINI, *Lettere*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1984–1987, *passim*. A complete list of the manuscripts recovered by Bracciolini is available in CLAUDIO PIGA and GIANCARLO ROSSI, « Introduzione », in POGGIO BRACCIOLINI, *L'avarizia*, Aragno, Turin 2015, p. V–LII.

Franciscan perspective of salvation, recognizing, for the first time in human history, the indispensable role of culture and popular society in the development and advancement of the modern world.

III. *A Look to the Future: Some Perspectives of Investigation on the Universal Library*

The fragility and the easy circulation of the pamphlets, collected by Colón, were certainly aspects that outlined the extraordinary nature of the universal library. But they were also the same factors that condemned them. As mentioned before, Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee have masterfully underlined how, after Colón's death, there was a period of theft and robbery, spanning more than three hundred years. After the cessation of the library in 1557 to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville by Colón's heir, Don Luis, the books were absorbed into the collection of the religious institution, thus losing their identity as a repository of universal knowledge. Yet unlike many libraries of religious orders of the early modern age, the Library of the Chapter did not have set rules for the use and development of the bibliographic collection.³¹ This lack of organization (one of Colón's nightmares) proved fatal to the survival of the ancient hernandine collection. As early as 1678, just 120 years after the transition to the Chapter, two-thirds of the books once belonging to Colón had been removed or stolen, after years of unsupervised use by local readers.³²

Many of the volumes stolen from the Chapter, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, arrived in the libraries of Spanish religious orders, and often within the city of Seville. This is the case, for example, of Lucian of Samosata's *Dialogi*, today owned by the University Library of Seville.³³ In the second half of the sixteenth century, this volume was acquired, perhaps through a donation, by the professed house of the Jesuits of Seville and remained in that collection until 1767, when the Spanish Crown decreed the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in its territories. On other occasions, Colón's books entered the collections of religious institutes throughout the Iberian Peninsula, far from their place of origin. For instance, in the

³¹ In this context, the case of the Society of Jesus is emblematic. Its library rules, originally borrowed from the Sorbonne's library system, were refined over the course of forty years of library experimentation to safeguard the bibliographic patrimony of the colleges from dispersion and improper use of the volumes. On the history of the early modern Jesuit libraries see NATALE VACALEBRE, *Come le armadure e l'armi. Per una storia delle antiche biblioteche della Compagnia di Gesù. Con il caso di Perugia*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 2016.

³² PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ, WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 186.

³³ LUCIANUS SAMOSATENSIS, *Deorum dialogi*, ed. OTTMAR NACHTGALL, Ioannes Schottus, Strassbourg 1515 (Seville University Library, A Res. 10/5/15).

first half of the seventeenth century, a sammelband from the former 'Biblioteca Hernandina', containing several pamphlets dedicated to the *Passio Domini*, became part of the patrimony of the monastery of the Sacro Monte of Granada.³⁴ Before arriving at the monastery, this volume was likely part of the collection of the archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro, who donated his library to Sacro Monte upon his death in 1623.³⁵

However, as Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee point out, the most noteworthy case of book theft occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, when approximately four hundred volumes of the Biblioteca Colombina were stolen and placed on the antiquarian book market in Paris. The scandal was immediately denounced by the scholar Henry Harrisse in a famous 1885 pamphlet, wherein he listed titles from the hernandine collection, that he had been able to view, now available for sale in the French capital.³⁶ News of the theft quickly reached Spain, but elicited very little reaction. The echo was not, however, limited to Europe. In a fiery *New York Times* article of August 1885, entitled « Vandals in a Library », an anonymous correspondent from Paris, summarizing the contents of Harrisse's pamphlet, described the scandalous theft, cited some of the titles listed in Harrisse's work, and emphasized their extraordinary historical and bibliographic value.³⁷ Despite the condemnation (indeed, perhaps because of it) the stolen volumes continued to circulate on the international book market and soon arrived in the hands of private Italian, British, and American collectors. As one can easily guess, these books were primarily *obrezillas* that could be easily removed, unbound, and sent clandestinely in crates as packaging for other valuable goods. As also suggested by Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee's, the international circulation of these volumes can be partially traceable through the analysis of numerous European antiquarian booksellers catalogs, as well as auction catalogs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁸ The study of these materials, together with the new digital tools and the

³⁴ Granada, Library of the Monastery of the Sacro Monte (no shelfmark). On this sammelband, see MARÍA LUISA GARCÍA VALVERDE, « Libros de Hernando Colón en Granada: incunables y post-incunables en la Abadía del Sacro Monte », *Revista del CEHGR*, 23 (2011), p. 87–105.

³⁵ GARCÍA VALVERDE, « Libros de Hernando Colón en Granada: incunables y post-incunables en la Abadía del Sacro Monte », p. 93.

³⁶ HARRISSE, *Grandeur et décadence de la Colombine*, *passim*.

³⁷ « Vandals in a Library », *The New York Times*, Sunday, August 30, 1885, p. 10.

³⁸ The authors list in particular some volumes of the Biblioteca Colombina, today preserved at the Cini Foundation in Venice, which arrived at the Italian library through the Essling collection deposited in Venice at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as through the sale of some pamphlets by

progress in the field of antique book cataloguing, make it possible today to track many of the volumes of the old hernandine collection, scattered across libraries throughout the world. Moreover, the rarity and uniqueness of many of the pamphlets collected by Colón make it somewhat easier to locate these precious materials in international repositories. Additionally, by cross-referencing the information contained in Colón's catalogues for his universal library, with the data provided by Harris in his books dedicated to the volumes stolen from Seville, and the information in early twentieth century antiquarian catalogs, it is possible to compile a list of the hernandine book collection dispersed in the nineteenth century. It is also therefore possible to trace the journeys of these books, changes in ownership, and possibly reconstruct an important section of the heritage of the universal library. Below I offer some exemplary cases of 'recovery' of items from Colón's collection, now housed at some European and American libraries, I was able to locate by cross-referencing information gathered from the aforementioned materials.³⁹

In one of Harris's volumes, entitled *Excerpta Colombiniana*, the scholar published the titles of works stolen from Seville, which he considered particularly precious. One of the most intriguing volumes was a sammelband containing seven illustrated pamphlets of popular devotion.⁴⁰ Contrary to what happened to many of Colón's pamphlets stolen in the nineteenth century, this sammelband was not disbound and was sold intact in Paris in 1885. The volume later entered the library of the painter-collector Charles Fairfax Murray, which was then auctioned in London by Christie, Mason & Woods, between 1917-1918.⁴¹ The auction catalog individually records all the

the Italian antiquarian bookseller Tammaro de Marinis. PERÉZ FERNÁNDEZ, WILSON-LEE, *Hernando Colón's New World of Books*, p. 284-285, n. 20.

³⁹ Even today some volumes of Colón's lost collection can be found for sale on the international antiquarian book market. For instance, the French antiquarian bookseller Jean-François Letenneur has in its catalog a copy of the *Image du monde* (Paris, Alain Lotrian, c. 1520-1530) once housed in the Biblioteca Colombina. On the first guard leaf it displays the ex-libris of the Colombina and a handwritten inscription of Baron Jérôme Pichon that reads: « exemplaire de Fernand Colomb mort en 1539, fils de Christophe Colomb. Acheté en 1885. hez. Edition non citée ». <https://www.jfletenneur.livresrares.fr/rechercher?q=Image%20du%20Monde&node=1> (accessed March 2022). At the moment, I am working on a methodological article devoted to locating part of the volumes removed from the Colombina and placed on the international antiquarian book market between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

⁴⁰ HENRY HARRIS, *Excerpta Colombiniana. Bibliographie de quatre cents pièces gothiques, françaises, italiennes, & latines du commencement du XVI^e siècle non décrites jusqu'ici; précédée d'une histoire de la Bibliothèque Colombine et de son fondateur*, H. Welter, Paris 1887, n. 267, 298, 320, 358, 373, 381, 424.

⁴¹ *Catalogue of the library of C. Fairfax Murray, esq. sold by auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods [W. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., London 1917].*

texts on Harrisse's list, which were purchased by the Italian antiquarian bookseller Tammaro De Marinis. In 1925, all the items in the Libreria De Marinis were sold at auction, and a catalog of the entire collection was prepared for the occasion. The sammelband was generically described as « Miscellanea di opuscoli dei secoli XV e XVI ». ⁴² It was sold to Prince Luigi Trivulzio, descendant of one of the most ancient families of Milanese book collectors, whose extraordinary library was later donated to the city of Milan, giving rise to today's Biblioteca Trivulziana. Like all the volumes of the Trivulzio library, the sammelband became part of the civic library, where it is still kept today. ⁴³

Although not included in the repertories compiled by Harrisse, other works, removed from the Colombina in the nineteenth century, arrived in the libraries of collectors and institutions overseas. Let us take the case of two pamphlets, once bound in a single volume, described in detail in two catalogs of the antiquarian bookseller Giuseppe Martini. These are the anonymous *Assedio di Caffa* and the *Ricette contro la peste* by the physician Antonio Cermisone. ⁴⁴ In both catalogs, Martini reconstructs the changes in ownership and provides the full history of these works following their removal from the Seville library. ⁴⁵ The sammelband was purchased in Paris by the French architect Hyppolite Destailleur and, upon his death, was sold to the English collector Sydney Richardson Christie-Miller. ⁴⁶ The collection established by the latter, at Britwell Court, was sold at auction in 1917 and the volume was sold to the antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch. ⁴⁷ Some years later it passed into Martini's hands; all the bookseller's volumes were auctioned in 1935 once the Libreria Martini

⁴² *Vendita all'asta della preziosa collezione proveniente dalla cessata Libreria De Marinis, 30 novembre – 3 dicembre 1925*, vol. II, Hoepli, Milan 1925, n. 275. De Marinis' catalog (vol. III, n. 214) lists another volume from the Colombina, a copy of the poem *Buovo d'Antona* (Benedetto Bindoni, Venice, 1537), Edit16 CNCE 80435.

⁴³ Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Triv. Inc. E 21. The volume contains all the seven works listed by Harrisse and in the flyleaf of the binding is glued the ex-libris of the Biblioteca Colombina.

⁴⁴ *L'assedio e la presa di Caffa*, [Albrecht Kunne, Trent, after 7 June 1475], ISTC ic00032000; Antonio Cermisone, *Ricette contro la pestilenza* [Christophorus Valdarfer, Milan, about 1483-84], ISTC ic00405000.

⁴⁵ *Catalogo della libreria di Giuseppe Martini, compilato dal possessore da servire come saggio per una nuova bibliografia di storia e letteratura italiana*, Hoepli, Milan 1934, n. 18, 129; *Bibliothèque Joseph Martini, deuxième partie*, Hoepli, Milan 1935, n. 14, 62.

⁴⁶ *Catalogue de livres rares et précieux composant la bibliothèque de M. Hippolyte Destailleur*, Morgand, Paris 1891, n. 802.

⁴⁷ *Catalogue of the renowned library formerly at Britwell Court, Burnham, Bucks, the property of S.R. Christie-Miller*, vol. II: *Books and tracts of the 15th and early 16th centuries. The property of a gentleman*, [Sotheby, London 1917], n. 306.

ceased activity. On that occasion, the sammelband was disbound and the two pamphlets were sold separately to two different American libraries. Today, the copy of the *Assedio* is located at the Morgan Library in New York,⁴⁸ while the volume of *Ricette* is housed at the Countway Medicine Library at Harvard University.⁴⁹

Many other cases of Colón's missing books could be reconstructed, but this is not the place for such an undertaking. What is certain is that a project aimed at locating and recovering such a patrimony is highly desirable. Reconstructing the itineraries of Colón's volumes, after their passage through the chapter library, and through the nineteenth century, is not merely exercise in bibliographic archaeology. Locating Colón's dispersed volumes also means recovering his purchase notes, reading annotations, and ownership records, as well as the provenance records of subsequent owners. These elements are crucial for reconstructing the origin and evolution of Colón's revolutionary enterprise, and the mobility patterns of printed books between the early modern age and today. The hope is that, with the renewed interest in Colón's adventures, new projects dedicated to the multifaceted journey of this extraordinary figure of the European Renaissance can take shape and shed new light on the transformations of the world in the early modern period.⁵⁰ As Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee suggest, there are many unexplored areas of Colón's projects. The very adventure of the universal library has many aspects that await further investigation: What was the direct relationship between Colón and European booksellers and printers? How did his agents obtain bibliographic information at European book markets? Were the catalogs of booksellers and publishers tools that had to be collected and stored in the library? How did Colón's reading habits influence the creation of a sophisticated bibliographic/narrative tool such as the *Libro de los epítomes*? And who were the library's users when Colón was alive? These and other questions about the history of Colón's most crucial project are accompanied by others about his still unexplored intellectual undertakings. His myriad interests took the form of several fascinating endeavors: dictionaries, maps, poetic texts, and, above all, an extraordinary botanical garden that, like the library it flanked, endeavored to collect

⁴⁸ New York (NY), Morgan Library and Museum, INCUN ChL1713A.

⁴⁹ Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Countway Library of Medicine, Ballard 263. The digital reproduction of the book is available at: [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:7334141\\$1i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:7334141$1i) (accessed March 2022).

⁵⁰ At the moment, there is an ongoing project at the University of Copenhagen dedicated to the *Libro de los epítomes*. The project's chief deliverable will be the online database *Book of Books*, containing information on the books listed in the *Libro de los epítomes*, and a six-volume commented edition of the *Libro* with English translation and explanatory notes: <https://nors.ku.dk/english/research/arna magnaean/the-book-of-books/> (accessed March 2022).

the universality of the plant world. Each of these ambitious projects is waiting to be further examined and included in the new field of Hernandine Studies, of which Pérez Fernández and Wilson-Lee's volume is, without a doubt, a masterful forerunner.

NOTES

THE STATISTICS OF THE CLASSICS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

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A saying that goes back to the late nineteenth century runs: « There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics ».¹ This witticism came to mind when contemplating the disagreement between Robert Black and me concerning the classics in thirteenth-century Italy.² The disagreement itself long predates us and involves some of the most notable scholarly figures of the last hundred years. The issue is whether the thirteenth century brought about the collapse of classical studies in Italy, as Louis Paetow asserted in 1910, seconded by worthies such as Paetow's very influential mentor Charles Homer Haskins (1870–1937), the well-known Italian historian Giuseppe Toffanin (1891–1980), and the distinguished historian of medieval philosophy, Étienne Gilson (1884–1978), or, on the contrary, whether it actually marked the dawn of Renaissance classical studies, as E.K. Rand (1871–1945), Helene Wieruszowski (1893–1978), and Paul O. Kristeller (1905–1999) held.³ In more recent times Ronald Witt (1932–2017) has

¹ See PETER M. LEE at <https://www.york.ac.uk/depts/maths/histstat/lies.htm> (last accessed 4 February 2022).

² See ROBERT BLACK, « The Rise and Fall of the Latin Classics: The Evidence of Schoolbook Production in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Italy », *Aevum*, 91 (2017), p. 411–464, attacking just one of the arguments in my much more widely focused article: « The Rise and Fall of Renaissance Italy », *Aevum*, 89 (2015), p. 465–481.

³ LOUIS PAETOW, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL 1910, that kicked off the debate. For the other participants see MONFASANI, « Rise and Fall », p. 467; BLACK, « Rise and Fall », p. 411–413; and FRANCESCO BRUNI, « Boncompagno da Signa, Guido delle Colonne, Jean de Meung: metamorfosi dei classici nel Duecento », *Medioevo Romanzo*, 12 (1987), p. 103–128, at 104–106, 120–125. An interesting case is the illustrious Italian scholar Giuseppe Billanovich (1913–2000). BLACK, « Rise and Fall », p. 412, claimed him for his position while WIERUSZOWSKI in her « Rhetoric and the Classics in Italian Education of the Thirteenth Century », *Studia Gratiana*, 11 (1967), p. 169–208 (I used the reprint in EAD., *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1971, p. 589–627, at p. 591) did the same for hers. FRANCESCO BRUNI, « Boncompagno da Signa, Guido delle Colonne, Jean de Meun: Metamorfosi dei classici nel

argued for the thirteenth century as marking the take-off stage of Italian Renaissance humanism and classical studies. Indeed, until Witt died, he and Black carried on an almost thirty-year dialectical duel, the opening gambit of which concerned not humanism but rather the question whether reading was taught in the vernacular or exclusively in Latin in Florence's elementary schools.⁴ Black supported the latter position in an article of 1991; Witt rejected it in an article of 1995. Black responded to Witt in his 1996 article on Renaissance education but ignored him in his book of 2001 (though listing Witt's article in the bibliography), choosing instead to rebut Paul Gehl and Paul Grendler on the subject.⁵ After Witt restated his opposition to Black on vernacular education in his 2000 book *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients'*,⁶ Black responded at length in a 2002 review essay not only on this issue but even more so and more importantly on Witt's understanding of the state of classical studies in medieval Italy and the rise of Renaissance humanism.⁷ Black then repeated and expanded upon his position in a 2006 article that appeared in the same volume in which Witt also elaborated upon his argument on the origins of humanism.⁸ Witt, in turn, massively

Duecento », *Medioevo Romanzo*, 12 (1987), p. 103–128, at p. 105, would seem to agree with Wieruszowski. Black quotes a passage from BILLANOVICH, *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini*, Edizioni Universitarie, Fribourg 1953, p. 12 (and ID., *Dal Medioevo all'Umanesimo*, Ed. CUSL, Milano 2001, p. 5), where Billanovich laments the contrast between « il bel codice letterario del secolo XII e il codice meschino del XIII »; but elsewhere Billanovich spoke of the rising fortune of classical studies in the later thirteenth century in connection with Lovato Lovati (*I primi umanisti*, p. 13, 17, 20–21; *Dal Medioevo*, p. 6, 9, 11). So, one can read what one wants into Billanovich.

⁴ See RONALD WITT, « What Did Giovannino Read and Write? Literary in Early Renaissance Florence », *I Tatti Studies in the Renaissance*, 6 (1995), p. 83–114, at p. 98–109, arguing against ROBERT BLACK, « The Curriculum of Italian Elementary and Grammar Schools, 1350–1500 », in DONALD R. KELLY, RICHARD POPKIN (eds.), *The Shape of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, Springer Netherlands, Dordrecht 1991, p. 139–163.

⁵ ROBERT BLACK, « The Vernacular and the Teaching of Latin in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Italy », *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 37 (1996), p. 703–751; and ID., *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001, p. 41–44, refuting PAUL GEHL, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society and Culture in Trecento Florence*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 1993; and PAUL GRENDLER, *Schooling Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1350–1600*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1989.

⁶ RONALD WITT, *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Brill, Leiden 2000, p. 193–194, fn. 74.

⁷ *Vivarium*, 40/2 (2002), p. 272–297.

⁸ See RONALD WITT, « Kristeller's Humanists as Heirs of the Medieval Dictatores », and ROBERT BLACK, « The Origins of Humanism », in ANGELO MAZZOCCO (ed.), *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 21–35 and 37–71 respectively. With a touch of irony, Mazzocco so arranged his volume so that just as Black following Witt criticized Witt, so too did Paul Grendler (« Humanism: Ancient Learning, Criticism, Schools and Universities », p. 73–95), a long-time opponent of Black on schooling in Italy, following Black and, of course, criticized

expanded upon his argument on the origins of Renaissance humanism in his 2012 book *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge), which Black disputed in a review the next year.⁹ Both Witt and Black ascribed *grosso modo* to Paul Oskar Kristeller's interpretation of Renaissance humanism as emerging out of the disciplinary interests of the very large lay legal and notarial class of medieval Italy, giving the back of their hand, gently in the case of Witt,¹⁰ sharply in the case of Black,¹¹ to Hans Baron's theory of civic humanism, and paying no attention to Eugenio Garin's theory of Renaissance humanism as the philosophy of the civic life.¹²

The odd thing is that although Black and Witt have a variety of interpretative differences and emphases, their biggest divide came down to the statistics of the manuscripts of classical authors in the thirteenth century. To prove against Witt the vitality of interest in classical authors in twelfth-century Italy and the collapse of this interest in the thirteenth, Black provided in his 2001 book on education in medieval and Renaissance Italy a « Handlist of manuscripts of school authors produced in Italy and now found in Florentine libraries », comprising 321 manuscripts by my count,¹³ and then in his 2006 critique of Witt he offered up a « Preliminary handlist of non-Beneventan manuscripts of Latin classical school authors produced and/or used as schoolbooks in Italy during the twelfth Century and now found outside of Florence », comprising 127 manuscripts by Witt's count.¹⁴ In response, in an appendix to his *Two Latin Cultures*, Witt challenged not Black's dating of any manuscripts (how could he without himself examining each

Black, complaining *inter alia* that the only scholar he seems to approve of was Paul Oskar Kristeller.

⁹ In the *American Historical Review*, 118 (2013), p. 804–806.

¹⁰ WITT, 'In the Footsteps', p. 419–425. Witt tries to salvage the salvageable from the Baron thesis, but his analysis really amounts to a repudiation of Baron's fundamental argument. For Black, see also his article « Humanism » in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. VII: C.1415–c.1500, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998, p. 242–277.

¹¹ In his review of Witt in *Vivarium*, 40/2, p. 297.

¹² Both Witt and Black, however, like Garin, ascribe an ideological motivation to the origins of humanism. For BLACK, *Origins of Humanism*, p. 53–56, it is an anti-aristocratic animus, for WITT, « Kristeller's Humanists », p. 35, it was a felt need to reform society: « it was the Paduan grammarians' sense of urgency, of moral and political crisis, born of their practical political experience, which sent them to the ancient writers in search of models according to which they could reform their own age ». It should be added that Black also sees Petrarch's religious historical vision as inspiring the humanist movement; see his review of Witt in *Vivarium*, 40/2, p. 295–296, and his article « The Donation of Constantine: a new source for the concept of the Renaissance » in ALISON BROWN (ed.), *Language and Image of Renaissance Italy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995 p. 51–85.

¹³ BLACK, *Humanism and Education*, p. 386–422 (= Appendix IV), analyzed on p. 173–274 (= Chapter 4). Black speaks of « 1,305 manuscripts considered », but does not number the manuscripts he lists.

¹⁴ BLACK, « Origins of Humanism », p. 57–71, where again the listed manuscripts are not numbered. For WITT's count see his *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 490.

of them?), but rather Black's interpretation of his data and also his assumptions.¹⁵ As for the list of manuscripts in Florentine libraries, Witt argued that it cannot be assumed to reflect the whole of Italy, especially when thirteenth-century Florence was in fact exceptional in its preference for vernacular translations of the classics; but even so, 36% of the manuscripts listed by Black are described as being produced in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth centuries, not suggesting therefore a decline. Finally, of Black's inventoried 127 manuscripts outside of Florence, 61 are glossed and 85% of these glosses, by Black own admission, date from the thirteenth century, again suggesting quite the opposite of a collapse of interest in classical authors. In his subsequent review of Witt's book, Black contended that the manuscripts in Florence were drawn from all over Italy,¹⁶ but the fact that he came to expand his inventory to collections outside of Florence suggests that he saw the inadequacy of this assertion.

This was the state of the question when I came to write the 2015 article « The Rise and Fall of Renaissance Italy ». In respect to the statistical evidence for interest in classical authors in thirteenth-century Italy, it occurred to me that a superb database was at hand to resolve the debate, namely, the catalogue of nearly 3,000 Latin classical manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (henceforth, *MCLBV*), compiled by an *équipe* of scholars under the direction of Élisabeth Pellegrin (1912–1993).¹⁷ Given that some of the Vatican's largest *fondi*, such as the *Reginenses* and *Palatini*, are collections created in Northern Europe while others of its *fondi* contain a very large number of Northern manuscripts, *MCLBV* offered an excellent cross-section of manuscripts produced throughout Europe in the Middle Ages and could therefore serve for statistical purposes as a proxy for the totality of medieval Latin manuscripts. My analysis of the data provided by *MCLBV* in the 2015 article led to decisive conclusions, and it was precisely one of these conclusions that Robert Black attacked in a 2017 article whose title mimicked the title of my earlier article. He denied that the thirteenth century marked the dawn of Italian Renaissance classical studies. To quote the abstract of Black's article:

Focusing on manuscript schoolbook production in Italy during that period [twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy], this study examines 317 manuscripts of the canonical classical school authors produced in Italy between 1100 and 1300, based

¹⁵ WITT, *Two Latin Cultures*, p. 487–491.

¹⁶ BLACK in the *American Historical Review*, 118 (2013), p. 806.

¹⁷ *Les manuscrits classiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Catalogue établi par Élisabeth Pellegrin [et al.]*, 3 vol. in 5 (vol. II and III have two parts), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1975–2010. Members of the *équipe* consisted at different times of Jeannine Fohlen, Colette Jeudy, Yves-François Riou, Adriana Marucchi, François Dolbeau, Jean-Yvres Tilliette, Paola Scarcia Piacentini, Anne-Véronique Gilles-Raynal, Marco Buoncore, and Pierre-Jean Riamond.

on an overall study of 1,843 manuscripts preserved in Italy, Vatican City, Great Britain and the United States. This conclusion is that there was a marked decline in the study of the Latin classics at school in Italy during the thirteenth century, as compared with the twelfth century.¹⁸

At the end of the narrative part of the article, Black's conclusion was:

When reconsidered on the basis of direct examination and explicit methodology, the Vatican manuscripts considered here offer a picture of classical study from the eleventh to the thirteenth century different from the second-hand synthesis provide by John Monfasani. Rather than a continuum up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the thirteenth century represents a marked decline of Italian classicism.¹⁹

By dismissively characterizing my use of *MCLBV* as a « second-hand synthesis », Black showed that he misunderstood one of the great advantages of the evidence of *MCLBV*, namely, that it is the product of neutral, disinterested scholarship. The *équipe* of É. Pellegrin dated and localized manuscripts without any regard for the Black-Witt debate. However confident Black may have been in his paleographic judgment, nonetheless the fact remains that he had a strong vested interest in how he dated the same manuscripts. Witt was not in a position to challenge Black's dating nor did he have a third party to whose judgment he could have appealed. But with *MCLBV* we now have such an impartial third party. We should thus value the dating of the *MCLBV* precisely because it is disinterested, and all the more so because, as we shall see shortly, it also mirrors with remarkable exactness all we know from other sources about classical studies in all the different parts of Europe from the eighth to the sixteenth century, except uniquely in the case of thirteenth-century Italy, if we are to believe Black.

The data of *MCLBV* unequivocally confirmed that classical studies collapsed in Northern Europe in the thirteenth century (a drop off of 40% in extant manuscripts of classical texts, followed by a further decline of 37% in the next century).²⁰ Italy, however, was different. In Italy, the manuscript statistics suggest, I concluded in 2015, that classical studies suffered only a modest decline, with a drop of only 12% in classical manuscripts produced.²¹ Indeed, revisiting anew the data from *MCLBV* for the purposes of this article, I now see that there

¹⁸ BLACK, « Rise and Decline », p. 411.

¹⁹ BLACK, « Rise and Decline », p. 419.

²⁰ See MONFASANI, « Rise and Fall », p. 470. *MCLBV* counted 142.5 Northern manuscripts for the twelfth century, 85.5 for the thirteenth, and 53.5 for the fourteenth. The bizarre « .5 » in these numbers, as explained further on in the present article, reflects how manuscripts dated XII/XIII or XIII/XIV are counted in the statistical compilation.

²¹ Ibid.: 72.5 manuscripts in the twelfth century, 64 in the thirteenth, and 272.5 in the fourteenth.

was no decline at all. *MCLBV* reports exactly same number of thirteenth-century classical manuscripts for Italy as it does of twelfth-century manuscripts.²² Italy thus resisted the northern collapse in classical studies. The Italian thirteenth century set the stage, in stark contrast with the North, for an enormous fourteenth-century surge with a 326% increase in classical manuscripts produced between 1300 and 1399. In short, as far as the reading classical authors is concerned, Transalpine Europe and Italy were moving in opposite directions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, Northern Europe and Italy were no less different, if inversely so, before the thirteenth century than they were after. From *MCLBV* we can see that from the eighth to the eleventh centuries Italy produced hardly more than a third as many classical manuscripts as did the North, and in the twelfth century only half the amount produced in the North.²³ These statistics mirror quite closely the cultural situation in Europe from the eighth to the twelfth centuries that nearly all scholars agree was actually the case. The same is certainly true for Northern Europe in the thirteenth century. So, the question is why should we believe that *MCLBV* data are wrong only when it comes to Italy in the thirteenth century? Did the *équipe* of É. Pellegrin suddenly become incompetent when dating manuscripts to the Italian thirteenth century, as one must believe in order to accept Robert Black's rejection of *MCLBV*'s data?

In point of fact, though Black believes that the *MCLBV* data contradict the evidence of the massive documentary base that he has created, i.e., a survey of 1,834 manuscripts examined *in situ*, Black's refutation, based on the 317 Vatican manuscripts he discussed in the article,²⁴ suffers from serious methodological flaws, four to be exact, the last of which essentially renders his argument null and void.²⁵

The first of Black's mistakes is his criticism that my conclusion concerning the thirteenth century is based on descriptions of manuscripts that I did not myself examine.²⁶ In other words, he took as a defect what is in fact, as pointed out above, one of the great virtues of relying on *MCLBV*. Black has been arguing now

²² Taking into account manuscripts that could be ascribed to France or Northern Italy as well as a few thirteenth manuscripts I overlooked, I now see that a total of 94 manuscripts are relevant. Once the 43 manuscripts with split attributions are divided by half, we get the result: $94 - 21.5 = 72.5$ thirteenth-century manuscripts, which is the same number as that for the twelfth century. See Appendices I and II below for a listing of the 94 relevant manuscripts and of the 43 split manuscripts in that total.

²³ See Appendices I and II below.

²⁴ It should be noted that Black included in the article an inventory of another 177 manuscripts outside the Vatican that I do not discuss here since they are not pertinent to the data of *MCLBV*.

²⁵ I record here that when I first read Black's article, I considered his enormous inventory of manuscripts as settling the debate. Only subsequent reflection on how he employed his data against the evidence of *MCLBV* caused me to change my mind.

²⁶ BLACK, « Rise and Fall », p. 416: « his information and analysis is entirely second-hand ».

for close to twenty years, i.e., well before he could have seen the 1,834 manuscripts mentioned in his article, that classical interests collapsed in thirteenth-century Italy.²⁷ He therefore publicly has long been a party to one side of the debate. On the other hand, É. Pellegrin's *équipe* had no vested interest in the debate while Black did. This does not mean that Black's dating is wrong or deliberately biased. Indeed, he himself dated to the Italian thirteenth century three manuscripts that *MCLBV* had dated otherwise.²⁸ But it does mean that we should value the data of the *MCLBV* for its impartiality.

The second of Black's methodological mistakes is his belief that in organizing my statistical tables I arbitrarily ascribed to the thirteenth century all the manuscripts that *MCLBV* had dated as XII/XIII or XIII/XIV. I did no such thing. Rather, following traditional practice as endorsed L. D. Reynolds and Birger Munk Olsen, and as a reasonable statistical simplification, I split the difference and assigned half of the manuscripts with split centuries to the thirteenth century and half to the twelfth or fourteenth centuries.²⁹ Save for some rare exceptions, these are not manuscripts partly written in one century and partly in another, but simply manuscripts the *équipe* could not decide to which century they belonged and therefore settled for « XII/XIII » or « XIII/XIV ». So, Black attacked a strawman. Instead of inflating the number of Italian thirteenth-century manuscripts, as Black imagined, my statistical analysis actually did the complete opposite, paring them down by eliminating half of those that could possibly have been attributed to the thirteenth rather than to an adjacent century.³⁰

The third of Black's methodological missteps is a category error. Because he was interested in authors read in the schools, Black explicitly eliminated from consideration authors not current in the schools before the fourteenth century, such as Livy, Seneca, Frontinus, and Apuleius, as well as authors in circulation but not meant for students, primarily Priscian. Implicitly, Black also eliminated from consideration late classical authors such as Claudianus, Maximianus, and Palladius, as well as Chalcidius and Boethius. Hence, by fiat Black has discarded as irrelevant a great deal of evidence that is eminently relevant to the question at hand. But *MCLBV* counted manuscripts of all these late antique authors (as well as

²⁷ See BLACK, *Humanism and Education*, p. 192–200; and ID., « Origins of Humanism », p. 46–52.

²⁸ See Appendix III.2 below.

²⁹ See MONFASANI, « Rise and Fall », p. 470. See for instance, L. D. REYNOLDS (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Study of the Latin Classics*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1983, p. xxxvii, fn. 102: « I count manuscripts dated to the turn of a century as belonging to the later century »; and BIRGER MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris 1982–2014, 4 vol. in 6, at 4.2, p. 11: « Tous ces manuscrits à cheval sur deux siècles [...] risquent de faire obstacle à une vue d'ensemble [...] nous avons donc opté pour la solution pratique [...] qui consiste à attribuer la moitié des manuscrits à cheval au siècle précédent et l'autre moitié au siècle suivant ».

³⁰ See Appendix II below.

a few that the medievals mistakenly thought to be classical), and as long *MCLBV* counted manuscripts of these authors consistently, as in fact it did, in order to maintain a stable yardstick by which to measure the evidence from century to century, then its statistics remain a true and powerful indicator of classical interest through the centuries. If by its understanding of whom to include as a classical author *MCLBV* in point of fact overstated the interest in Latin classics in the Italian thirteenth century, it did so also for all other parts of Europe in all other centuries. Consequently, the statistical results of the *MCLBV* data on a relative basis remain absolutely sound.

The fourth error of Black's refutation relates to the previous one and, as has already been said, is ultimately disqualifying. Of the 94 Italian thirteenth-century classical manuscripts in the Vatican according to *MCLBV*,³¹ Black explicitly excluded 19 of them as irrelevant, i.e., 20% of the total.³² On the assumption that these manuscripts did not contain in one way or another what he viewed as schoolbooks, Black was right to exclude them from his census. But their existence nonetheless reflects classical interests and illustrates the fallacy of limiting evidence of classical interests exclusively to what Black deems school texts. More significantly, Black does not even consider another 48 of manuscripts inventoried by *MCLBV*, i.e., 51% of the total.³³ Consequently, in rejecting the evidence of *MCLBV* Black ignored 71% of that evidence. This is not a refutation of the evidence, but an evasion of most of it. Black actually did not refute the *MCLBV* data. Instead, he substituted his own data, which in fact leaves out more than half of the relevant manuscripts listed in *MCLBV*. Compounding this failure is the fact that even if one agrees with Black's decision to disregard manuscripts of Priscian as well as late antique and pseudonymous classical authors, which in the case of pseudonymous authors is reasonable when evaluating interest in classical authors, nonetheless, more than half of the manuscripts he ignored without explanation (35 out of 67, 41 out of 67 if *contra* Black we also count Apuleius and Boethius)³⁴ contain texts of the major Latin authors, from Cicero, Horace, and Ovid to Sallust, Seneca, and Virgil. So, out of the 94 total Latin classical manuscripts reported by *MCLBV*, Black disregarded more than a third of them containing major classical authors, or, with Apuleius and Boethius included, more than 40% of them. This is less than 71%, to be sure, but still a sizeable percentage of the evidence to be ignored without explanation.

³¹ See Appendix I below.

³² See Appendix I below.

³³ See Appendix I below.

³⁴ These manuscripts are nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 of Appendix III.3, and nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46 of Appendix III.4. For Apuleius, add nos. 16 and 18 of III.3 and nos. 20 and 25 of Appendix III.4; for Boethius, add nos. 14 and 35 of Appendix III.4.

But even the 29% of the evidence from *MCLBV* that Black did consider is not without its nuances. Of the 27 manuscripts that *MCLBV* dated to the Italian thirteenth century and that Black treated in his inventory, he agreed with *MCLBV* in the case of sixteen of them. That leaves eleven manuscripts in dispute (leaving aside the three Black dated to the Italian thirteenth century *contra MCLBV*). Of these eleven, Black dated nine to the second half or to the end of the twelfth century. So, in fact he and *MCLBV* are really not that far apart concerning these nine since without other intrinsic and/or external indices paleography alone normally cannot fix with any degree of certainty the date of a manuscript beyond a thirty-year range, i.e., approximately the active lifetime of a scribe.³⁵ So, explicit strong disagreements between Black and *MCLBV* resolve themselves to a mere two manuscripts! These are Barb. Lat. 39 and Ottob. Lat. 1464, both of which Black dates to the twelfth century (the latter to the first half of the century) rather than the thirteenth. But both have the crossbar of 't' slightly bisecting rather than surmounting the ascender, a characteristic that Black himself says is more characteristic of the fourteenth century and therefore *a fortiori* of the thirteenth century rather than of the twelfth century. Furthermore, the Ottobonianus often has 'g's with open lower boles, again a characteristic that Black himself associates with later manuscripts. So, by his own paleographical prescriptions, a case can be made that both manuscripts date from the thirteenth rather than from the twelfth century. In short, even for less than a third of the *MCLBV* evidence with which Black engaged, the verdict on whose dating is correct is not as easily discernible as one might initially suppose. Moreover, as Witt has shown (see *supra*), when glosses are taken into account, Black's own evidence actually contradicts his thesis and suggests significant thirteenth-century interest in classical texts.³⁶ So, quite apart from not accepting Black's infallibility in dating manuscripts, one has multiple grounds for doubting his insistence that his evidence unequivocally demonstrates the collapse of classical interests in thirteenth-century Italy. To be sure, Black can in the future consult all the manuscripts in *MCLBV* that he had ignored and declare them not to be from thirteenth-century Italy. But such an assertion returns us to the problem we noted at the start, namely, the conflict between the disinterested judgment of *MCLBV*'s *équipe*, whose dating conforms perfectly with what we otherwise know about the classical tradition in different periods and places in the Middle Ages,

³⁵ AS ARMANDO PETRUCCI, « Censimento dei codici dei secoli XI-XII », *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 9 (1968), p. 1115–1125, at p. 1125, remarked: « non è certo facile indicare criteri utili a distinguere codici scritti sul finire del secolo XII da codici scritti all'inizio del secolo seguente ». In addition to the more jagged execution of letter forms (*spezzato tratteggio*) of the later manuscripts, Petrucci called attention to the cessation of both 'e' with a cedilla and the 'et' ligature as well as the rise of the practice of dotting 'i'.

³⁶ See fn. 15 above.

and Black's vested interest in arguing that *MCLBV* is wrong about thirteenth-century Italy.

Ultimately, the discrepancy between the conclusions that can be drawn from the data presented by *MCLBV* and the data presented by Black stems from a difference of perspective. Black was looking exclusively at the schools and what he considered school authors while *MCLBV* sought to encompass all classical authors of every stripe. In other words, what Black and *MCLBV* inventoried were different and therefore, within the parameters they set for themselves, they each produced useful results. The fact, however, that Black disregarded without explanation so many manuscripts that *MCLBV* categorized as thirteenth-century Italian or possibly so when unable to be definitive, renders his argument about the Latin classics in the thirteenth century a case of special pleading.

The *MCLBV* data show no overall decline in classical manuscripts in the thirteenth century as compared to the twelfth, but by the same token therefore no surge. We know there was a surge in classical studies in the later thirteenth century, especially in northern Italy. So, it is conceivable, though not strictly demonstrable that there was a drop (not collapse!) in classical interests earlier in the century. However, dividing up cultural movements strictly by centuries is to impose an artificial chronological construct upon them. But as far as the beginning of Renaissance humanism is concerned, we can at least say that the surge in the second half of the thirteenth century was sufficient to overcome any supposed crisis in classical studies earlier in the century and set the stage for the explosion of these studies in the first half of the fourteenth.

Differences of perspective are to a large extent at the root of much of the debate on the Italian thirteenth century. The first proponent of the thirteenth-century collapse, Louis Paetow, was looking primarily at Northern Europe, where in fact the *MCLBV* data fully confirm his argument, while Giuseppe Toffanin, who famously called the thirteenth « the century without Rome », was especially on the alert for pivotal literary figures such as Dante and Petrarch, of which the thirteenth century had none.³⁷ On the other hand, Helene Wieruszowski and Paul Oskar Kristeller have argued for the clear growing classical interests in thirteenth-century Italy within the large body of notaries, jurists, bureaucrats, and *dictatores* (i. e., teachers and practitioners of the dominant form of medieval rhetoric), the very group from which the Renaissance humanists would emerge.³⁸

³⁷ His book *Il secolo senza Roma*, which first appeared in 1943, eventually became vol. I of his four volume *Storia dell'Umanesimo*.

³⁸ See WIERUSZOWSKI, « Rhetoric and the Classics ». Kristeller first made his view clear in his oft reprinted article « Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance », *Byzantion*, 17 (1945), p. 346–374, and would give his argument its classic formulation in *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1955, also much reprinted; see THOMAS GILBARD, *Bibliographia Kristelleriana: A Bibliography of the Publications of Paul Oskar Kristeller, 1929–1999*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 2006, items. no. 73 and 172. See also the section

Ronald Witt and Roberto Weiss focused on one such group in late thirteenth-century Padua led by the judge Lovato de' Lovati that can rightly be viewed as the first humanist circle.³⁹ If we switch our attention away from Black's list of school authors, we learn that the extant manuscript evidence demonstrates that at least two major classical Latin authors not on that list, Livy and Seneca, had something of a Renaissance precisely in thirteenth-century Italy,⁴⁰ reflecting therefore quite the opposite of a decline of interest in classical texts. And then there are the powerful non-grammarians witnesses to thirteenth-century classical learning, such as the theologian Thomas Aquinas, the imperial chancellor Petrus de Vineia, the jurists Rolandino of Padua, Lovato dei Lovati, and Geri of Arezzo, the *dictatores* Bene of Florence and Guido Faba, and so on,⁴¹ all impressionistic and non-quantifiable evidence, as both Black and I recognize, but in its range of figures and genres significant evidence nonetheless. In sum, if one does not discard evidence relevant to the question, it is clear that unlike what happened in Northern Europe, classical interest and studies did not collapse in thirteenth-century Italy. Rather, starting from a modest base, they held their own. Furthermore, by being integrated into the culture of a large and growing secular professional class, they started on a growth trajectory that would blossom into Renaissance humanism.

Ars Dictaminis in my article « Humanism and the Renaissance » forthcoming in ANTHONY PINN (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Humanism*.

³⁹ For WITT see his 'In the Footsteps of the Ancients' and *Two Latin Cultures*. For WEISS see his *The Dawn of Humanism in Italy: An Inaugural Lecture*, H.K. Lewis, London 1947; and *Il primo secolo dell'Umanesimo*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome 1949.

⁴⁰ For Seneca see L. D. REYNOLDS, « The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's *Dialogues* », *The Classical Quarterly*, n. s., 18/2 (1986), p. 355–372, at p. 364 for thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts; and SENECA, *Dialogorum Libri Duodecim*, ed. L. D. REYNOLDS, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1977, p. XIV. For Livy see L. D. REYNOLDS, N. G. WILSON, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford 1991, p. 130: « The manuscript that everyone immediately associates with Petrarch and Avignon is a famous Livy now in the British Museum [...] the nucleus [of which] is a manuscript of Livy's third decade, written in Italy about 1200. [...] But it has long been known that the Spirensian tradition of the fourth decade, in a form close to that used by Petrarch, had circulated among the [late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century] prehumanists in Padua »; similarly, REYNOLDS, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 213, whose opinion derives from the work of GIUSEPPE BILLANOVICH, « Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951), p. 137–208, which Billanovich expanded upon in his *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo*, Antenore, Padua 1981.

⁴¹ See here the classic article of Wieruszowski, « Rhetoric and the Classics », which in a way is more comprehensive than Witt's book in that she includes figures such as Aquinas, whom Witt did not treat.

Appendix I

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN CLASSICAL MANUSCRIPTS
ACCORDING TO *MCLBV*

I have put in bold split manuscripts (XII/XIII, XIII/XIV, Northern Europe/Italy) in order to distinguish them from those dated exclusively as Italy, s. XIII. See Appendix II below for more detail.

- (1) Arch. S. Pietro G. 46 – Maximianus
- (2) **Arch. S. Pietro H. 40** – Palladius
- (3) Barb. Lat. 26 – Ovid
- (4) **Barb. Lat. 37** – Lucan
- (5) Barb. Lat. 39 – Sallust
- (6) Barb. Lat. 40 – Sallust
- (7) **Barb. Lat. 66** – Anthologia. Latina, Lucan
- (8) Barb. Lat. 70 – Ovid
- (9) **Borgia 326** – Cicero
- (10) Chigi E.VIII.252 – Seneca
- (11) **Chigi H.IV.129** – Horace
- (12) **Chigi H.IV.130** – Seneca
- (13) **Chigi H.V.152** – Sallust
- (14) Chigi. H.V.153 – Seneca
- (15) **Chigi H.V.156** – Frontinus
- (16) **Chigi H.VI.212** – Claudianus
- (17) Chigi I. IV. 106 – fragment of Statius
- (18) Chigi L.VII.244 – Papias
- (19) Ottob. Lat.1203 – Virgil
- (20) Ottob. Lat. 1207 – Quintilian
- (21) **Ottob. Lat. 1237**– Virgil
- (22) **Ottob. Lat. 1330** – Priscian
- (23) Ottob. Lat. 1337 – Solinus
- (24) Ottob. Lat. 1464 – Ovid
- (25) Ottob. Lat. 1644 – Priscian
- (26) Ottob. Lat. 1978 – Priscian
- (27) Ottob. Lat. 2150 – Terence
- (28) Pal. Lat. 892 – Sallust
- (29) Pal. Lat. 1648 – Virgil
- (30) Pal. Lat. 1663 – Ovid
- (31) **Pal. Lat. 1664** – Ovid
- (32) Pal. Lat. 1666 – Ovid

- (33) **Regin. Lat. 902** – Livy
- (34) Regin. Lat. 1114 – Chalcidius
- (35) **Regin. Lat. 1618** – Ps.Seneca, Publius Syrus
- (36) **Regin. Lat. 2080** – Claudianus
- (37) Urb. Lat. 1141 – Apuleius
- (38) **Vat. Lat. 1466** – Papias
- (39) **Vat. Lat. 1577** – Virgil
- (40) Vat. Lat. 1592 – Horace, Boethius
- (41) **Vat. Lat. 1661** – Claudianus
- (42) **Vat. Lat. 1834** – Sallust
- (43) **Vat. Lat. 1840** – Livy
- (44) **Vat. Lat. 1844** – Virgil
- (45) **Vat. Lat. 1847** – Livy
- (46) Vat. Lat. 2186 – Apuleius
- (47) Vat. Lat. 2206 – Seneca
- (48) Vat. Lat. 2717 – Priscian
- (49) Vat. Lat. 2718 – Priscian
- (50) Vat. Lat. 2721 – Priscian
- (51) Vat. Lat. 2723 – Priscian
- (52) **Vat. Lat. 2759** – Virgil
- (53) Vat. lat. 2772 – Horace
- (54) **Vat. Lat. 2774** – Horace
- (55) **Vat. Lat. 2788** – Ovid
- (56) **Vat. Lat. 2792** – Ovid
- (57) **Vat. Lat. 2799** – Lucan
- (58) **Vat. Lat. 2807** – Claudianus
- (59) Vat. Lat. 2809 – Claudianus
- (60) Vat. Lat. 2826 – Boethius
- (61) **Vat. Lat. 2909** – Cicero
- (62) **Vat. Lat. 3110** – Martianus Capella
- (63) Vat. Lat. 3239 – Cicero, Horace
- (64) **Vat. Lat. 3261** – Horace
- (65) **Vat. Lat. 3266** – Ovid
- (66) Vat. Lat. 3267 – Ovid
- (67) Vat. Lat. 3278 – Statius
- (68) Vat. Lat. 3292 – Ovid
- (69) **Vat. Lat. 3306** – Terence
- (70) **Vat. Lat. 3339** – Dares Phrygius
- (71) Vat. Lat. 3606 – Comment. in Virgilium
- (72) Vat. Lat. 4086 – Seneca
- (73) **Vat. Lat. 4200** – Cicero, Macrobius

- (74) **Vat. Lat. 4251** – Boethius
- (75) Vat. Lat. 4252 – Boethius
- (76) **Vat. Lat. 4357** – Ps.Alexander Magnus, extracts from Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius
- (77) Vat. Lat. 4363 – Cicero, ps.Seneca
- (78) Vat. Lat. 5157 – Ovid
- (79) Vat. Lat. 5179 – Ovid
- (80) Vat. Lat. 5367 – Helpericus Autissiodorensis, *Liber de computo*; ps.Ovid
- (81) Vat. Lat. 5859 – Ovid
- (82) Vat. Lat. 5941 – Seneca
- (83) **Vat. Lat. 5960** – Priscian
- (84) Vat. Lat. 6024 – Ps.Seneca
- (85) Vat. Lat. 6323 – Lucan
- (86) Vat. Lat. 6846 – Sallust
- (87) Vat. Lat. 8100 – Ps.Seneca
- (88) Vat. Lat. 8519 – Ovid
- (89) Vat. Lat. 9377 – Cicero, Virgil, Ovid
- (90) **Vat. Lat. 9657** – Boethius, Ovid
- (91) **Vat. Lat. 10676** – Priscian
- (92) **Vat. Lat. 10916** – Horace
- (93) **Vat. Lat. 11471** – Virgil
- (94) **Vat. Lat. 11474** – Priscian

Appendix II

SPLIT MANUSCRIPTS ACCORDING TO MCLBV

There are 43 split manuscripts, divided into three groups, of 19, 16, and 8 manuscripts respectively.⁴² These groups are:

1. Manuscripts dated Italy, s. XII/XIII.

(2) Arch. S. Pietro H. 40	(58) Vat. Lat. 2807
(12) Chigi H.IV.130	(61) Vat. Lat. 2909
(13) Chigi H.V.152	(69) Vat. Lat. 3306
(14) Chigi H.VI.212	(70) Vat. Lat. 3339
(41) Vat.Lat. 1661	(73) Vat. Lat. 4200
(42) Vat. Lat. 1834	(83) Vat. Lat. 5960
(43) Vat. Lat. 1840	(91) Vat. Lat. 10676
(44) Vat. Lat. 1844	(93) Vat. Lat. 11471
(54) Vat. Lat. 2774	(94) Vat. Lat. 11474
(57) Vat. Lat. 2799	

2. Manuscripts dated Italy, s. XIII/XIV

(7) Barb. lat. 66	(35) Regin. lat. 1618
(9) Borgia 326	(38) Vat. Lat. 1466
(11) Chigi H.IV.129	(39) Vat. Lat. 1577
(15) Chigi H.V.156	(45) Vat. Lat. 1847
(21) Ottob. lat. 1237	(62) Vat. Lat. 3110
(22) Ottob. lat. 1330	(74) Vat. Lat. 4251
(31) Pal. Lat. 1664	(76) Vat. Lat. 4357
(33) Regin. lat. 902	(90) Vat. Lat. 9657

3. Manuscripts France/Italy (The four s. XII/XIII manuscripts are counted only here.)

(4) Barb. lat. 37
(36) Regin. lat. 2080 (also XII/XIII)
(52) Vat. Lat. 2759 (also XII/XIII)

⁴² Each manuscript is preceded (in parentheses) by its sequential number in Appendix I above. Manuscripts that are also split in location, such as France/Italy, I have placed in group 3 below rather than in group 1.

- (55) Vat. Lat. 2788
- (56) Vat. Lat. 2792
- (64) Vat. Lat. 3261 (also XII/XIII)
- (65) Vat. Lat. 3266 (also XII/XIII)
- (92) Vat. Lat. 10916

Appendix III

A COMPARISON OF *MCLBV* AND BLACK'S HANDLIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN RESPECT TO THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Robert Black's « Ongoing handlist of manuscripts of Latin classical school authors produced and/or used as schoolbooks in Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries » (Black, *Rise and Fall*, p. 447–461, for Vatican manuscripts) by definition excludes authors not viewed by him as school authors but included in *MCLBV*, which sought to capture all classical authors in its catalogue. Hence, as I pointed out in the article proper, there is a disjunction between the two databases. However, as we shall see, not only did Black set aside manuscripts of major authors, such as Livy, Seneca, and Apuleius, in addition to a slew of minor authors, whom he considered non-school authors, but also manuscripts of authors such as Cicero, Horace, and Ovid, whom he labelled as school authors.

I break down the comparison into four categories: 17 manuscripts in the first, 10 in the second (10 apart from the 3 that Black ascribes to the thirteenth century against *MCLBV*), 19 in the third, and 48 in the fourth for a total of 94 that corresponds to the number of manuscripts in Appendix I.

1. Manuscripts upon whose dating to the thirteenth century Black and *MCLBV* agree, even if one or the other opts for a split date (XII/XIII or XIII/XIV) instead of a date of a pure “s. XIII.” I have inserted between parentheses the manuscript's number in Appendix I above.

1. (3) Barb. Lat. 26
2. (8) Barb. Lat. 70
3. (12) Chigi H.IV.130
4. (13) Chigi H.V.152
5. (19) Ottob. Lat. 1203
6. (29) Pal. Lat. 1648
7. (32) Pal. Lat. 1666
8. (37) Regin. Lat. 2080
9. (41) Vat. Lat. 1592
10. (54) Vat. Lat. 2772
11. (61) Vat. Lat. 2826
12. (66) Vat. Lat. 3266
13. (67) Vat. Lat. 3267
14. (74) Vat. Lat. 4200
15. (80) Vat. Lat. 5179
16. (82) Vat. Lat. 5859

17. (93) Vat. Lat. 10916

2. Manuscripts on whose dating Black and *MCLBV* disagree. I have put in bold the three manuscripts *MCLBV* has dated to s. XII, but Black to s. XIII or XII/XIII. Neither of these three is included in the list in Appendix I since *MCLBV* did not deem them as belonging to the thirteenth century. For the other manuscripts I have placed in parentheses the number they have in Appendix I.

1. (5) Barb. Lat. 3. *MCLBV*: XIII; Black: XII
2. (24) Ottob. Lat. 1464. *MCLBV*: XIII; Black: XII¹
3. **Ottob. Lat. 1648. *MCLBV*: XII fin., France/Italy; Black: XII/XIII, Italy**
4. **Pal. Lat. 1531. *MCLBV*: XII; Black: XII/XIII**
5. (40) Vat. Lat. 1577. *MCLBV*: XIII/XIV; Black XII²
6. (42) Vat. Lat. 1661. *MCLBV*: XII-XIII; Black: XII²
7. (43) Vat. Lat. 1834. *MCLBV*: XII-XIII; Black: XII ex.
8. (58) Vat. Lat. 2799. *MCLBV*: XII-XIII; Black: XII²
9. (64) Vat. Lat. 3239 I. *MCLBV*: XII/XIII; Black: XII ex.
10. (65) Vat. Lat. 3261. *MCLBV*: XII-XIII; Black XII ex.
11. **Vat. Lat. 3280. *MCLBV*: France, s. XII; Black Italy. s. XII/XIII**
12. (69) Vat. Lat. 3292. *MCLBV*: XIII; Black: XII²
13. (72) Vat. Lat. 3606. *MCLBV*: XII/XIII; Black XII²

3. Manuscripts Black, *Rise and Fall*, 464, explicitly discarded as « seen and excluded » (their numbers in Appendix 1 are given in parentheses):

1. (4) Barb. Lat. 37 – Lucan
2. (6) Barb. Lat. 40 – Sallust
3. (7) Barb. Lat. 66 – Lucan
4. (17) Chigi I. IV. 106 –fragm. of Statius
5. (18) Chigi L.VII.244 – Papias
6. (21) Ottob. Lat. 1237 – Virgil
7. (28) Pal. Lat. 892 – Sallust
8. (52) Vat. Lat. 2759 – Virgil (*Culex*), Ovid
9. (54) Vat. Lat. 2774 – Horace
10. (55) Vat. Lat. 2788 – Ovid
11. (56) Vat. Lat. 2792 – Ovid
12. (58) Vat. Lat. 2807 – Claudian
13. (61) Vat. Lat. 2909 – Cicero
14. (67) Vat. Lat. 3278 – Statius
15. (71) Vat. Lat. 3306 – Terence

16. (75) Vat. Lat. 4252 – Boethius
17. (88) Vat. Lat. 8519 – Ovid
18. (90) Vat. Lat. 9657 – Boethius, Ovid
19. (93) Vat. Lat. 11471 – Virgil

4. Manuscripts in *MCLBV* that Black did not consider at all (their number in Appendix I is given in parentheses):

1. (1) Arch. Cap. S. Pietro. G. 46 – Maximianus
2. (2) Arch. Cap. S. Pietro H. 40 – Palladius
3. (9) Borg. Lat. 326 – Seneca, Cicero
4. (10) Chigi E.VIII.252 – Seneca
5. (11) Chigi H. IV. 129 – Horace
6. (14) Chigi H. V. 153 – Seneca
7. (15) Chigi H. V. 156 – Frontinus
8. (16) Chigi H. VI. 212 – Claudianus
9. (21) Ottob. Lat. 1207 – Quintilian, *Declamationes*
10. (22) Ottob. Lat. 1330 – Priscian
11. (23) Ottob. Lat.1337 – Solinus, ps.Alexander Magnus
12. (25) Ottob. Lat. 1644 – Priscian
13. (25) Ottob. Lat. 1978 – Priscian
14. (27) Ottob. Lat. 2150 – Boethius
15. (30) Pal. Lat. 1663 – Ovid
16. (31) Pal. Lat. 1664 – Ovid
17. (33) Regin. Lat. 902 – Livy
18. (34) Regin. Lat. 1114 – Chalcidius
19. (35) Regin. Lat. 1618 – Seneca, Ps. Seneca
20. (37) Urb. Lat. 1141 – Apuleius
21. (38) Vat. Lat. 1466 – Papias
22. (43) Vat. Lat. 1840 – Livy
23. (44) Vat. Lat. 1844 – Livy
24. (45) Vat. Lat.1847 – Livy
25. (46) Vat. Lat. 2186 – Apuleius
26. (47) Vat. Lat. 2206 – Seneca
27. (48) Vat. Lat. 2717 – Priscian
28. (49) Vat. Lat. 2718 – Priscian
29. (50) Vat. Lat. 2721 – Priscian
30. (51) Vat. Lat. 2723 – Priscian
31. (61) Vat. Lat. 2809 – Claudianus
32. (62) Vat Lat. 3110 – Hyginus, Fulgentius
33. (70) Vat. Lat. 3339 – Dares Phrygius

- 34. (72) Vat. Lat. 4086 – Seneca
- 35. (74) Vat. Lat. 4251 – Boethius
- 36. (76) Vat. Lat. 4357 – Ps. Alexander Magnus,, extracts from Valerius
Maximus and Aulus Gellius
- 37. (77) Vat, Lat. 4363 – Cicero, ps.Seneca
- 38. (78) Vat. Lat. 5157 – Claudianus
- 39. (80) Vat. Lat. 5367 – Ovid
- 40. (82) Vat. Lat. 5941 – Seneca
- 41. (83) Vat. Lat. 5960 – Priscian
- 42. (84) Vat. Lat. 6024 – ps.Seneca
- 43. (85) Vat. Lat. 6323 – Lucan
- 44. (86) Vat. Lat. 6846 – Sallust
- 45. (87) Vat. Lat. 8100 – ps.Seneca
- 46. (89) Vat. Lat. 9377 – Cicero, Virgil, Ovid (Extracts)
- 47. (91) Vat. Lat. 10676 – Priscian
- 48. (94) Vat. Lat. 11474 – Priscian

IL CASO E LA NECESSITÀ: LETTURA DEL CANTO XIII DELL'INFERNO

CHANCE AND NECESSITY:
A READING OF *INFERNO* XIII

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San Tommaso, ispirandosi ad Aristotele¹ e a sant'Agostino,² aveva stabilito: « seipsum occidere omnino licitum non est et hoc triplici ratione ». Con il suicidio l'essere umano va contro la natura (giacché « naturaliter quaelibet res seipsam amat »), contro la comunità di cui fa parte (« iniuriam communitati facit ») e, soprattutto, contro Dio, in quanto « vita est quoddam donum divinitus homini attributum ».³ Per l'Aquinate la carità è doverosa *in primis* verso se stessi e finanche in misura maggiore che nei confronti altrui:⁴ ragion per cui il suicidio comporta un peccato addirittura peggiore dell'omicidio: « gravius [...] peccat qui occidit seipsum quam qui occidit alterum ».⁵ Non è quindi un caso se Dante confina i suicidi in un girone inferiore a quello riservato ai violenti contro il prossimo.

Nel secondo girone del settimo cerchio sono infatti puniti quanti hanno avuto « in sé man violenta / e ne' suoi beni » (If XI, 40–41)⁶. Ci troviamo dunque nella

¹ ARISTOTELE, *Etica Nicomachea* V, 11, 1138a–1138b.

² AGOSTINO, *De civitate Dei* I, 20–23.

³ TOMMASO D'AQUINO, *Summa Theologiae* II, II, 64, 5. Quando san Tommaso asserisce che « potest considerari aliquis homo, inquantum est aliquid civitatis, scilicet pars; vel inquantum est aliquid Dei, scilicet creatura et imago; et sic qui seipsum occidit iniuriam quidem facit non sibi, sed civitati et Deo » (ib., II, II, 59, 3, 2), si rifà ad un passo dell'*Etica Nicomachea* (V, 11, 1138a) in cui Aristotele afferma, tra l'altro, che « vi è una certa infamia per chi si dà la morte, in quanto commette una ingiustizia riguardo alla città ».

⁴ TOMMASO D'AQUINO, *Summa Theologiae* II, II, 26, 4: « Homo seipsum magis ex charitate diligere tenetur, quam proximum ».

⁵ Ibid. I, II, 73, 9.

⁶ Non tutti i suicidi ovviamente si trovano in questo cerchio: un caso limite è quello di Catone posto a guardia del Purgatorio, in quanto con il suicidio ha inteso affermare un valore più alto della vita stessa, laddove per Pier della Vigna e i suoi compagni di sventura il suicidio fu un

selva dei suicidi e degli scialacquatori. La violenza da questi ultimi esercitata sui propri beni si ritorce ora, per analogico contrappasso, su di loro, fatti a loro volta « a brano a brano » (v. 128). E così, sempre per contrappasso ma questa volta basato sull'antitesi, le anime dei suicidi sono « incarcerate » in corpi vegetali, che non dovrebbero essere (eppure, per assurdo, sono) i loro. In prospettiva, quando dopo il Giudizio recupereranno i loro corpi, ma solo per appenderli « ciascuno al prun dell'ombra sua molesta » (v. 108), la selva diventerà una selva – più sinistra ancora – di impiccati. Solo allora, in una tragica *Spannung*, la selva si configurerà pienamente come *locus inamœnus* per antonomasia.

La selva garantisce dunque al canto una sua unità di luogo. Ed è una selva assai diversa da quella, pur « aspra e forte » (If I, 5) dell'inizio del poema e ancor più dalla « divina foresta spessa e viva » dell'Eden (Pg xxviii, 2). Lo evidenzia la triplice (e anaforica) antitesi dei versi 4–6, retoricamente strutturata secondo lo schema della *privatio* (« non [...] ma »). Si tratta di una boscaglia impervia, intricata, sterile, innaturale, e Dante lo sottolinea insistendo su un ritmo martellante, marcato da suoni aspri, di pietrosa durezza. Una selva di pruni, per di più nodosi e contorti, scuri e velenosi.⁷ Vi si annidano le « brutte Arpie » (« brutte » nel senso che « contactu [...] omnia foedant / immundo »: come si legge in Virgilio⁸; quindi « sozze »), le stesse mostruose creature che con le loro « brutture » costrinsero i Troiani di Enea a lasciare le Strofadi. Uccelli per di più di malaugurio. La presenza delle Arpie, simboli – nella loro mostruosità di esseri costituiti dall'« assemblaggio » di nature diverse – del « perversimento » di cui sono esempio i suicidi, accentua quanto di ibrido e di innaturale è nell'orrida selva.⁹ In essa le Arpie rivestono il ruolo che viene loro assegnato anche nell'*Eneide*: di demoni infernali¹⁰ e di Furie,¹¹ di custodi del luogo e di tormentatrici.

gesto meramente nichilistico. Per altri suicidi, come Didone e Cleopatra, il suicidio è solo la conseguenza della passione che in loro predominava. E lo stesso si può dire di Giuda e di Bruto, confinati nella Giudecca per una colpa ancor più grave del suicidio: il tradimento dell'autorità divina e umana.

⁷ Anche CHIARA TOGNARELLI, « Il bosco dei suicidi », Relazione per la Scuola di Dottorato in Filologia e Letteratura (XXII ciclo) dell'Università di Pisa, maggio 2007, ne ha ravvisato il probabile modello nell'*Hercules furens* di Seneca, v. 698–702: « Non prata viridi laeta facie germinant / nec adulta leni fluctuat zephyro seges. / Non ulla ramos silva pomiferos habet: / sterilis profundi vastitas squallet soli ».

⁸ VIRGILIO, *Aeneis* III, 227–228.

⁹ Cf. ETTORE PARATORE, « Analisi retorica del canto di Pier delle Vigne » (1965), in Id., *Tradizione e struttura in Dante*, Sansoni, Firenze 1968, p. 168–220.

¹⁰ VIRGILIO, *Aeneis* III, 215; 262; VI, 289.

¹¹ Ibid. III, 252; XII, 845–878.

Strana è dunque la selva, strani i suoi abitanti e ancor più strani e inquietanti, al pari degli alberi,¹² i « lamenti » che ne provengono. Chi li emette? Di qui lo sconcerto, lo spaesamento, lo smarrimento di Dante, che sente « d'ogni parte trarre guai » e non vede persona che li emetta. Tale stato d'animo, ingenerato dal dato acustico non supportato da alcun dato visivo, si traduce in un poliptoto (v. 25), in un gioco di parole che coinvolge Virgilio,¹³ la guida, consapevole dell'inadeguatezza delle parole, non si dice a rassicurare il frastornato *viator*, bensì a renderlo in qualche modo edotto dell'« incredibile » (v. 49) realtà che lo circonda. Per questo lo invita a « riguardare » con attenzione, a constatare con i propri occhi. Anzi, a provare per credere davvero, ben sapendo che a tanto non è sufficiente il ricordo di quanto Dante ha già letto nell'*Eneide* (qui designata per mezzo di una sineddoche: « rima »). Nell'episodio di Polidoro¹⁴ Virgilio aveva già narrato qualcosa di analogo a quello che il pellegrino sta per sperimentare, ma un conto è la poesia (dove c'è spazio per la fantasia), un altro la realtà, che dovrebbe – hegelianamente – coincidere con il razionale. Ebbene, qui dall'ambito del razionale usciamo decisamente, per sconfinare nel meraviglioso e nel perturbante: che hanno l'effetto di sgomentare e di paralizzare il *viator*.

Dapprima egli si arresta « tutto smarrito » (v. 24), poi, con timorosa esitazione, alla sollecitazione della guida, protende « un poco avanti » la mano a cogliere « un ramicel da un gran pruno » (v. 31–32). Allora, in una orrorosa epifania, il mistero della selva si disvela *ex abrupto* ai suoi sensi attoniti. Un protratto « grido » di protesta, una serie di reiterati rimbrotti: tanto più aspri quanto più guardingo e discreto era stato il gesto, volto semplicemente a troncare una « fraschetta » (v. 29) o un « ramicel » (v. 32) dell'imponente pianta. Il risentimento iperbolico espresso dai verbi « schiante » (v. 33) e « scerpi » (v. 35) è inversamente proporzionale al danno e – si presume – al dolore cagionati dalla cauta rottura suggerita dai due diminutivi-vezzezzeggiativi. E poi quel sangue scuro che cola dalla ferita, quel sibilo ventoso che ne esce... Ce n'è quanto basta perché il *viator*, allibito e quasi senza avvedersene, indotto forse da un istintivo ribrezzo, lasci cadere « la cima », bloccato dalla paura. C'è qualcosa di paradossale nel rimprovero che il « gran pruno », già così spietato verso di sé, muove, in nome della sua derelitta umanità, al pellegrino per la sua mancanza di *pietas*;¹⁵ ma c'è

¹² Siamo persuasi che a questo ambito dello strano e dello straniante vadano pure ascritte le « nove radici » del « gran pruno » su cui giura Pier della Vigna. « Nove » andrà appunto inteso nel senso di « fuori del normale ».

¹³ Ma anche Dante nel ruolo dello *scriba* (« cred'io ») prima e del *viator* poi (« ch'io credesse »), in un gioco di specchi che esprime mimeticamente il senso di confusione da cui sembra inficiata perfino la credibilità di Virgilio: cfr. UMBERTO BOSCO, *Dante vicino*, Salvatore Sciascia, Catalnissetta-Roma 1966, p. 261.

¹⁴ VIRGILIO, *Aeneis* III, 19–68.

¹⁵ In realtà l'emozione e la commozione di Dante saranno così intense da suscitare in lui un'angosciata compassione (la « pietà » che l'« accora »: v. 84) in cui ha sempre un ruolo di

anche – evidenziato dalla contrapposizione chiasmica del v. 37 – tutta l'angoscia della demenziale decisione che l'ha perduto. E che – non sai se per sminuire la propria responsabilità o per ampliarne l'aberrazione – estende a tutti i suicidi.

Le anime dei suicidi sono ora « pruni »: la veste arborea è la loro attuale, ibrida natura e nello stesso tempo la loro prigionia. Qui, a differenza che nell'episodio virgiliano di Polidoro, a gridare prima e poi a parlare, è proprio un « tronco » (v. 33), per di più abnorme. Come tutti gli altri, del resto. E tale nuova veste è patente indizio della degradazione, di cui i suicidi stessi sono responsabili per avere distrutto la primitiva unità organica fra l'anima e il corpo. Furono uomini, ora sono sterili sterpi. Dell'uomo hanno ora perduto la libertà, il libero arbitrio, la dignità. Non possono muoversi, spostarsi, scegliere il luogo dove stare. Non possono parlare di loro spontanea volontà: solo se qualcuno ne spezza i rami scheletrici, possono esprimersi. La loro parola, che è qualcosa di meccanico e di materico¹⁶ e fa tutt'uno col sangue (quasi un'endiadi, e Dante lo rileva: « de la scheggia rotta usciva insieme / parole e sangue »: si noti il verbo al singolare - v. 43-44), non è troppo diversa dall'umore che stillano i tralci messi a bruciare. Il linguaggio è sì un « sermo », ma « doloroso » (v. 138), in quanto nasce da una ferita o da una rottura, sia essa fatta dalle Arpie, dagli scialacquatori o da altri agenti: tutti questi « fanno dolore, e al dolor fenestra » (v. 102).

Tutto dipende quindi dal caso, non dalla libera elezione dei dannati. Lo stesso luogo dove sorgono « in pianta silvestra » non è scelto da loro, ma dalla cieca fortuna, che ve li « balestra ». Tutta la loro vita attuale è regolata dal caso e dalla necessità: ogni casuale (o voluta da altri) rottura determina un lamento, l'incontinenza di un linguaggio che si manifesta come emorragia, spontanea e necessaria, che fonde e confonde visibilità e udibilità, soffio e sangue bruno. Una vivente sinestesia. I suicidi parlano come parlerebbero delle piante e delle piante hanno mutuato la sensibilità e – se così si può dire – la psicologia. Che cosa può infatti temere *in primis* una pianta, se non il fuoco? Ebbene, Pier della Vigna, quando racconta la sua disgrazia, vede fuoco e fiamme dappertutto: l'invidia – dice con efficace poliptoto – « *infiammò* contra me li animi tutti; / e li *infiammati* *infiammar* sì Augusto... » (v. 67-68). Ed anche quando giura, protestando la sua inconcussa fedeltà all'imperatore, non dimentica di essere una pianta: « per le nove radici d'esto legno » (v. 73). Più che assertivo, il tono è deprecativo:

rilievo il rispecchiamento del *viator* nel dramma vissuto dai personaggi che incontra. E si deve appunto a tale sentimento l'impossibilità sua di comunicare con Piero senza la mediazione di Virgilio. Che la reazione del dannato sia esagerata lo conferma il mutato registro con cui, dopo le scuse di Virgilio e la sua profferta di una « ammenda », da parte di Dante, che valga a « rinfrescare » la sua fama nel mondo (v. 46-54), Piero si rivolge con affettata cortesia al poeta latino.

¹⁶ LEO SPITZER, « Il canto XIII dell'*Inferno* », in GIOVANNI GETTO (ed.), *Lecture Dantesche: Inferno*, Sansoni, Firenze 1965, vol. I, 1965, p. 229-230] parla di un « processo puramente fisico » e rileva inoltre il carattere ibrido della lingua dei suicidi (metà umana, metà vegetale).

« Peream, nisi fidem domino meo servaverim! » Ma la deprecazione non ha più per oggetto qualcosa di umano, bensì « le nove radici », le strane radici che assicurano ora la sussistenza di un'anima estraniata. Ed è contro la pianta che l'invidia ha assestato il suo letale « colpo » (v. 78) di scure, laddove a « giacere », più che la memoria di un uomo, sembra essere appunto un albero o un pruno abbattuto. Paradossalmente, liberandosi – con un atto di violenza che ricorda proprio quello di chi estirpa una pianta (« disvelta »: v. 95) – del corpo umano, « il tempio dello spirito », queste anime si sono autocondannate a perpetuo « carcere »: il nuovo *σωμα* arboreo, in un antifrastico inveramento dei timori platonici, coincide davvero con la tomba o il sepolcro (*σημα*) dell'anima. E, in una prospettiva futura, diventerà anche sinistro *patibulum* – nel senso etimologico del termine – del povero corpo ripudiato. Il peggio, cioè la forzata e incresciosa (v. 108: « molesta ») vicinanza delle anime e delle loro « spoglie » terrene, deve ancora venire, ma i dannati ne vivono già lo strazio.

Come spiegare la tremenda metamorfosi dei suicidi? Dante ha certamente preso spunto da Aristotele (*De anima*) e da san Tommaso, per i quali l'anima è la forma del corpo, che essa appunto « informa » e « configura », a seconda delle diverse facoltà – vegetativa, sensitiva ed intellettuale – che lo caratterizzano: « Quaedam enim viventia sunt, in quibus est tantum vegetativum, sicut in plantis. Quaedam vero, in quibus cum vegetativo est etiam sensitivum [...]. Quaedam vero viventia sunt, in quibus cum his est intellectivum, scilicet in hominibus ».¹⁷ Ora, per avere violentemente scisso l'umano « sinolo di anima e corpo », i suicidi hanno *ipso facto* abdicato alla loro umanità fisica e, di conseguenza, alla libertà di muoversi e di parlare, pur mantenendo dell'uomo la sensibilità e la capacità intellettuale, nondimeno costrette e imprigionate, contro natura, in corpi arborei con esse incompatibili.¹⁸ Tristi surrogati di corpi, veri e propri letti di Procuste. Le metamorfosi infernali conseguenti al peccato comportano la disumanizzazione delle fattezze corporee e, in parte, anche della psiche.¹⁹ È la sorte dei disperati,

¹⁷ TOMMASO D'AQUINO, *Summa Theologiae* I, q. 78, a. 1.

¹⁸ È proprio questa geniale « invenzione » – come ha rilevato MICHELANGELO PICONE, « Dante e i miti », in MICHELANGELO PICONE, TATIANA CRIVELLI (eds.), *Dante. Mito e poesia*, F. Cesati, Firenze 1997, p. 21–32 – a distinguere nettamente le metamorfosi dantesche dei suicidi dalle metamorfosi mitologiche descritte da altri autori, in particolare da Ovidio. « La fantasia dell'*auctor* classico non aveva infatti mai contemplato l'ipotesi della trasformazione dell'uomo in pianta irreale, alienata dall'ordine naturale (una pianta dalle fronde non verdi ma scure, da rami non dritti ma contorti, e che al posto di frutti porta spine velenose) » (ESZTER DRASKÓCZY, « Strutture antitetiche e metamorfosi nel canto XIII dell'*Inferno* », *Dante Füzetek. Quaderni danteschi*, 7 (2012), p. 67. Nelle metamorfosi ovidiane non c'è nulla di tragico, bensì un armonioso passaggio da uno stato naturale ad un altro, di cui il poeta si limita a cogliere e rilevare plasticamente il *mirum*.

¹⁹ « Or fa tale transmutazione Dante per allegoria, ch'elli dice: l'uomo quando è nel mondo è animale razionale, sensitivo e vegetativo: quando ancide sè stesso, el conferisce a cotale morte solo la possanza dell'anima razionale e sensitiva, e però ch'hanno colpa in tale offesa, son privi di quelle due possanze; rimangli solo la vegetativa ». Così JACOPO DELLA LANA, *Comedia di Dante degli*

come ben ci ricorda Pietro di Dante nel suo commento al canto sulla scorta di un passo da lui attribuito a san Bernardo, ma desunto in realtà dai *Decretalia*: « homo absque gratia ut desperans est velut arbor silvestris, ferens fructus quibus porci infernales (ut Harpiae hic) pascuntur ».²⁰ La disarmonia che contraddistingue la selva dei suicidi deriva dall'incomponibile dissidio che fa delle piante una vivente contraddizione, alla stregua dell'ircocervo. E la bravura di Dante è proprio quella di rendere in qualche modo plausibile l'irrealtà, di rendere per così dire credibili degli *impossibilia*, forzando con visionario realismo « la contradizion che nol consente » (If xxvii, 120). Si spiega così perché – come ha notato lo Spitzer²¹ – tutta l'atmosfera morale-stilistica del canto sia caratterizzata dalla tortura e dalla stortura, dalla scissione e dallo sdoppiamento e come a ciò contribuisca il marcato fonosimbolismo con le sue aspre risonanze onomatopeiche e le sue allitterazioni risentite: un aspetto, questo, messo in evidenza da tutti i commentatori del canto. Alcuni critici hanno inoltre insistito sulla forte predominanza, a livello retorico, dell'antitesi²² e, più ancora, della negazione.²³

Pier della Vigna, maestro di *ars dictandi*, poeta di spicco della cosiddetta « Scuola siciliana », protonotario e logoteta di Federico II, è una delle personalità più illustri del XIII secolo. Dante ne tien conto, tanto che ne fa non un pruno qualunque, bensì un « gran pruno »²⁴. Si firmava *Petrus de vinea*. E nella sua qualità di ministro del sovrano, *tamquam imperi claviger*, ebbe la potestà – riconosciutagli anche dall'amico Nicolò da Rocca – di chiudere o aprire ogni accesso al cuore di Federico II. L'espressione metaforica è già scritturale (si trova sia in Is 22, 22,²⁵ sia

Allagheri col Commento di Jacopo della Lana bolognese, Tipografia Regia, Bologna 1866-1867, *Proemio*. L'asserzione, però, non è del tutto vera, perché i suicidi conservano, sia pure coartate, le facoltà dei sensi e della ragione.

²⁰ PETRI ALLEGHERII *Super Dantis ipsius genitoris Comoediam Commentarium*, Apud Gulielmum Piatti, Florentiae 1845, p. 158, commento ai v. 1-9.

²¹ SPITZER, « Il canto XIII », p. 232-235.

²² Cf. ANGELO JACOMUZZI, *Il palinsesto della retorica e altri saggi danteschi*, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 1972, p. 53-54. Per l'autore l'antitesi è il principio fondamentale nella strutturazione del discorso, tant'è vero che tra le figure retoriche è quella che appare con maggior frequenza nel canto.

²³ Cf. LUIGI SCORRANO, « 'Inferno' XIII : un orizzonte di negazione », in *Dante fascista : saggi, letture, note dantesche*, Longo, Ravenna 2001, p. 11. Secondo lo studioso, ad evocare l'« orizzonte della negazione » proprio del canto concorrerebbero le frequenti forme verbali in costruzione negativa: si vedano i versi 23, 36, 49, 56, 65, 74, 80, 84. Con lui concorda JAMES CRISTOPHER BARNES, « Inferno XIII », in DANTE NOLAN (ed.), *Dante Soundings: Eight Literary and Historical Essays*, Irish Academy Press, Dublin 1981, p. 28-58. Per lui « non » – che solo nell'*Inferno* compare in posizione iniziale – sarebbe la parola chiave di tutto il canto, dove si ripete ben tre volte all'inizio delle tre prime terzine.

²⁴ Secondo BENVENUTO DA IMOLA, *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam. Comentum Inferni*, t. 1, Barbèra, Firenze 1887, p. 432: « hic erat inclusa anima magna viri magni ».

²⁵ Is 22, 22: « Et aperiet, et non erit qui claudat; et claudet, et non erit qui aperiat ».

in Mt 16, 19²⁶): Dante la riprenderà mettendola in bocca a Bonifacio VIII, nel racconto che gli farà Guido da Montefeltro: « Lo ciel poss'io serrare e disserrare, / come tu sai; però son due le chiavi / che'l mio antecessor non ebbe care » (If xxvii, 103–105). L'eco dei raffinati artifici del « dittatore » risuona con evidenza nel suo forbito, artificioso parlare, nel suo lessico selezionato, nel gusto marcato per le antitesi e per le replicazioni, per le preziose e complesse metafore. Qualcuno²⁷ ha visto qui un « ritratto linguistico » del personaggio. Ciò non toglie, però, che il suo linguaggio rifletta soprattutto la « disarmonia interna » del suicida (cfr. l'ossimoro « disdegnoso gusto » del v. 70), le contorsioni logiche di una persona scissa, tuttora ossessionata dal complotto ordito ai suoi danni: si veda il chiastico « *ingiusto fece me contra me giusto* » (v. 72). L'iterazione del « contra me » (v. 67 e 72), così come l'ossessione delle « fiamme », esprimono assai bene sia l'idea del complotto sia l'impressione di non avere scampo. La disperazione, insomma, di chi si sente perduto. E diventa, in forza di un'assurda decisione, carnefice di se stesso. Le contorsioni del linguaggio, che assecondano quelle dell'insano « ragionamento » del suicida,²⁸ riflettono sul piano logico e psicologico il clima stravolto della selva, la sua natura deforme che inquieta e suscita ovviamente lo smarrimento del pellegrino (v. 24). E la selva, nella sua selvaggia e repulsiva intricatezza, non è che il correlativo oggettivo del dramma che vi si consuma. *Sub specie æternitatis*.

È chiaro però che, parlando di Pier della Vigna, Dante ha già presente un altro Pietro: il santo protagonista del canto xxiv del Pd, cui « Nostro Segnor lasciò le chiavi, / ch'ei portò giù » (v. 35–36). Rivolto a lui infatti dirà: « tu intrasti povero e digiuno / in campo, a seminar la buona pianta / che fu già vite e ora è fatta pruno » (v. 109–111). Anche la società cristiana – sembra dire Dante – pare irrimediabilmente inselvaticita, ed è come se si stesse suicidando. Da vigna che era è diventata pruneto. Quando Pier della Vigna accenna alle chiavi di cui era depositario e pare in questo assimilarsi a san Pietro, se non rasenta la blasfemia, poco ci manca. Egli, in fondo, tesse l'apologia del suo alto ruolo²⁹ e non si avvede

²⁶ Mt 16, 19: « Quodcumque legaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum et in coelis ».

²⁷ SPITZER, « Il canto XIII », p. 225.

²⁸ L'assurdità della motivazione che spinse Pier della Vigna a rivendicare la propria innocenza con il suicidio era già stata esemplarmente enunciata da sant'Agostino: « et tanto fit nocentior cum se occidit, quanto innocentior in ea causa fuit qua se occidendum putavit » (*De civitate Dei* I, 17).

²⁹ E lo fa secondo tutti i crismi della retorica: il suo discorso si articola infatti in una *captatio benevolentiae*, in una *narratio* (conclusa da un giuramento inteso ad asseverarne la veridicità) e in una *petitio*. Più neutro e pacato, ma qua e là non privo di tensione (si vedano, ad esempio, l'interna replicazione « fanno dolore, e al dolor fenestra » – che dà rilievo alla sofferenza dei suicidi, e il sintagma « mesta / selva » cui l'*enjambement* imprime una forte vibrazione patetica), è il suo secondo discorso, di tenore didascalico. Ora che non ha più da perorare la propria causa, Piero si affretta a disbrigare la faccenda come se fosse una mera pratica burocratica

di essere « vittima della sua idolatria curiale »³⁰. Al suo caso si potrebbe ben applicare la dialettica hegeliana dello *Herrschaft und Knechtschaft*,³¹ se non fosse che dell'ambiente curiale e della cultura che del suo signore reca l'impronta egli porta con evidenza le stimmate. Ne fa suo il lessico, lo stile ampolloso, i valori. Nella *captatio benevolentiae* con cui egli si rivolge a Virgilio fa sfoggio di metafore venatorie (« m'adeschi », « m'inveschi »: v. 55 e 57) che rimandano espressamente al trattato federiciano *De arte venandi cum avibus*. Usa l'eloquio del suo ufficio, tanto magistrale quanto retoricamente accattivante. Fors'anche indulgendo, con allusione a Federigo, a qualche criptico abbozzo di *interpretatio nominis*, almeno nell'accenno alla propria « fede » (v. 64) e nell'aggettivo « soavi » (v. 62), che ricorda la perifrasi con cui Piccarda – in Pd III, 19 – ne designerà il padre Enrico VI: « secondo vento di Soave ». Egli vuole insomma suggestionare, fare colpo sugli ascoltatori. Fa della curialità e del culto mondano dell'onore (e degli onori) il suo unico credo, senza avvedersi della mistificazione che comportano. E di cui è tuttora vittima sia nell'insensata devozione al signore³² che l'ha condannato sia nel desiderio di vedere confortata la sua memoria indegnamente conculcata dall'invidia dei cortigiani.³³

Non solo, ma l'episodio di Pier della Vigna richiama, per analogia, quello di Romeo da Villanova, il ministro di Raimondo Berengario IV, che, similmente calunniato dai cortigiani, se ne andò – come san Pietro « povero e vetusto » « mendicando la vita a frusto a frusto » (Pd VI, 139–141). Dante lo chiama « questo giusto » (v. 137), espressione che rimanda nientemeno che a Cristo, quando (Mt 27, 24) Pilato, per dissociarsi da quanti ne vogliono la morte, si proclama « innocente del sangue di questo giusto ». E l'intero canto VI del Pd si può considerare come il canto della giustizia, che è compito dell'Impero garantire. Non è un caso che sia proprio Giustiniano – *nomen omen* – a tracciare la storia del « sacrosanto segno » (Pd VI, 32), che non può essere appannaggio di una fazione. All'aquila imperiale Dio concesse il privilegio, sotto Tiberio, di « far vendetta a la sua ira » (dove « vendetta » sta ovviamente per « giusta punizione »), cioè di decretare la morte di Cristo, vista, a sua volta, come « vendetta del peccato antico » (quello originale). Senonché la morte di Cristo, voluta dai Giudei, richiese di nuovo una giusta punizione, vale a dire un'altra « vendetta »: appunto quella « vendetta [...] / della vendetta del peccato antico » (v. 90–93) che coincise con la

(« Brevemente sarà risposto a voi »: v. 93), e tuttavia s'intuisce che rammentare la propria (e altrui) sorte di dannato lo angustia.

³⁰ ANGELO MARCHESE, *Guida alla Divina Commedia. Inferno*, SEI, Torino 1993, p. 185.

³¹ Cf. GEORG FRIEDRICH WILHELM HEGEL, *Fenomenologia dello Spirito*, Rusconi, Milano 1995, p. 275–289.

³² Si veda anche la *climax* con cui lo menziona, passando dal confidenziale « Federigo » (v. 61) al più formale « Cesare » (v. 67), per chiudere infine con il deferente titolo di « Augusto » (v. 70).

³³ Il tema dell'invidia o della gelosia dei cortigiani doveva già essere topico: basti pensare ai casi di Severino Boezio e di Thomas Becket, similmente caduti in disgrazia agli occhi dei loro benefattori, rispettivamente Teodorico ed Enrico II Plantageneto.

distruzione di Gerusalemme da parte di Tito. Siamo nel cielo di Mercurio, dove sono gli spiriti che operarono il bene « perché amore e fama li succedesse » (v. 112-113).³⁴ Ora Dante, come lui *exul immeritus*, si riconosce nella figura di Romeo, nel senso che vede riflesso in lui il proprio caso di « giusto » perseguitato, che vide ricompensate le proprie benemeritenze con l'esilio. Ma si rispecchia pure nella figura di Pier della Vigna, ugualmente calunniato, e sembra proiettare su di lui le sue stesse angosce: forse anche lui provò il « disdegnoso gusto » di uccidersi e fu tentato di sbattere in faccia ai Fiorentini, con tale gesto estremo ma sconsiderato, la responsabilità del male patito, dell'innocenza oltraggiata. Di qui la « pietà » che lo « accora » (v. 84). Solo che, a differenza di Piero, egli alla fine si risolve per seguire l'esempio di Romeo, convinto che, « se il mondo sapesse 'l cor ch'elli ebbe », non gli lesinerebbe del pari le sue lodi. La giustizia che gli uomini gli avevano negato l'aspettava da Dio, dalla « viva giustizia » che sola sa « commensurar d'i nostri gaggi / col merto » (Pd VI, 118 e 121).

Abbiamo accennato al complotto di cui Piero si sente vittima. Ora, il complotto contempla in genere la spersonalizzazione dei suoi autori. Le persone coinvolte nella cospirazione non si limitano a nascondere, distruggere ed offuscare le prove, ma si mantengono nell'ombra, si confondono di segretezza, di mistero. Non hanno propriamente volto. Questo spiega perché le teorie del complotto si basino su ipotesi e congetture, e insistano sull'oscurità dei fatti e degli attori: le relazioni tra di essi restano vaghe, difficili da individuare e più ancora da provare. Non si va oltre il sospetto di un intrigo orchestrato da una regia occulta. Gli avversari diventano imprevedibili e la vittima del complotto, nell'impossibilità di metterli a fuoco, è facile che si abbandoni ad atteggiamenti maniacali e paranoici,³⁵ che, nel caso di Piero, assumono connotazioni ossessive. Al posto dei cortigiani si leva spettrale l'Invidia,³⁶ personificata, anzi ipostatizzata nella figura apocalittica³⁷ della « meretrice » dagli « occhi putti » (v. 64-65), che, seppure abbia nelle corti la sede sua privilegiata, è « morte comune » (v. 66): nel senso che allarga i suoi tentacoli letali sull'intera umanità. Un'autentica *Spectre ante litteram*.

³⁴ E due sono le parole-chiave del canto: « fare » e « giustizia », nelle loro varie declinazioni; insieme esse ribadiscono con tutta evidenza qual è per Dante il compito augusto della politica.

³⁵ Cf. ROBERTO VALLE, « Dall'arte della congiura alla riproducibilità tecnica del complotto: le derive del machiavellismo immaginario e la cospirazione transpolitica », *Rivista di politica: trimestrale di studi, analisi e commenti*, 1 (2012), p. 73-87. La paranoia di Piero gli fa ingigantire a dismisura la portata della cospirazione macchinata ai suoi danni: tutto il mondo sembra avercela con lui, che si sente solo contro tutti (v. 67) e impossibilitato a difendersi.

³⁶ Si noti, anche in questo caso, la suggestività retorica del discorso, con l'articolata perifrasi che, di metafora in metafora, per amplificazioni successive, con sapienti chiasmi, calcolate antitesi e iterate figure etimologiche, delinea la personificazione e l'operato « incendiario » di quella che con magistrale *retardatio nominis* si rivelerà essere l'Invidia. Un'astrazione. Ben altra evidenza hanno invece « i Provenzai » che macchinarono ai danni di Romeo da Villanova (Pd VI, 130).

³⁷ Ap 17, 1-18.

Ed è tale l'alterazione mentale di Piero che egli non si avvede di aver dato esca al dispiegarsi dell'Invidia col suo stesso comportamento, cioè monopolizzando per sé la fiducia dell'imperatore ed attizzando di conseguenza la gelosia degli esclusi. Nella « soavità » stessa del suo operare (v. 60) c'è alcunché di surrettizio, di manipolatorio, di insinuante. Egli coltiva tuttora l'orgoglio del suo ruolo di logoteta e ribadisce a più riprese la sua « fede » (che è insieme lealtà e fiducia), fino a scagionare il suo signore di ogni responsabilità. Contro ogni evidenza, perché i casi sono due: o l'imperatore che l'aveva condannato era stato così malaccorto da lasciarsi ingannare o era davvero convinto di avere giustamente operato. È il caso di dire, giocando sull'ambivalenza del termine, che la « fede » riposta in lui dal suo logoteta è così cieca da risultare patetica.

La seconda parte del canto, tanto dinamica quanto la prima era statica, vede repentinamente irrompere in scena gli scialacquatori.³⁸ Già sapevamo, dalle parole di Virgilio, di trovarli in questo girone: « Puote omo avere in sé man violenta / e ne' suoi beni; e però nel secondo / giron convien che senza pro si penta / qualunque priva sé del vostro mondo, / biscazza e fonde la sua facultade, / e piange là dov'esser de' giocondo » (If XI, 40-45). Nondimeno la loro apparizione è sorprendente. Ed anche in questo caso ad attirare l'attenzione è anzitutto un dato acustico, « un rumor » (v. 111) o, meglio uno stormire di frasche (v. 114) simile a quello che allerta il cacciatore appostato all'avvicinarsi del cinghiale braccato dai cani. Subito dopo agli occhi si presenta una scena di caccia infernale: la prima del poema; l'altra – solo sognata – sarà una vera e propria caccia all'uomo, oniricamente metamorfosato in lupo, nell'episodio del conte Ugolino. Qui, per contrappasso, chi ha insensatamente dissipato le proprie sostanze è a sua volta inseguito e dilaniato da « nere cagne, bramose e correnti » (v. 125). Dante si rifà ad Aristotele, che nello sperpero dissennato del patrimonio vedeva una qualche somiglianza con il suicidio,³⁹ ma lo spunto è poi svolto in maniera affatto originale. Da un lato egli si ispira al *topos* medievale e folklorico

³⁸ Come in altri casi, il subitaneo comparire di un evento imprevisto che diverte su di sé l'attenzione del pellegrino è segnalato da quella « locuzione interruttrice » che – a dire di ERICH AUERBACH, *Mimesis*, Einaudi, Torino 1956, vol. I, p. 195-196 – è l'*et ecce* biblico.

³⁹ ARISTOTELE, *Etica Nicomachea* IV 1120a: « Prodigio infatti è chi va in rovina per colpa sua, giacché la dilapidazione delle proprie sostanze sembra essere una certa rovina di di se stessi, in quanto le sostanze sarebbero la base del vivere ». Concetto ribadito poi da san Tommaso sia nella *Summa theologiæ* II, II, 119, 3, sia nel suo commento all'*Etica aristotelica* (IV lect. VIII ad 1123b): « Nam prodigus dicitur quasi perditus, inquantum scilicet homo corrumpendo proprias divitias per quas vivere debet, videtur suum esse destruere quod per divitias conservatur ». Nondimeno Dante, nella parte finale del canto XIII, distingue gli scialacquatori dai prodighi e pone questi insieme agli avari fra i peccatori di incontinenza (canto VII), che hanno fatto un uso smodato dei beni terreni; quelli si trovano invece insieme ai suicidi fra i violenti, atteso il carattere (auto)distruttivo della loro colpa. I prodighi peccano come gli avari per troppo amore dei beni materiali, spendendo a dismisura per accumularne; gli scialacquatori, invece, sono animati da una follia distruttiva analoga a quella dei suicidi.

della caccia selvaggia, dall'altro a ricordi personali legati alla Maremma toscana (non a caso evocata in avvio di canto), dove allora si annidavano le « fiere selvagge che in odio hanno / [...] i luoghi colti » (v. 7-9). Era quello un luogo ideale per la caccia al cinghiale. Che qui, nella selva dei suicidi, diventa una sfrenata caccia all'uomo.

Gli scialacquatori sono puniti e, nello stesso tempo, ciechi strumenti di punizione, in quanto, senza saperlo e forse senza volerlo, coinvolgono nella loro catastrofe i pruni dei suicidi. Nella scena dominano dapprima la *suspense*, poi la concitazione. Tutto si svolge repentinamente, in un batter d'occhio. Ed ancora una volta tra compagni di sventura non c'è traccia di solidarietà, di compassione: dietro l'ironia che pervade le parole rivolte da Iacopo di Sant'Andrea al più veloce Lano si cela, perfida, l'invidia. Egli inoltre non esita a coinvolgere nella propria rovina il cespuglio di un suicida in cui cerca vano riparo: si potrebbe pensare a un *cupio dissolvi* esteso al mondo circostante. D'altra parte l'annichilimento definitivo è quanto auspica anche Lano quando invoca un'impossibile morte: la « seconda morte » che si augurano, anzi implorano, sempre gridando, qui e altrove (If I, 17), i dannati, pur nella consapevolezza di non potere essere esauditi. Il loro destino è lo stesso degli ignavi, che « non hanno speranza di morte » (If III, 46).

La scena è destinata a perpetuarsi: a differenza del suicidio, che avviene una volta per tutte, la dissipazione dei beni si ripete, in luoghi e tempi diversi, fino al loro esaurimento. Di qui anche il contrasto tra l'immobilità dei suicidi, che uccidendosi hanno messo fine alle loro ambagi, e la varia, scomposta e trafelata mobilità degli scialacquatori, che seguitano così a pagare le conseguenze della propria dissennatezza.⁴⁰ In una meccanica e assidua replicazione della loro pena. Essi fuggono per la selva, a caso, dinanzi alle cagne infernali che li braccano senza pietà, quasi fossero ancora incalzati dai loro creditori,⁴¹ reiterando senza rimedio e senza soluzione di continuità il proprio tristo calvario terreno. La scena, a dispetto di quanto vi è di tragico nella sua coazione a riproporsi *ad infinitum*, sia pure con qualche occasionale variante di tempo e di luogo (come nella novella decameroniana di Nastagio degli Onesti), ricorda – anche per l'innaturale accelerazione del moto – certe comiche *d'antan*. I peccatori sono nudi, di una

⁴⁰ Secondo GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO, *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, Mondadori, Milano 1994, p. 633, le cagne sono « le amarissime rimorsioni del lor bestialmente avere gittato quello che dovea, quanto la lor vita durasse, sostentare e aiutare », e sono inoltre « le passioni, le quali lor sopravvengono per la loro inopia, sì come è la fame, la sete, la indigenza del vestimento, del calzamento, le infermità, i disagi, i rimproveri, le beffe le quali di sé o veggono o odon fare o credon che fatte sieno. E son queste cagne tutte nere, cioè tutte piene di tristizia, la qual per lo color nero è significata ».

⁴¹ È BENVENUTO DA IMOLA, *Comentum*, p. 452, a vedere nelle cagne « creditores, et eorum nuncii qui persecuntur debitores fugientes ». A ragion veduta per lui Dante parla di « cagne », al femminile, « quia canes fœminæ sunt rabiosiores et crudeliores masculis, et nigræ propter famem » (p. 456).

nudità che adombra la condizione terrena di indigenza estrema in cui li aveva precipitati l'inconsulto sperpero delle loro sostanze. Nudi – chiosa Benvenuto da Imola – perché « isti violentantes bona sua sæpe deveniunt ad tantam mendicitatem et nuditatem ».⁴² E nella ricostituzione stessa della loro dissipata « individualità » dipendono totalmente da qualche misterioso intervento divino. Tutto avviene insomma a loro malgrado, in quanto « vuolsi così colà dove si puote / ciò che si vuole » (If III, 95-96; V, 23-24).

Quanto alle cagne che danno loro la caccia, fanno pensare a quelle ctonie di Ecate: per la precisione alle virgiliane « cagne ululanti per l'ombra » del canto VI dell'*Eneide* (v. 257). Ma non è da escludere una influenza di Lucano, che – nella *Pharsalia*, VII, 733 – chiama *stygiæ canes* le Arpie. Pur senza condividere l'affermazione di Guido da Pisa,⁴³ per cui Dante avrebbe qui riproposto la correlazione di ascendenza classica tra la figura delle Arpie e quella delle Cagne presentando ambedue le nature delle Arpie, ctonia l'una (cagna) e terrestre l'altra (donna uccello rapace), si potrebbe pensare ad un intenzionale parallelismo tra le Arpie che tormentano le anime-piante dei suicidi e le cagne « bramosi » che perseguono gli scialacquatori. Quasi viventi allegorie dell'indigenza, dal momento che la bramosia non è altro che « l'avidità spasmodica [...] propria dell'indigenza ».⁴⁴

Ma, oltre al materiale folklorico della *cazza salvarega*,⁴⁵ sulla rappresentazione dantesca potrebbe avere influito anche quanto scrisse il mitografo Fulgenzio a proposito di Atteone,⁴⁶ il quale

fu uno che amò grandemente la caccia nella sua giovinezza; giunto poi all'età matura, e considerando i pericoli della caccia meglio, che non faceva in quegli anni focosi, non l'esercitava della maniera, ch'era accostumato di fare. Nondimeno ancorchè in quell'età fuggisse il pericolo delle cacce, non però lasciò l'affezione smisurata ch'ei portava ai cani; perchè pascendone gran numero, consumò tutte le sue facoltà; onde venne a dar materia alla favola, che narra ch'ei fu mangiato dai cani.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid., p. 453.

⁴³ GUIDO DA PISA, *Expositiones et Glose super Comediam Dantis*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1974, p. 247.

⁴⁴ Cf. il commento di ANNA MARIA CHIAVACCI LEONARDI, *Inferno*, Milano 2016, p. 414, nota 125.

⁴⁵ Interessante, al riguardo, il saggio di RENATO SERRA, « Su la pena dei dissipatori (*Inferno*, canto XIII, vv.109-129) », *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 43 (1904), p. 278-298. Ripubblicato in *Id., Scritti*, ed. G. DE ROBERTIS, A. GRILLI, vol. II, Le Monnier, Firenze 1958, p. 1-30.

⁴⁶ Il mito di Atteone è evocato pure da BENVENUTO, *Comentum*, p. 452-453: « quia juvenis prodigus intendit canibus et venationibus quando debet vacare suis factis et honestis studiis; unde Horatius in sua poetria de juvene dicit: *Gaudet equis canibusque etc.* ».

⁴⁷ Citiamo dalle annotazioni di GIUSEPPE HOROLOGI a *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio ridotte da Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara in ottava rima*, t. I, Ditta del fu F. di N. Pezzana, Venezia 1792, p. 236. Diamo anche la parte conclusiva del brano di FABIO PLACIADE FULGENZIO, *Mythologiarum libri*, III, 3: « dum

La storia di Atteone che, trasformato in cervo, fu sbranato dai propri quaranta cani da caccia è ben nota. Orbene, sappiamo che Lodovico Castelvetro, nel suo commento del 1570,⁴⁸ rimandava all'interpretazione allegorica contenuta nel capitolo *De Actaeone* del *De incredibilibus historiis* del mitografo greco Palèfato, dove appunto si narrava che Atteone s'era rovinato sperperando il suo patrimonio, tutto preso com'era dalla caccia, « sicchè lo proverbiassero d'essersi lasciato mangiare dai proprii cani ». Dante potrebbe aver conosciuto tale interpretazione allegorica nella versione datane da Fulgenzio.

Per finire, l'anonimo suicida fiorentino⁴⁹ che incontriamo nello scorcio finale del canto. Si ritiene comunemente che rappresenti l'intera città di Firenze dilaniata dalle lotte intestine, in quanto esse sono in fondo una forma di suicidio civile. All'inizio del canto seguente Dante, sospinto dalla « carità del natio loco » (If XIV, 1), all'implorazione del suicida, raccoglierà le fronde sparse ai piedi del cespuglio ferito. Un gesto di risarcimento dettato dalla *pietas* che ha per destinatario un singolo, ma investe idealmente un'intera comunità, in nome di una più vasta commiserazione. Tutto giusto, ma a non convincere è l'interpretazione che viene solitamente data circa le parole del suicida, il quale sembra alludere alla costruzione del battistero fiorentino sul posto dell'antico tempio di Marte e far risalire a una vendetta del dio pagano, « primo padrone » (If, XIII, 144) della città, spodestato da san Giovanni Battista, le sanguinose guerre che di poi la coinvolsero. Si dice che Dante, da poeta, si limiti a echeggiare e fors'anche a far propria una credenza locale, una mera superstizione, ma Boccaccio non esiterà a dichiarare « erronea » questa opinione,

la qual fu già in molti antichi, cioè che, per la detta permutazione, Marte con guerre e con battaglie, le quali aspettano all'arte sua', cioè al suo essercizio, abbia sempre poi tenuta questa città in tribulazione e in mala ventura. La qual cosa non è solamente sciocchezza, ma ancora eresia a credere, che alcuna costellazione [cioè Marte] possa nelle menti porre alcuna necessità; né sarebbe della giustizia di Dio che alcuno, lasciando un malvagio consiglio e seguendone uno buono, dovesse per questo sempre essere in fatica e in noia⁵⁰.

Viene allora da chiedersi se altro non sia il senso di quelle parole.

periculum uenandi fugiret, affectum tamen canum non dimisit, quos inaniter pascendo pene omnem substantiam perdidit; ob hanc rem a canibus suis deuoratus esse dicitur ».

⁴⁸ LODOVICO CASTELVETRO, *Sposizione di Lodovico Castelvetro a XXIX Canti dell'Inferno dantesco, ora per la prima volta data in luce da G. Franciosi*, Società tipografica, Modena, 1886.

⁴⁹ Non è, questi, un personaggio di rilievo: non ha l'imponenza del « gran pruno » di Pier della Vigna, tant'è vero che Virgilio si ferma « sovr'esso », guardandolo dall'alto al basso.

⁵⁰ BOCCACCIO, *Esposizioni*, p. 627. Su tale credenza popolare si soffermò anche Giovanni Villani: cf. al riguardo CHIARA FRUGONI, « Il ruolo del battistero e di Marte a cavallo nella Nuova Cronica del Villani e nelle immagini del codice Chigiano I VIII 296 della Biblioteca Vaticana », in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 119/1 (2007), p. 57-92 (in particolare le p. 64 e seguenti).

Pensiamo all'attacco che, nel *Paradiso*, Folchetto da Marsiglia rivolge alla città di Firenze, colpevole di coniare e diffondere il fiorino che diventa mezzo di corruzione in quanto suscita la cupidigia del papa e dei cardinali, che si arricchiscono con l'interpretazione capziosa del diritto canonico al fine di lucrare sulle indulgenze e altri provvedimenti simili (ne è dimostrazione il fatto che il Vangelo è trascurato, mentre i *Decretali*, cioè i manuali di diritto canonico, hanno i margini sdruciti per il troppo uso). Firenze è attaccata in quanto i banchieri di quella città finanziavano la monarchia francese e il fiorino (« il maladetto fiore ») era all'epoca la moneta più diffusa negli scambi commerciali: Folchetto la definisce addirittura il prodotto di Lucifero, poiché il suo denaro ha trasformato i pastori eletti a custodire il gregge dei fedeli in famelici lupi.⁵¹ Non sarà che quando Dante mette in bocca all'anonimo suicida fiorentino le parole sul Battista subentrato come patrono della città al dio Marte alluda, in realtà, proprio al « maladetto fiore » (sul quale da un lato era raffigurato il giglio e dall'altro, appunto, il nuovo patrono), al fiorire dei traffici commerciali, più o meno leciti, che hanno scatenato cupidigie insospettabili? E che Marte non sia piuttosto l'emblema dell'antica e virtuosa Firenze evocata da Cacciaguida nel canto XV del *Paradiso*, gli abitanti della quale erano « puri » discendenti dei Romani,⁵² non ancora contaminati dalla « gente nova » (If XVI, 73) che, affluendo dal contado, portò in città l'avidità di guadagno che tutto ha corrotto? Meno male che a Firenze sopravviveva qualche sparuto ma provvidenziale residuo dell'antica progenie. « Giusti son due » – aveva detto Ciacco –, ed è vero che « non vi erano intesi » (If, VI, 73), ma, se non ci fossero stati, sarebbe stato ben peggio: anche a Firenze sarebbe potuto toccare l'infausta sorte di Sodoma e Gomorra. In Gen 18 si legge che ad Abramo, il quale cercava di stornare il castigo divino su di esse, il Signore si disse disposto a risparmiare le due città se il patriarca vi avesse trovato prima cinquanta, poi quarantacinque, poi via via quaranta, trenta, venti, dieci giusti... La ricerca non diede però i frutti sperati e di conseguenza le due città furono incenerite.

⁵¹ Pd IX, 127-132: « La tua città, che di colui è pianta / che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore / e di cui è la 'nvidia tanto pianta, / produce e spande il maladetto fiore / c'ha disviate le pecore e li agni, / però che fatto ha lupo del pastore ».

⁵² L'ingresso in città di elementi del contado, pronti a barattare e a darsi a ogni genere di scambio e mercatura, allettati dai « sùbiti guadagni » (If XVI, 73), secondo Dante ha imbastardito l'antica purezza della popolazione che discendeva dai Romani, i quali la fondarono per volontà di Cesare. Si veda il citato *Comentum* di Benvenuto, secondo cui il poeta « vult latenter dicere, quod postquam Florentia dimisit Martem, idest fortitudinem et virtutem armorum, et cœpit solum colere Baptistam, idest Florenum, in quo sculptus est Baptista, ita quod dedit se in totum avaritiæ, erit infortunata in rebus bellicis; ita quod, breviter dicendo, florentini, olim cum intenderunt rebus militaribus et laboribus, fuerunt strenui et victoriosi; sed postquam cœperunt intendere harpiis rapacibus et accumulationi, licet visi sint ditiores et potentiores, tamen fuerunt parum honorati in gestis armorum, et receperunt magnos conflictus, et strages bellorum, et continuo plus invalescente avaritia » (p. 462).

FROM VENICE TO CAIRO: NOTES FROM AN EARLY 16TH-CENTURY VOYAGE ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

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I. Zaccaria Pagani's Journey

On 22 January 1512, Zaccaria Pagani embarked on a galley en route from Venice to Egypt as part of a large delegation headed by special envoy Domenico Trevisan. Over the course of several months, Pagani and his companions made stops at all the main Mediterranean ports, such as Umago, Zadar, Split, Zakynthos and Candia, until they reached Alexandria, where they boarded a lighter vessel sailing to Cairo via the Nile. After almost three months in the city, the delegation set out on its journey back, finally casting anchor in Venice's harbor on 23 October 1512, nine months after their departure. Pagani recorded the details of the expedition in an engaging and recently rediscovered travelogue that not only chronicles the relations between the Republic of Venice and the Mamluk sultanate of Cairo, but also provides a wealth of information about sailing techniques, cultural practices, psychological traits, and diplomatic protocols.¹ This essay aims to examine some features of Pagani's account while discussing the circumstances surrounding his voyage and the editorial history of his work, from the manuscript to its most recent edition.²

Much was at stake in ambassador Trevisan's mission, as a harmonious relationship with the Mamluk sultanate was crucial for the prosperity of the *Serenissima*. For centuries, the Mamluks brought from the Far East to Egypt spices

¹ ZACCARIA PAGANI, *Viaggio del Magnifico et Preclarissimo Cavalier et Procurator di San Marco Domino Dominicho Trivisano*, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Archives et Manuscrits, Italien 2111.

² LAURA BENEDETTI, ENRICO MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo. Il viaggio di Zaccaria Pagani nel primo Cinquecento*, Il Poligrafo, Padua 2021. Research for this volume and for this article was made possible by the Renaissance Society of America, the Bogliasco Foundation, and the Delmas Foundation.

and other goods, which the Venetians in turn transported to their hometown and sold throughout Europe. Cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, but also sandalwood, cotton, linen, dates, lemons, and capers, constituted the foundations of the republic's financial well-being,³ not to mention pepper, the most sought-after commodity, which comprised the bulk of Venetian imports.⁴ Apart from operating a regular schedule of galleys – the so-called *mude* – that visited Levantine ports at certain times of the year,⁵ the Venetians could rely on well-established communities. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, Venice was the only Western power that ran two *fondaci* in Alexandria, serving both as warehouses and lodging for the merchants. Venetians were also allowed to worship in their own church and even drink and sell wine inside the *fondaci*. All these prerogatives were clear signs of the value that the Egyptians placed in their commercial partnership with the *Serenissima*.⁶

As the Mamluks controlled Jerusalem and other holy sites of Christianity, the sultan's cooperation was also crucial in another sector of the Venetian economy, namely the organization of Christian pilgrimages. Travelers from all over Europe gathered in Venice to be transported to Egypt and Syria, where they were entrusted to Mamluk authorities for the rest of their complex itinerary.⁷ Only a cordial relationship between Venice and Cairo could guarantee the safety of the pilgrims and a successful outcome for their journey.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, some important developments put this long-standing partnership to test. Vasco da Gama's circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 and the discovery of a new route to India threatened to bring an end to Venetian supremacy in the spice trade. In his second trip alone, in the years 1502–1503, Da Gama brought back « nearly 1,700 tons of spices, i.e. about the same as annual Venetian imports from the Middle East at the end of the fifteenth century ».⁸ Not only were the

³ WILLIAM HEYD, *Le colonie commerciali degli italiani in Oriente*, Antonelli and Basadonna, Venice 1868, p. 235–236.

⁴ See the data presented by PAUL FREEDMAN, « Spices and Late-Medieval European Ideas of Scarcity and Value », *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 80 (2005), p. 1209–1227. See also GINO LUZZATTO, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo*, Centro Internazionale delle arti e del costume, Venice 1961, p. 242, and SALVATORE COGNETTI DE MARTIIS, *I due sistemi della politica commerciale*, in *Politica commerciale dei più importanti stati civili nell'ultimo decennio*, UTET, Turin 1896, vol. II, p. CLXXXIV.

⁵ BENJAMIN ARBEL, « The Last Decades of Venice's Trade with the Mamluks: Importations into Egypt and Syria », *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 2 (2004), p. 37–86.

⁶ WILLIAM HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Émile Lechevalier, Paris 1886, p. 411–412.

⁷ For some accounts of these travels see ANTONIO LANZA, MARCELLINA TRONCARELLI, *Pellegrini scrittori. Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, Ponte alle Grazie, Florence 1990. See also ANTONIO LANZA, « La visione del mondo arabo nelle relazioni dei pellegrini scrittori del Quattrocento », *Carte di viaggio*, 1 (2008), p. 11–33.

⁸ ANGUS MADDISON, *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective*, OECD Publishing, Paris 2001, p. 63.

Portuguese able to import to Europe an extraordinary quantity of spices, but they could do so without relying on intermediaries, which meant higher profits than those of their competitors.⁹ For the *Serenissima*, this was an unmitigated and unexpected disaster – an unforeseeable evil (« il male non pensato »), to use Pietro Bembo's poignant definition.¹⁰ The new route not only posed a serious financial threat to Venice and Cairo, but also strained on their relationship, as opinions diverged over the best way to confront the Portuguese threat. For the Venetians, military intervention was out of the question. Supporting the Muslim sultanate in the fight against the very Catholic Portuguese monarchy, as sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī would have liked, could have serious repercussions insofar as it would put the *Serenissima* on a collision course with other European states and in particular with Pope Julius II. This led to the search of other possible solutions. Benedetto Sanuto, special envoy to Cairo, went as far as suggesting the creation of a passage between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, a sort of precursor to the Suez Canal.¹¹ Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī's lukewarm response to the idea and perceived lack of initiative disconcerted the Venetians: « [H]e didn't seem to take the matter seriously, and said he would take care of it [...], but he won't », reported Benedetto Sanuto in front of the Senate.¹² His bleak assessment was shared by Bartolo Contarini, who wrote from Damascus that the sultan was only willing to react to the Portuguese threat in words, but not in deeds.¹³

The contemporary rise to power of the charismatic Persian shah, Ismā'īl I, made matters even more complex. The Persians were traditional allies in Venice's struggle against the Turks, but Ismā'īl's growing influence in the region was a source of concern for Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī, especially after the Persian conquest of Baghdad. Aware of the danger that a close relationship with the Shah could entail, Pietro Zen, the Venetian consul in Damascus, acted with great caution. He refused to meet personally with Ismā'īl's messengers and, while facilitating their journey to Venice, he made sure they would not be accompanied by Venetians.¹⁴ All these precautions were not sufficient to avert a major diplomatic incident. In the summer of 1510, the Mamluk governor of Birecik

⁹ MADDISON, *The World Economy*, p. 63.

¹⁰ PIETRO BEMBO, *Della Istoria Viniziana*, Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, Milan 1809, p. 347.

¹¹ RINALDO FULIN, « Il canale di Suez e la Repubblica di Venezia », *Archivio veneto*, 2 (1871), p. 175–199. On the differences between the Venetian and the Mamluk perception of the Portuguese threat see MARCO MIOTTO, « Le navi del Soldano e le speranze di Venezia », *History Studies*, 3/2 (2011), p. 301–320.

¹² « Il ditto Soldan mostrava non stimar, dicendo proverbia, [...] però niuna provision farà » (MARINO SANUTO, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto, 1496–1533, dall'autografo Marciano Ital. Cl. VII Codd. CDXIX–CDLXXVII*, 58 vol., F. Visentini, Venice 1879–1903, t. v, col. 140).

¹³ « El soldan a le cosse di Coloqut nulla provision fa, salvo parole » (Ibid., t. vi, col. 68).

¹⁴ Francesca Lucchetta offers a detailed account of these events in « L'affare Zen in Levante nel primo Cinquecento », *Studi veneziani*, 10 (1968), p. 109–207.

arrested some Venetian merchants who carried incriminating letters to several European rulers. The one addressed to the Doge was particularly damning, as it announced a campaign aimed at conquering not only «the country of the Turks» but also Mamluk-controlled Damascus, and asked for military support from the *Serenissima*.¹⁵ To make matters even worse, one of the merchants who carried the letter revealed under torture that contacts with Ismā'il had been facilitated by none else than Pietro Zen. This is precisely the scenario that the consul had tried to avoid. The letter, together with the carrier's confession, not only disclosed Ismail's bellicose intentions, but also the Venetian government's connivance, if not complicity, in his plan. The sultan's reaction was prompt and harsh. He imprisoned Pietro Zen, Tommaso Contarini (the Venetian consul in Alexandria), and many merchants, suspended commercial relations with Venice, and barred access to the holy sites. Zen's report of his tense hearings before the sultan attests to a deep crisis in the relationship between the two states. The incriminating letters were in fact only one item in Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī's list of allegations. The Venetians, he maintained, were proving unreliable commercial partners, and had even provided logistical support to the Hospitallers of Rhodes after their attack on some Mamluk ships.¹⁶ In vain did the *Serenissima* offer elaborate justifications and professions of friendship in a letter that stressed its long-standing and privileged relationship with the sultanate, denied any collusion with the Persians, and pledged renewed commitment in the fight against piracy.¹⁷

Several months passed, but the situation did not improve. It became increasingly clear that only a special envoy could attend to such a complicated and delicate state of affairs. Indeed, both the consuls and some merchants in their letters express their belief that only a highly esteemed representative, endowed with lavish gifts, could mollify the sultan.¹⁸ Yet, the Venetian senate could not authorize a diplomatic mission for several months. This crisis in fact could not have come at a worst moment for Venice which, in the same years, suffered major defeats in its fight against a coalition of the other European states (the League of Cambrai), as well as excommunication from the Catholic church. The situation suddenly improved in the fall of 1511 when Pope Julius II, concerned about rising French influence, decided to form a new coalition, the

¹⁵ «[...] al principio de primavera li nostri standardi et bandiere victoriose saranno verso el paese di Turchi et Damasco. La via del'amor serà questa: quando venirà questa nostra brigata predicta, vui ni mandereti persone che sapia butar bombarde e di quelle trazer » (SANUTO, *I Diarii*, p. 190).

¹⁶ SANUTO, *I Diarii*, t. XII, col. 236–239. On the Hospitallers' capture of the sultan's ship see HEYD, *Histoire*, vol. II, p. 538, and ALBRECHT FUESS, « Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks », *Mamlūk Studies Review*, 5 (2001), p. 58–59.

¹⁷ The letter, dated June 20, 1511, is now in Archivio Statale Veneto, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreti, Registri, reg. 44, 42 r.–43 r.

¹⁸ See the letters included in SANUTO, *I Diarii*, t. XII, col. 235, 238, 239 and 381.

Holy League, which included Venice. This gave the Serenissima some much-needed respite and the opportunity to select a special envoy to properly address the situation in Egypt. The choice fell on Domenico Trevisan, an experienced diplomat who had just successfully negotiated the peace agreement with pope Julius II.¹⁹ For his mission to Cairo, Trevisan was put in charge of a particularly large delegation which included another prominent officer, Andrea de Franceschi.²⁰ And it was precisely as an attendant to de Franceschi that Zaccaria Pagani travelled, as he himself affirms in the what could be considered both the title of and the introduction to his travelogue:

Journey of the magnificent and most illustrious Sir Domenico Trevisan, Knight and Representative of Saint Mark, worthiest ambassador of the Venetian state, to the most serene Great Sultan of Cairo, with a salary of 300 ducats per months, and 1,000 ducats as a gift before His Excellency's departure with a retinue of twenty people, among whom I, Zaccaria Pagani from Cividale di Belluno, was enlisted in the service of his Lordship Sir Andrea de' Franceschi, ducal secretary of Venice.²¹

This introduction already shows some characteristics of Pagani's writing, particularly his attention to the practical aspects of the journey, such as Trevisan's salary. As they follow the author in his itinerary, readers learn all sorts of information, from the daily number of chickens eaten at the sultan's court to the estimated value of the house where Trevisan resides in Alexandria. It is possible that such a fastidious attention to detail should not only be attributed to the author's personality, but also to his attempt to imitate the style of *Itinerario di Germania*, the work in which Andrea de Franceschi described his voyage to Germany.²² The lives of these two men show in fact a certain similarity. Andrea de Franceschi, who exactly twenty years before had visited Germany as an attendant to the then Secretary of the Serenissima, Giorgio Federici, was now traveling to Egypt as a secretary himself. In that capacity, he could bring along an attendant, and chose Zaccaria Pagani, a man who belonged to a noble family from de Franceschi's own hometown, Cividale di Belluno. Given the circumstances, it

¹⁹ I would like to thank GIUSEPPE GULLINO for allowing me to consult his entry on Domenico Trevisan, forthcoming in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.

²⁰ See SERGIO ZAMPERETTI, « De Franceschi, Andrea », *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1986, vol. xxxvi, p. 24–26.

²¹ « Viaggio del Magnifico et Preclarissimo Cavalier et Procurator di San Marco Domino Dominicho Trivisano, ambasciator dignissimo per lo Illustrissimo Dominio Veneto al Serenissimo Signor Gran Soldano al Caero, cum salario de ducati 300 al mexe, et ducati 1000 de dono avanti Sua Magnificenza si parta cum famiglia di persone xx, nel numero di la quale io Zacharia Pagan da Civald di Bellun mi atrovava al servitio di sua Signoria secretario Messer Andrea di Franceschi, ducale secretario veneto » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 49).

²² ANDREA DE FRANCESCHI, « Itinerario di Germania dell'anno 1492 », ed. ENRICO SIMONSFELD, *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, 2/9 (1903), p. 275–345.

was only normal for Pagani to consider de Franceschi somewhat of a mentor and a role model. As the mission to Germany constituted the prelude for de Franceschi's brilliant career, Pagani probably hoped that the trip to Egypt could serve a similar function in his own life. The similarities between the two men extend to their writings. They both keep track of the daily distance their group travels and the food they eat, and both are fascinated with the rivers they encounter – the Danube and the Nile, respectively.

The introductory passage shows another characteristic of Pagani's prose, namely the reverence towards authorities, such as the « most illustrious » Domenico Trevisan and the « most serene » sultan of Cairo. This feature seems to suggest that his report had some kind of official function, or at the very least that it could be reviewed by his superiors. In other words, the travelogue does not appear to be simply a memoir for the sole benefit of its author. Indeed, it begins as an impersonal account in which Pagani disappears or, more precisely, is subsumed in the first-person plural:

On January 22, 1512 we went to Poveglia [...] We stayed in Poveglia for four days [...] On the 26 of the same month, which was a Monday, as the sun rose, we went out the port of Malamocco, and that day and the following night we stayed at sea [...] until in the evening [...] we reached Umago, a castle in Istria, 100 miles from Venice.²³

Yet, as the voyage progresses, Pagani's focus changes. Without giving up his role as faithful reporter, he begins to take a genuine interest in the lands he passes through and the people he sees.²⁴ The first manifestation of this new, inquisitive attitude is almost amusing for modern readers. In Candia, he witnesses a highly unusual phenomenon:

It seems to me I should not neglect to mention something rare and memorable: the mother in law of the Magnificent Sir Girolamo Cornaro is still alive, and so is her mother, and her mother's mother; while her daughter – who is the wife of the above-mentioned Sir Girolamo – has a daughter, and I saw them all, so that the oldest has seen the fifth generation come out of her womb, and they are all of the

²³ « Adì xxii zenaro MDXII [...] cum barche andasemo a Poveia [...] In quello loco di Poveia dimorasemo giorni 4 [...] Adì 26 dicto, et fo de luni, nel apparir del giorno, uscisemo del porto de Malamocco, et quel giorno et la sequente nocte stesemo in mare [...], adeo che la sera [...] giongemo a Umago, castello de l'Ystria lutan da Venetia miglia 100 » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 49–50).

²⁴ For an in-depth analysis of this development see ENRICO MUSACCHIO, « Il Viaggio di Zaccaria Pagani », *Letteratura Italiana Antica*, 22 (2021), p. 273–281.

female sex, that is, five women who have come out from one another, and all of them are alive, and I saw the oldest one in church.²⁵

Like a line of Russian dolls, these women form an ordered succession, « so that the oldest has seen the fifth generation come out of her womb ». Pagani is positively amazed. Almost apologetically (« it seems to me I should not neglect to mention »), he abandons his role as an impassive chronicler and switches to the first person (« I saw the oldest one in church »). As trivial as the encounter with the Cornaro women may seem, it signals a shift in Pagani's narration, that becomes much more enticing for a modern reader. The humble attendant becomes akin to those intrepid travelers who not only for practical reasons, but also for their irrepressible « desire to see »,²⁶ visited distant lands. Shedding off the guise of the accountant whose only concern is to keep track of the miles covered each day, Pagani begins to savor the rich new world laid out before him. His description of bananas, for instance, is quite memorable: « They are almost similar to cucumbers, they are sweet and can be peeled like figs, and it would be impossible to describe how exquisite they are ». ²⁷

This new, bolder attitude extends beyond the sensorial into the political, when he harshly critiques the sultan's rule. Struck by the desolation of Alexandria, Pagani blames excessive taxation:

The reason for such destruction is the enormous abuse of the rulers, who fleece their people to such an extent that they are forced to abandon their land and their lodgings. Consequently, many houses are uninhabited, and deteriorate in a short time.²⁸

²⁵ « El mi par de non dover preterir una tal cosa memoranda et rara, che la suosera del Magnifico Domino Hyeronimo Cornaro soprascritto si atrova viva, et ha viva etiam sua madre, et la madre di sua madre; et sua figliuola, qual è moglie del prefato Domino Hyeronimo, si atrova etiam una figliola; et tute quante ho viduto io, sì che la più antiqua ha visto la quinta generatione uscita dil ventre suo, et tute sono in genere femenino, zioè cinque done uscite una de l'altra, et tute vive, et la più vechia ho visto in chiesia » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 59).

²⁶ I am referring to DARIA PEROCCO, *Per desiderio di vedere... Viaggi e narrazioni di viaggio tra Cinque e Seicento*, Argo, Lecce 2019, which in turn alludes to a sentence by Alessandro Magno, « per desiderio di vedere non temevamo periculo alcuno » (« because of our desire to see, we didn't fear any danger »), in ALESSANDRO MAGNO, *Voyages (1557-1565)*, ed. and trans. WILFRED NAAR, Schena Editore-Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Fasano-Paris 2002, p. 657.

²⁷ « [S]ono ala similitudine quasi di cogumeri, dolzi como figi, et schorzasi como essi, et è tanto suavissimo, che impossibel sarebe volerlo descrivere » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 67).

²⁸ « La causa di tal distructione sono le tirranie grandissime de li Signori che scortegano tanto li loro populi che gliè forza abandonar la patria et proprie stantie, et per tal causa le caxe vanno inhabitate, e in breve ruinano » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 63).

Pagani's remarks surprisingly echo Machiavelli's *The Prince*, completed only a year after Trevisan's journey. The Mamluk sultanate posed a problem for the Florentine writer, in that it escaped the neat distinction he establishes at the beginning of his work. « Principalities are either hereditary, in which the family has been long established; or they are new », ²⁹ he confidently proclaims in the very first chapter of *The Prince*. Yet, he is later forced to admit exceptions to this rule. Machiavelli's focus on structure, rather than ideology or religion, allows him to discover similarities between two very different rulers – the Mamluk sultan and the pope:

But you must note that the state of the Soldan is unlike all other principalities, for the reason that it is like the Christian pontificate, which cannot be called either a hereditary or a newly formed principality; because the sons of the old prince are not the heirs, but he who is elected to that position by those who have authority, and the sons remain only noblemen. ³⁰

Machiavelli attributed the sultan's scarce concern for the welfare of his subjects precisely to this mode of transmission of power: « The kingdom of the Soldan [...] being entirely in the hands of soldiers, it follows again that, without regard to the people, he must keep them his friends ». ³¹ Pagani's direct observation about excessive taxation complements Machiavelli's theory by focusing on one particular aspect of the sultan's rule and its consequences on peoples' lives, drawing conclusions that modern historians have essentially confirmed. ³²

Trevisan carried out his mission during seven meetings with the sultan, discussing increasingly delicate topics, including the Serenissima's role in the fight against the Portuguese, access to the holy sites, and the price of pepper. The

²⁹ NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *The Prince*, trans. WILLIAM K. MARRIOTT, Dutton, London et al. 1980, p. 7. « E' principati sono o ereditarii, de' quali el sangue del loro signore ne sia suto lungo tempo principe, o e' sono nuovi » (NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *Il principe*, ed. LUIGI FIRPO, Einaudi, Turin 1972, p. 13).

³⁰ NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *The Prince*, p. 162–163. « Et avete a notare che questo stato del Soldano è disforme da tutti li altri principati; perché elli è simile al pontificato cristiano, il quale non si può chiamare né principato ereditario né principato nuovo; perché non e' figliuoli del principe vecchio sono eredi e rimangono signori, ma colui che è eletto a quel grado da coloro che ne hanno autorità » (NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *Il Principe*, p. 94–95).

³¹ NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *The Prince*, p. 162–163: « [E]l regno del Soldano sendo tutto in mano de' soldati, conviene che ancora lui, senza rispetto de' populi, se li mantenga amici » (NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *Il principe*, p. 94).

³² See JONATHAN P. BERKEY, « Culture and Society During the Late Middle Ages », *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. C. F. PETRY, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, p. 375–411; AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYID MARSOT, *A History of Egypt from the Arab Conquest to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, p. 43; and ANDRÉ CLOT, *L'Égypte des mamelouks. L'empire des esclaves (1250–1517)*, Perrin, Paris 1996, p. 182.

long stay in Cairo, from 7 May to 2 August 1512, gave Pagani the opportunity to become familiar with the city and its people. He reports that, at night, at every four or five houses a light shone over the door to increase public safety; he is fascinated by the sight of women who are completely covered in white linen except for the hands, which are embellished by red nail polish; he notices men who, on the contrary, roam the streets completely naked and are reputed to be saints.³³ He also records an interesting episode that seems to imply a certain degree of initiative on his part, as well as greater independence from his Venetian travel companions. His acquaintance with some « Greek friends » – presumably people he met during his stay in Cairo – allows him to see the prior of the monastery of Saint Catherine, who shows him a precious document: « It is written in Arabic. I saw it and held it in my hands. It prescribes that nobody should harass the monastery and its monks ». ³⁴

Pagani's emotion is understandable: the document he describes seems to be the *Ashtiname of Muhammad*, i.e. a charter allegedly signed by Mohammed and entrusted to the monks of the Mount Sinai Saint Catherine's Monastery. It was, in essence, the document that granted Christians permission to practice their faith in Egypt. Pagani's emphatic switch to the first person and insistence on sensorial experience (« I saw it and held it in my hands ») signals his awareness of the document's historical, cultural, and religious relevance.

The Venetians were by no means alone in their attempt to strengthen their relationship with the sultan. As Egyptian chronicler Ibn Iyâs wrote, no less than fourteen foreign ambassadors visited the city in a month.³⁵ This hectic diplomatic activity can perhaps be linked to the events unfolding in the neighboring Ottoman Empire. In April 1512, in fact, Selim I rose to power after forcing his father, Bayezid II, to resign. On May 26, when Trevisan and his retinue had already been in Cairo for three weeks, Bayezid died. This change in leadership would effectively make any agreement between the Mamluk sultanate and the Republic of Venice rather short-lived, as Selim's military campaigns would cause Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī's disappearance in the battle of Marj Dabiq in 1516, his successor's brutal death in Cairo a year later, and the end of over 250 years of Mamluk rule over Egypt. In that summer of 1512, however, few could have guessed what was about to happen, and foreign dignitaries kept negotiating prices and privileges with the sultan. Supported by the entire Venetian community in Egypt, Trevisan spared no efforts to reach his goals. He wore his

³³ BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 87–88.

³⁴ « È scripto in arabesco. Io lo ho veduto et tenuto in mano: comanda a tutti che non debba molestar dicto monastero over suoi religiosi » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 84).

³⁵ IBN IYAS, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ed. G. WIET, 2 vol., Armand Colin, Paris 1955–1960, vol. I, p. 251–252.

best outfits and gave out impressive gifts,³⁶ while a band of Venetian trumpeters provided the soundtrack to his mission. The show went on as usual, in spite of disturbing news from Istanbul. And what a show it was. Pagani's painstaking account provides a vivid picture of the elaborate protocol that informed the meetings, starting with Trevisan's first encounter with the sultan:

As he entered [the courtyard], with all his retinue and the four young men who lifted his cloak, two on each side, the Magnificent Ambassador took his velvet hat off while looking towards the Sultan, who was at the other end of the courtyard. The Ambassador bowed, touched the ground with his hand and brought both hands to his mouth and then over his head, following the ceremonial protocol of the tribute that befits such a great ruler. Having moved forward fifteen steps, the ambassador repeated the same action with his entire retinue. Having reached the furthest marking, which was about twenty steps away from the Sultan—a space entirely covered with carpets that were not to be stepped on—and having bowed in a similar way, he put his hand to his chest and took out the letter from the Doge, which was of a purplish color with a hanging golden bull and golden strings and ribbons. [...] He kissed the letter, placed it over his head, and handled it to the Great Emir, who took it to the Sultan and opened it. [...] Once he had finished reading the letter, the Sultan asked through the Emir, who walked up and down between the two, how the Doge was doing, and welcomed the Ambassador. The Ambassador gave the prescribed answer and took four steps backwards, while the four youth lifted his cloak so that he would not trip over it and fall down. After performing a most respectful bow, the Ambassador turned around and we all went home.³⁷

³⁶ The magnificence of the Venetians made an impression in the streets of Cairo. Ibn Iyâs has words of admiration for the gifts Trevisan brought (IBN IYAS, *Journal d'un bourgeois*, p. 242).

³⁷ « Ne la quale entrato, il clarissimo Ambasciatore cum tuta la sua compagnia et 4 gioveni che li teneva il manto levato, doi per lato, si cavò la bereta de veludo, guardando verso il Signor Soldano, quale era da l'altro capo di la corte. Chinatosi, pose la mano in terra, et ambe se le pose ala bocha, et poi sopra del capo, secundo il costume de le reverenzie se richiede a tanto Re. Factosi un pocho più avanti circa quindici passa, fece il simile cum tuta la compagnia hor tandem. Tiratosi a l'ultimo segno, qual era circa venti passa lutan dal Signore, qual spatio era coperto tuto di tapedi sopra de li quali non bisognava ascender, et facta un'altra simile reverenza, si pose la mano in seno et cavò una lettera ducale tenta in pavonazo cum la bolla pendente doro, cordoni et fiocchi doro [...], la quale basciata e postasela sopra del capo la consignò al Memendar grando, loqual la portò al Signor Soldano et etiam la aperse [...]. La qual fornita di legere, fece adimandar per el Memendar, qual andava suxo e zoxo, como stava il suo Doxe et etiam che sua Magnificencia fosse il ben venuto, et simil altre parolle. A le quale facta la prescritta risposta per esso Magnifico Oratore, se retirò in drieto per spatio di passa 4, pur cum li 4 gioveni che li levavano il manto, che ricessando non zappasse suxo et cascade. Et facta ossequiosissima reverenza se rivoltò, et se ne venissemo a caxa » (BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 71).

A keen observer, Pagani records every detail of this important event. After travelling more than five months, Trevisan is admitted to the presence of Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī and can plead for the release of the prisoners. The occasion is solemn and marked by the envoy's decision to don his best outfit, which did not go unnoticed in the streets of Cairo. Ibn Iyās spotted Trevisan on his way to the hearing and described him in his chronicle as an imposing old man with a white beard, whose appearance commanded respect, and who was wearing a yellow suit under a golden-colored cloak.³⁸

Pagani's close attention to every aspect of the meeting – from the number of steps the envoy takes to the color of the letter he presents to the sultan – should not be interpreted as a personal idiosyncrasy, but rather as a reminder of the very structured protocol that informed the interaction between the two men. When Pagani reports that Trevisan replied to the sultan with a « prescribed answer », he seems to be aware that the envoy was following a precise set of instruction. Indeed, the Doge, Leonardo Loredan, had given Trevisan a letter that specified the topics to be discussed at each meeting, from the standard professions of respect and good will to the specifics of the mission.³⁹ Trevisan's gifts, clothes, and body language, were all meant to show reverence toward the sultan, while at the same time convey the authority and wealth of Venice that he embodied. Diplomacy, an indispensable political tool, was also a performance, as recent studies have pointed out.⁴⁰ Pagani's contemporaries also seemed to be very aware that successful negotiations entailed convincing acting and effective *mise en scène*. On 2 May 1513 – less than a year after the end of Pagani's journey – one of the doge's nieces held her wedding ceremony in Venice. A huge celebration was organized and envoys from Rome, Spain, and Hungary were treated to a rich banquet with over 420 participants. After the banquet, the doge entertained his guests with a theatrical performance whose actors pretended to be the representatives of various rulers, such as the pope, the King of France, and the Sultan of Cairo. There were musical interludes, dances, the offering of gifts, and speeches in the fake envoys' original language and in translation. Marino Sanuto,

³⁸ IBN IYAS, *Journal d'un bourgeois*, vol. I, p. 199.

³⁹ Like Pagani's manuscript, this letter also ended up in Schefer's possession and, after his death, in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Archives et Manuscrits, Italien 2110, *Instructions secrètes du doge Léonard Lauredan à Dominique Trevisan*). It is now included in BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 103–108.

⁴⁰ See in particular TIMOTHY HAMPTON, *Fictions of Embassy. Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 2009, and MARK HUTCHINGS, « Diplomacy Narratives as Documents of Performance », in ANA SÁEZ-HIDALGO, BERTA CANO-ECHEVARRÍA (eds.), *Exile, Diplomacy and Texts: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles, 1500–1767*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2021, p. 208–228 (<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1sr6jg2.16>> accessed 15 September 2021).

who describes the event, reports that the performance lasted several hours.⁴¹ The fact that diplomacy was literally turned into entertainment is a powerful indication of the performative elements intrinsic to the elaborate protocol official representatives in foreign lands were expected to follow.

Even the way Trevisan managed to obtain the release of Piero Zen is theatrical. In order to mend the strained relationship with the sultan, it was crucial that Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī believed – or at least pretended to believe – the consul had established ties with Ismāʿīl out of his own initiative, without any involvement on the part of the Venetian government. This interpretation of the events averted a diplomatic crisis but put Zen's life in danger, because the sultan was willing to release the consul only if the Venetians themselves committed to execute him. In other words, Zen risked becoming the designated victim whose sacrifice restores the social order or, in this case, a political and commercial alliance – in short, a scapegoat. Trevisan managed to save both the reputation of Venice and Zen's life by promising the consul would be tried with the utmost severity for his crime and by placing chains around his neck in front of the sultan. This was nothing more than a *coup de théâtre*, a performance staged to please Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī – « per contento del signor Soldano », to use Pagani's words.⁴² In fact, not only did the promised trial never take place, but Pagani reports that, at the beginning of August, Zen was on his way to Damascus, seemingly unimpeded by chains. This is but one example of Trevisan's diplomatic ability that resulted in the release of all the prisoners, the reestablishing of commercial relations between the two states, and the permission to access the Christian holy sites for the pilgrims.

II. A Mysterious Author, A Magnificent Library, and a Missing Manuscript

There is scant information about Pagani after his return to Venice. In 1514, he appears to have been part of another delegation, this time as a representative of his town, Cividale di Belluno.⁴³ Historian Giorgio Piloni, however, only mentions his brothers, Carlo and Teodoro Pagani, in his discussion of prominent figures active in Belluno in the 1520s, which could be taken as an indication of Zaccaria's premature death.⁴⁴ It seems the similarities between Pagani and the elder de Franceschi end with their trip to Egypt: while the latter continued his brilliant career, culminating in his election to Great Chancellor, the former disappeared into obscurity. Luckily, Pagani's travelogue survived. The manuscript ended up in

⁴¹ See LUDOVICO ZORZI, *Carpaccio e la rappresentazione di Sant'Orsola*, Einaudi, Turin 1988, p. 69–71. I would like to thank my Georgetown colleague Gianni Cicali for bringing this event to my attention.

⁴² BENEDETTI, MUSACCHIO, *Da Venezia al Cairo*, p. 79.

⁴³ GIORGIO PILONI, *Historia*, Rampazetto, Venice 1607, fol. 286v.

⁴⁴ PILONI, *Historia*, fol. 289r.

the Biblioteca Piloni in Casteldardo, near Belluno, a private collection that was dear to art connoisseurs as well as bibliophiles. As books were stored with their fore-edge, rather than their spine, facing the public, the Pilonis commissioned Cesare Vecellio to decorate the blank pages with illustrations, essentially using each fore-edge as a canvas. The result was so striking that, according to an eyewitness, visitor had the impression of stepping into an art gallery rather than a library.⁴⁵ Given Pagani's attention to clothing, it is not surprising that his travelogue should attract the attention of Cesare Vecellio, who used it as a source for his *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*. In this work, first published in 1590, the artist accompanies his illustration of Sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī with a long passage derived from the travelogue, explicitly quoting his source:

This great sultan in 1512 lived in the great city of Cairo in his castle, or rather palace, with great magnificence, as attested by Sir Zaccaria Pagani, noble from Belluno, who went there with the most illustrious Sir Domenico Trevisan, special envoy of the Most Serene Republic of Venice to the great sultan.⁴⁶

Also the following illustration in the volume, that depicts the sultan's functionaries (« Ammiragli, et consiglieri del Gran Soldano »), is inspired by Pagani's account, as it refers to the respect shown to « the Venetian ambassador ».⁴⁷ Furthermore, these two illustrations bear a striking similarity with two watercolors that decorate Pagani's manuscript, which can therefore tentatively be attributed to Cesare Vecellio.

Despite its obvious historical and artistic relevance, Pagani's work was destined to remain hidden from sight and forgotten for many years. It would only resurface in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when financial constraints forced Francesco Piloni to sell the family library to a relative, Paolo Maresio Bazzolle, who brought it to Venice. It was at this point that Niccolò Barozzi, Venetian scholar and director of the Museo Correr, published an edited version of the manuscript to celebrate the wedding of Augusto Miari e Claudina Buzzati.⁴⁸ In his brief introduction, Barozzi expresses regret that time constraints prevented him from providing the text with the explanatory notes that he felt

⁴⁵ ANDREA TESSIER, *Di Cesare Vecellio e de' suoi dipinti e disegni in una collezione di libri dei secoli XV e XVI*, Cecchini, Venice 1875, p. 12.

⁴⁶ « Questo gran Soldano dunque del 1512 habitava nella grandissima città del Cairo, et nel suo Castello, overo Palazzo con molta grandezza, sì come riferì M. Zaccaria Pagan, Nobile di Belluno, che quivi andò con il Clarissimo Signor Domenico Trivisano, Ambasciatore destinato dalla Serenissima Repubblica Venetiana ad esso Gran Soldano ». (CESARE VECCELLIO, *De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Zenaro, Venice 1590, fol. 478r).

⁴⁷ VECCELLIO, *De gli habiti antichi*, fol. 479v–480r.

⁴⁸ ZACCARIA PAGANI, *Viaggio di Domenico Trevisan*, ed. NICCOLÒ BAROZZI, Antonelli, Venice 1875.

were necessary. What happened to the manuscript after that is not entirely clear. The Venetian community had warmly welcomed the Piloni collection and pledged it would not be dismembered or leave the city: « If good fortune allowed for such a wonderful and unique collection to land in Venice, may it never go elsewhere or be recklessly dismembered with great loss, in either case, for our letters and fine arts », vowed Andrea Tessier.⁴⁹ Only nine years later, however, a French scholar, Charles Schefer,⁵⁰ declared that he owned Pagani's manuscript and kept it under his eyes while preparing his French edition and translation:

J'ai eu sous les yeux, pour la traduction de la relation de Pagani, le volume publié à Venise en 1875 par les soins de M. le commandeur N. Barozzi et le manuscrit ayant fait autrefois partie de la collection de M.P. Maresio Bazzolle et qui se trouve aujourd'hui en ma possession.⁵¹

In 1899, a year after Schefer's death, the manuscript entered the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. A comparison of the three versions – the manuscript, the Barozzi edition, and the Schefer translation – is highly informative. It reveals, first of all, Barozzi's heavy editorial interventions that essentially translated into standard Italian Pagani's colorful Venetian. Barozzi's version was undoubtedly easier to read, which may explain why Schefer preferred to use it as the basis for his translation, in spite of having, indeed, come into possession of the original. Textual evidence supports this hypothesis, as the few passages from the manuscript that Barozzi did not include in his edition are also systematically omitted by Schefer. Even in these less than ideal conditions, Pagani's travelogue did not fail to elicit interest and admiration. Kenneth Meyer Setton, for instance, praises it as « one of the fullest and closest views of the Mamluk court to be found in any contemporary source », ⁵² while Anne Wolff compares it to « some fabulous tale from the *Thousand and One Nights* ». ⁵³ There

⁴⁹ « [S]e lieta ventura faceva approdare alla nostra Venezia una sì maravigliosa ed unica collezione, non avvenga giammai che essa valichi altrove, o che vada sventuratamente a disperdersi, con danno gravissimo in entrambi i casi, delle nostre lettere ed arti belle » (TESSIER, *Di Cesare Vecellio*, p. 29).

⁵⁰ On Charles Schefer see NADER NASIRI-MOGHADDAM « Schefer, Charles-Henry-Auguste », *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition 2021 (<<https://iranicaonline.org/articles/schefer-charles-henri-auguste>> accessed 15 September 2021).

⁵¹ CHARLES SCHEFER, *Le voyage d'outremer*, Leroux, Paris 1884, p. LXXXIV–LXXXV. This volume includes Schefer's translation of Pagani's journal, *Voyage du magnifique et très illustre chevalier et procureur de Saint-Marc Domenico Trevisan* (p. 147–226).

⁵² KENNETH MEYER SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 4 vol., The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia 1984, vol. III, p. 33.

⁵³ ANNE WOLFF, *Merchants, Pilgrims, Naturalists: Alexandria through European Eyes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, in ANTHONY HIRST, MICHAEL SILK (eds.), *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, American University in Cairo Press, Cairo 2006, p. 199–223, 215.

are various reasons, however, why it was appropriate and timely to provide readers with a version that faithfully reproduced the original. Pagani's spirited Venetian, that likely reflected the language that he and his fellow travelers spoke, documents linguistic practices of the early sixteenth century, before the adoption of medieval Tuscan as the Italian vernacular. An accurate rendition of the manuscript also filled some of the gaps left by previous editions by clearly indicating passages that were either problematic or indecipherable. Additionally, 280 explanatory notes discuss and clarify Pagani's often cryptic references. Readers of this new edition are also able to admire for the first time the two watercolors that decorate the manuscript and that, as discussed above, can tentatively be attributed to Cesare Vecellio. Together with the testimonies of other participants in the expedition, included as appendixes in the volume, Zaccaria Pagani's travelogue paints a fascinating picture of the complex interactions between Venice and Cairo, and provides an eye-witness account of the Mamluk court just a few years before its demise. At a time when the relationship between Western and Arab countries is a particularly pressing concern, it is important to rediscover documentation of the commercial, diplomatic and cultural ties that have linked different populations across the Mediterranean and that reveal communication between, rather than a clash of, civilizations. Domenico Trevisan's voyage, so vividly narrated by Zaccaria Pagani, is a meaningful episode in this common history, and as such it deserves to be known, studied, and shared.

RAGIONE E RIGENERAZIONE: STUDIO SUL *DE ORIGINALI PECCATO* DI AGRIPPA*

REASON AND REGENERATION:
A STUDY ON AGRIPPA'S *DE ORIGINALI PECCATO*

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Finem cogita quo tendimus,
principium ama unde sumus.

LIBANIUS GALLUS
Lettera a Johannes Trithemius, 1505

Gli intellettuali del Rinascimento, incalzati da un'inquietudine filosofica, si accostano alla dimensione religiosa sollecitando un confronto animato con la teologia, convocata alla luce di un'interrogazione peculiare, la domanda sulla condizione umana, che travalica l'ambito disciplinare o confessionale, per proiettarsi nella politica, nella morale, nell'estetica. Il testo sacro, in quanto depositario di una verità che, quantunque rivelata e dischiusa all'interpretazione, conserva pur sempre la sua essenza enigmatica, rappresenta per costoro un interlocutore necessario ma imprevedibile, che può reagire con acquiescenza o irriducibilità ad ogni tentativo di costringere la divinità entro l'orizzonte umano di significato.

Questo studio si concentra su un caso esemplare, il *De originali peccato*, un'opera poco conosciuta di Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535), in cui l'esegesi improntata ai valori dell'umanesimo interpella la Scrittura per soccorrere la fondazione di un progetto culturale di ampio respiro, finalizzato a ridisegnare, per mezzo della magia come proposta religiosa, l'antropologia rinascimentale. Storicizzando il compito che Agrippa si prefigge è possibile tracciarne il profilo ermeneutico per comprenderne l'esito teorico: la sessualità costituisce la chiave d'accesso al racconto della creazione dell'uomo.

Il primo capitolo ripercorre la storia del testo muovendo dalla problematicità delle fonti. Il secondo capitolo enuclea la dottrina fondamentale dello scritto,

secondo cui il corpo umano diviene soggetto del discorso teologico. Il terzo capitolo affronta in dettaglio la decodificazione allegorica del racconto di *Genesi*, introdotta come ipotesi di lettura per chiarificare, nella dialettica tra sessualità e colpa, la vicenda di Adamo ed Eva. Il quarto capitolo si sofferma sulle aporie concettuali che risaltano dai richiami ai passi biblici e alle dottrine dei Padri della Chiesa, di cui Agrippa si serve per corroborare l'impianto esegetico. Il quinto capitolo aspira a districare, ripercorrendo la letteratura di riferimento, l'enigma della generazione non carnale, ovvero il paradigma della fisiologia magico-cabalistica con cui si conclude il commento biblico. Il sesto capitolo, infine, colloca il significato generale dell'opera nel contesto del dibattito religioso del Cinquecento, sottolineando il proposito di conciliare scienza (ragione) e religione (fede): una conciliazione possibile solo all'insegna del concetto di rigenerazione ermetica, il presupposto sapienziale della filosofia di Agrippa.

I. Una ricostruzione incerta

I.1. La progettazione di un opuscolo teologico alquanto originale come la declamazione *De originali peccato*, in cui Agrippa sviluppa una lettura simbolico-allegorica dei passi di *Genesi* riguardanti il peccato adamitico (Gen. 3:1-24), potrebbe risalire al periodo conclusivo del suo soggiorno in Italia, all'incirca tra il 1515 e il 1517. Sono anni in cui il filosofo di Colonia, stabilitosi per poco tempo a Casale nel Monferrato, ospite del marchese Guglielmo IX Paleologo, insegna occasionalmente presso l'università di Torino svolgendo alcune lezioni appositamente dedicate all'esegesi e al commento delle Scritture.¹ La formulazione originaria dell'impianto ermeneutico che caratterizza l'opuscolo – come si vedrà, particolarmente sensibile agli influssi ermetici che animano la stagione italiana di Agrippa – potrebbe risalire al contesto universitario,

* Questa ricerca risale agli studi che ho condotto durante la preparazione della mia dissertazione dottorale, difesa presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa nell'ottobre 2018. Una versione iniziale del testo, intitolata «Decadenza e riscatto dell'uomo. Agrippa esegeta del peccato originale e teologo della rigenerazione» è stata presentata in occasione del convegno *Im Labor der Moderne. Die Schweiz im Zeitalter der Reformation: Theologie, Ontologie und Psychologie zwischen Deutschland und Italien – Nel laboratorio dei moderni. La Svizzera nell'età della Riforma: teologia, ontologia e psicologia fra Germania e Italia*. (Deutsch-Italienische Zusammenarbeit in den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften – Cooperazione italo-tedesca nel campo delle scienze umane e sociali), Villa Vigoni, Menaggio (CO), 10-14/07/2019. I capitoli 2 e 5 rielaborano alcune questioni che ho enucleato nel volume *In deifico speculo. Agrippa's humanism*, Brill-Fink, Paderborn 2021. Colgo l'occasione per ringraziare gli studiosi che mi hanno incoraggiato, con osservazioni puntuali e suggerimenti preziosi, a perfezionare questo lavoro nel corso degli anni: Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, Franco Bacchelli, Paul Richard Blum, Marco Lamanna, Thomas Leinkauf.

¹ CHARLES G. NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 1965 (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, 55), p. 51-52.

quantunque l'orazione sia stata pubblicata molti anni più tardi, nel 1529 ad Anversa, in circostanze biografiche, nonché politiche e culturali, del tutto differenti. Il *De originali peccato*, infatti, venne stampato a cura dell'autore - all'epoca archivista e storiografo di Margherita d'Asburgo, governatrice dei Paesi Bassi - all'interno di una silloge di opere giovanili intitolata *De Nobilitate & Praecellentia Foeminei sexus...*, Antverpiae, apud Michaellem Hillenium in Rapo, 1529, c. I3r-K4r. In seguito Agrippa incluse lo scritto nella riedizione ampliata della medesima raccolta, pubblicata da un editore anonimo a Colonia nel 1532: *De Nobilitate & Praecellentia Foeminei sexus...*, Coloniae, 1532, c. H7v-I7r, una silloge che ebbe numerose ristampe postume tra il 1567 e il 1630.² Dell'opera si conserva, infine, una redazione manoscritta, registrata nel codice cinquecentesco MS PA 48 della Bibliothèque municipal di Lione, fol. 2r-25r.³

Le principali informazioni di cui disponiamo in merito alla cornice temporale che abbraccia il soggiorno in Italia (1511-1518) dipendono sostanzialmente dal carteggio di Agrippa, fonte indispensabile per ripercorrerne dettagliatamente la vicenda biografica.⁴ Nel caso del *De originali peccato* la corrispondenza non

² VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « L'innocenza di Eva. Retorica e teologia nel *De nobilitate foeminei sexus* di Agrippa », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 12/1 (2006), p. 59; cf. più avanti, p. 5-6.

³ Sul manoscritto di Lione, cf. più avanti p. 6.

⁴ Il carteggio, intitolato *Epistolarum ad familiares, & eorundem ad ipsum, Libri VII*, è riportato alle pp. 593-1073 del secondo volume degli *Opera* di Agrippa, in base all'edizione più antica, stampata postuma con una falsa indicazione di luogo e di editore: HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE AB NETTESHEYM *Armatae militae equitis aurati, utriusque Iuris Doctoris, & sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis a consilijs & archivis indicarij, Operum pars posterior*, Lugduni, Beringi fratres. Dopo molteplici tentativi di datazione, solo di recente questa edizione è stata attribuita incontrovertibilmente all'editore Thomas Guarin, che l'avrebbe stampata a Basilea nel 1579. Una ricostruzione dettagliata della vicenda è contenuta in CARLOS GILLY, « Il dibattito intorno a Paracelso in Basilea », *Azogue*, 7 (2010-2013), p. 262. Secondo la ricognizione fornita da Auguste Prost, biografo ottocentesco di Agrippa, il carteggio trasmesso negli *Opera* si compone di 451 lettere ripartite in 7 libri e descrive un arco temporale che si estende dall'aprile del 1507 al luglio del 1533. Nondimeno il numero effettivo delle missive potrebbe variare in considerazione del fatto che la raccolta non racchiude l'intera corrispondenza di Agrippa. Come rileva Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, per una valutazione definitiva è necessario sottoporre a confronto il carteggio postumo con le raccolte epistolari parziali, edite o conservate manoscritte, che lo stesso Agrippa, curando la pubblicazione dei suoi scritti, selezionò dopo aver ottenuto a tale scopo un privilegio imperiale nel 1530: cf. AUGUSTE PROST, *Les sciences et les arts occultes au XVIe siècle. Corneille Agrippa. Sa vie et ses oeuvres*, 2 vol., Champion, Paris 1881-1882, vol. I, p. 18, 48-51; *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 517-521; SIMONETTA ADORNI BRACCESI, « La 'Germanica haeresis' nella corrispondenza di Enrico Cornelio Agrippa di Nettesheim (1519-1525) », in SUSANNA PEYRONEL RAMBALDI (ed.), *Verso la Riforma. Criticare la chiesa, riformare la chiesa (XV-XVI secolo)*, Claudiana, Torino 2019, p. 101-126, in particolare p. 107-108. Si veda inoltre EAD., « Eresia e Riforma nella corrispondenza di Enrico Cornelio Agrippa di Nettesheim: invito alla lettura », in ANDREAS GOTTSMANN, PIERANTONIO PIATTI, ANDREAS E. REHBERG (eds.), *Incorrupta monumenta Ecclesiam defendunt. Studi offerti a mons. Sergio Pagano, prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, I: Chiesa nella Storia. Religione, cultura, costume*, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano 2018, t. I, p. 1-18.

permette, a ben vedere, di chiarire inoppugnabilmente le circostanze di redazione, nonché di stabilire una cronologia definitiva. La disposizione delle missive nel corpus epistolare segue tendenzialmente l'ordine cronologico, benché non sia stato ancora appurato se l'assetto attuale della silloge risponda alla volontà dello stesso Agrippa o non sia da ricondursi al lavoro meticoloso, ma non privo di inesattezze, dell'editore o di chi ha curato la densa documentazione del filosofo.⁵ In ogni caso, se lo schema cronologico è valido come criterio generale per leggere l'intera corrispondenza, nondimeno la ricostruzione storica risulta ostacolata dall'inserimento di lettere prive di datazione o la cui datazione inesatta, a cui si accompagna talvolta l'assenza di indicazioni sulla provenienza, complica la sequenza cronologica degli eventi.

I riferimenti al *De originali peccato* attestati nelle epistole 17, 18 e 19 del secondo libro della corrispondenza presentano una serie di informazioni utili ma al tempo stesso problematiche sulla stesura dell'opera.⁶ Si tratta, infatti, di lettere stilate a margine della redazione del *De originali peccato*. Ad esempio l'epistola 17, che costituisce la dedicatoria dell'opera e che Agrippa indirizza al vescovo e teologo agostiniano Dietrich Wichwael, non segnala né la data di stesura, né il luogo da cui è stata inviata. L'epistola 18, invece, che contiene le obiezioni di Wichwael alle tesi formulate da Agrippa nell'orazione, riporta: « Ex oppido Bedbar Ducatus Montanorum. Anno 1518 ».⁷ Da ultimo la corposa e articolata replica di Agrippa al vescovo, l'epistola 19, risulta datata con molta precisione: « Ex civitate Metensi, sexta Februarii. Anno 1518 ».

Una conferma di quanto attestato proviene da due documenti importanti, le sillogi di trattatelli curate dallo stesso Agrippa, stampate l'una ad Anversa nel

⁵ Il carteggio comprende lettere di Agrippa, missive di familiari, amici, autorità ecclesiastiche o politiche, umanisti coevi e attraversa momenti cruciali della storia europea che precede e accompagna la Riforma protestante. Sotto questo profilo la corrispondenza offre preziose testimonianze per ricostruire non solo i viaggi di Agrippa per tutta l'Europa, bensì soprattutto il dialogo fecondo con intellettuali del calibro di Erasmo da Rotterdam, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Symphorien Champier, Filippo Melantone, Volfango Capitone, Eustace Chapuys; oppure i rapporti con papi come Leone X o con sovrani come Margherita d'Angoulême, Luisa di Savoia e Margherita d'Asburgo. Per quanto riguarda l'organizzazione della corrispondenza, Paola Zambelli suggerisce l'ipotesi di una conservazione delle carte di Agrippa all'interno di un circolo o sodalizio iniziatico e propone di identificare nel medico olandese Johann Wier, allievo del filosofo, il curatore della stampa postuma del carteggio: cf. PAOLA ZAMBELLI, « Umanesimo magico-astrologico e raggruppamenti segreti nei platonici della Preriforma », V Convegno internazionale di Studi Umanistici, Oberhofen, settembre 1960, CEDAM, Padova 1960, p. 154; EAD., « Die Magie als Alternativreligion. Epistolarien und Bibliotheken in der europäischen Renaissance », in HERBERT JAUMANN, GIDEON STIENING (eds.), *Diskurse der Gelehrtenkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein Handbuch*, De Gruyter, Berlin-New York 2011, p. 354-355; EAD., « Un contributo su Agrippa (o sulla sua cerchia?) dalla storiografia alchimistica », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 23/2 (2017), p. 383.

⁶ AGRIPPA, *Epistolarum libri*, 2, p. 662-670.

⁷ Il toponimo potrebbe riferirsi alla città di Bedburg nel Granducato di Berg.

1529,⁸ l'altra a Colonia nel 1532.⁹ Entrambe le stampe, di cui la prima costituisce l'*editio princeps* del *De originali peccato* e la seconda una riedizione della medesima, riportano le lettere in questione; di conseguenza la disposizione di queste missive nel carteggio postumo segue fedelmente l'ordine fornito da Agrippa nelle raccolte del '29 e del '32.¹⁰ Queste stesse lettere, inoltre, sono state trascritte, forse da un copista di provenienza francese, nel codice cinquecentesco MS PA 48 della Bibliothèque municipale di Lione. Il manoscritto contiene anche una versione incompleta del *Dialogus de homine* di Agrippa (fol. 44r-59v)¹¹, e una redazione del *De originali peccato* (fol. 2r-25r) caratterizzata da numerose integrazioni a margine e da alcune varianti rispetto alle stampe.¹²

In base ai documenti richiamati le notizie sulla circolazione dell'opuscolo sembrerebbero escludere una retrodatazione al periodo italiano, più esattamente all'intervallo torinese. La stesura dovrebbe risalire ai primi mesi del 1518, vale a dire ai primi tempi del soggiorno di Agrippa a Metz, periodo in cui, in qualità di diplomatico e avvocato stipendiato per conto del governo cittadino, egli decide di dedicarsi allo studio sistematico delle Scritture e del diritto canonico anche in

⁸ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *De Nobilitate & Praecellentia Foeminei sexus*, ad Margaretam Augustam Austriaco[rum] et Burgundionum Principem. *Expostulatio cum Ioanne Catilineti super expositione libri Ioannis Capnionis de verbo mirifico. De sacramento Matrimonii declamatio ad Margaretam Alenconiae Ducem. De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum liber unus ad Guilielmum Paleologum Marcionem Montisferrati. Dehortatio Gentilis theologiae ad Episcopum Vasatensem. De Originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio ad episcopum Cyrenensem. Regimen adversus pestilentiam ad eundem episcopum*, Antverpiae apud Michaellem Hillenium in Rapo, AN[NO] MDXXXIX.

⁹ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *De Nobilitate & Praecellentia Foeminei sexus*, ad Margaretam Augustam Austriacorum et Burgundionum Principem. *Expostulatio cum Ioanne Catilineti super expositione libri Ioannis Capnionis de verbo mirifico. De sacramento matrimonii declamatio ad Margaretam Alenconiae Ducem. De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum liber unus ad Guilielmum Paleologum Marcionem Montisferrati. Dehortatio Gentilis theologiae ad Episcopum Vasatensem. De Originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio ad episcopum Cyrenensem. Regimen adversus pestilentiam ad eundem episcopum. Sermones duo de vita monastica & de inventione reliquiarum divi Anthonii eremitae*, AN[NO] MDXXXII. Mense Maio. Finis Coloniae.

¹⁰ L'edizione del '29 riporta alla c. 13r la dedica a Wichwael (epistola 17), alle c. K8r-L1r la lettera del vescovo ad Agrippa (epistola 18) e alle c. Lr-L4r la risposta di Agrippa (epistola 19); l'edizione del '32 riporta queste lettere alle c. H7v (epistola 17), I7v-I8r (epistola 18), I8v-K3v (epistola 19).

¹¹ Per le edizioni del *Dialogus de homine* cf. PAOLA ZABELLI, « Agrippa di Nettesheim. *Dialogus de homine* », *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 13 (1958), p. 47-71; EADEM, « Cornelio Agrippa. Scritti inediti e dispersi », *Rinascimento*, 5 (1965), p. 294-304; DARIO GURASHI, *In deifico speculo. Agrippa's humanism*, Brill-Wilhelm Fink, Paderborn 2021, p. 171-202.

¹² Nel manoscritto le lettere occupano rispettivamente i fol. 1r-2r (epistola 17), fol. 27r-29r (epistola 18) e fol. 29v-39r (epistola 19). Un estratto di quest'ultima è riportato anche ai fol. 25r-27r. A proposito del codice lionese cf. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 31, Paris 1808, p. 22-23; ANTOINE FRANÇOIS DELANDINE, *Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon*, Mistral, Paris 1812, vol. I, p. 217-218; ZABELLI, « Agrippa di Nettesheim », p. 47-52, GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 171-184.

funzione dei suoi incarichi ufficiali.¹³ Se ciò è plausibile, come ha rilevato Marc van der Poel, la composizione del *De originali peccato* deve essersi realizzata in un margine di tempo ristrettissimo, tra gennaio e i primi giorni di febbraio, dal momento che la risposta di Agrippa a Wichwael era già pronta il 6 febbraio 1518.¹⁴

Cionondimeno Auguste Prost aveva sollevato già a suo tempo alcune obiezioni a proposito della cronologia di quest'ultima lettera, proponendo di posporre la datazione all'anno successivo. Prost, infatti, esprimeva forti perplessità sulla presenza di Agrippa a Metz nelle prime settimane del 1518. Egli rilevava, sulla base dei documenti conservati nell'archivio cittadino, che l'erogazione del compenso per l'incarico a Metz era stata fissata al 15 febbraio dello stesso anno e che la prima missiva di Agrippa spedita dalla nuova residenza riportava la data 13 giugno 1518.¹⁵ Il motivo che spiegherebbe, nel caso della replica a Wichwael, la data del 6 febbraio 1518 (e non 1519) è l'osservanza di una tradizione locale a cui Agrippa non si sarebbe sottratto: datare secondo lo stile dell'Incarnazione. In altri termini a Metz, così come accadeva in numerose città italiane, era consuetudine datare l'inizio dell'anno al 25 marzo, festa dell'Annunciazione, collegando in questo modo i mesi di gennaio e febbraio, nonché i primi 24 giorni di marzo, alla vendemmia dell'anno precedente.¹⁶

I.2. Per avallare l'ipotesi della stesura durante il 1518 sarebbe necessario datare con molta precisione una lettera ulteriore, che segue poco dopo quelle appena menzionate. Si tratta dell'epistola 21 del secondo libro della corrispondenza, una testimonianza preziosa per ripercorrere le fasi iniziali del soggiorno a Metz. Questa lettera, a cui si aggiungono tematicamente altre cinque missive purtroppo non datate (Agrippa, *Epistolarum libri*, 2, 20/22–25, pp. 669–674), attesta la profonda amicizia che lega Agrippa a Claude Dieudonné, un monaco del convento celestino di Metz.¹⁷ Costui, qualora venisse confermata da riscontri documentari un'ipotesi avanzata da Paola Zambelli, non sarebbe altri che il copista del manoscritto lionese.¹⁸ In secondo luogo, la stessa lettera

¹³ MARC VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa. The Humanist Theologian and His Declamations*, Brill, Leiden 1997 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 77), p. 26–27; cf. *ibid.*, p. 225; NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 58 e fn. 5.

¹⁴ VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 226.

¹⁵ PROST, *Corneille Agrippa*, 2, p. 469–470.

¹⁶ PROST, *Corneille Agrippa*, 2, p. 470.

¹⁷ VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 30–31.

¹⁸ PAOLA ZAMBELLI, « Cornelio Agrippa, Erasmo e la teologia umanistica », *Rinascimento*, 10 (1970), p. 58–59, fn. 2. Lo scambio epistolare con Dieudonné è riportato anche in appendice all'edizione delle *theses* di Agrippa sulla monogamia di sant'Anna, scritte nel 1519 in difesa di Lefèvre d'Etaples, ma stampate molto più tardi, nel 1534; cf. HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Defensio propositionum praenarratarum contra quendam Dominicastrum earundem impugnatores* [...], in *Id.*, *De*

descrive alcune attività di Agrippa nei tempi che precedono la celebre disputa sul *trinubium Annae*, scoppiata nel 1519 a partire dai trattati teologici di Lefèvre d'Étaples,¹⁹ e accenna ad alcune visite ufficiali del Coloniense presso il convento celestino in qualità di teologo. Nel corso di queste visite Agrippa avrebbe affrontato con Dieudonné e con gli altri monaci presenti questioni di esegesi scritturistica, dibattendolo in particolare « de statu primi hominis ante casum » e « de casu angelorum », secondo quanto riferisce lo stesso Dieudonné. Stando alle parole del monaco si potrebbe ipotizzare che Agrippa abbia tenuto occasionalmente alcune lezioni ai confratelli nell'ottica di presentare il suo *Dialogus de homine*. In tal caso la lettera di Dieudonné costituirebbe un breve ragguaglio sull'ultimo incontro, redatto appositamente il giorno dopo allo scopo di chiedere all'autore di illustrare per iscritto quanto ha esposto il giorno precedente. Il monaco, infatti, richiede un chiarimento su alcuni passaggi della relazione di Agrippa, passaggi che, forse a causa della loro difficoltà e profondità teorica, sono stati accolti con noncuranza e persino fraintesi dai confratelli durante l'esposizione.²⁰

Non si sa con certezza se Agrippa abbia replicato alla lettera di Dieudonné. È possibile che egli abbia soddisfatto la richiesta, trovando così l'occasione di redigere il *De originali peccato* al fine di chiarire più dettagliatamente il suo approccio esegetico.²¹ Ciò sarebbe confermato dall'epistola 22, in cui Dieudonné da un lato ringrazia amabilmente Agrippa per averlo risollevato dalla tristezza che invadeva il suo animo, risolvendo così le perplessità che occupavano la sua mente in materia di fede; dall'altro lo informa di voler trascrivere, assieme al suo 'dialogo', quanto delle sue opere lo stesso Agrippa ha voluto leggergli a voce durante l'ultimo colloquio, forse in occasione di un incontro, probabilmente privato, posteriore alla lezione frontale descritta nell'epistola 21.²² I testi che

beatissimae Annae monogamia, ac unico puerperio propositiones abbreviatae & articulatae [...], Anno MDXXXIII, c. Nr-N7r.

¹⁹ NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 61; cf. SHEILA M. PORRER, *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Three Marias Debates*, Droz, Geneva 2009 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 451).

²⁰ AGRIPPA, *Epistolarum libri*, 2, 21, p. 670: « Hesterna die, doctorum doctissime, cum inter corporales epulas eleganti et sapidissimo intellectus et vitae cibo nos satiaris abundantius, multaque de statu primi hominis ante casum, et de casu angelorum, ornatissimo ac compendioso sermone dissereres, aliqui fratrum nostrorum magis corporis, quam animae refectio intenti, ea minus attente audiverunt, aliqui insipientius intellexerunt. Quare abs te charitatis affectu humiliter postulo, dum tempus vacat, ea mihi per modum epistolae, ut brevius clariusque fieri poterit, epilogando describas, et si quid ego pro te potero, praecipe, et ego pro viribus mandata tua libenter implebo »; cf. ADORNI BRACCESI, « La 'Germanica haeresis' », p. 103-104.

²¹ VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 31; *ibid.*, p. 225-226.

²² AGRIPPA, *Epistolarum libri*, 2, 22, p. 670-671: « Licet nulla in re, doctor eximie, quae tuos fidelissimae erga me charitatis merentur occursus, virtutum aut gratiarum insignia praecesserint, aut sequi possint, tristitias tamen et animi mei nebulas radianti tui spiritus

Agrippa avrebbe letto privatamente al monaco, e che questi avrebbe trascritto in seguito per conto proprio, sono verosimilmente il *Dialogus de homine* e il *De originali peccato*,²³ oltre alle *conclusiones* in difesa di Lefèvre d'Étaples, vale a dire le *De beatissimae Annae monogamia, ac unico puerperio propositiones abbreviatae et articulatae*, che lo stesso Dieudonné menziona nell'epistola 24,²⁴ ma di cui non è sopravvissuta alcuna testimonianza manoscritta.

Sulla base del resoconto epistolare di Dieudonné i temi religiosi che Agrippa aveva discusso negli incontri di Metz (la condizione prelapsaria dell'uomo e postlapsaria dell'angelo) potrebbero riallacciarsi proprio al discorso antropologico già delineato nel *Dialogus de homine*, ma sviluppato più analiticamente nel *De originali peccato*. Se si riuscisse a dimostrare che la stesura del manoscritto di Lione riconduce innegabilmente alla mano di Dieudonné, nonché al periodo delle visite di Agrippa in convento, allora sapremmo con certezza che il monaco ha registrato quanto effettivamente conosceva dell'opera di Agrippa. Non si può escludere che egli abbia trascritto persino quanto lo stesso Agrippa aveva esposto in sua presenza: il *De originali peccato*, il *Dialogus de homine* e le altre lettere registrate nel codice lionese. Solo così risulterebbe convalidata l'ipotesi che riconduce la composizione dell'opera ai primi mesi del soggiorno a Metz.²⁵

II. Corpo e desiderio nella trasgressione

II.1. L'interesse filosofico dell'opuscolo risiede nel fatto di testimoniare, grazie a un esito teorico inconsueto, l'esercizio ermeneutico di Agrippa in campo teologico. Nel corso della declamazione, infatti, l'autore sviluppa una lettura sistematica e spregiudicata del peccato di Adamo e di Eva, organizzando il

fulgure effugare dignatus es. Quae res profecto me tibi indissolubili charitatis nexu devinctum reddidit. Navem itaque mentis meae, phantasmatum quasi ventorum turbine agitatam, ad portum tranquillitatis iam quodammodo reduxisti; oroque ut incoepta citius perficias. Caeterum adeo, tui operis, quod nuper mihi legere dignatus es, amore captus sum, ut non quiescat spiritus meus donec idipsum, una cum dialogo tuo, transcripsero. Quippe multa in illis reperi quae, diu apud plures perscrutatus, nusquam invenire potui ».

²³ ADORNI BRACCESI, « La Germanica haeresis », p. 104.

²⁴ AGRIPPA, *Epistolarum libri*, 2, 24, p. 672: « Conclusiones tuas cum maxima difficultate furtivis horis (occupor enim nimis, et nihil mihi otii ferme relictum est) egomet tibi propria manu transcripsi ».

²⁵ Qualora si interpreti correttamente una notizia sulla circolazione del *De originali peccato* in Francia, riportata anch'essa nel carteggio di Agrippa, l'attribuzione del manoscritto a Dieudonné incontra un'interessante obiezione. Il 2 novembre 1526 un interlocutore non ancora identificato scrive da Condrieu (Condriacum): « Fac tantum pro me, ut tractatum, quem alias edidisti de peccato originali, paulisper accomodes ». La risposta di Agrippa, trattenuto ancora a Lione dalle vicissitudini con la Corte, è tempestiva, pronta già il 3 novembre: « Librum nostrum abs te postulatum mitto. Sed, heus tu, nullum mihi aliud ex emplar est ». Cf. AGRIPPA, *Epistolarum libri*, 4, 60–61, p. 842. Potrebbe trattarsi del codice di Lione destinato all'ignoto lettore? Ringrazio Simonetta Adorni Braccesi per avermi segnalato lo scambio epistolare.

ragionamento in una complessa decodificazione allegorica.²⁶ La « disputabilis opinio » di cui Agrippa si fa portavoce rilegge il peccato originale nei termini di un atto sessuale e identifica il serpente al contempo con il membro virile e con il desiderio sessuale.²⁷ Quantunque il dibattito secolare sul contributo della sessualità nell'episodio adamitico fosse costellato dagli interventi di numerose voci autorevoli della tradizione, alcune delle quali formano il tessuto di fonti letterarie dell'orazione – si pensi, ad esempio, all'*Epistola ai Romani* di San Paolo, all'*Adversus Jovinianum* di San Gerolamo, al *De civitate Dei* di Sant'Agostino, al *De fide orthodoxa* di Giovanni Damasceno e probabilmente anche al *De opificio mundi* di Filone di Alessandria²⁸ – sull'idea di collegare strettamente il peccato al rapporto carnale fra i due progenitori potrebbe aver agito un influsso risalente al *Corpus Hermeticum*.²⁹ Molto opportunamente Marc van der Poel ha rilevato che, rileggendo la vicenda di Adamo ed Eva, Agrippa mirava a investigare le ragioni della caduta dell'uomo alla luce di un passo analogo del trattato I del *Pimander*, la silloge dei trattati greci, attribuiti a Ermete Trismegisto e tradotti da Marsilio Ficino, che Agrippa leggeva solitamente nell'edizione parigina del 1505, curata da

²⁶ Un'illustrazione analitica della struttura e dei contenuti dell'orazione è fornita in MARC VAN DER POEL, « Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric: An Examination of the *Declamatio de Originali Peccato* », *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), p. 185–188; Id., *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 233–245. Appurata la sua esigua conoscenza dell'ebraico e del greco, non sappiamo ancora quale versione della Vulgata Agrippa impiegasse per approntare i richiami e i commenti alla Scrittura, soprattutto nel caso dell'Antico Testamento. Di conseguenza si è preferito ricorrere a un'edizione contemporanea (la *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, editio electronica, ed. MICHAEL TWEEDALE, London 2005) per segnalare ogni riferimento scritturistico. Sulla questione si veda NOEL PUTNIK, *To Be Born (Again) from God: Scriptural Obscurity as a Theological Way Out for Cornelius Agrippa*, in LUCIE DOLEŽALOVÁ, JEFF RIDER, ALESSANDRO ZIRONI (eds.), *Obscurity in Medieval Texts*, Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Krems 2013, p. 150–153.

²⁷ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, in Id., *De Nobilitate* (1529), c. 15v–16r: « Ipsa autem opinio nostra talis est non aliud fuisse originale peccatum, quam carnalem copulam viri et mulieris [...]. Hunc serpentem non alium arbitramur, quam sensibilem carnalemque affectum, immo quem recte dixerimus, ipsum carnalis concupiscentiae genitale viri membrum, membrum reptile, membrum serpens, membrum lubricum, variisque anfractibus tortuosum, quod Evam tentavit atque decepit, cui recte serpentis nomen similitudoque congruit »; cf. VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Riforma della magia e riforma della cultura in Agrippa », *I Castelli di Yale*, 2/2 (1997), p. 139; VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 227.

²⁸ Per una ricostruzione storica dell'idea sulla natura sessuale del peccato originale si veda soprattutto ANTONELLO GERBI, *Il peccato di Adamo ed Eva. Storia dell'ipotesi di Beverland*, La Cultura, Milano 1933. Sulle fonti che potrebbero aver ispirato l'esegesi di Agrippa (a partire, ad esempio, dalla letteratura gnostica e apocalittica) si veda NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 58–59, fn. 5; cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 227. Sulla fortuna del *De originali peccato*, in particolare sui giudizi di Pierre Bayle e di Louis-Ellies Du Pin, cf. ibid., p. 228–229.

²⁹ A proposito dell'interesse di Agrippa per il *Corpus Hermeticum* negli anni giovanili (1509–1518) si veda WOUTER. J. HANEGRAFF, « Better than Magic. Cornelius Agrippa and Lazzarellian Hermetism », *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft*, 4/1 (2009), p. 6.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples.³⁰ Nel passo ermetico a cui Agrippa si richiamerebbe, e che sembra echeggiare alcuni versetti di *Genesi*, Dio individua espressamente nell'amore per il corpo, inteso come predilezione per la realtà materiale, la scaturigine della mortalità per l'uomo, considerata come alterazione della natura primordiale e della beatitudine primigenia grazie alla quale l'umanità godeva della vita perpetua: « Extemplo Deus verbo sancto clamavit: 'Pullulate, adolescite, propagate universa germina, atque opera mea [cf. Gen., 1:28]. Vos insuper quibus mentis portio concessa est, genus recognoscite vestrum vestramque naturam immortalem considerate, amorem corporis mortis causam esse scite, rerum omnium naturam discite' ». ³¹

Il recupero della formulazione ermetica nel commento a *Genesi* permette ad Agrippa di accertare il fondamento sessuale della trasgressione originaria. Come egli stesso riconosce richiamando una discussione svolta precedentemente, l'identificazione del peccato con l'unione carnale, nonché la rilettura del tema della generazione nel corpo come disconoscimento della missione sapienziale e sacrale dell'uomo, era stato affrontato concisamente nel *Dialogus de homine*, composto a Casale Monferrato tra il 1515 e 1516.³² Di questo dialogo, che sopravvive in forma parziale grazie al codice lionesse, il *De originali peccato* costituisce per molti aspetti un approfondimento teologico e uno sviluppo filosofico. Nel *De homine* Agrippa aveva delineato la condizione paradisiaca e la destinazione originaria della specie umana, traendo spunto non soltanto dal *Pimander* e dallo *Heptaplus* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, bensì anche dal *Crater Hermetis* di un ermetico alquanto radicale come Lodovico Lazzarelli.³³

Rivitalizzando la questione della *dignitas hominis*, Agrippa celebrava con toni entusiastici la natura dell'uomo, di cui il lessico ideologicamente impegnato degli umanisti prescriveva di individuare l'unicità e la grandezza. 'Immagine di Dio', 'vincolo' e 'nodo' di ogni creatura, 'compimento' di tutto l'universo,³⁴

³⁰ HANEGRAAFF, « Better than Magic », p. 10.

³¹ *Pimander*, in *Contenta In Hoc Volumine. Pimander. Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate Dei. Asclepius. Eiusdem Mercurii Liber de Voluntate Diuina. Item Crater Hermetis, a Lazarelo Septempedano*, ed. JACQUES LEFÈVRE D'ÉTAPLES, Henricus Stephanus, Parisiis 1505, 1, c. 5v (= HERMES TRISMEGISTUS, *Corpus Hermeticum*. Asclepius, ed. ARTHUR D. NOCK, ANDRÉ-JEAN FESTUGIÈRE, Les Belles Lettres, Paris 1945, vol. I, p. 11; d'ora in avanti abbreviato in NF); cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 231-232; ID., *Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric*, p. 184.

³² AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 15v: « Quod ita esse in quodam Dialogo nostro de homine paucis quibusdam Sacrarum Literarum coniecturis persuasimus, sed nunc idipsum paulo diffusius (succincte tamen) ostendemus ».

³³ Per quanto riguarda l'influsso delle dottrine di Lazzarelli sul giovane Agrippa, cf. NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 126.

³⁴ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dialogus de homine*, in GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 189: « Hinc homo minor mundus dictus est, quia maioris mundi 'vinculum est et nodus' absolutaque consummatio [PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 5, 7, in ID., *De hominis dignitate. Heptaplus. De ente et uno e scritti vari*, ed. EUGENIO GARIN, Vallecchi, Firenze 1942, p. 304] ».

‘microcosmo’ che racchiude in sé le qualità dell’intero ‘macrocosmo’,³⁵ l’uomo gode di una natura ancipite, a metà fra la terra e il cielo, presentandosi quale semi-divinità ‘superiore agli angeli’, mortale e immortale al contempo, come insegnava anche l’*Asclepius* ermetico.³⁶ Se il possesso di un’anima imperitura, sede delle facoltà più elevate, rende l’uomo capace di stabilire un contatto diretto con la divinità, il legame con il corpo non scredita affatto le sue prerogative ultraterrene, poiché esercitando la sua parte caduca egli ha facoltà di attirare su di sé il potere divino al fine di operare miracoli.

A fronte di una natura ineguagliabile, il ruolo e il valore che l’uomo avrebbe rivestito nel progetto della creazione erano presto riconosciuti: in quanto condizionato dal corpo, l’uomo risultava pur sempre soggetto all’armonia delle sfere celesti che governa la materia e il cosmo sensibile; tuttavia, poiché dotato di un’anima predisposta ad acquisire la sapienza e ad esercitare la giustizia, egli poteva collocarsi al di sopra di tutti gli enti creati. Il suo compito sarebbe stato quello di perfezionare entrambe le sue nature: contemplare la verità di Dio per mezzo della parte immortale, curare e governare le creature terrene per mezzo di quella mortale. Tali caratteristiche aprivano l’umanità alla fruizione della natura ineffabile di Dio e costituivano la premessa per realizzare quella missione ieratica di cui Dio aveva incaricato l’uomo sin dalla creazione: contemplare la potenza divina, conoscere le sue opere, discernere il bene dal male, credere fermamente e ottemperare incondizionatamente alla volontà di Dio, così da partecipare della sua potenza infinita; in altri termini, perfezionare la natura non ancora compiuta dell’uomo. L’adempimento del compito originario era quindi demandato all’autoconsapevolezza dell’uomo, il quale avrebbe scelto liberamente di obbedire a Dio e, rinunciando così alle prerogative del corpo e della materia, si sarebbe reso degno dell’immortalità.³⁷

³⁵ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dialogus de homine*, in GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 187–188: « Homo microcosmus, hoc est minor mundus, dicitur quum in seipso habet totum quod in maiori continetur. ‘Nam in ipso mixtum ex elementis corpus, celestis spiritus, plantarum vita vegetativa, brutorum sensus et ratio angelicaque mens atque Dei similitudo conspiciuntur’ [PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 5, 6, p. 304] ».

³⁶ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dialogus de homine*, in GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 194: « ‘Homo, ex hoc quod mortalis est, non est minor angelis neque celestibus diis immortalibus, sed potius supra illos mortalitate auctus est efficaciusque ex utraque mortali et immortalī natura compositus [Pimander, 1, c. 5v (NF 1, p. 11, 15)], ut et terrenum ac divinum habere possit liberum delectum. [Asclepius, 5, c. 42r (NF 2, p. 307–308)]. Melior angelis, qui ex sola immortalī natura formati sunt ».

³⁷ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dialogus de homine*, in GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 195–196: « Creavit Deus hominem ex duplici natura, ex divina immortalī et ex corporea mortali tribuitque illi mentem, spiritum atque sermonem [Pimander, 12, c. 30v (NF 1, p. 178)], divine trinitatis imaginem, ad divine potestatis contemplationem, ad Dei operum cognitionem, ‘ad bonorum malorumque iudicium’ [Pimander, 3, c. 11r–v (NF 1, p. 45)], precepitque ei ut in omnibus ‘divine obsequeretur voluntati’, Deum pie coleret et ‘contempleretur, contemplandoque supersubstantiales ad se divini luminis radios traheret, cuius rei gratia mortem, quam per

II.2. Ciononostante l'episodio rovinoso narrato in *Genesi* e nel trattato I del *Pimander* dimostrava non soltanto che la corporeità avrebbe rivendicato la preminenza nelle scelte dell'uomo, bensì anche che la mortalità si sarebbe costituita quale esito della trasgressione volontaria descritta nelle Scritture, cibarsi del frutto proibito: « Ex hoc letifero pastu factus est mortalis, sicut Deus illi in penam iam antea comminatus fuerat ».³⁸ Agrippa aveva interpretato il 'pasto letale' in chiave squisitamente allegorica, identificando l'atto peccaminoso con la decisione dell'uomo di procreare nel corpo, ossia con la presunzione di eguagliare Dio nell'esercizio della potenza fecondatrice di vita. L'espressione « corpus amplectens », utilizzata a tal proposito nel *Dialogus*, riassume con efficacia il senso dell'episodio biblico, configurando la trasgressione nei termini di una scelta archetipica: ciò che ha gettato l'uomo nella morte è la decisione di rendere il corpo e la materia il fine ultimo dell'esistenza. L'opzione di fruire dell'albero della conoscenza significava, nel contesto metaforico del racconto, aver reso la realtà inferiore oggetto primario di desiderio e di conoscenza, aver preferito l'ignoranza alla vera sapienza, la miscredenza al culto autentico di Dio. Il desiderio di procreare, infatti, traduce in una colpa il cattivo impiego della natura feconda che è stata assegnata originariamente all'uomo. Preferendo il mondo sensibile l'uomo vanifica nel segno della passione carnale il compito ultraterreno di cui è stato insignito, nonché corrompe durevolmente la natura impareggiabile che gli è stata donata.³⁹

Quanto rilevato spiegherebbe la scelta di Agrippa di evidenziare la perdita dello stato originario ricorrendo a un ulteriore riferimento ermetico, un passo fondamentale del *Pimander* esplicitamente richiamato sia nel *Dialogus* che nel *De originali peccato*: « Homo autem cum considerasset in tempore suo rerum omnium procreationem, ipse quoque fabricare voluit; unde a contemplatione patris ad speram generationis delapsus est ».⁴⁰ Secondo Agrippa il desiderio di generare a emulazione del Padre avrebbe condotto l'uomo a sopravvalutare le proprie forze e a prevaricare contro il volere divino; conseguentemente la tracotanza primordiale avrebbe determinato l'esclusione del genere umano dalla beatitudine eterna nel corso dei secoli. L'episodio della colpa spogliava la ragione umana della possibilità di contemplare assiduamente le verità di Dio, poiché l'uomo aveva preferito abbandonare la *spera contemplationis* in favore della *spera concupiscentiae*, assecondando la quale si era assimilato alle bestie irrazionali, come sottolineava anche Pico della Mirandola nello *Heptaplus*.⁴¹ Allo stesso tempo

naturam corporis incurrisset, perpetue esset evitaturus'; si secus ageret, moriturum comminatus est [LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 64r] ».

³⁸ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dialogus de homine*, in GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 195.

³⁹ GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 126–128

⁴⁰ *Pimander*, 1, c. 5r (NF 1, p. 10–11).

⁴¹ PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 4, 6, p. 284.

il peccato aveva stravolto il corpo umano, costringendolo a subire le malattie come espiazione dei peccati commessi e, soprattutto, a incontrare la morte, dal momento che l'uomo aveva deciso di privarsi della *divina lux*, il potere sovranaturale capace di disciplinare e armonizzare gli elementi discordanti che compongono la natura umana.⁴²

A parere di Agrippa questa lettura, spiccatamente ermetica, del peccato originale trova un efficace parallelismo con un passo della *Lettera ai Romani* in cui Paolo aveva sostenuto che a partire da Adamo la colpa si sarebbe trasmessa a tutti gli esseri umani nell'atto della riproduzione.⁴³ Parallelismo non casuale, dal momento che Agrippa considera entrambi, San Paolo ed Ermete Trismegisto, non semplicemente due voci autorevoli dell'antichità, il cui messaggio sapienziale risulterebbe in una mirabile concordia, bensì, come ha sottolineato Vittoria Perrone Compagni: « le figure che insieme, seppure in modi diversi, mostrano l'unico volto della religiosità umana e la continuità della sapienza classico-cristiana », poiché attingono alla medesima fonte divina di verità.⁴⁴ E se ciò vale senza dubbio per il *Dialogus de homine*, nel caso del *De originali peccato* l'approccio ermetico risulta vincolante, nonché dirimente per illuminare la radice filosofica del racconto biblico, sulla base della persuasione per cui, come puntualizza Van der Poel: « [...] the anthropology familiar from the Hermetic writings, also forms the basis of *Genesis* ». ⁴⁵

⁴² AGRIPPA, *Dialogus de homine*, p. 196: « Homo autem, cum in honore esset omniumque haberet arbitrium, prevaricatus divinum preceptum corpus amplectens, a lucida 'spera contemplationis in speram concupiscentie et tenebrarum lapsus est' [*Pimander*, 1, c. 5r (NF 1, pp. 10-11)], 'imitatus est iumenta non habentia rationem' [PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 5, 5, p. 300] et similis factus est illis' [PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 4, 6, p. 284]. Tunc 'indignata et recedente divina luce, quod pacificum vinculum erat elementorum, 'relaxatis frenis' et discordantibus humoribus, 'innumeri morbi' morborumque cause peccata orta sunt, homoque propter peccatum morti factus est obnoxius »; cf. ID., *De originali peccato*, c. 17v: « Hinc omnes qui ex carne geniti sunt, et generant per carnis et sensus propaginem, originalem culpam corruptionemque contrahere necesse est. Quod et Hermes in *Pimandro*, longa satis oratione, ostendit, hominem videlicet a divina contemplatione lapsus in naturam generationis animantium mundi mortalium ac ratione carentium, unde et ipse formam rationem carentem progenit, 'mortis mala sensu percipiens' [*Pimander*, 1, c. 6v (NF 1, p. 13)] ». Sul margine sinistro della stampa del '29 è riportato: « Pim. cap. I »; cf. VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo in Agrippa. Il 'De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum'*, Polistampa, Firenze 2005, p. 49.

⁴³ AGRIPPA, *Dialogus de homine*, p. 196-197: « In quo primo homine peccatore, ut ait Paulus ad Romanos, tanquam in radice, 'omnes homines' ex illo geniti 'peccaverunt' et moriuntur omnibus horis [Rom., 5:12] »; cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 230.

⁴⁴ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e cristianesimo*, p. 52-53; cf. EAD., « Il 'De occulta philosophia' di Cornelio Agrippa. Parole chiave: uomo-microcosmo, prisca theologia, cabala, magia », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 13 (2007), p. 436. Sulla convergenza tra Ermete Trismegisto e San Paolo in Agrippa rinvio a GURASHI, « Religione e ideologia nel giovane Agrippa: appunti sulla vocazione intellettuale », *Mediterranea. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge*, 5 (2020), p. 142-152.

⁴⁵ VAN DER POEL, *Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric*, p. 185.

D'altra parte, il richiamo paolino rischia di presupporre antropologici di Agrippa anche nei termini di una riflessione sull'identità sessuale. Sottolineando a più riprese la trasmissione del peccato per mezzo di Adamo, Agrippa intende ridimensionare l'apporto di Eva alla colpa primordiale. Tale operazione segnala al contempo l'intenzione di esplorare la responsabilità teologica della componente maschile e il contraccolpo etico della mascolinità come condotta archetipica dell'uomo. La puntualizzazione permette così di leggere il *Dialogus de homine* non soltanto come una caratterizzazione della natura umana in generale, bensì anche come disamina del ruolo che la mascolinità riveste in quanto investigazione sul significato del corpo maschile e analisi della sua funzione biologica, sulla quale si fondano determinate scelte esistenziali. La decrittazione del ruolo decisivo che Adamo svolge nella trasgressione determinerà importanti ripercussioni nel percorso esegetico del *De originali peccato*. In quest'ultimo, a differenza del *Dialogus*, la dialettica tra la componente maschile e femminile del peccato troverà un più solido inquadramento, incardinato a livello filosofico sulla corretta interazione tra le facoltà dell'anima, e a livello etico-religioso sull'accertamento del contributo maschile alla perdizione o alla redenzione dell'umanità intera.

A tal proposito non è casuale che Agrippa, nella lettura di *Genesi*, dedichi particolare attenzione ai personaggi maschili che reputa determinanti per la storia umana (Abele, Caino, Seth, Abramo, Isacco, Noè), e si soffermi spesso su questioni esegetiche che toccano direttamente i parametri della mascolinità, nonché della sua definizione concettuale: il rituale della circoncisione come espiazione del peccato, il contributo del seme maschile nella fecondazione, il ruolo dello sposo nel matrimonio, il valore degli 'eunuchi' come modello positivo di castità virile (sacerdotale, coniugale). Si tratta, a ben vedere, di tematiche decisive, che individuano in Agrippa un interlocutore fecondo per gli studi sulla sessualità e sulla consapevolezza di genere nel Rinascimento. Quantunque esorbiti dai limiti di questo saggio, le declinazioni che una riflessione siffatta assume negli scritti di Agrippa, particolarmente sensibile alle ripercussioni sociali e culturali degli assunti teologici, meritano indubbiamente uno studio approfondito, la cui originalità avrebbe inoltre il vantaggio di riaprire opportunamente il dibattito storiografico sull'interpretazione del controverso 'femminismo' di Agrippa.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Sull'argomento si vedano soprattutto: BARBARA NEWMAN, « Renaissance Feminism and Esoteric Theology: The Case of Cornelius Agrippa », *Viator*, 24 (1993) p. 337-356; ALBERT RABIL, Jr., « Agrippa and the Feminist Tradition », in HENRICUS CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, *Declamation on the Nobility and Preeminence of the Female Sex*, ed. ALBERT RABIL, Jr., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1996, p. 3-33; MARIA J. SELVIDGE, *Notorious Voices - Feminist Biblical Interpretation, 1500-1920*, Continuum, New York 1996, p. 123-124; VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « L'innocenza di Eva », p. 59-80.

In ogni caso, l'esito dottrinale del *Dialogus de homine* identificava nel peccato originale uno spartiacque per la storia degli uomini, in cui l'eminenza e la dignità che Agrippa aveva assegnato alla natura umana, celebrandone le qualità e le potenzialità in linea con l'antropologia ottimistica dell'*Asclepius*, potevano essere accolte nel contesto cristiano solo a patto di ricondurle al senso del racconto biblico, cioè nei limiti della condizione che precede la colpa e la caduta. Una lettura di questo genere avrebbe inevitabilmente escluso l'umanità da un percorso di redenzione post-paradisiaca, contestando non solo l'escatologia cristiana, bensì anche il progetto di valorizzazione delle capacità umane che Agrippa aveva elaborato nella stesura iniziale del *De occulta philosophia* recuperando i trattati ermetici in funzione di una riforma generale della magia. L'obiezione andava affrontata sottolineando il fatto che la scelta compiuta dai due progenitori aveva sottratto all'umanità solo temporaneamente quella perfezione che in origine ne definiva la natura. Affermare il contrario avrebbe significato sconfessare il contributo soteriologico di Cristo. Per questo motivo il *Dialogus* si concludeva analizzando la funzione teologica e antropologica del Messia nel contesto post-adamitico.⁴⁷ La rivelazione di Cristo riformulava dal principio la destinazione terrena dell'umanità condannata dal peccato originale. Assumendo la natura umana, Dio aveva illustrato a tutti uomini la via della salvezza, le parole e le azioni di Cristo, all'insegna delle quali ogni uomo non solo avrebbe cancellato gli effetti del peccato, bensì, soprattutto, avrebbe recuperato la dignità divina che, coerentemente con la volontà del Creatore, costituisce il senso ultimo dell'esistenza umana.

III. Adamo ed Eva come fisionomie della colpa

III.1. L'esegesi del peccato originale era stata presentata per sommi capi nel corso del *De homine*; l'assetto discontinuo e il carattere iniziatico dell'opuscolo non lasciavano spazio a un'enunciazione sistematica dei principi metodologici che avevano guidato la lettura di Agrippa. Una riflessione più organica e analitica sul tema sarebbe stata consegnata al *De originali peccato*, in cui il nucleo allegorico dell'interpretazione di Agrippa sarebbe stato non solo confermato, bensì ulteriormente arricchito di senso. A partire dalle premesse filosofiche del *Dialogus*, Agrippa ripercorreva la dinamica della colpa primordiale e organizzava nel *De originali peccato* un tragitto esplicativo più ampio che, servendosi di numerosi richiami scritturistici, atti a convalidare l'ipotesi di lettura sul piano strettamente teologico, permettesse di sciogliere il significato concettuale delle metafore adoperate nel racconto genesiaco.

È degna di considerazione la scelta di associare, seguendo un'ispirazione che proviene da Agostino, una facoltà dell'anima a ciascun personaggio del

⁴⁷ GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 128–130.

racconto.⁴⁸ Trattandosi di vere e proprie metafore filosofiche, Adamo, Eva e il Serpente raffigurerebbero le tre parti dell'anima, *mens*, *ratio* e *idolum*, secondo l'ormai classica tripartizione formulata nella *Theologia Platonica* di Marsilio Ficino.⁴⁹ L'*idolum*, la parte più prossima al corpo, costituisce il sostrato della facoltà fantastica, mediante cui l'anima rielabora in immagini mentali l'insieme delle informazioni che riceve dai sensi. Questa facoltà permette di tradurre sensazioni, emozioni, esperienze di vita in libere associazioni della fantasia. La *ratio* identifica propriamente l'attività di pensiero, quella facoltà che media tra i sensi e la mente ed è finalizzata a elaborare una scienza delle cose create, un sapere che procede con le sole proprie forze, senza ricorrere a garanzie ulteriori, nell'investigazione della realtà: alla ragione competono quindi attività cognitive proprie come il giudizio, il ragionamento, l'argomentazione, la dimostrazione. La *mens*, infine, rappresenta quella comunicazione diretta dell'anima con Dio che si realizza esclusivamente nella fede. La parte più nobile dell'anima è deputata alla comprensione delle idee di Dio e giunge a compimento quando apprende la verità, un perfezionamento che trasforma la facoltà razionale in facoltà intellettuale. L'esercizio della *mens* è altresì fruizione della sapienza divina e decontaminazione dell'anima dall'ignoranza, dalle opinioni, dai pregiudizi, dal male.⁵⁰ Questa purificazione è demandata in ultima istanza all'illuminazione che la grazia di Dio elargisce all'uomo: a colui che si eleva con la fede all'ispirazione mistico-spirituale. Tramite la fede, dunque, l'anima abbandona l'attività razionale e le sue prerogative logico-dialettiche, silenzia l'influenza dei sensi e tutta si dedica ad assimilare la sapienza di Dio.

Per avvalorare il suo discorso Agrippa si giovava di un'esposizione simbolica del peccato proposta e argomentata nell'*Isagoge* del cabalista cristiano Paolo Ricci⁵¹ – un autore la cui produzione era stata accolta molto favorevolmente nella

⁴⁸ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Riforma della magia*, p. 139, fn. 26.

⁴⁹ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, ed. VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, Brill, Leiden 1992, 3, 43, p. 538: « Anima humana constat mente, ratione, et idolo: mens illuminat rationem, ratio fluit in idolum, omnia una est anima »; come rileva Perrone Compagni, la fonte del passo di Agrippa è FICINUS, *Theologia Platonica*, 13, 2, vol. IV, p. 138: « Cum ex tribus illis partibus astringamur partim rerum ordini, partim non astringamur, ex quarta praecipue solvimur nostrisque sumus omnino. Haec ratio est, quam inter mentem animae caput et idolum animae pedem mediam collocamus ».

⁵⁰ AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 43, p. 538: « Ratio, nisi per mentem illuminetur, ab errore non est immunis; mens autem lumen rationi non praebeet, nisi lucente Deo, primo videlicet lumine ».

⁵¹ Questo paragrafo ripercorre le informazioni fornite in PERRONE COMPAGNI, *L'innocenza di Eva*, p. 70; cf. PAULUS RICIUS, *In cabalistarum seu allegorizantium eruditionem Isagoge*, Pavia, per Magistrum Jacob Burgofranco, 1510, c. 25r–26v. Per un'analisi del trattato di Ricci si veda CROFTON BLACK, « From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing Isagoge of Paulus Ricius, 1509–41 », *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 2/2 (2007), p. 136–173.

biblioteca di Agrippa durante gli anni italiani (1511–1518)⁵² – di cui recuperava l'impianto allegorico-filosofico al fine di includerlo abilmente nella trama della psicologia ficiniana.⁵³ Riconsiderando la teoria di Ricci, Agrippa allestiva una disposizione gerarchica delle facoltà dell'anima sulla base del valore e della funzione di ciascuna: se Adamo rappresenta la fede (*mens*), la facoltà più elevata, Eva corrisponde alla ragione (*ratio*), la parte più delicata, perché creata libera di scegliere tra il bene e il male: difatti, benché provenga direttamente da Adamo, in quanto la fede fonda la ragione, Eva è legata al contempo ai sensi, ossia al corpo e alla seduzione del corpo, raffigurati entrambi nel Serpente (*idolum*).⁵⁴ Oltre alla psicologia di Ficino e alla metaforologia di Ricci, Agrippa si giovava anche del *Crater Hermetis*, in cui Lazzarelli aveva descritto i significati allegorici dei *ligna* situati nel Paradiso di *Genesi*. In base alla lezione lazzarelliana Agrippa stabiliva i compiti delle due facoltà che rendono possibile all'uomo l'esercizio del libero arbitrio: se alla fede (Adamo) spetta l'albero della vita, definito « cognitio Dei [...] eiusque assidua contemplatio in omni pietate et iustitia », alla ragione (Eva), invece, spetterà l'albero della scienza del bene e del male, interpretato come « affectus carnis et prudentia terrenorum ».⁵⁵

All'interno di una visione teorica così articolata risultava determinante individuare correttamente il ruolo che fede e ragione svolgono nel contesto dell'episodio biblico. La gravità del peccato commesso, infatti, ricade su entrambi i progenitori, sebbene sia fondamentale distinguerne la corresponsabilità. Seguendo attentamente il dettato delle Scritture la proibizione di nutrirsi dall'albero della scienza riguarderebbe unicamente Adamo, non direttamente anche Eva, creata soltanto dopo la prescrizione divina e perciò non sottomessa all'adempimento.⁵⁶ Come puntualizza lo stesso Agrippa poco dopo, tale

⁵² NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 40–41. Sulla riflessione cabalistica di Ricci si vedano soprattutto FRANÇOIS SECRET, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Dunod, Paris 1964, trans. it. *I Cabalisti Cristiani del Rinascimento*, Arkeios, Roma 2001, p. 100–109; BERND ROLING, *Aristotelische Naturphilosophie und christliche Kabbalah im Werk des Paulus Ritusius*, De Gruyter, Tübingen 2007, p. 358–362.

⁵³ ZAMBELLI, *Cornelio Agrippa*, Erasmo, p. 65.

⁵⁴ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 14r–v: « Erant in Paradiso Adam et Eva, erat in eo etiam serpens callidior cunctis animantibus terrae. Adam quidem fides est stabilita in Deo, fundamentum rationis. Ideo ex costa Adae creata est Eva, ratio libera. Serpens autem est ipsa sensualitas, quae serpit in terrenis, caducis, infimis et carnalibus »; cf. A. KENT HIEATT, « Eve as Reason in a Tradition of Allegorical Interpretation of the Fall », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), p. 221–226; PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Riforma della magia*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 14r; cf. LODOVICO LAZARELLI SEPTEMPEDANI *Crater Hermetis*, in *Contenta in Hoc Volumine*, c. 64v: « Sicut divinatorum amor, contemplatio et sapientia lignum est vitae, ita caducarum et materialium rerum affectus et perscrutatio, lignum scientiae boni et mali appellari potest ». A proposito dell'impiego della metafora dei *ligna* si veda VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 235; GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 124–126.

⁵⁶ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 14v: « Lignum itaque scientiae boni et mali prohibitum fuit Adae,

distinzione ha un valore prettamente filosofico: « ratio enim posterior est fide et fides natura prior ratione ». Poiché non è subordinata al precetto che compete alla fede, la ragione potrà occuparsi legittimamente del mondo sensibile; potrà dunque dedicarsi a investigare e conoscere le realtà temporali.⁵⁷ Tuttavia il Serpente inganna Eva per mezzo della *concupiscentia sensibilibum*, determinando così l'annebbiamento della ragione. Nondimeno, l'insidia del tentatore, occorre precisare, non verrà imputata anche ad Eva, rendendola complice del Serpente, dal momento che il suo errore non consiste nell'aver subito l'inganno del Diavolo, bensì nell'essersi resa in seguito intermediaria dell'inganno, persuadendo con astuzia Adamo a gustare dall'albero proibito, ossia a compiere l'atto carnale. La colpa di Eva non risiede nel patto col Diavolo ma coincide con la volontà di incoraggiare Adamo a commettere il peccato.

Quantunque Agrippa si proponga di scagionare la donna, enucleando nel *De originali peccato* il ruolo di Eva a partire dal confronto con il Serpente, egli non fa altro che recuperare e confermare il giudizio alquanto negativo sul contributo femminile che era stato già formulato nel *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*. L'opuscolo del 1516 costituiva uno degli scritti fondativi della riforma magico-religiosa del Cristianesimo, rivendicata da Agrippa sulla base di dottrine ermetiche, neoplatoniche e cabalistiche, e maturata compiutamente durante il soggiorno in Italia. Attingendo al *De verbo mirifico* di Johannes Reuchlin, Agrippa aveva definito gli errori consecutivi che caratterizzano la colpa di Eva: disputare col Diavolo, interpretare falsamente il comando di Dio, mentire apertamente ad Adamo.⁵⁸ Gli atti erronei di Eva costituivano la premessa per ripercorrere la

scilicet fidei, ne homo fiduciam et spem ponat in creatis; non legitur prohibitum Evae, quae post praeceptum creata fuit»; cf. Gen. 2:22-25. Agrippa aveva già affrontato la questione dell'innocenza di Eva sia nel *De nobilitate et praecellentia foemine sexus*, sia nel *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*; cf. PERRONE COMPAGNI, *L'innocenza di Eva*, p. 59-80.

⁵⁷ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 14v: « Licet itaque rationi (quae a praecepto libera est) omnia quae creata sunt investigare, et de illis argumentari, syllogizare, quaerere, invenire, demonstrare, concludere, scientiam facere ».

⁵⁸ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*, in PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 162: « Hinc sophistae instar, Evam primo aggreditur et illam ex quaestione et ratione in certamen provocat, quaerens: 'Cur praecepit vobis Deus, ut non comedatis ex omni ligno Paradisi?' [Gen., 3:1]. Cum quo si Eva non disputasset, decepta non fuisset; quia vero cum diabolo in altercationem descendit, unica falsa et sophistica ratione decepta est; nec solum a fide iam decidit, sed et rationem simul amisit. Hinc coepit primo verba Dei falso interpretari, unde et mendacium commisit; simul ac de eloquiis Dei dubitare diffidereque praesumpsit. Ita enim respondit: 'De fructibus lignorum, quae sunt in Paradiso, vescimur; de fructu vero ligni, quod est in medio Paradisi, praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus et ne tangeremus illud, ne forte moriamur.' Ecce quam falso interpretata est praeceptum Dei, dicendo 'nobis' in plurali quod Deus soli Adae in singulari praecepit, antequam Eva crearetur; insuper 'ne tangeremus' quo utrobique mentita est. Deinde etiam dubitavit, ubi subdit 'ne forte.' Vides quomodo callida illa et diabolica ex quaestionibus proposita disceptatio decepit rationem; ratio autem deiicit fidem ». Per quanto riguarda la formulazione esegetica di Reuchlin, si veda IOANNES REUCHLIN, *De*

dinamica della colpa in chiave strettamente filosofica. Il *De originali peccato*, a ben vedere, insiste soprattutto sul carattere razionale del misfatto: la trasgressione consiste al contempo nell'atto di prevaricazione con cui la ragione si sostituisce alla fede, ingabbiandola nella fraudolenta evidenza di un falso sapere, la conoscenza sensibile, e nell'atto con cui l'assenso razionale agli inganni del mondo rinnega l'obbedienza alla volontà di Dio: « [Eva] deinde – sottolinea ancora Agrippa – per discursum argumentativum in sensibilibus decepit virum Adam, deiciens fidem, quae, delapsa in sensibilia, nihil plus veri credens, quam <quod> ex sensibilibus per rationem demonstrari potest ». ⁵⁹ La tracotanza umana, quindi, si radica nella decisione di elevare la ragione al di sopra della fede, di eleggerla a giudice supremo di verità e parametro di valutazione di ogni condotta. Per questo motivo, per ristabilire il corretto collocamento e riattivare il legame autentico tra le facoltà dell'anima, occorrerà che la ragione non turbi l'integrità della fede con l'inganno dei sensi, e che l'uomo non reputi verità ciò che soltanto la ragione stessa riesce a dimostrare per mezzo dei sensi. ⁶⁰

III.2. Per quanto riguarda la colpa di Adamo, essa consiste nell'aver prestato ascolto alla donna e, di conseguenza, nell'aver ubbidito alla malvagità del Serpente. Adamo ha scelto liberamente di dedicarsi ai sensi per assecondare la passione carnale: « Homo autem cum in honore esset virginitatis – ribadisce Agrippa richiamando il *Salmo* 48 – noluit intelligere ut caste viveret, sed per carnis libidinem factus est similis iumentis non habentibus rationem, et per mortem comparatus est illis ». ⁶¹ Rinneando impudentemente la verginità, la condizione in cui fruiva della beatitudine, l'uomo ha scelto il coito e per il suo tramite ha ottenuto la morte, l'esilio duraturo lontano dalla gloria immortale. ⁶²

verbo mirifico, ex aedibus Thomae Anshelmi Badensis, Tübingen, 1514, 2, c. D3r; cf. PERRONE COMPAGNI, *L'innocenza di Eva*, p. 69–70.

⁵⁹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. I4v. È accolta qui la congettura <quod> proposta da Perrone Compagni in EAD., *Riforma della magia*, p. 139, fn. 26.

⁶⁰ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. I4v–I5r: « Ideo non peccavit Eva comedendo de ligno scientiae boni et mali, nec obfuit humano generi, nec propter esum ligni corripuit illam Deus; sed quia obtulit viro suo Adae, cui vetitum erat de illo gustare. Neque enim licet rationi turbare fidem, sed subiecta debet esse fidei, nec fides debet rationi succumbere, sed firmiter sperare in Deo. Ideoque condemnavit Deus Adam quia credidit mulieri, neque vero debemus disputare de divinis, sed firmiter credere et sperare. De his vero, quae creata sunt, licet nobis rationis ministerio philosophari, disputare, concludere, non autem fidem et spem in illis ponere »; cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 235–236.

⁶¹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. I7r; cf. Ps., 48:13: « Et homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit. Comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis ».

⁶² AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. I6v: « Ob hanc itaque carnis pudendam libidinem eiectus est homo de Paradiso Dei, mortique traditus est, quia 'caro et sanguis' (ut ait Paulus) 'regnum Dei possidere non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptionem' [1 Cor., 15:50]. Praemia enim pudicitiae corruptio carnis possidere non potest. Corruptio autem coitus est et ad coitum

Abbandonata la contemplazione del Creatore, al cui esercizio era stato destinato, l'uomo primigenio si è rivolto al corpo e alla materia, reputandoli oggetto esclusivo di amore, apprendimento e dedizione.⁶³ L'empietà di Adamo, dunque, convinto di rintracciare altrove fuorché nella parola di Dio una corretta nozione del vero, si traduce nella protervia dell'uomo che, rinnegando i limiti della propria condizione, presume di eguagliare la divinità non soltanto nel possesso della sapienza, bensì anche nella facoltà di generare.⁶⁴

Questa puntualizzazione rischiarata assieme al contesto antropologico il significato gnoseologico della scelta di Adamo. In quanto metafora della contaminazione a cui la fede si abbandona deliberatamente, l'operazione di Adamo richiama il pericolo connaturato alla confusione tra i livelli di accesso dell'anima al sapere, ossia tra i campi d'azione che pertengono alle facoltà deputate alla conoscenza: mente, ragione, immaginazione. Nei termini posti dall'epistemologia ermetico-neoplatonica di Agrippa, l'anima non raggiunge mai la verità se il suo orizzonte conoscitivo si restringe al contributo della ragione e dei sensi, al mondo della materia, bensì necessita di elevarsi al piano intellettuale della mente, che permette alla ragione di comprendere le verità divine. Ma la conoscenza razionale può trasformarsi in vera sapienza solo grazie alla fede, aprendosi all'illuminazione divina. È il sostegno di Dio, infatti, a rendere possibile l'acquisizione di un sapere fondato, non soggetto a confutazione, non passibile di rettifica. Ed è solo la fede lo strumento di mediazione che congiunge l'uomo e Dio nella conversione spirituale, permettendo così all'anima di addentrarsi nei misteri religiosi.

Già con il *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* Agrippa era stato sufficientemente chiaro sul valore della fede.⁶⁵ In quanto illuminazione che promana direttamente dalla potenza di Dio, rendendo l'uomo capace di profetare e di compiere miracoli, la fede è per Agrippa « longe [...] nobilior atque excellentior quam scientie atque

pertinet, cuius praemium mors. Praemium autem castitatis vita aeterna, regnum Dei et habitatio Paradisi ».

⁶³ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 54-55.

⁶⁴ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 17r: « Homo itaque dum brutorum more ex voluptate carnis generare coeperat, divinae intuitivaeque intelligentiae spiritale semen amisit, dicente Deo: 'Non permanebit spiritus meus cum homine, quia caro est' [Gen., 6:3; LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 15r]; apertique sunt oculi eius in tenebris sensuum, ex quibus ratio omnem suam capit cognitionis materiam, et caligarunt in lumine puri intellectus, sicut accidere solet coeuntibus in tenebris ».

⁶⁵ AGRIPPA, *De triplici ratione*, p. 140: « Fides ergo, omni cognitione praestantior, quatenus non inanibus commentationibus, sed divinae revelationi tota innititur [REUCHLIN, *De verbo mirifico*, 1, c. b2v; *Ibid.*, 3, c. f1r], a primo lumine immedie descendens [GUILIELMUS DE ALVERNIA, *De fide*, 1, p. 6E], sola potest ea quae supra mundum sunt apprehendere. [...] Sola enim fides instrumentum est et medium, qua sola possumus Deum cognoscere et, ut aiunt Platonici, qua sola ad Deum accedimus [FICINUS, *De Christiana religione*, 37, p. 77] divinamque nanciscimur protectionem ac virtutem ».

artes ac credulitates, a rebus inferioribus per reflexionem a primo lumine receptam ad intellectum nostrum accedentes ».⁶⁶ Grazie alla fede l'anima non necessita di verificare le proprie nozioni e può costringere al silenzio i moti dell'immaginazione, al fine di dedicarsi, del tutto assorbita dal piano intellettuale, all'unione salvifica con Dio. Se l'attività della mente si esplica nella comprensione della volontà di Dio, la fede si configura come catarsi etica e conoscitiva; il conseguimento della verità, infatti, purifica la ragione dalle opinioni errate, scaturite dalla familiarità con la materia, e allontana l'uomo dalle azioni inique, promosse dall'ignoranza del bene. Pertanto solo un'anima che esercita la fede e si traspone interamente nella mente ottiene da Dio un sapere inoppugnabile.

A fronte di questo chiarimento teorico, la scelta di Adamo sottolinea il valore esiziale della confusione tra il piano razionale e il piano intellettuale. L'intenzione di elaborare in autonomia un percorso conoscitivo fondato sull'evidenza sensibile contesta apertamente il vincolo tra la sapienza e la sua unica fonte, l'autorità divina. Oltretutto l'illusione di sostituirsi alla divinità determina lo stravolgimento della condizione paradisiaca, un vero e proprio sconvolgimento metafisico che priva l'essere umano della vita eterna. Lo stesso Agrippa avrebbe fatto riferimento a questa metamorfosi antropologica, generata dalla negligenza della Parola di Dio, anche in un'altra orazione, probabilmente coeva ma pubblicata anch'essa soltanto nel 1529, la *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae*. Si tratta di un opuscolo teologico che si ispirava a testi come l'*Enchiridion*, la *Paraclesis* e la *Ratio* di Erasmo⁶⁷ e in cui, tematizzando il valore della letteratura dei Gentili per un teologo cristiano, Agrippa rivendicava l'opportunità di sottoporre a scrupolosa indagine gli scritti dei filosofi pagani, specialmente quelli di Ermete Trismegisto, al fine di preservare dell'antichità ignara di Cristo almeno quelle dottrine ritenute conformi agli insegnamenti del Vangelo.⁶⁸

Cionondimeno nel corso della dissuasoria Agrippa ammoniva risolutamente l'uditorio, un pubblico di ecclesiastici appassionati lettori del *Corpus Hermeticum*, dissuadendoli dal « nefarium et inexpiabile scelus » di cercare, per la salvezza dell'anima, la conoscenza di Dio in altri luoghi o in altri testi che non fossero le Sacre Scritture.⁶⁹ La ricerca di una fonte di verità differente dalla Rivelazione

⁶⁶ Così scrive nella stesura iniziale del *De occulta philosophia*, la redazione manoscritta inviata a Tritemio e risalente al 1510; AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia* [Würzburg], 3, 28, fol. 102v. Il passo è ripreso da PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Riforma della magia*, p. 136-137, fn. 13.

⁶⁸ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae*, in DARIO GURASHI, « Formare i cristiani con lo studio dei pagani: la *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae* di Cornelio Agrippa », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 25/2 (2019), p. 456: « Si hæc facere poteritis, & Ethnicorum literas repurgatas ad Christianam eruditionem transtuleritis, & ab Ægyptiis, tanquam iniustis possessoribus, opima spolia uel clanculum surripientes, illorumque opibus ditati ecclesiam Dei locupletaueritis, iam non admodum dissuadeo, sed consulo uobis Ethnicam literaturam ».

⁶⁹ AGRIPPA, *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae*, c. H6v: « Videte & caete nequando, dum potestatem ac Dei

esprime compiutamente l'arroccarsi della fede nelle persuasioni della ragione, la confusione, radicatasi nell'anima, tra scienza e sapienza, la sovrapposizione del lume naturale al lume divino. Per Agrippa rinunciare al sostegno di Dio, che identifica nella sapienza e nella giustizia la missione religiosa dell'uomo, significa abbracciare volutamente la corruzione.⁷⁰

IV. Questioni aporetiche e antinomie di lettura

IV.1. Se tali risultano i passaggi più rilevanti dello studio a cui Agrippa sottopone la condotta di Adamo ed Eva, nel corso della declamazione emergono significativamente anche ulteriori spunti di indagine che, arricchendo la comprensione, permettono di inquadrare ancora meglio l'impianto interpretativo di Agrippa, accentuando non solo le peculiarità, bensì soprattutto le aporie derivanti dal suo approccio alla riflessione teologica. Il dialogo aperto che Agrippa istituisce con la tradizione esegetica, la convergenza o la divergenza teorica che egli riscontra nel confronto con i Padri della Chiesa, definiscono da un lato il valore antidogmatico dell'esposizione, ma dall'altro asseverano il carattere incompiuto dell'argomentazione. È utile a tal proposito soffermarsi su alcuni esempi indicativi, in cui il commento di passi problematici o la decodificazione di figure bibliche aprono la via a oscurità o incoerenze che contraddistinguono la teorizzazione del *De originali peccato*.

Nell'ottica di corroborare l'identificazione del Serpente, il demone tentatore di Eva, con il membro virile, Agrippa richiama un passo tratto dal *Libro di Giobbe* in cui vengono descritte le caratteristiche del Behemoth, l'animale leggendario tradizionalmente associato a Satana: « Nullum itaque alium daemonem Evam tentasse arbitramur, quam illum de quo ait Iob: 'cuius virtus est in lumbis, et potestas in umbilico' [Io., 40:16], quem Paulus vocat: 'stimulum carnis et angelum Sathanae' [2 Cor., 12:7] ».⁷¹ Il riferimento poggia sull'illustrazione delle metafore bibliche, impiegate per alludere agli organi genitali dell'uomo e della donna, che San Gerolamo aveva presentato dettagliatamente nella celebre *Epistola ad Eustochio*,⁷² un testo fondamentale dal quale, assieme al trattato *Adversus*

sapientiam aliunde quam ab ipso Deo quæritis, in eandem ipsam potestatem sapientiamque nefario et inexpliabili scelere committatis, quare derelicti tandem in 'reprobum sensum' [Rom., 1:28], uitam simul cum salute amittatis. Nam si 'malus dæmon semel uobis salutis uerba furatus fuerit de memoria, etiamsi uelit saluari, non poteritis; perdidistis enim uiam per quam peruenitur ad salutem' [S. CLEMENS ROMANUS, *Recognitiones*, 1, 26, ed. E. G. Gersdorf, Lipsiae 1838, p. 17] ».

⁷⁰ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 14r: « Defecit [scil. fides] adeo divinaque cognitione et contemplatione, ad quam creata est a Deo. Per quam ignorantiam et negligentiam Dei, [...] privatus homo divino lumine, cum minime vitam nanciscebatur, perpetuam incurrit mortem ».

⁷¹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 16r; cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 236.

⁷² HIERONYMUS, *Epistolae*, 22, 11 (Patrologia Latina 22, col. 400-401): « Job Deo carus, et testimonio ipsius immaculatus et simplex, audi quid de diabolo suspicetur: 'Virtus ejus in lumbis, et

Jovinianum dello stesso Gerolamo, Agrippa aveva attinto sia per la stesura del *De originali peccato*, sia per la preparazione di opuscoli come il *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* (progettato nel 1509 ma pubblicato soltanto nel 1529), il *De sacramento matrimonii* (risalente al 1526), il *Sermo de vita monastica* (di datazione incerta) e il *De beatissimae Annae monogamia* (stampato nel 1534) per stabilire la superiorità della castità sulla vita matrimoniale.

La novità del ragionamento di Agrippa in un passaggio così delicato consiste nella precisazione « quem Paulus vocat: 'stimulum carnis et angelum Sathanae' », introdotta a proposito del membro virile per confermare la convergenza tra l'Antico e il Nuovo Testamento. Se da un lato Agrippa sposa l'interpretazione geronimiana del Behemoth, dall'altro una lettura in chiave sessuale del corrispondente passo paolino tratto dalla *Seconda lettera ai Corinzi* rappresenta, in realtà, una vera e propria rielaborazione di un brano di per sé esegeticamente controverso. In particolare, seguendo il dettato della lettera, l'Apostolo deprecava la superbia che poteva derivargli dalle rivelazioni profetiche di cui rivendicava l'esperienza. Al contempo sottolineava il fatto che il Signore lo aveva costretto a subire il pungolo della carne, necessario per combattere e umiliare la tracotanza umana. Paolo sembrava alludere a un dolore corporeo o, più genericamente a un male fisico che lo attanagliava, ma non propriamente al desiderio carnale o al membro virile.⁷³ La reinterpretazione del discorso in questa direzione risulta intelligibile solo a patto di accogliere il quadro ideologico allestito per il *De originali peccato*. Infatti, il ricorso di Agrippa alle epistole paoline muove dall'esigenza di convalidare in un'ottica cristiana – decodificando in chiave sessuale i riferimenti di Paolo a Satana – la versione ermetica del peccato come tracotanza di natura sessuale fondata sulla dottrina, anch'essa ermetica, che ascrive al primo uomo la superbia di voler eguagliare Dio peculiarmente nella capacità di generare.⁷⁴

IV.2. Una sezione ampia della declamazione (c. I7v–I8v della *editio princeps*) è dedicata alla chiarificazione della simbologia connessa alle generazioni adamitiche che precedono il diluvio universale. In questi passaggi Agrippa si addentra in complesse analisi eziologiche sui nomi dei personaggi che si

potestas ejus in umbilico' (*Job*. 4). Honesti viri mulierisque genitalia immutatis sunt appellata nominibus. [...] Omnis igitur adversus viros diaboli virtus in lumbis est: omnis in umbilico contra feminas fortitudo ».

⁷³ 2 Cor., 12:7–10: « Et ne magnitudo revelationum extollat me, datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanæ, qui me colaphizet. Propter quod ter Dominum rogavi ut discederet a me: et dixit mihi: Sufficit tibi gratia mea: nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur. Libenter igitur gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi. Propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus meis, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum ».

⁷⁴ *Pimander*, 1, c. 5r (NF 1, p. 10–11).

avvicendano in *Genesi*, attingendo prevalentemente al capitolo 20 del XV libro del *De civitate Dei* di Agostino e al *De nominibus Hebraicis* di Gerolamo. Nel corso della rassegna l'esposizione si sofferma accuratamente sulla ricostruzione dei rami genealogici che promanano da Caino e da Seth (l'ultimo figlio di Adamo ed Eva, nato dopo il sacrificio di Abele), ai quali viene associata una complessa numerologia ricavata, tra le altre fonti, dal recente *De mystica numerorum significatione* (1513) di Josse Clichtove.⁷⁵ Accurata attenzione è dedicata al numero dieci (il numero della stirpe benedetta di Seth, al termine della quale sarebbe nato Cristo) come simbolo del Decalogo, quindi della Legge in generale e della castità in particolare, e al numero undici (il numero della stirpe maledetta di Caino), allusione, viceversa, alla trasgressione della Legge e alla pervasività del peccato sessuale.⁷⁶ L'articolato ragionamento si conclude accennando a Neema, figlia di Lamech e ultima discendente della stirpe di Caino (Gen., 4:22), un personaggio il cui valore simbolico offre un'occasione preziosa per ridefinire, nel corso del *De originali peccato*, il ruolo della donna nella trasmissione della colpa primordiale a tutto il genere umano.

Neema era stata menzionata anche in precedenza, nel momento in cui Agrippa aveva riflettuto sulla distribuzione di genere che scandisce le due discendenze prese in esame, rilevando come la stirpe di Seth fosse contraddistinta dalla presenza di numerosi figli, dettagliatamente elencati nella genealogia, e di numerose figlie, i cui nomi, tuttavia, risultavano sconosciuti. Nella prima serie spiccava senz'altro Noè, il figlio immacolato che avrebbe riscattato il genere umano dopo il diluvio universale. Nel caso dei discendenti di Caino, al contrario, la Scrittura rammentava significativamente soltanto Neema, alludendo con ciò al fatto che la stirpe maledetta si sarebbe conclusa proprio nel diluvio.⁷⁷ Tale precisazione chiariva ancora meglio, a parere di Agrippa, il ruolo

⁷⁵ IUDOCI CLICHTOVEI *De mystica numerorum significatione opusculum*, Henricus Stephanus, Paris 1513.

⁷⁶ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 17v-18r: «Duos filios genuit Adam. Primum Cain, qui per transgressionem conceptus est filius peccati, filius sanguinis, invidus, homicida, desperans de misericordia Dei. Neque enim nasci poterat bonus qui cum tanto malo conceptus erat. Alter vero filius natus est Abel, conceptus post poenitentiam transgressionis, filius misericordiae et iustus. Hic virgo occiditur, prima hostia accepta Deo in expiationem carnis, qui 'sordes nuptiarum carnis abluit cruore martyrii' [HIERONYMUS, *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1, 26, (PL 23, col. 257)]. Sequitur hunc tertius filius Seth, cuius nomen resurrectionem sonat [AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 15, 17 (PL 41, col. 461)]. Ex eo enim nasciturus erat Iesus Christus, per quem a tanto lapsu aliquando resurrecturi eramus ».

⁷⁷ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 18r-v: «Circa quod notandum est, quod cum Seth multos genuisse filios et filias legatur [Gen., 5:7], Scripturam nullam foeminam genitam nominatim exprimere. In generationibus autem Cain filii irae, novissime foemina Neema genita nominatur [Gen., 4:22]. Per quod eleganter significatur generationem Cain, quae per carnalem marium ac foeminarum copulam describitur, generationem esse peccati ad mortem, de qua nascuntur peccatores diluvio perituri. [...] Facile itaque hinc cernimus virginitatis transgressum per carnis voluptatem, peccatum fuisse primi parentis, quod per diluvium iam primo quidem punitum est,

simbolico di Neema nella vicenda genesiaca. In altri termini, Agrippa interpretava il suo nome come metafora del piacere sensuale (*voluptas*), prediligendo così una delle tre etimologie presentate da Gerolamo (*decor*, *voluptas*, *fides*) e ripresa in seguito da Agostino.⁷⁸ Conseguentemente istituiva un parallelismo tra Eva e Neema, segnalando come la Scrittura, al fine di rendere più evidente il fondamento carnale del peccato, avesse rimarcato il contributo di una donna al contempo per aprire e per chiudere la stirpe esclusa dalla resurrezione:

Hinc notandum quod sicut per mulierem incepit transgressio diluviumque peccatorum, ita et in muliere consumatum est diluvium aquarum, videlicet in Noema ultima filia Lamech digami, quod nomen Noema voluptatem sonat. Hinc non absurde coniectare possumus in voluptate carnis fuisse transgressionem ortumque diluvium peccatorum.⁷⁹

L'operazione risultava foriera di conseguenze teoriche non indifferenti. Insistendo sulla castità come comportamento vincolante per la redenzione, Agrippa valorizzava la condotta di Noè, l'uomo della nuova generazione, il quale si era debitamente astenuto dall'unione coniugale per tutta la durata della permanenza sull'arca della salvezza, simbolo del Paradiso e della Chiesa.⁸⁰ Se l'umanità poteva risorgere dopo il diluvio grazie all'intervento decisivo di un uomo, non altrettanto salvifico risultava il contributo delle donne che Agrippa aveva richiamato nel corso dell'esposizione. Collocando Eva e Neema nell'ambito concettuale della *voluptas*, Agrippa rendeva la donna inequivocabilmente fomite del peccato, poiché associava la femminilità e la sua espressione genitale alla tentazione della carne: Eva e Neema costituivano, dunque, *incipit* ed *explicit* della stirpe votata alla perdizione. Tale slittamento teorico, assertore del pregiudizio misogino, urtava apertamente con la descrizione della vicenda di Eva, in cui, al contrario, era stato propriamente il membro virile a costituire l'occasione della disubbidienza e dunque la mascolinità di Adamo a istigare la tentazione dei sensi. L'aspetto paradossale dell'antitesi risalta nella scelta di Agrippa di invocare proprio la *voluptas* e il corredo dottrinale afferente al fine di ridimensionare il concorso della donna al compimento del peccato, mirando piuttosto a spostare

sed aboleri non potuit »; cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 240.

⁷⁸ HIERONYMUS, *De nominibus Hebraicis* (PL 23, col. 782): « Noemma, decor, sive voluptas, vel fides »; AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 15, 20, (PL 41, col. 465): « Progenies ergo ex Adam per Cain sceleratum undenario numero finitur, quo peccatum significatur; et ipse numerus femina clauditur, a quo sexu initium factum est peccati, per quod omnes morimur. Commissum est autem, ut et voluptas carnis, quae spiritui resisteret, sequeretur. Nam et ipsa filia Lamech Noemma voluptas interpretatur ».

⁷⁹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, cit., c. I8v.

⁸⁰ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. I8v: « Attamen Noha et filii eius, quamdiu incolunt arcam salutis, quae Paradisi terrestres figuram Ecclesiaeque typum praefert, ab uxoribus separantur ».

l'attenzione del discorso sulla gravità della colpa di Adamo, il vero protagonista del misfatto, che aveva allentato deliberatamente il controllo sul proprio corpo e sulle sue pulsioni.

IV.3. La contraddittorietà degli argomenti addotti appare similmente tangibile anche in un altro caso di particolare interesse, in cui Agrippa richiama la circoncisione dell'uomo e la purificazione della donna dopo il parto come simboli di punizione ed espiazione del peccato originale. La prescrizione rivolta ad Abramo, sottolinea Agrippa, non soltanto imputa all'organo virile la violazione dell'innocenza paradisiaca, che verrà simbolicamente riparata nel rituale della circoncisione, bensì, scagionando la donna, grava al contempo l'uomo della responsabilità di trasmettere il peccato alla propria discendenza:

Successit post diluvium circumcisionis signaculum ad Abraham Deo dilectum [Gen., 17:9-14], poena simul ac medicina peccati originalis, quae facta est in praeputio; in eo quidem membro, in quo primus parens peccaverat, ut videlicet peccatum originis et naturae in ipso quoque naturae et originis membro obtruncaretur, imprimereturque in ipso libidinis membro transgressae continentiae castitatisque memoria. Verum quia peccatum hoc a patre masculo, non a matre foemina contrahitur, eo quod mulier es nasciturae proli nulla vitae formam addere, sed corporis materiam duntaxat ministrare arbitrantur. Ideoque mulieres incircumcisae manserunt, sed datum est illis praeceptum purificationis post partum [Lev., 12:4-5].⁸¹

L'ereditarietà per via paterna della colpa, come argomento in favore dell'innocenza di Eva, era stata affrontata anche nell'orazione *De nobilitate et praecellencia foeminei sexus*, nella quale Agrippa si impegnava ad illustrare le varie *rationes* adducibili per dimostrare la superiorità ontologica della donna sull'uomo.⁸² Nell'opuscolo Agrippa ripercorreva in primo luogo la dinamica della trasgressione, senza però evidenziarne, come sarebbe accaduto nel *De originali peccato*, la natura sessuale; in secondo luogo rimarcava anche qui il ruolo determinante di Adamo (che aveva intenzionalmente trasgredito l'interdizione di cibarsi del frutto dell'albero del bene e del male) e mirava ad attenuare fortemente il contributo di Eva nel misfatto (Eva aveva peccato indirettamente, non volontariamente, perché ingannata dal Serpente).⁸³ Il divario di

⁸¹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. Kv.

⁸² AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate et praecellencia foeminei sexus*, édition critique d'après le texte d'Anverse 1529, eds. ROLAND ANTONIOLI, C. BÉNÉ, O. SAUVAGE, Droz, Genève 1990, p. 66: « Ideoque vetus lex omne masculinum circumcidi iussit, foeminas autem incircumcisae manere, peccatum videlicet originis in eo sexu, qui peccasset, solummodo puniendum statuens ».

⁸³ AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate et praecellencia foeminei sexus*, p. 65-66: « Viro namque interdictus erat fructus ligni, mulieri non item, quae neque dum creata erat, illam enim Deus ab initio liberam

responsabilità tra l'uomo e la donna, che il *De nobilitate* avvalorava richiamandosi per l'appunto al precetto della circoncisione,⁸⁴ avrebbe trovato nel *De originali peccato* un'interessante convalida in campo fisiologico a partire dalla biologia aristotelica, che Agrippa richiamava scorrendo del concepimento e precisando la specifica funzione che i sessi svolgono nella procreazione: se il seme maschile trasmette al nascituro il principio vitale (*forma vitae*), il seme femminile rappresenta unicamente il ricettacolo materiale dell'embrione (*materia corporis*).⁸⁵

Eppure, quantunque l'argomento aristotelico, addotto a supporto della trasmissione maschile della colpa, risulti coerente nel paradigma interpretativo del *De originali peccato* (la ragione-Eva non è sottomessa alla prescrizione che riguarda la fede-Adamo), il ruolo puramente passivo della donna contrasta apertamente con i presupposti biologici, risalenti alla medicina ippocratica, a cui lo stesso Agrippa si era ispirato nel *De nobilitate*, al fine di stabilire la superiorità della donna nell'ambito del concepimento. Dopo essersi riferito esplicitamente a Galeno e ad Avicenna egli aveva sostenuto il ruolo pressoché trascurabile del seme maschile, rivendicando per il seme femminile la funzione decisiva, in quanto 'materia e nutrimento del feto'.⁸⁶ L'incoerenza della formulazione, efficacemente rilevata da Perrone Compagni, necessita di essere inquadrata nel contesto letterario degli opuscoli teologici di Agrippa, che accordano all'autore una certa libertà nella scelta e nell'organizzazione degli argomenti a supporto dell'esposizione; una libertà che può tradursi persino nel presentare un'antinomia di metodo, più precisamente nell'addurre motivi discordanti tra loro a sostegno di una medesima tesi. Dal momento che rientrano nel genere declamatorio, opere come il *De originali peccato* e il *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus* presentano argomenti funzionali alla persuasione retorica dell'ascoltatore o del lettore, non di certo cogenti dimostrazioni scientifiche,

esse voluit, vir itaque comedendo peccavit, non mulier, vir mortem dedit, non mulier. Et nos omnes peccavimus in Adam, non in Eva, ipsumque originale peccatum non a matre foemina, sed a patre masculo contrahimus. [...] Neque praeterea increpavit Deus mulierem, quia comederat, sed quia mali occasionem dedisset viro atque id quidem imprudens, eo quod per diabolum tentaretur. Vir itaque ex certa scientia peccavit, mulier erravit ignorans et decepta ».

⁸⁴ AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, p. 66: « Ideoque vetus lex omne masculinum circumcidi iussit, foeminas autem incircumcisas manere, peccatum videlicet originis in eo sexu qui peccasset, solum modo puniendum statuens ».

⁸⁵ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *L'innocenza di Eva*, p. 71.

⁸⁶ AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate*, p. 60: « Quod (quod ne omittamus), nonne in humani generis procreatione videmus naturam viris mulierem praetulisse? Quod hoc maxime perspicuum est, quia solum muliebre semen Galeno et Avicenna testibus est materia et nutrimentum foetus, viri maxime, quod illi quodammodo ut accidens substantiae ingrediatur ». Per le fonti mediche, segnatale a margine già nell'edizione del 1529, cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 207, fn. 77: « Galenus, 2, de spermate, et 14, de utilitate particularum. Avicenna, *Liber canonis*, liber 1, sen. 1, doctrina 5; consulted in ed. Venice, 1507, repr. Hildesheim, 1964, fols. 7v-8r ».

come richiederebbe invece un trattato.⁸⁷

IV.4. Un passo testuale meritevole di attenzione riguarda la chiarificazione dell'atteggiamento assunto dai progenitori in seguito alla trasgressione. Il brano si colloca nella descrizione della vergogna che accompagna il compimento del peccato. Seguendo attentamente il dettato di *Genesi*, Agrippa si concentra sulla reazione dei due progenitori, i quali, pienamente consapevoli dell'entità della violazione appena commessa, arrossiscono della propria nudità, riconoscono la realtà della colpa e decidono di coprirsi i genitali, evidenziando così la scaturigine del peccato.⁸⁸ A suggellare l'esposizione Agrippa sottolinea il valore sociale della vergogna, inscritta nella compagine delle relazioni umane, includendo la seguente delucidazione:

'Pudet enim' usque in hunc diem 'libidinis huius humanam sine ulla dubitatione naturam,' quae nec in uxoribus quidem sine pudore est, nec tam 'iustum' licitumve 'est quod' ob fragilitatem carnis nostrae concessum est nobis 'cum uxore,' quin 'palam non pudeat id agere.' 'Quod si aliquis,' iuxta Diogenis Cinici dogma, id palam etiam vel cum uxore 'ausus sit' tentare, credo illum non tam 'lapidantium telis, quam stercorum sordibus conspuentiumque salivis obrutum iri' [AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 20, (PL 41, col. 428)]. Ob hanc itaque carnis pudendam libidinem eiectus est homo de Paradiso Dei mortique traditus est, quia 'caro et sanguis', ut ait Paulus, 'regnum Dei possidere non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptionem' [1 Cor., 15:50].⁸⁹

Il ragionamento risulta in una collazione e riscrittura di passi recuperati dal capitolo 20 del XIV libro del *De civitate Dei*, in cui Agostino, dopo aver ragionato sulla passione sessuale come ostacolo per l'autocontrollo dell'individuo, discorre delle stravaganze degli antichi Cinici, la cui spudoratezza in campo morale, stando a quanto si tramanda, si spingeva sino al punto di incoraggiare i coniugi

⁸⁷ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *L'innocenza di Eva*, p. 72; cf. NEWMAN, *Renaissance feminism*, p. 338-339. Sull'adozione del genere declamatorio in Agrippa si veda specialmente VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 153-184.

⁸⁸ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 16r-v: « 'Indignata itaque et recedente divina luce' [AGRIPPA, *Dialogus de homine*, p. 196] castitatisque spiritu, invaluit scientia carnis, in qua 'aperti sunt oculi amborum' et cognoverunt malum [Gen., 3:7]. Quidnam cognoverunt? Quid viderunt? Cognoverunt quidem malum suum, peccatum suum, mortem suam, propter impudicitiam suam. Et viderunt 'se esse nudos,' et erubuerunt, et absconderunt se 'a facie Domini' [Gen., 3:8] et absconderunt membra in quibus peccaverunt per impudicitiam [Gen., 3:7]. Propter commissam libidinem erubuerunt et, pudendis contextis, puduit nuditatis et, revelatis oculis, cognoverunt fructum quem genuerunt malum, fructum corruptionis atque mortis, quos Paulus his verbis alloquitur: 'Quem ergo fructum habuistis in illis, in quibus usque nunc erubescitis? Nam finis illorum mors est' [Rom., 6:21] ».

⁸⁹ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. 16v.

all'unione carnale in pubblico.⁹⁰ L'immoralità del gesto, rivendicato allora da Diogene per comprovare l'assoluta innocenza della sfera sessuale nell'ambito della vita coniugale, avrebbe suscitato a tal punto riprovazione che, rilevava Agostino, a differenza degli antichi, i Cinici a lui contemporanei non esitavano ad astenersi dal praticare una simile turpitudine per non essere oltraggiati dalla pubblica indignazione. Difatti, il senso del pudore, che gli uomini provano riconoscendo l'abiezione dell'atto, attesta una profonda lacerazione dell'ordine naturale, e la vergogna che lo accompagna certifica il disconoscimento della condizione più propriamente umana, un sovvertimento che risale esattamente al peccato originale, al turbamento che Adamo ed Eva provarono dinnanzi alla propria nudità. Questo turbamento scaturisce dalla disobbedienza primordiale che ha gettato l'uomo nella morsa esiziale della *pudenda libido*.⁹¹ Dopo aver peccato l'uomo ha perso il controllo sulla propria volontà e sui propri impulsi; si è dunque abbandonato alla passione sino al punto di stravolgere la sua stessa natura.⁹²

Siffatta disamina, a ben vedere, induce Agostino a negare risolutamente – a differenza di quanto riterrà Agrippa – che la copula coincida col peccato vero e proprio dei progenitori, e ad affermare, altresì, che l'attenuazione dell'inibizione sessuale consegue dal peccato originale ed è il prodotto di una degenerazione della volontà.⁹³ La puntualizzazione permette così di scansare una contraddizione che altrimenti risulterebbe invalicabile a partire dal dettato delle Scritture.

⁹⁰ AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 20 (PL 41, col. 428); cf. DIOGENE LAERZIO, *Vite dei filosofi*, ed. M. GIGANTE, Laterza, Bari 1983, vol. I, lib. 6, cap. 2, p. 273: «[Diogene] era solito fare ogni cosa alla luce del giorno, anche ciò che riguarda Demetra e Afrodite. Amava discutere e concludere nel seguente modo: 'Se far colazione non è strano, neppure nella piazza del mercato è strano. Non è strano far colazione; dunque non è neppure strano fare colazione nella piazza del mercato' ».

⁹¹ Sulla definizione del desiderio sessuale si legga AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 15, (PL 41, col. 424): « Voluptatem vero praecedit appetitus quidam, qui sentitur in carne quasi cupiditas eius, sicut fames et sitis et ea, quae in genitalibus usitatus libido nominatur, cum hoc sit generale vocabulum omnis cupiditatis ».

⁹² AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 20, (PL 41, col. 428): « Pudet igitur huius libidinis humanam sine ulla dubitatione naturam, et merito pudet. In eius quippe inobedientia, quae genitalia corporis membra solis suis motibus subdidit et potestati voluntatis eripuit, satis ostenditur, quid sit hominis illi primae inobedientiae retributum; quod in ea parte maxime oportuit apparere, qua generatur ipsa natura, quae illo primo et magno in deterius est mutata peccato ».

⁹³ AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 21, (PL 41, col. 428): « Post peccatum quippe orta est haec libido; post peccatum eam natura non impudens amissa potestate, cui corpus ex omni parte serviebat, sensit, attendit, erubuit, operuit ». Cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 227: « Many students, both Church Fathers and scholastic theologians, believed Original Sin was transmitted through sexual lust, a particular form of *concupiscentia*. Some students, notably St. Augustine, believed additionally that *concupiscentia*, in the restricted sense of sexual appetite, is a punishment inflicted on man for Adam's transgression of God's law. In scholastic theology, it was an issue as to whether *concupiscentia* as the *fomes peccati* is a constituent element of original sin, or whether it is only concomitant to it ».

Qualora la disobbedienza si fosse concretizzata in un atto carnale, i due progenitori non avrebbero potuto adempiere alla benedizione sulla fecondità contenuta in Gen., 1:28: « Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram »; una prescrizione che Dio impartisce *ab origine*, quindi prima del peccato e a prescindere da esso.⁹⁴ L'obiezione, relativa al precetto su cui del resto si incardina il sacramento del matrimonio, evidenzerebbe in tal caso l'incongruenza del volere di Dio, che condanna in Adamo ed Eva esattamente ciò che prescrive loro di compiere. Se il sacramento del matrimonio era già stato predisposto dal Creatore indipendentemente dall'occorrenza del peccato originale, non è l'unione sessuale a costituire il discrimine della vicenda adamitica. Elemento determinante per Agostino è il ruolo della *libido*, che sorge dopo il peccato e sconvolge la volontà, incidendo sulla natura stessa dell'essere umano. Di conseguenza, poiché la divinità ha concesso sin dal principio ai progenitori di riprodursi in Paradiso, la soddisfazione della vita coniugale richiederebbe un atto spontaneo della volontà, un autocontrollo totale sugli organi e sulle funzioni di cui l'uomo dispone, non di certo la costrizione bestiale indotta dalla *libido*, quella condizione di depravazione della volontà di cui si prova perennemente vergogna. Esercitando il pieno dominio sul proprio corpo, conclude Agostino, l'uomo avrebbe potuto compiere liberamente e innocentemente ciò che adesso, nel peccato, compie colpevolmente e soltanto asservendosi alla *libido*.⁹⁵

In questo contesto l'operazione di Agrippa consiste da un lato nell'accogliere l'analisi agostiniana che identifica nella *libido* l'antagonista della volontà per il dominio sulle parti del corpo, dall'altro, viceversa, nel rovesciare l'impostazione esegetica dell'Ipponense, rigettando la distinzione tra peccato originale e *libido*, e riaffermando altresì la convergenza tra sessualità e disubbidienza.⁹⁶ Il richiamo al pudore documenta per l'appunto a livello teologico e antropologico il

⁹⁴ AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 21, (PL 41, col. 428): « Illa vero benedictio nuptiarum, ut coniugati crescerent et multiplicarentur et implerent terram, quamvis et in delinquentibus manserit, tamen antequam delinquerent data est, ut cognosceretur procreationem filiorum ad gloriam connubii, non ad poenam pertinere peccati ».

⁹⁵ AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 24, (PL 41, col. 432): « Seminaret igitur prolem vir, susciperet femina genitalibus membris, quando id opus esset et quantum opus esset, voluntate motis, non libidine concitatis. [...] Sic ergo et ipse homo potuit oboedientiam etiam inferiorum habere membrorum, quam sua inoboedientia perdidit. Neque enim Deo difficile fuit sic illum condere, ut in eius carne etiam illud non nisi eius voluntate moveretur, quod nunc nisi libidine non movetur ».

⁹⁶ Nella replica a Dietrich Wichwael Agrippa puntualizza ancora una volta il suo pensiero, AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate* (1529), c. L3v: « Hinc cum omnia et singula hominis membra non nisi iubente rationalis animae voluntate moventur ad opus, solum genitale membrum sic libido obstrinxit, sic peccatum imperio suo mancipavit, ut si haec defuerit, aut non ultra vel excitata surrexerit, moveri ad opus omnino non possit. Ipsum igitur opus libidinis fuisse videtur hoc primordiale humanae naturae peccatum, totiusque humanae naturae corruptela, cuiusque in hunc diem pudet homines, intuentiumque oculos erubescendo devitant ».

fondamento sessuale della trasgressione. Elemento decisivo della disamina agostiniana è per Agrippa il connubio tra pudore e unione coniugale, valido al di là della distinzione tra un atto commesso in pubblico o in privato. In altri termini, il sentimento specifico della vergogna dinanzi alla nudità dei propri genitali, che accompagna l'esperienza della sessualità nei coniugi e che risulta di per sé riprovevole qualora l'atto peccaminoso venga perpetrato pubblicamente, suscita ugualmente imbarazzo e riprovazione nella sfera privata, a testimonianza del fatto universale che, per mezzo dell'unione sessuale, l'uomo e la donna riconoscono e ripercorrono, nella propria storia individuale, il peccato di Adamo ed Eva secondo la sua autentica radice.

IV.5. Da ultimo è meritevole di segnalazione un intervento di rimaneggiamento a cui Agrippa sottopose il dettato del *De originali peccato* nella riedizione del 1532. La revisione del testo del 1529, che attesta la cura che Agrippa dedicava periodicamente ai suoi scritti, riguarda l'integrazione di un brano introdotto allo scopo di precisare, sul piano della regolamentazione alimentare, le conseguenze derivanti dalla scelta dei progenitori di osservare la castità o di esercitare la sessualità:

Praemia enim pudicitiae corruptio carnis possidere non potest. Corruptio autem coitus est et ad coitum pertinet, cuius praemium mors. Praemium autem castitatis vita aeterna, regnum Dei et habitatio Paradisi. <Cibus hominis in Paradiso fructus terrae, cibus virgineus nullo coitu propagatus. Extra Paradisum lapso per coitum animalia coeuntia in cibum concessa sunt>. Scimus enim Adam et Evam, quamdiu virgines erant, Paradisum inhabitasse, eiectos autem de Paradiso quando nuptiae per carnem consummatae sunt utque Paradisum virginitas dedit, sic terram nuptiae [HIERONYMUS, *Adversus Iovinianum*, 1, 16 (PL 23, col. 246)].⁹⁷

A supporto della distinzione tra il premio della castità e il premio dell'impudicizia Agrippa ritiene necessario ritoccare il testo edito in precedenza inserendo una postilla relativa alla proibizione prelapsaria di cibarsi di carne animale (Gen., 1: 29-30), che sarà poi seguita dall'esortazione postdiluviana a cibarsi degli animali morti (Gen., 9: 3-4). L'integrazione corrobora nella prescrizione alimentare la separazione tra la verginità e il matrimonio. Se la prima assevera in Adamo ed Eva la condizione umana perfetta, sulla base del presupposto geronimiano per cui

⁹⁷ AGRIPPA, *De Nobilitate* (1532), c. 12r; cf. Id., *De Nobilitate* (1529), c. 16v-17r. L'inserimento potrebbe essere stato influenzato da un passo del *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525): cf. Francesco Zorzi, *L'armonia del mondo*, ed. S. Campanini, Bompiani, Milano 2010, p. 640: « Sic et in animali mundano, aut in totius generis humani successione occurrit, cui in primaeva aetate ante diluvium data sunt olera, plantae, et huiusmodi vegetativa solummodo in cibum. Sequenti vero aetati animalia concessa sunt, et animalium sacrificium indictum ».

l'immagine di Dio respinge la *copula nuptiarum*,⁹⁸ il secondo, in quanto preferenza accordata al coito, determina quella degenerazione dell'essere umano alla quale si adatta il comando divino. In Paradiso, infatti, Dio prescrive di nutrirsi di frutta e di verdura, o meglio del cibo che, non derivando dalla riproduzione di animali per mezzo dell'accoppiamento, asseconda opportunamente il paradigma della verginità. Al di fuori del Paradiso, invece, revocata l'interdizione originaria, l'uomo è libero di nutrirsi anche degli animali che si accoppiano, cibo idoneo alla nuova condizione di peccaminosità nel coito.

V. *L'enigma del concepimento: un ricettario magico*

V.1 L'esito problematico della lettura di Agrippa risalta in tutta la sua evidenza nei passaggi delicatissimi che concludono il *De originali peccato*, dove si recupera l'obiezione che Agostino sollevava a proposito della benedizione sulla fecondità e si propone una soluzione alquanto enigmatica del problema connesso alla riproduzione. Ancorché corposa, la rassegna dei passi scritturistici favorevoli alla tesi del *De originali peccato* incontra inevitabilmente l'ostacolo di dover spiegare in che modo Adamo ed Eva avrebbero assecondato la prescrizione di moltiplicarsi senza incorrere nell'ira di Dio che deplora l'esercizio della sessualità. La replica di Agrippa si concentra sull'accertamento del valore metaforico-simbolico del precetto e sul carattere spirituale dell'adempimento, ossia sulla necessità di ripensare alla radice l'atto del concepimento nel contesto della beatitudine paradisiaca.

A tal proposito non deve sfuggire, a margine del discorso, la duttilità del metodo esegetico di Agrippa, il cui procedimento non esita affatto ad allontanarsi dai suoi stessi presupposti, in particolare dall'approccio allegorico rivendicato per il *De originali peccato*, quando si tratti di interpretare in un diverso quadro teorico il medesimo precetto sulla fecondità. Van der Poel ha evidenziato come Agrippa presenti una diversa lettura della prescrizione nel suo *De sacramento matrimonii*. Riconoscendo nella propagazione della specie umana uno dei fondamenti dell'istituzione del vincolo coniugale, Agrippa distingue il valore prelapsario (allegorico) e postlapsario (letterale) della benedizione di Dio: l'originario invito a riprodursi, rivolto ad Adamo ed Eva in Paradiso, viene reiterato e rinnovato nei confronti di Noè e dei suoi figli sulla terra dopo il diluvio universale (Gen., 9:1).⁹⁹ A parere di Agrippa, se nel primo caso il peccato

⁹⁸ HIERONYMUS, *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1, 16 (PL 23, col. 246): « Imago Creatoris non habet copula nuptiarum ». Sulla posizione di Agrippa in merito al vincolo coniugale, cf. SIMONETTA ADORNI BRACCESI, « 'Suo Michaeli de Arando...' (Lione, 7 maggio 1526): Matrimonio e divorzio nell'epistolario di Enrico Cornelio Agrippa », *Filologia antica e moderna*, 50/2 (2020), p. 7-16.

⁹⁹ HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *De sacramento matrimonii declamatio*, in Id., *De nobilitate* (1529), c. D8v: « Alterum finem matrimonii diximus liberorum propaginem, sicut legitur ubi benedixit Deus ad Adam et Evam dicens: 'Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram' [Gen., 1:28], quae

scaturiva da un errore di comprensione delle parole di Dio – e precisamente, come si vedrà, nel travisare il livello spirituale del messaggio – nel secondo caso la realtà post-adamitica non presenta più alcun impedimento a ottemperare letteralmente alla prescrizione, dal momento che, compiuta la trasgressione originaria, sono caduti i presupposti per una comprensione metaforico-simbolica del precetto.

Viceversa, nel contesto dottrinale del *De originali peccato*, di fronte all'obiezione rappresentata dal controverso versetto biblico, risulta quanto mai essenziale fornire una soluzione teoricamente plausibile, in linea coi fondamenti dell'impianto esegetico di Agrippa. La sezione conclusiva della declamazione si incardina, quindi, sul tentativo di affrontare l'obiezione ricorrendo agli interpreti della Scrittura che, avendo proposto una lettura del tutto allegorico-spirituale del precetto, costituiscono una vidimazione autorevole della tesi di Agrippa:

Atque haec nos monent ut credamus cum Damasceno multisque Graecorum theologis coniuges in statu innocentiae constitutos in Paradiso non per hanc carnis pudendam concupiscentiam impleturos fuisse benedictionem Dei [AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 14, 21 (PL 41,col. 428–429); DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, 4, 24 (Patrologia Graeca 94, col. 1206–1210)]. Non enim in carne proles illis seminanda erat ad corruptionem, sed in spiritu ac verbo Dei, ad vitam aeternam de quo spiritali semine Esaias loquitur: 'Nisi Dominus Zevaos reliquisset nobis semen, quasi Sodoma essemus et similes Gomorrae fuissetus' [Is., 1:9].¹⁰⁰

Van der Poel ha individuato nel richiamo al teologo siriano una probabile allusione ai passi del quarto libro del *De fide orthodoxa*, in cui Giovanni Damasceno argomenta in favore del 'seme spirituale,' precisando la natura devozionale del concepimento, che si realizza propriamente nella mente dell'uomo attraverso la carità e il timore di Dio, cioè nella fede.¹⁰¹ Un apporto notevole al chiarimento del

benedictio post diluvium rursus ex integro eisdem verbis instaurata est, cuius is effectus est, ut reddat homo naturae quod mutuo a natura accepit, ac ad imaginem Dei similes sibi filios producat et nutriet, et publicam ipsam generis humanis societatem, quadam successione reddat servetque perpetuam [...] ».

¹⁰⁰ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. K4r.

¹⁰¹ IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, IV, 24 (PG 94, col. 1206–1210); cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 245; ID., *Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric*, p. 188, 192, fn. 58. Come rileva Van der Poel, Agrippa attingeva alla traduzione dell'opera di Damasceno curata da Lefèvre d'Étaples: DAMASCENUS, *Contenta. Theologia Damasceni*, Parisiis, 1507, 4, 25, c. 108v–109v: « At dicent forte: quid igitur hoc vult, 'masculus et femina?' Quid hoc: 'crescite et multiplicamini?' At quod dicemus: quod hoc, 'crescite et multiplicamini' non omnino multiplicationem per nuptialem consocietatem significat. Poterat enim Deus hoc genus et alio multiplicare modo, si mandatum usque in finem servassent intemeratum. [...] Oportet igitur spiritualius accipere Legis preceptum. Nam est semen spirituale per charitate et timorem Dei in mentis utero parturienti et parienti spiritum salutis ».

problema sarebbe senz'altro derivato dalla segnalazione più accurata dei 'teologi greci' che avrebbero sostenuto il carattere spirituale dell'adempimento. In effetti l'individuazione di ulteriori assertori della variante immateriale del concepimento risulta alquanto difficoltosa; ciononostante, non si può del tutto escludere l'opportunità di tentare almeno una congettura sul piano della coerenza teorica a partire dalla letteratura di cui Agrippa poteva disporre. I Padri greci che costellano la biblioteca di Agrippa, almeno sino alla pubblicazione della silloge di Anversa nel 1529, vengono espressamente menzionati come esponenti della 'vera' teologia cristiana nel *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*.¹⁰² Quantunque non sia sempre possibile identificare le edizioni a cui Agrippa accedeva correntemente, attingendo alla tradizione patristica egli avrebbe potuto giovare almeno di due fonti greche tra quelle esplicitamente richiamate. Esse attestano una spiegazione del precetto ideologicamente concorde con la formulazione del *De originali peccato*.

Giovanni Crisostomo, pronunciandosi sulla benedizione divina nel suo *De virginitate*, contestava apertamente la necessità del matrimonio per propagare il genere umano e demandava al volere di Dio i presupposti di una generazione non carnale. Difatti, qualora Adamo ed Eva si fossero rifiutati di assecondare 'il piacere' provocato dall'albero proibito e avessero preferito onorare la verginità, Dio avrebbe concesso loro senza alcun dubbio un'altra via per riprodursi. Di quale via si tratti, non è facile congetturare: Crisostomo non si esprime oltre.¹⁰³ Molto

¹⁰² AGRIPPA, *De triplici ratione*, p. 166: « Veram autem illam et vetustam theologiam, quae a primis sanctis et veris Christianis emanavit – in primis a Christo, ab Apostolis, quos sequuti ex graecis Dionysius, cuius divinissima scripta, sed non omnia, extant; item divus Origenes, consummatissimus theologus, ex cuius innumeris fere scriptis ob aemulorum depravationem paucissima extant; item Basilius, cognomento Magnus; Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, qui contra Arrianos tanta constantia disputavit; Cyrillus, eiusdem basilicae episcopus, qui praefuit concilio Ephesino, cuius egregia *Commentaria in Ioannem* extant; Didimus, cognomine Caecus, qui scripsit *De processu Spiritus Sancti*, quod opus Hieronymus in latinum sermonem transtulit; Eusebius Caesariensis, qui *Praeparationem in Evangelicam veritatem* scripsit; multum quoque nobis in historia profuit Ioannes, cognomine Chrysostomus ob eloquentiam; item Gregorius Nazianzenus et plures alii ».

¹⁰³ IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *De virginitate*, 15 (PG 48, col. 544–545, in particolare p. 544): « Ὡς περ οὖν τότε ἀπὸ νεκρῶν σωμάτων τοσαύταις μυριάσι δέδωκεν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ῥίζαν ὁ Θεός, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰ τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ πεισθέντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐκράτησαν τοῦ ξύλου, οὐκ ἂν ἠπόρησεν ὁδοῦ δι' ἧς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος αὐξήσει ». Si confronti anche quanto scrive lo stesso Crisostomo nella quattordicesima delle sue *Omellie sulla Genesi*, che Agrippa poteva leggere, ad esempio, nella traduzione latina curata da Giovanni Ecolampadio nel 1523: cf. Id., *Divi Ioannis Chrysostomi, Archiepiscopi, Constantinopolitani, in totum Genesios librum Homiliae sexagintasex*, ed. Ioannes Oecolampaius, Basileae, apud Andream Cratandrum, MDXXIII, c. Gv: « Congressus enim ille post praevaricationem fuit. Nam usque ad illam quasi angelis versabantur in paradiso, non concupiscentiis flagrantes, non ab aliis affectionibus infestati, non naturae necessitatibus obnoxii, sed prorsus incorruptibiles et immortales conditi, neque vel vestimentorum amictu ibi egebant ».

più interessanti dei silenzi di Crisostomo risultano le allusioni di Gregorio di Nissa alla *propagatio* angelica. Nel capitolo 17 del suo *De hominis opificio*, il teologo cappadocce rileva l'opportunità della differenziazione sessuale per gli uomini e riflette al contempo sulla moltiplicazione degli angeli, al fine di stabilire un nesso di affinità ontologica tra lo status paradisiaco di Adamo ed Eva e la condizione perpetua degli angeli. Benché questi ultimi, sottolinea Gregorio, risultino asessuati, e perciò non necessitino del matrimonio, la Scrittura menziona comunque eserciti e schiere angeliche, lasciando supporre nella loro natura un sistema di riproduzione autonomo e immateriale, quantunque ignoto o inaccessibile nella sua concreta attuazione.¹⁰⁴ Gregorio, quindi, non viola certo il mistero di questa generazione, della cui esistenza non dubita affatto, ma lo estende conformemente anche all'essere umano immune dal peccato, associato così agli angeli nella medesima facoltà di riprodursi.

V.2 Se le soluzioni di Giovanni Damasceno, Giovanni Crisostomo e Gregorio Nisseno appaiono sufficientemente perspicue, o per lo meno aspirano alla chiarezza nell'ambito di una questione alquanto enigmatica, non altrettanto intelligibile risulta la posizione di Agrippa nel *De originali peccato*. Il commento al versetto biblico richiede di identificare l'errore dei progenitori nella presunzione di ottemperare al precetto abbandonandosi alla concupiscenza. Stando al paradigma ermeneutico di Agrippa, Adamo ed Eva non avrebbero peccato qualora avessero compreso il significato metaforico dell'esortazione: procreare nello spirito, non nella carne. Questa lettura della colpa rievoca il tema della *spiritalis generatio*, un concetto nient'affatto cristiano, bensì originariamente ermetico, discusso e decodificato soprattutto nel commento di Lefèvre d'Étaples

¹⁰⁴ GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De hominis opificio*, 17 (PG 44, col. 189): « [...] ὡς ἂν μὴ κολοβωθεῖν τὸ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πλῆθος, ἐκπεσὼν ἐκείνου τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἠϋξήθησαν· διὰ τοῦτο τὴν κατάλληλον τοῖς εἰς ἁμαρτίαν κατολισθήσασιν τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἐγκατασκευάζει τῇ φύσει, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς μεγαλοφυΐας τὸν κτηνώδη τε καὶ ἄλογον τῆς ἐξ ἀλλήλων διαδοχῆς τρόπον ἐμφυτεύσας τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι ». In ogni caso, per tentare una genealogia dell'ipotesi, possiamo risalire già ad Atanasio il Grande e al suo commento ai Salmi, in particolare a Ps., 50:7. Soffermandosi sulla riproduzione del genere umano, il teologo di Alessandria asseverava l'esclusione del matrimonio dal piano divino originario. Le nozze sarebbero state istituite a causa e in previsione della trasgressione adamitica. Cf. ATHANASIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, 50 (PG 27, col. 240): « Ἐπειδὴ ὁ προηγούμενος σκοπὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἦν τοῦ μὴ διὰ γάμου γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ φθορᾶς· ἡ δὲ παράβασις τῆς ἐντολῆς τὸν γάμον εἰσήγαγε διὰ τὸ ἀνομῆσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, τουτέστιν ἀθετῆσαι τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθέντα αὐτῷ νόμον ». La declinazione gregoriana del tema sottolinea, sotto il medesimo profilo, l'apporto provvidenziale della divinità che, prevedendo la disubbidienza, concede all'uomo una differente capacità riproduttiva, non più angelica, ma conforme alla nuova condizione segnata dal peccato. Cf. BRIAN PATRICK MITCHELL, *Origen's Revenge. The Greek and Hebrew Roots of Christian Thinking on Male and Female*, Pickwick Publications, Eugene, OR 2021, p. 128–129.

al *Pimander* e nel *Crater Hermetis* di Lazzarelli. In particolare, l'epilogo del trattato II del *Pimander* (intitolato *Mercurii ad Esculapium sermo universalis*) contiene una condanna radicale dell'infecundità, come scelta di vita che vede l'uomo rinnegare l'ossequio alla fecondità di Dio, a cui si affianca una descrizione altamente espressiva del castigo ultraterreno di cui si rendono meritevoli gli uomini morti senza prole.¹⁰⁵ Commentando gli insegnamenti del trattato, lo *Stapulensis* riconnetteva il biasimo della sterilità al linguaggio esoterico di Ermete, al *velatus sermo* con cui il profeta aveva accennato in forma iniziatica e sapienziale al *partus animae*, da intendersi propriamente come metafora dell'onesta attività spirituale. La *procreatio liberorum* simboleggiava in altri termini il parto delle virtù e l'esercizio del bene, quella stirpe divina che solo la mente veramente feconda è capace di generare.¹⁰⁶

Se la lettura di Lefèvre d'Étaples circoscrive la dottrina ermetica al perseguimento della virtù, l'interpretazione di Lazzarelli risulta concettualmente alquanto più audace. Il concepimento spirituale, denominato anche *syngeneia mentis generatio* o *univoca generatio* (secondo una terminologia biologica che si ispira alla *Metafisica* di Aristotele),¹⁰⁷ corrisponderebbe a una procreazione miracolosa, in cui il generante e il generato coincidono,¹⁰⁸ più esattamente con la facoltà magica dell'uomo, rigenerato dalla sapienza, di 'partorire divinità' col potere della mente e della parola, dunque per mezzo dei due doni miracolosi che Dio ha riservato esclusivamente all'uomo: « Mentem propterea persimilem sibi / sermonemque homini iam genitor dedit / ut diis consimiles parturiat deos, / Patris iussaque compleat ».¹⁰⁹ L'enigma della *univoca generatio* costituiva per il

¹⁰⁵ *Pimander*, 2, c. 10v (NF 1, p. 39): « Altera dei appellatio pater est, ob eam causam, quia omnia gignit. Patris enim officium est generare. Quapropter praestans id in vita censetur studium, atque ipsum apud sapientes: procreatio liberorum. Extrema vero omnium calamitas et impietas accidit illi, qui absque filiis e vita decedit. Qua de causa demonibus dat penas post obitum. Supplicium denique huiusmodi est, ut sterilis anima in corpus quoddam per iudicium migret, cui nec maris nec foeminae natura insit. Quod quidem a sole elevatum est atque connexum ».

¹⁰⁶ IACOBI FABRI STAPULENSIS *In Pimandrum commentaria*, in *Pimander*, 2, c. 10v-11r: « Et quod de extrema sine liberis decedentium calamitate subiungit, velatus sermo est. Non enim id de corporeo, sed animae partu concipere, cuius liberos filiosque virtutum partus putato; et masculam ad Deum Deique divinissimas potestates contemplandas sapientiam, quod aperte innuit cum dicit: 'supplicium denique huiusmodi est, ut sterilis anima in corpus quoddam per iudicium migret, cui nec maris, nec foeminae natura insit;' quasi aperte diceret per quod nunquam operetur bona neque boni unquam quicquam sit susceptura. Vos ergo summopere sterilitatem animae fugite et prolem, quae vos aliquando beatos effectura sit, gignite, semper gignentes foecunditatem quoad potestis, hoc pacto vestrae mentis imitamini foecunditate ».

¹⁰⁷ ARISTOTELE, *Metafisica*, 12, 3, 1070a 4-8, ed. G. REALE, Bompiani, Milano 2009, p. 547-549.

¹⁰⁸ LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 77v: « Ego autem de univoca et, ut dicam, syngenea mentis generatione hic dissero, ut idem cum genitore sit genitum ».

¹⁰⁹ LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 78r [79r]. Come ha messo in evidenza Paul Oskar Kristeller, nella concezione ermetica di Lazzarelli la 'generazione' esteriore, il parto divino, presuppone la 'rigenerazione' interiore dell'uomo. Solo il sapiente, colui che è stato rigenerato dalla

filosofo marchigiano una reinterpretazione, in chiave di magia religiosa, dei passi controversi dell'*Asclepius* ermetico, in cui si allude al mistero pagano dell'animazione, teurgicamente condotta, degli idoli o delle statue.¹¹⁰ Consapevole della condanna che la tradizione, a partire da Agostino, aveva espresso nei confronti del dettato ermetico, poi glossato dallo stesso Lefèvre d'Étaples come *lapsus Hermetis* nella sua edizione del *Corpus Hermeticum*,¹¹¹ Lazzarelli mirava a emendare il discorso del profeta egiziano, purificandone la rivelazione da ogni elemento dichiaratamente idolatrico. L'idea secondo cui l'uomo non solo conosce gli dèi e si assimila a loro, bensì fabbrica egli stesso degli dèi a sua immagine, evocando negli idoli le anime dei demoni o degli angeli, richiedeva un'interpretazione che inserisse la profezia di Ermete nell'alveo della teologia cristiana, ossia nel contesto della rivelazione pagana e, in quanto tale, ancora imperfetta, del mistero della 'fecondità spirituale': l'enigma millenario, il cui significato sarebbe stato mostrato compiutamente soltanto da Cristo, il quale a tal proposito concede agli Apostoli il potere dello Spirito Santo.¹¹²

Cionondimeno la versione emendata del mistero si pone ben al di là del paradigma teurgico presentato nell'*Asclepius*, specialmente per quanto riguarda la realizzazione pratico-cerimoniale: se per l'*Asclepius* l'uomo conosce la divinità

conoscenza di Dio, è abilitato a compiere il mistero; cf. PAUL O. KRISTELLER, « Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli: Contributo alla diffusione delle idee ermetiche nel Rinascimento », *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Lettere, Storia e Filosofia* 2», 7 (1938), p. 237–262; rist. in Id., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 1956, vol. I, p. 221–247.

¹¹⁰ *Asclepius*, 13, c. Hr (NF 2, pp. 347–349): « Omnium enim mirabilium vincit admirationem, quod homo divinam potuit invenire naturam eamque efficere. Quoniam ergo proavi nostri multum errabant circa deorum rationem increduli et non animadvertentes ad cultum religionemque divinam, invenerunt artem qua efficerent deos. Cui inventae adjunxerunt virtutem de mundi natura convenientem eamque miscentes, quoniam anima facere non poterant, evocantes animas daemonum vel angelorum eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis divinisque mysteriis, per quas idola et bene faciendi et male vires habere potuissent [...] »; cf. Ibid., 19, c. G1v–G2r [NF 2, p. 315]: « Dominus et pater vel (quod est summum) deus, ut effector est deorum celestium, ita homo effector est deorum qui in templis sunt, humana proximitate contenti. Et non solum illuminantur, verum etiam illuminat, nec solum ad eum proficit, verumetiam confirmat deos ».

¹¹¹ WOUTER. J. HANEGRAAFF, RUUD M. BOUTHORN, *Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500). The Hermetic Writings And Related Documents*, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe (AZ) 2005 (*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 281), p. 74. Sul tema rinvio alle dettagliate analisi in FRANCO BACCHELLI, *Giovanni Pico e Pier Leone da Spoleto. Tra filosofia dell'amore e tradizione cabalistica*, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze 2001, p. 70–85.

¹¹² Nel suo commento al capitolo IX dell'*Asclepius*, Lefèvre d'Étaples sottolineava il tentativo di Lazzarelli di cristianizzare le allusioni idolatriche di Ermete, forzando però sul piano dottrinale il messaggio autenticamente pagano: cf. FABER STAPULENSIS, *In Pimandrum*, 9, c. 52v: « Lazarellus hunc locum ad analogiam trahit quasi idola apostoli sint; fictor homo, Christus; virtus desuper indita, spiritus sancti. [...] Haec excogitata pie, sed ad litteram forte violenta ». Cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 163–164. Sull'incompletezza della rivelazione egiziana, sostenuta da Lazzarelli, si veda HANEGRAAFF, *Better than Magic*, p. 9–10.

e riesce ad attirarla e infonderla nelle statue, il sapiente lazzarelliano, partecipe della verità di Cristo, non soltanto conosce la divinità, bensì può addirittura crearla.¹¹³ Nell'ottica dottrinale del *Crater* il messaggio esoterico trasmesso da Ermete individua nella 'fecondità' (*fecunditas*) e nell' 'immortalità' (*immortalitas*) le qualità eccezionali che la mente umana ha ricevuto da Dio, con cui l'anima esercita il potere di generare una 'prole divina' (*divina soboles*). Questa 'discendenza intellettuale' (*mentis propago*), precisa ancora Lazzarelli, non è assimilabile alle creazioni che hanno lo scopo di dotare di senso l'esistenza dell'uomo (egli pensa alle arti e alle scienze o a qualsiasi altra produzione intellettuale), bensì rinvia a un concepimento miracoloso nel quale il 'vero uomo' crea 'anime divine': « Naturam quia homo Dei reppererit / quodque ipsam sapiens facit. / Nam sicut dominus vel genitor Deus / celestes generans procreat angelos / [...] divas sic animas verus homo facit ».¹¹⁴

Tale operazione poteva giovare del contributo taumaturgico che la Qabbalah ebraica offriva ai dotti del Rinascimento. Come nel caso di Reuchlin e di Agrippa, anche la curiosità misteriosofica di Lazzarelli era stata attratta dalla mirabile convergenza della teurgia ermetica con il ricettario magico dedicato alla fabbricazione del *golem*, vale a dire con le prescrizioni cabalistiche sull'animazione di oggetti antropomorfi modellati in argilla, menzionate come modello per la creazione di anime negli scritti di Abraham Abulafia, El'azar da Worms e Yohanan Alemanno, autori a cui verosimilmente Lazzarelli avrebbe potuto attingere.¹¹⁵ Queste creature artificiali, denominate anche *homines novi*, sulle quali il sapiente imprime un soffio di vita disponendo, in corrispondenza di ciascun arto umano, le lettere dell'alfabeto ebraico che saranno pronunciate secondo il rituale, concretizzano in forma cerimoniale la progenie genuinamente spirituale, il risultato miracoloso che rivendica chi ha compreso compiutamente il mistico potere della lingua ebraica. La fabbricazione del *golem* è riletta da Lazzarelli in chiave eminentemente allegorica, come metafora della facoltà del sapiente di realizzare la 'generazione mistica', ossia di combinare lettere e

¹¹³ HANEGRAAFF, BOUTHORN, *Lodovico Lazzarelli*, p. 95: « The Egyptian sage had apparently not been able to free himself of pagan delusions. Only Christians could understand that the true hermetic mystery involved not astral magic and idolatry but rather spiritual regeneration. Hermes himself had not been able to do better than animate statues by attracting souls into them; but only the Christian hermetist could dispense with such practices because he could himself create souls ».

¹¹⁴ LAZARELLUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 78v. Cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 163.

¹¹⁵ Per la tematizzazione del *golem* in Lazzarelli, Reuchlin e Agrippa si veda soprattutto MOSHE IDEL, *Golem. Jewish Magical and Mystical Traditions on the Artificial Anthropoid*, State University of New York Press, New York 1990, p. 175-180; BACCHELLI, *Giovanni Pico*, p. 76-84; FLAVIA BUZZETTA, « La palingénésie spirituelle de l'homme entre generatio divina et generatio mstica du Golem dans le Crater Hermetis de Ludovico Lazzarelli », *Academia. Revue de la Société Marsile Ficini*, 15 (2013), p. 83-103. Su Abraham Abulafia, El'azar da Worms e Yohanan Alemanno come fonti del *Crater Hermetis*, cf. HANEGRAAFF, BOUTHORN, *Lodovico Lazzarelli*, p. 84-96.

pronunciare parole infuse di potenza divina: « Nam divina generatio mystica verborum prolatione, quae litterarum componuntur elementis, sacratissime consumatur ».¹¹⁶ La decodificazione proposta nel *Crater Hermetis* recupera, quindi, il paradigma ermetico alla luce del contributo mistico offerto dalla Cabala ebraica. In altri termini, Lazzarelli traduce il mistero della creazione di anime nell'esercizio di un linguaggio esoterico, carico di valenza magico-spirituale, in cui lettere e parole diventano depositarie di virtù trascendenti capaci di trasmettere all'uomo poteri sovranaturali.¹¹⁷

D'altronde, questa versione altamente intellettuale del mistero, quantunque non del tutto chiara sull'identificazione delle 'anime' create dal sapiente, non sembra divergere dal modello della *ars miraculorum* di Reuchlin, in cui la cabala del nome di Dio, che costituisce la decrittazione del segreto iniziatico custodito nel pentagramma di Cristo, trasforma la sapienza in prassi taumaturgica. Si tratta, quindi, di un percorso religioso di rigenerazione interiore che deifica l'uomo, rievocando l'origine ultraterrena della sua anima, e lo istruisce sulla natura divina, trasmettendo alle parole umane l'autorità delle parole di Dio.¹¹⁸ La magia cerimoniale purificata, che Reuchlin presenta nel *De verbo mirifico* (1494) quale ascetica preghiera dal nome di *ars soliloquia*, non si serve più della manipolazione alchemica degli elementi o del giudizio divinatorio basato sui moti astrali, né ricorre più al soccorso dei demoni o delle statue animate per attestare la sua validità; bensì, come accade per la generazione mistica di Lazzarelli, attinge direttamente alla fonte unica di ogni operazione miracolosa, i vocaboli sacri, i nomi di Dio nella lingua ebraica, producendo con l'impiego del linguaggio mistico, autorizzato direttamente dal Creatore, i portenti che solitamente competono all'alchimia, all'astrologia, alla demonologia, alla teurgia.¹¹⁹

V.3 Alla generazione spirituale Agrippa accenna apertamente in un passo del

¹¹⁶ LAZARELLUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 79r.

¹¹⁷ DANIEL P. WALKER, *Spiritual and demonic magic from Ficino to Campanella*, The Warburg Institute, London 1969, p. 69.

¹¹⁸ CHRISTOPHER. S. CELENZA, « The Search for Ancient Wisdom in Early Modern Europe: Reuchlin and the Late Ancient Esoteric Paradigm », *The Journal of Religious History*, 25/2 (2001), p. 125; cf. CHARLES ZIKA, « Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the Late Fifteenth Century », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), p. 106-107.

¹¹⁹ REUCHLIN, *De verbo mirifico*, c. D4r: « At vero sicut ea proprietas, qua transmutamur in Deum et naturam humanam excedimus, secreta nobis et occulta est, ita iure optimo Deus ei occulta et secreta quoque nomina dedit, eisdem pacta quaedam indidit, quibus observatis mox ad eorum debitam prolationem pro voto nostro praesens ipse accedat. Porro sicut in naturali digestionem virtus caloris est quam cognoscimus, et adhuc virtus transcorporationis recondita quam ignoramus, ita in hoc divinissimo in Deum transitu, verba quaedam sunt quae cognoscimus et quaedam quae ignoramus ».

De originali peccato (c. 16v–17r) in cui distingue le *nuptiae carnis*, fondate sull'unione carnale, dalle *nuptiae virginitatis*, compiute nella parola e nello spirito di Dio. Rinnegando la verginità, violando la condizione che permetteva loro di fruire della sapienza divina, nonché di 'seminare nello spirito della castità', Adamo ed Eva hanno corrotto la natura umana e cagionato la morte a tutti gli uomini attraverso le nozze della carne. Se tali risultano le premesse per introdurre la generazione spirituale, quale sia, tuttavia, la vera natura di questo recondito mistero, in cosa consista, come si realizzi e in che misura corrisponda alla metafora del *partus animae* di Lefèvre d'Étaples o al concetto lazzarelliano della *univoca generatio*, non è dato sapersi più dettagliatamente. Agrippa preferisce non ripercorrere nel *De originali peccato* una spiegazione che ha già presentato esaurientemente nel *Dialogus de homine*:

Quomodo autem haec spiritalis generatio perficienda fuisset in *Dialogo* nostro *de homine* exponere conati sumus, quem sermonem hic geminare superfluum esset. Sed satis est nobis ad praesens propositum admonuisse quod in *Dialogo de homine* exposuimus, alio semine homines nascituros fuisse in statu innocentiae, quam quod per carnis corruptionem deflueret [...].¹²⁰

Eppure non vi è traccia alcuna di una discussione siffatta nella versione che oggi sopravvive del *Dialogus* di Agrippa.¹²¹ Nel *De originali peccato* Agrippa accenna soltanto ad un *aliud semen* o *spiritalis semen*, differente dal seme della corruzione carnale, che avrebbe svolto la funzione prescritta di generare gli uomini nello stato d'innocenza. La rievocazione del concetto, che costituirebbe il nucleo della rivelazione di Cristo agli Apostoli e che Paolo avrebbe trasmesso segretamente ai 'perfetti', rimanda al termine della declamazione a un'enigmatica attività riproduttiva compiuta non tramite l'unione dei corpi, bensì con l'ausilio dello Spirito e della Parola di Dio.¹²² Nondimeno il chiarimento che Agrippa avrebbe

¹²⁰ AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. K4r.

¹²¹ Sulla questione si veda anche ZAMBELLI, *Agrippa di Nettesheim*, p. 66, fn. 37: « Non pare sicuro, però, che il testo [del *Dialogus de homine*] contenga tutti i motivi che, a due anni di distanza, Agrippa vi ricordava [...]; salvo porre l'ipotesi – per altro non altrimenti fondata – di una rielaborazione e ampliamento successivo alla stesura del presente MS lionese, si deve supporre che tali motivi siano stati ripresi nel seguito del *Dialogus* che non ci è noto, oppure che nel ricordo l'autore tenga ad accentuare ciò che era stato semplice allusione o presentimento ». Per una ricostruzione congetturale del prosieguo del *Dialogus*, condotta sulla base delle testimonianze di Agrippa, cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 145–169, in particolare p. 147–150, 157–158.

¹²² AGRIPPA, *De originali peccato*, c. K3v–K4r: « Mysterium, inquam, absconditum a saeculis et generationibus, manifestatum autem solum sanctis, quibus voluit Deus notas facere divitias gloriae sacramenti huius. Hoc est illud mysterium de quo ait Christus: 'Habeo adhuc multa vobis dicere, sed non potestis ea portare modo modo' [Io., 16:12], [...]. Istud est mysterium illud quod secreto pandit Apostolis, dum vulgo proponuntur parabola, quod Paulus segregatim praedicat

riservato alla sezione mancante del *Dialogus* è certamente rintracciabile, benché in una versione teoricamente aggiornata, nella capillare riscrittura a cui egli sottopose il *De occulta philosophia*. Infatti il capitolo 36 (*De homine quomodo creatus ad imaginem Dei*) del terzo libro dell'ultima edizione, stampata a Colonia nel 1533,¹²³ presenta un riferimento alquanto interessante al tema della *spiritualis generatio*, per meglio dire un riesame particolarmente denso della questione, che permette non solo di inquadrare in una lettura organica tutti gli indizi forniti dal *De originali peccato* tramite le allusioni alle 'nozze della verginità', al 'seme spirituale' o 'altro seme', nonché alla 'prole' che Adamo ed Eva avrebbero generato 'nello spirito e nel verbo di Dio'; bensì anche di valutare in quale misura risulti decisivo l'influsso di Lazzarelli, rispetto a Lefèvre d'Étaples, nel pensiero di Agrippa.

Sviluppando un ragionamento sulla natura straordinaria dell'essere umano, che si serve, tra i vari richiami, anche di inserimenti testuali ripresi proprio dal *Dialogus de homine*, Agrippa si concentra sul nesso magico che intercorre tra la parola (*verbum*) o il discorso (*sermo*) e la Mente di Dio (*Mens*). Facoltà mirabili, *mens* e *sermo* costituivano nel *Dialogus* i due doni divini che, secondo il Trismegisto, evidenziano nell'uomo l'affinità con la natura di Dio, in quanto riproducono l'operatività stessa del Creatore nell'uomo e costituiscono gli strumenti peculiari per accedere alla rigenerazione spirituale. Rielaborando il ragionamento del *Dialogus*, il capitolo 36 attesta l'onnipotenza della Parola di Dio, il *Verbum*, 'figlio' della *Mens* secondo la teologia del *Pimander*,¹²⁴ ciò per mezzo di cui Dio ha creato e organizzato il mondo, e al contempo ciò a cui la parola umana dovrà assimilarsi, qualora l'uomo intenda acquisire, con la propria mente, il potere e l'autorità di Dio sulle cose create.¹²⁵ Tale straordinarietà rende il *Verbum*

perfectis [1 Cor., 2:6], dum vulgo non solidam escam sed lac potum dat. Necdum enim possunt capere quamdiu carnales sunt [1 Cor., 3:1-2], quia qui animalis est non percipit ea quae spiritus Dei sunt. Stultitia enim illi est, nec potest intelligere [1 Cor., 2:14]. 'Elegit autem nos in Christo Deus pater ante mundi constitutionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati coram eo' [Eph., 1:4]; 'ambulavimus autem in concupiscentiis carnis, facientes voluntatem eius et cogitationem eius, et facti sumus filii irae' [Eph., 2:3] ».

¹²³ Per la storia del testo del *De occulta philosophia* si veda soprattutto: VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Il 'De Occulta Philosophia' di Cornelio Agrippa », in GUIDO CANZIANI, GIANNI PAGANINI (eds.), *Le edizioni dei testi filosofici e scientifici del '500 e del '600. Problemi di metodo e prospettive di ricerca*. Gargnano sul Garda, 1-3 aprile 1985, Franco Angeli, Milano 1986, p. 99-111; EAD., *Introduction*, in AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, p. 1-50.

¹²⁴ *Pimander*, 1, c. 4v (NF 1, p. 7-8): « Tunc Pimander ait: Advertis quid sibi haec visio velit? Cognoscam, inquam. Ait ergo Pimander: Lumen illud ego sum mens, deus tuus [...]. Mentis vero germen lucens, dei filius. [...] Quod in te videt et audit, verbum domini; mens autem pater deus [...] ».

¹²⁵ AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 511-512: « Est enim sermo sive verbum 'sine quo nihil factum est' [Io., 1:3] nec fieri potest, quin est expressio exprimentis et expressi et loquentis locutio et id quod loquitur sermo et verbum est et concipientis conceptio et id quod concipit

sia enunciazione dell'essenza di ogni cosa, ciò che tramite il nome definisce le cose stesse, sia manifestazione della volontà divina, il linguaggio mistico della creazione che trasmette alle cose il potere vivificatore di Dio.¹²⁶ Assimilandosi al *Verbum*, la parola umana si presenta non più come semplice emissione sonora che nomina le cose, bensì come espressione magico-teurgica della potenza di Dio, linguaggio deifico formato della 'voce di Dio'.¹²⁷

Quantunque attinga alla fondazione cabalistica che Pico della Mirandola, analizzando l'operatività magica delle parole e il loro legame con la radice sefirotica dei nomi ebraici di Dio, aveva introdotto nelle sue *Conclusiones magicae*,¹²⁸ il nucleo teosofico della riflessione di Agrippa sul linguaggio si appella piuttosto al paradigma della rigenerazione ermetica, all'interno del quale è necessario esaminare attentamente la corrispondenza tra le parole del mago e le parole di Dio. A ben vedere, parole dotate di potere veramente mirifico sono

verbum est et scribentis scriptio et id quod scribit verbum est et formantis formatio et quod format verbum est et creantis creatio et quod creat verbum est et facientis factio et quod factum est verbum est et scientis scientia et scitum verbum est et omne quod dici potest non est nisi verbum et dicitur aequalitas: aequae enim se ad omnia habet, cum non sit unum plusquam aliud, omnibus aequaliter largiens ut sint id quod sunt nec plus nec minus, ipsumque sensibile se et omnia sensibilia facit, sicut lux se et omnia visibilia facit: ideoque verbum dicitur a Mercurio lucens mentis filius [*Pimander*, 1, c. 4v (NF 1, p. 7-8)] ».

¹²⁶ Si leggano a tal proposito le delucidazioni contenute in AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 1, 70, p. 232-233; *ibid.*, 2, 60, p. 395.

¹²⁷ AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 512: « Conceptio autem, qua mens seipsam concipit, est verbum intrinsecum a mente generatum, scilicet suiipsius cognitio; verbum autem extrinsecum et vocale est illius verbi partus et ostensio et spiritus cum sono et voce aliquid significante ex ore procedens: verum omnis vox nostra, verbum atque sermo, nisi Dei voce formetur, aëri miscetur atque evanescit; spiritus autem et verbum Dei manent sensu et vita comitante. Omnis itaque sermo noster, omnia verba, omnis spiritus et vox nostra nullam virtutem habent in magia, nisi quatenus divina voce formentur [IOANNIS PICI MIRANDULAE *Conclusiones magicae*, in STEPHEN A. FARMER, *Conclusiones nongentae*, in *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486). The evolution of Traditional Religious and Philosophical Systems*, ACMRS, Tempe, AZ 1998 (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 167), p. 500, fn. 20] ». Cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 158-161.

¹²⁸ PICUS, *Conclusiones magicae*, p. 500, fn. 19-20: « Ideo uoces et uerba in magico opere efficaciam habent, quia illud quo primum magicam exercet natura, uox est dei. Quaelibet vox virtutem habet in magia, in quantum dei voce formatur ». La 'voce di Dio', radice miracolosa delle parole, non è una forza naturale occulta che il mago riesce miracolosamente a evocare, bensì una virtù soprannaturale racchiusa nella lingua originale delle Sacre Scritture. Le parole che hanno operatività magica sono quindi le parole della Rivelazione, soprattutto i nomi ebraici, meditando sui quali, il cabalista ascende alla contemplazione delle Sephiroth per attingerne la potenza: cf. *ibid.*, p. 498, fn. 15: « Nulla potest esse operatio magica alicuius efficaciae nisi annexum habeat opus cabalae, explicitum uel implicitum »; *ibid.*, p. 504, fn. 22: « Nulla nomina ut significatiua, et in quantum nomina sunt, singula et per se sumpta, in magico opere uirtutem habere possunt, nisi sint hebraica uel inde proxime derivata ». Questa lettura del tema della *vis verborum* in Pico si fonda su VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Abracadabra: le parole della magia (Ficino, Pico, Agrippa) », *Rivista di estetica*, 42 (2002), p. 121-125. Per un approfondimento si legga anche BACCHELLI, *Giovanni Pico*, p. 48-51; GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 160-161.

quelle in cui agisce il *Verbum* e in cui si riverberano gli influssi della *Mens*. L'esercizio del linguaggio vivificato dalla presenza di Dio concretizza ciò che Agrippa, servendosi del lessico di Lazzarelli, denomina *univoca generatio* dell'uomo, ovvero del mago. Nondimeno l'essenza del concetto, sebbene rischiarata dall'idea di equiparare il linguaggio umano al linguaggio divino, permane comunque velata di enigmatica oscurità, anche quando Agrippa associa, per mezzo di un richiamo scritturistico, le parole umane alla possibilità di generare al di là delle funzioni biologiche: « Sic et verba nostra plurima producere possunt miracula, modo formentur verbo Dei; in quibus etiam univoca nostra generatio perficitur sicut inquit Esaias: 'A facie tua, Domine, concepimus, sicut mulieres recte concipiunt a facie maritorum, et peperimus spiritum' [Is., 26:17-18] ». ¹²⁹

Il miracolo, 'generare lo spirito', come dichiara il profeta Isaia, è il risultato occulto di un potere custodito nella parola depositaria di virtù miracolose. Per illustrare il senso di questo procedimento Agrippa ricorre ai versi poetici del *Crater Hermetis* – alcuni dei quali, particolarmente decisivi, sono stati già richiamati a proposito del *De originali peccato* – con cui Lazzarelli tentava di descrivere il mistero. Si tratta dei passi che compongono l'eloquente 'inno della generazione divina' (*divinae generationis hymnum*) e che Agrippa riscrive per tratteggiare le caratteristiche di colui che esercita la facoltà di generare divinità: « Mentem propterea persimilem sibi, ut cecinit Lazarellus in *Cratere Hermetis* / Sermonemque homini iam genitor dedit, / Ut diis consimilies parturiat deos / Sensu desuper indito ». ¹³⁰ Il richiamo ai versi del *Crater*, con cui si conclude il capitolo 36, non attestano l'adesione pedissequa di Agrippa alla cautela dottrinale di Lazzarelli, che mira a rettificare il messaggio di Ermete in un'ottica pienamente cristiana, sottraendo il sacramento della rigenerazione a una lettura che ne disapprovi l'origine pagana. ¹³¹ Anzi, rimarcando nella *univoca generatio* annunciata dal Ermete il vero messaggio di Cristo, che avrebbe interessanti analogie con i concepimenti miracolosi testimoniati nelle tradizioni mistiche buddiste e islamiche, ¹³² Agrippa decodifica il valore magico-cerimoniale del

¹²⁹ AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 512. Cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 161-162.

¹³⁰ AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 513; cf. LAZARELLUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 78r-79v.

¹³¹ HANEGRAFF, *Better than Magic*, p. 10-11.

¹³² AGRIPPA, *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 512-513: « Huc quodammodo pertinet quod apud Indorum Gymnosophistas, quasi per manus huius opinionis autoritas traditur Buddam, principem dogmatis eorum, e latere suo virginem generasse [HIERONYMUS, *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1, 42 (PL 23, col. 273)]; et apud Mahometistas constans opinio plerosque, quos sua lingua *Nefesogli* vocant, occulto quodam divinae dispensationis modo sine carnali coitu nasci, quorum vita iccirco mirabilis et impassibilis sit et velut angelica totaque supernaturalis. Sed illis nugis dimissis, solus rex Messias, 'verbum Patris caro factum' [Io., 1:14] Iesus Christus hoc arcanum revelavit, quadam temporis plenitudine apertius manifestaturus ». Cf. GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 163-165.

mistero: la generazione spirituale è un'acquisizione di poteri straordinari e sovrannaturali, che si compie per mezzo del linguaggio e a cui accedono non di certo gli uomini 'concepiti nella carne' tramite l'unione di un uomo e di una donna, quindi ancora sottomessi al peccato originale¹³³; bensì coloro che, accogliendo in sé la sapienza di Cristo e di Ermete, sono stati 'generati', dunque rigenerati e purificati, quindi dignificati direttamente 'da Dio',¹³⁴ come lo stesso Agrippa sottolinea riscrivendo un versetto del Vangelo di Giovanni:

Qui non ex voluntate carnis, 'nec ex voluntate viri nec menstruatae, sed ex Deo nati sunt' [Io., 1, 13]». Est autem univoca generatio, in qua filius est patri similis omnimoda similitudine et in qua genitum secundum speciem idem est cum generante [LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 77v]. Atque haec est potentia verbi a mente formata in subiectum dispositum rite suscepti, veluti semen in matricem ad generationem et partum coaliti; dico autem 'dispositum' et 'rite suscepti', quia non omnia eodem modo verbi participes evadunt [...].¹³⁵

Costoro non sono altro che i maghi. La generazione spirituale allude ai sapienti operatori del miracolo, che hanno conseguito la vera sapienza e che dispongono direttamente dell'autorità di Dio per il tramite di un linguaggio mistico-sacrale. Pertanto l'anima dei rigenerati è illuminata dalla *Mens*, che trasmette all'intelletto la virtù miracolosa del *Verbum*; questo stesso potere viene infine trasferito alla ragione e dalla ragione si riverbera nella parola, affinché tutta l'anima del mago, rinnovata dalla conversione spirituale, possa operare nella natura in modo straordinario, ovvero magicamente.¹³⁶

VI. Ragione e rigenerazione: un percorso filosofico-religioso

VI.1. Il discorso che Agrippa sviluppa nel *De originali peccato* risulta in una calibrata meditazione sull'intreccio di antropologia e teologia, di etica e religione. Ciò che l'autore definisce « ignorantia et negligentia Dei » si configura come una scelta responsabile. La disobbedienza originaria coincide con un atto deliberato della ragione che, per il tramite della volontà, coinvolge al contempo la mente (*negligentia Dei*) e il corpo (*carnis libido*). È un distacco intenzionale dalla sapienza di Dio, cioè dal criterio di ogni conoscenza e dal paradigma di ogni condotta,

¹³³ Id., *De originali peccato*, 17v: « Hinc omnes qui ex carne geniti sunt, et generant per carnis et sensus propaginem, originalem culpam corruptionemque contrahere necesse est ».

¹³⁴ Ibid., c. Kr: « Non ex coitu corruptibili, sed 'per verbum viventis Dei et permanentis [1 Petr., 1:23], qui, ut inquit Iacobus in *Epistola*, 'volens genuit nos verbo veritatis' [Iac., 1:18] ».

¹³⁵ Id., *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 36, p. 513; cf. Io. 1:13: « qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt ». Sul ricorso in chiave ermetica ai passi giovannei, che alludono alla rinascita spirituale dell'uomo, cf. Putnik, *To Be Born (Again) From God*, p. 153–156.

¹³⁶ GURASHI, *In deifico speculo*, p. 165–168.

determinato dall'illusione di ricercare nell'albero della conoscenza, precisamente nella scienza che l'uomo costruisce per mezzo dei sensi e della ragione, un surrogato assoluto della verità. Per questo motivo il peccato originale consiste in un atto che coinvolge l'uomo tutto, in ciascuna delle sue facoltà (intellettuale, razionale, sensuale, vegetativa) e in ciascuno dei suoi componenti (anima e corpo). L'unico atto, capace di compromettere l'intera natura dell'uomo è appunto il rapporto carnale, un atto che germina nella mente, impegna la volontà e si compie nel corpo¹³⁷. Nel *De triplici ratione* Agrippa aveva descritto accuratamente, evidenziando la coincidenza dell'insegnamento di Paolo col messaggio di Ermete, l'esito della scelta di ignorare Dio come un'autentica distorsione e falsificazione della natura umana, che investe ogni livello di accesso alla salvezza – gnoseologico, ontologico, teologico, etico – in quanto fatale negazione del progetto di Dio per l'uomo.¹³⁸ Ripensando il valore della scelta adamitica, Agrippa isolava nelle pagine del *De originali peccato* il significato universale dell'episodio biblico. Quanto accade nella vicenda di Adamo rappresenta in realtà un pericolo al quale sono esposti tutti gli esseri umani, dal momento che possono ripercorrere e confermare il peccato originale in ogni istante della loro avventura terrestre.¹³⁹

Su queste basi il disegno allegorico del *De originali peccato* richiama un elemento costitutivo della riflessione umanistica di Agrippa: la centralità della ragione nella dimensione morale ed esistenziale dell'uomo. La contaminazione dello status originario non rimarca una sostanziale malvagità congenita all'essere umano, in cui oltre all'esercizio, anche il solo possesso della facoltà razionale renderebbe l'uomo esposto allo smarrimento e soggetto all'errore. L'episodio

¹³⁷ VAN DER POEL, *Agrippa von Nettesheim and Rhetoric*, p. 183–184. Il carattere totalizzante dell'atto carnale, fondato sull'analisi della passione sessuale che Agostino svolgeva nel *De civitate Dei* (14, 16), verrà ribadita anche in seguito dallo stesso Agrippa, il quale, nel replicare alle obiezioni sollevate da Dietrich Wichwael, preciserà ulteriormente il fondamento della sua interpretazione: cf. AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate* (1529), c. L2v: « Sed cum originale peccatum tale fuerit quod totum hominem, videlicet ex anima divina, spiritu coelesti corporeque elementali constitutum, totum, inquam, simul ac seorsum in toto ac singulis partibus suis a pristina nobilitate deiecerit, dicerem originale peccatum tale quiddam fuisse in quo omnes et singulae hominis potentiae tam rationale quam sensuales et vegetativae et corporeae, simul a lege data deficientes huiusmodi in actu revera concurrerunt. Esto itaque peccatum originale sedem habuerit in potentia rationali, quae sensibus carnique adquiescens, consensit in culpam; oportuit tamen consensum illum, sic iam depravatum, etiam deductum fuisse in actum corporis ». Sulle obiezioni sollevate da Wichwael e sulla dettagliata replica di Agrippa cf. VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 232–233.

¹³⁸ AGRIPPA, *De triplici ratione*, p. 96–98.

¹³⁹ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 55: « Ogni uomo rinnova la colpa originaria quando la sua ragione rovescia la naturale gerarchia delle componenti dell'anima e, abbandonata la *mens*, si affida interamente ai sensi, ignorando Dio e ponendo in una creatura il fondamento di verità ».

della trasgressione dimostra piuttosto che il motivo della colpa ricade sull'utilizzo improprio, dunque sacrilego della ragione stessa.¹⁴⁰ Una ragione indisciplinata si nutre della presunzione di edificare un sapere autosufficiente. Confidando soltanto nei propri mezzi, l'uomo sperimenta allora l'angustia di una scienza infruttuosa e arrogante, l'abbaglio di una falsa erudizione e l'inconsistenza di una supposta moralità, il cui modello è impersonato dai teologi scolastici, responsabili della decadenza culturale, nonché della crisi spirituale che investe su più livelli la Cristianità europea.¹⁴¹ A differenza del modello intellettuale ripetutamente caldeggiato da Agrippa nelle sue opere, i teologi di professione rappresentano il prototipo del falso sapiente e del cattivo maestro, che diffonde presunzione ed empietà nel contesto civile e risulta nella personificazione di ciò che Agrippa definisce, con Ermete, 'anima sterile', frutto del 'sonno della ragione'.¹⁴² Quest'anima infeconda, a cui fa capo un'umanità corrotta, incapace anch'essa di conseguire la sapienza e di operare il bene, è il bersaglio ideologico di Agrippa, ciò che deve essere riformato alla luce del messaggio autentico delle Scritture, nel segno di una corretta impostazione del rapporto tra le facoltà dell'anima.

Il motivo ultimo della polemica di Agrippa, che inserisce a pieno titolo il *De originali peccato* nell'ambito delle dispute religiose del primo Cinquecento, non è rappresentato, quindi, dal sapere umano in quanto tale, e dalla ragione che ne detiene il possesso, ma dalla teologia contemporanea, le cui principali dottrine non si fondano sul messaggio di Dio, compreso a partire dal dettato delle Scritture, bensì sulle opere di Aristotele, assunte a modello di verità.¹⁴³ Pronunciandosi in materia di ermeneutica biblica sul connubio tra spiritualità e razionalità, Agrippa non intende attaccare i cultori delle scienze in generale – non è certo l'obiettivo del *De originali peccato*, né del *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (1530) – bensì denunciare la manipolazione dei saperi promossa dai teologi e dai monaci di formazione scolastica, i quali governano dispoticamente i

¹⁴⁰ AGRIPPA, *De nobilitate* (1529), c. L2v–L3r: « Erit itaque originale peccatum effectus sive actus aliquis depravatae rationis seu voluntatis, sed deductus in corporis exercitium, ubi actus ille iam verus fuerit, non simulatus, non cogitativus, non imaginarius. Tale peccatum nullum aliud invenio praeter peccatum carnis ». Cf. PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Riforma della magia*, p. 139, fn. 26.

¹⁴¹ VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « Astrologia e filosofia occulta in Agrippa », *Rinascimento*, 41 (2001), p. 106.

¹⁴² AGRIPPA, *De triplici ratione*, p. 116: « Impietas namque peccatum est erga Deum, iniustitia erga homines. 'Extrema autem impietas est non cognoscere Deum' [*Pimander*, 11, c. 28r (NF 1, p. 156); *Pimander*, 10, c. 22r (NF 1, p. 117)]; ex impietate intemperantia et haec iniustitiae fundamentum. Intemperantiam vero dicimus depravationem voluntatis ex sopore rationis ortam, affectu sensuali nimium dominante, ubi videlicet, sopita ratione, ad imperium sensuum omnia aguntur [FICINUS, *Theologia Platonica*, 18, 10, vol. VI, p. 188]. Unde haec 'sterilis anima' [*Pimander*, 2, c. 10v (NF 1, p. 39)] dicitur, 'nullum fructum bonum producus in tempore suo' [Ps., 1:3; Sap., 3:11]; et haec est animae summa impietas, sterilem esse ».

¹⁴³ PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Astrologia e filosofia occulta*, p. 109.

maggiori centri culturali dell'Europa, rendendosi artefici della crisi morale che investe il mondo contemporaneo.¹⁴⁴

Il richiamo umanistico alla sapienza divina trasmessa dai *prisci theologi*, che in Agrippa pone le basi per una rifondazione della magia, assume nel caso dell'esegesi biblica il valore di una battaglia culturale destinata a riformare il mondo cristiano nel suo insieme. Si tratta di un impegno ideologico finalizzato a ripensare la teologia come strumento di riforma del sapere e delle coscienze.¹⁴⁵ Se il dilagare della crisi è ascrivibile all'influenza dei teologi scolastici, che stravolgono per mezzo di sofismi dialettici il nucleo di verità delle Scritture, favorendo la disputa e la discordia tra i credenti, la condanna della teologia contemporanea determina in Agrippa la volontà di individuare, in opposizione al modello imperante di scienza, un sentiero cognitivo differente, capace di cogliere il significato profondo del messaggio divino e di restaurare l'autentico legame tra uomo e Dio, a partire dal quale organizzare su stabili fondamenti la comunità dei Cristiani.

Lo studio delle opere di Platone, dei Neoplatonici e, in modo del tutto peculiare, del *Corpus Hermeticum*, dunque delle voci autorevoli della *prisca sapientia*, diviene per Agrippa occasione proficua per recuperare l'insegnamento religioso dei Vangeli, il lascito spirituale delle *Epistole* di san Paolo e il messaggio dottrinale dei Padri della Chiesa. Per questo motivo ribadire i valori culturali trasmessi dall'antichità, in cui una medesima sapienza salvifica è stata custodita e tramandata nei secoli per il tramite di voci autorevoli, pagane e cristiane, significa non arrestarsi alla diagnosi della decadenza che permea la Cristianità, bensì collaborare efficacemente a una riforma complessiva della cultura che sappia rifondare il vincolo cruciale tra religione e scienza.

VI.2. Così delineato, lo sforzo esegetico di Agrippa permette di inquadrare il significato marcatamente umanistico della sua lettura anche da un altro punto di vista. L'ipotesi interpretativa che anima il *De originali peccato* risulta quanto mai lontana da una prospettiva antropologica in cui è sottratta all'uomo l'occasione di ridefinire la propria condizione. La vicenda adamitica non istituisce una relazione strutturale tra il peccato e la natura umana, tra la colpa e il libero arbitrio, tale da compromettere la salvezza dell'anima, come invece prevede l'esegesi di Lutero. Al contrario, declinando qualsiasi ipotesi di predestinazione, Agrippa rivendica tenacemente per l'uomo il potere di cancellare una volta per

¹⁴⁴ PERRONE COMPAGNI, « *Tutius Ignorare Quam Scire: Cornelius Agrippa and Scepticism* », in G. PAGANINI, JOSÉ R. MAIA NETO, *Renaissance Scepticism*, Springer, Dordrecht 2009, p. 93-94. Per quanto riguarda il caso del *De incertitudine* si legga l'epistola al lettore: AGRIPPA, *Dell'incertitudine e della vanità delle scienze*, ed. TIZIANA PROVVIDERA, Aragno, Torino 2004, p. 21-22.

¹⁴⁵ GURASHI, *Religione e ideologia*, p. 165-170.

tutte gli effetti del peccato originale, l'occasione di orientare nuovamente l'anima al culto di Dio e di disciplinare l'azione mirando al bene.

A tal proposito la decisione di pubblicare il *De originali peccato* nel 1529 evidenzia il valore politico-religioso che Agrippa attribuisce alle sue scelte editoriali. Presentando una lettura ermetico-neoplatonica del peccato originale, in cui è rimarcato il diritto della ragione di pronunciarsi sulla Scrittura e di collaborare a pari titolo con la fede alla salvezza dell'anima, egli esprime pubblicamente la sua distanza dalle dottrine fondamentali della Riforma protestante.¹⁴⁶ Rivendicando il ruolo decisivo che soprattutto la ragione, e non soltanto la grazia di Dio, svolge nell'organizzare il sapere e nel dirigere le azioni dell'uomo, la tesi del *De originali peccato* si pone ben oltre la disputa sul libero arbitrio di Erasmo e Lutero. Se la colpa riconduce all'intenzione che guida l'anima e se il peccato dipende dall'utilizzo della ragione, ciò significa che l'uomo, creato per disporre responsabilmente della propria natura, dovrà riconsiderare la vicenda dei progenitori, attribuendo alla colpa originaria un valore temporaneo. La macchia del peccato adamitico non chiude definitivamente la storia degli uomini, poiché non corrompe irreversibilmente il libero arbitrio e non estingue la loro volontà di riconquistare, con meriti e opere, la dignità perduta, restaurando così la condizione immortale di comunione con Dio.

Il nucleo della rivelazione di Cristo manifesta agli uomini il progetto divino di ricondurre l'uomo alla sua perfezione originaria. Come ha scritto Perrone Compagni: «La redenzione di Cristo ha cancellato una volta per tutte la condizione storica dell'umanità macchiata dal peccato e l'ha ricondotta, individuo per individuo, alla perfezione del suo momento iniziale, quando uomo e donna furono creati *ad imaginem Dei*».¹⁴⁷ La missione che Cristo svolge nel disegno di salvezza, ossia nel percorso di interazione tra storia ed eternità, era già stata enucleata in forma paradigmatica nel *Dialogus de homine* come testimonianza del mistero della rigenerazione. Incarnandosi, Dio svela agli uomini l'enigma del percorso esattamente inverso: il miracolo della transumanazione, la deificazione, quella capacità non ancora esercitata dell'uomo di assumere la natura di Dio. Il Cristo di Agrippa si presenta, quindi, come 'l'autore della rigenerazione' (*regenerationis auctor*) descritto nel trattato XIII del *Pimander* (intitolato *Mercurii ad Tatium filium suum: de generatione et*

¹⁴⁶ Sul confronto di Agrippa con la Riforma protestante si vedano NAUERT, *Agrippa and the Crisis*, p. 156-193; PAOLA ZAMBELLI, «*Humanae litterae, verbum divinum, docta ignorantia* negli ultimi scritti di Enrico Cornelio Agrippa», *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 20 (1966), p. 211-217; EAD., «*Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim*», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), p. 69-103; VAN DER POEL, *Cornelius Agrippa*, p. 146-150; ADORNI BRACCESI, «*Eresia e Riforma*», p. 1-18; EAD., «*La 'Germanica haeresis'*», p. 101-126.

¹⁴⁷ PERRONE COMPAGNI, «*L'innocenza di Eva*», p. 79.

impositione silentii),¹⁴⁸ colui che, secondo il *Dialogus*, « reparavit lapsum retulitque vitam perpetuam per regenerationis recreationisque misterium, quod 'in illum usque diem humanum genus latuit' ». ¹⁴⁹ La testimonianza di Cristo, assimilandoci alla natura del quale ci rendiamo meritevoli della salvezza, mostra all'uomo la dignità del libero arbitrio, l'ubicazione corretta dell'uomo all'interno del progetto di vita, speranza e salvezza che anima l'universo.¹⁵⁰ Il suo messaggio rappresenta per Agrippa una conversione intellettuale che richiede al sapiente di restaurare l'ordine corretto tra le facoltà dell'anima e di riconoscere in Dio il fondamento di ogni verità. Rigenerarsi significherà allora intraprendere un percorso di maturazione in cui l'uomo, grazie alla sapienza, perviene da ultimo all'apoteosi, ossia a rivestirsi della stessa natura, facoltà e dignità del Creatore.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ *Pimander*, 13, c. 32v (NF 2, p. 202): « Tat: Dic age: quis est regenerationis auctor? Trisme. Dei filius homo, unius voluntate Dei ». La definizione di Cristo come 'autore della rigenerazione' era già stata presentata nella prolusione di insediamento per un corso universitario dedicato al *Pimander*, che Agrippa aveva pronunciato solennemente a Pavia nel 1515. Nel suo discorso sosteneva l'identificazione proposta da Lazzarelli del *Pimander*, ossia della 'mente divina' che appare ad Ermete, con Cristo stesso: HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Oratio habita Papiæ in praelectione Hermetis Trismegisti De potestate et sapientia Dei*, anno MDXV, in Id., *Operum pars posterior*, p. 1097-1098: « [...] favente nobis ipso Termaximi Mercurii Pimandro, mente divinae potentiae, domino videlicet nostro Iesu Christo Nazareno crucifixo, qui verus Pimander, qui 'magni consilii angelus' [Is. 9:6] vero mentis lumine illustrat, quem 'verum deum et verum hominem' [Symb. ps.Athan., 76, 32 p. 46], 'regenerationis auctorem' [*Pimander*, 13, c. 33v (NF 2, p. 202)] confitemur 'futuri patrem seculi' [Is. 9:6] iudicem expectamus »; cf. LAZARELUS, *Crater Hermetis*, c. 60v. Il passo è tratto da PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 33. La prolusione fu stampata a Colonia nel 1535, presso i tipi di Johannes Soter, all'interno di una silloge che raccoglieva dieci discorsi ufficiali e una cronaca dell'incoronazione di Carlo V a Bologna nel 1530: cf. HENRICI CORNELII AGRIPPAE *Orationes X... Eiusdem Eiusdem de duplici coronatione Caroli V. Caesaris apud Bononiam, historiola*, Ioannes Soter excudebat Coloniae, MDXXXV. Sul passo della prolusione si veda anche EUGENIO GARIN, MIRELLA BRINI, CESARE VASOLI, PAOLA ZAMBELLI (eds.), *Testi umanistici su l'ermetismo. Testi di Ludovico Lazzarelli, F. Giorgio Veneto, Cornelio Agrippa di Nettesheim*, Fratelli Bocca, Roma 1955, p. 125.

¹⁴⁹ AGRIPPA, *Dialogus de homine*, p. 197: « Hinc universum humanum genus omnisque hominum mundus letheo fluvio iacuit demersus, donec spiritus providentie divine ferebatur super aquas nostras corrupte nature [Gen., 1, 2; PICUS, *Heptaplus*, 5, 1, p. 292; ibid., 2, 2, p. 208-210], tandem oportuno tempore produxit lucem, solem iustitie, illuminantem omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum tenebrosus. Hinc Dominus Deus pater, statutis oportunisque temporibus, misit nobis unigenitum filium suum, Dominum nostrum Hiesum Christum, 'verum Deum hominem,' qui solus passus est, 'mortuus est pro peccatis nostris', ut ait Petrus, 'iustus pro iniustis' [1 Ptr., 3:18]. Ipse namque reparavit lapsum retulitque vitam perpetuam per regenerationis recreationisque misterium, quod 'in illum usque diem humanum genus latuit' [cf. *Pimander*, 1, c. 5v (NF 1, p. 12); Mt., 19:28] ».

¹⁵⁰ VITTORIA PERRONE COMPAGNI, « 'Della vanità delle scienze'. Note di lettura », *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, 11 (2005), p. 131.

¹⁵¹ EAD., *Riforma della magia*, p. 30: « Il peccato originale è un velo che si interpone tra la verità e l'intelletto umano, una dimenticanza di sé che oscura il patrimonio conoscitivo originario – che è per sua natura anche operativo. Il ritorno dell'uomo alla perfezione primitiva, la sua 'deificatio' è possibile soltanto attraverso la riappropriazione dell'autocoscienza, il

Quantunque il mistero ermetico della rigenerazione si costituisca come esperienza di conversione interiore, vissuta nella coscienza individuale e radicata nell'apprendimento della sapienza di Dio,¹⁵² l'uomo rigenerato riveste un valore sociale di primaria importanza, assumendo una dimensione spiccatamente politica. Grazie al perfezionamento spirituale, il sapiente accoglie in sé la potenza di Cristo, un potere sconfinato in grado di illuminarlo nel corretto intendimento del messaggio divino. Costui diviene mago, sacerdote e teologo al contempo, un'autorità di riferimento in campo religioso e politico, un pensatore capace di spiegare le Sacre Scritture, nonché un degno operatore di miracoli che agisce nella mediazione di Cristo per il perfezionamento della società cristiana. Il sapiente rigenerato è chiamato dunque a incarnare la missione riformatrice che Agrippa descrive come il fine ultimo del vero intellettuale: guidare la comunità per ricostituirla nel tragitto di salvezza e decodificare i piani semantici della Rivelazione per adattare la Parola di Dio alla comprensione di ogni uomo.

riconoscimento di sé stesso come 'mens'. Ma l'uomo deve cooperare al suo riscatto, impegnandosi in una riforma morale che sia ascesi purificatrice e preparazione al dono della rivelazione ».

¹⁵² PERRONE COMPAGNI, *Ermetismo e Cristianesimo*, p. 61–62.

REVIEWS

PAOLO PELLEGRINI, *DANTE ALIGHIERI: UNA VITA*, GIULIO EINAUDI, TORINO 2021 (PICCOLA BIBLIOTECA EINAUDI, NUOVA SERIE, 747: SAGGISTICA LETTERARIA E LINGUISTICA), XXII + 252 PP., ISBN 9788806247218.

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Dante's was a life of two halves, if unequal ones. From his birth in May or June 1265 until March 1302 he lived, wrote and was politically active as a resident of his native Florence, but from 10 March 1302, when he was sentenced to death as an enemy of a new regime, until his actual decease in September 1321, he secured his comparative safety by remaining outside the jurisdiction of the Florentine state. Although the first 'half' occupied nearly two-thirds of the poet's lifespan, in any biography it is likely to occupy fewer pages than the second – in this case 3–71.¹ Not surprisingly, little is new in these pages: the documentary record is exiguous, especially before the poet's entry into politics in 1295; the only other contemporary evidence lies in the creative writings of Dante and his associates; to these may be added the testimony of early biographers, all of whom wrote after their subject's death; and essentially all avenues were thoroughly explored long ago. The scene has been slightly reset by the appearance, in 2016, of a new *Codice diplomatico dantesco* (superseding an earlier one published in 1940 and subsequently augmented), that is, an edition, with commentary, of all known documents relating to Dante and his family.²

The present biography's first section opens with a fluent and largely up-to-date account of Florence's socio-political evolution, which is followed by passages on Dante's family, education, military activity, early writings and participation in

¹ The other biographies referred or alluded to in this review are: GIORGIO PETROCCHI, « Vita di Dante », in *Enciclopedia dantesca*, 6 vol., Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1970–78, vol. VI, p. 3–53, revised as *Vita di Dante*, Laterza, Rome–Bari 1983 (Collezione Storica); ENRICO MALATO, *Dante*, Salerno Editrice, Rome 1999, 4th edition, revised 2017 (Sestante 1); GUGLIELMO GORNI, *Dante: storia di un visionario*, Laterza, Rome–Bari 2008 (Storia e Società); MARCO SANTAGATA, *Dante: il romanzo della sua vita*, Mondadori, Milan 2012 (Le Scie); GIORGIO INGLESE, *Vita di Dante: una biografia possibile*, Carocci, Rome 2015 (Saggi); ALESSANDRO BARBERO, *Dante*, Laterza, Bari–Rome 2020 (i Robinson/Lettere); ELISA BRILLI, GIULIANO MILANI, *Vite nuove: biografia e autobiografia di Dante*, Carocci, Rome 2021 (Saggi).

² TERESA DE ROBERTIS, GIULIANO MILANI, LAURA REGNICOLI, STEFANO ZAMPONI (eds.), *Codice diplomatico dantesco*, Salerno Editrice, Rome 2016 (Nuova Edizione Commentata delle Opere di Dante, 7/3).

politics between 1295 and 1302. There are occasional slips, as when the poet's grandfather is named Alighiero rather than Bellincione (p. 21), or where Geri del Bello is said not to be named in *Inferno* XXIX (p. 29), or the age of legal majority is given as fifteen instead of fourteen (p. 34 and 125), or where it is implied that Pietro di Giovanni Olivi, who taught at Santa Croce in 1287–89, was there in 1293–96 (p. 52–53). Other inaccuracies appear to derive from a hasty consultation of the documents (not all of which are identified): Dante's father could not inherit Geri del Bello's house (p. 19) as he predeceased him; Cione del Bello should be read as his sons (p. 28); Vinciguerra was not Corso Donati's grandfather (p. 34) but his great-grandfather; a family property was called not Le Radere (p. 35) but Le Radole. It is inaccurate that Bello's branch of the family clave to the magnate class (p. 63) or that Dante belonged to the *popolo grasso* (p. 64). A bizarre passage on page 32 seems to imply that one of Dante's uncles was his own son. But these are details, and in the main these chapters, illuminated by a ground plan of the Alighieri neighbourhood, offer an uncontroversial account of information and hypotheses accepted as standard today.

Where controversy becomes more of an issue is in relation to the later part of the poet's life. Here again the documentary record is minimal, and one of the fundamental questions is that of where Dante spent his exile and wrote most of his works. There are a few sightings: at San Godenzo (north-east Tuscany) on 8 June 1302, at Castelnuovo (north-west Tuscany) on 6 October 1306, in the Casentino on 31 March and 17 April 1311, at Poppi castle on 18 May 1311. To these Dante's writings add clues of debatable dependability, which at least make it clear he was at the Della Scala court in Verona during the campaign of the exiles' army to retake Florence, and again for a period that seems to have lasted at least from 1316 to 1318; and with varying results scholars have sought further hints in the poet's own words. Early biographers provided more information which may or may not be reliable, notably that he spent the closing months of his life at the court of Guido Novello da Polenta in Ravenna. The rest is open to speculation, some of the more persuasive of which has placed Dante at various times in Arezzo, Forlì, Treviso, Bologna, Lucca, Pisa and Paris.

In his introduction Pellegrini helpfully lists the book's « novelties ». One of these is that Dante was « very probably » in Forlì in the summer of 1310 and may there have written a letter to Cangrande Della Scala in Verona (p. 132 and 142–43). But none of this is new, not even to biographical monographs (Santagata has it on p. 232); its best sources are unacknowledged articles published by other scholars in 2005 and 2015. What gives Pellegrini a firmer belief than Santagata in Dante's authorship of the lost letter is his declared policy (p. xix) of rehabilitating the testimony of the fifteenth-century historians Leonardo Bruni and the Forlivese Biondo Flavio – a policy to which, however, he adheres only selectively, as derogations of it are encountered on pages 48–49, 76–77 and 154.

If that lost letter points towards Verona, all four of the other « novelties » concern Verona directly. One of them focuses on the early visit there to which the poet refers in *Paradiso*, XVII. 70–75. There has been much debate in recent years about the timing, purpose and duration of that visit. To me Pellegrini's reconstruction seems as plausible as any, though its originality is limited to the fine tuning. It is assumed that Dante was in Verona to represent the exiles, seeking military aid for their Mugello campaign from the *signore*, Bartolomeo Della Scala; whether or not he returned to the exiles's base – the theory continues – he abandoned them and the commitment to warfare in February or early March 1303 and spent the next year or so as Bartolomeo's guest in Verona, to rejoin his former comrades only when the prospect of a peaceful solution presented itself in 1304.

Two of the novelties belong together. Pellegrini wishes his reader to believe that when Dante left his fellow exiles for the second time (perhaps in July 1304) he returned to Verona, stayed there until the summer of 1306, and there wrote the first three books of his *Convivio*, followed by *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. In recent years the main rival candidates for the poet's whereabouts in this period have been Bologna and Treviso. The lord of Verona was now the late Bartolomeo's brother Alboino, and one of the standard objections to the Verona theory is that Dante, whose works include expressions of appreciation for several of his patrons, has only words of vitriol for Alboino, whom he accuses of ignobility (*Convivio*, IV. 16. 6). Pellegrini's preference for Verona notwithstanding the objection is based on the testimony of Bruni and Biondo (p. 105–107), whose reliability is at this point assumed because they evidently had access to letters written by Dante but now long lost. Bologna has the better claim from the point of view of library access and intellectual stimulation, and was not – despite what Pellegrini appears to say (p. 99) – politically off limits for Dante. The biographer counters this with a somewhat feeble case for Verona as another lively scholarly milieu around the famous Chapter Library, and with a striking detail. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II. 6. 7 Dante lists four Latin prose writers who – as appears to have been suggested to him by a friend – could be beneficial as models to vernacular poets: Livy, Pliny (presumably the Younger), Frontinus and Orosius. The first three of these were rare at the time, but, as pointed out in Tavoni's 2011 edition, all three were represented in the Chapter Library; to which Pellegrini adds that he knows of no other library where Dante could have found all three, while the present tense « *invitat* » appears to point to the time of writing.

The one novelty that seems to be based on Pellegrini's own research is the idea that Dante's last period in Verona, commonly seen as lasting from about 1316 to 1318 or 1319, actually began as early as 1312, while Henry VII was still alive. In two articles published in 2018 the author argued that a Latin letter sent by Cangrande Della Scala to the newly crowned Emperor probably in August 1312, now lost as an original but copied into a surviving contemporary collection of specimen letters,

shows signs of having been composed by Dante, who must therefore have been in Verona at the time.³ Given the formulaic and derivative nature of all such *dictamina*, those signs are not necessarily as compelling as Pellegrini believes; certainly Alberto Casadei has responded with some « preliminary doubts ».⁴ For now at least, this should be considered an open question, especially if it is to be used as the single exhibit in a case for four extra years in Verona (though on page 176 Pellegrini does concede that we have no idea where Dante was in 1313–14, contenting himself with the observation that he had no reason to leave Verona). For the open question to be steered towards closure a critical edition of Cangrande's letter is needed, together with a fuller analysis of its prose, including its use of the *cursus*. Pellegrini has promised these things, though they have yet to appear. One would also value the view of a specialist in the *ars dictaminis* as practised by Dante and his contemporaries, such as Benoît Grévin.⁵ Meanwhile the rival claim of western Tuscany as a plausible base for Dante between 1312 and 1316 should not be dismissed so lightly as it is here.

Between the novelties Pellegrini makes a good job of covering the essentials, from Dante's activism firstly in the White Guelph and later in the Ghibelline cause, through the composition of his later literary works, including the here authentic Epistle XIII and *Questio de Aqua et Terra*, to the poet's closing years in Ravenna. Scholars such as Carpi and Santagata, however, who see the various parts of the *Commedia* as differently coloured by the author's political persuasion at the time of writing,⁶ are given short shrift, their view of the poem being characterized as that of a sort of « instant book » (p. xv and elsewhere), a term which, in its normal sense of a book produced and published very quickly to meet market demand, belittles the scholars concerned. As in the earlier parts of the biography there are occasional lapses. Dante's first biographer was not Boccaccio (p. 161) but Giovanni Villani. The so-called Battle of La Lastra was not a surprise attack organized by Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (p. 84). According to the only source (Filippo Villani's *De Origine Civitatis*) Dante did not contract his fatal illness during the return journey to Ravenna (p. 209) but was already suffering from it in Venice. To say that when Henry VII died in August 1313 Italian Ghibellines looked to Cangrande as their

³ PAOLO PELLEGRINI, «La quattordicesima epistola di Dante Alighieri: primi appunti per una attribuzione», *Studi di erudizione e di filologia italiana*, 7 (2018), p. 5–20; ID., «Lo stilista nascosto di Cangrande Della Scala», *Il Manifesto/Alias Domenica*, 16 September 2018.

⁴ ALBERTO CASADEI, «Una nuova epistola di Dante? Alcuni dubbi preliminari», in his *Dante: altri accertamenti e punti critici*, FrancoAngeli, Milan 2019 (Letteratura Italiana: Saggi e Strumenti), p. 278–86.

⁵ See, for example, BENOÎT GRÉVIN, *Al di là delle fonti "classiche": le Epistole dantesche e la prassi duecentesca dell' "ars dictaminis"*, Ca' Foscari Digital Publishing, Venice 2020 (Filologie Medievali e Moderne, 22; serie occidentale, 18).

⁶ UMBERTO CARPI, *La nobiltà di Dante*, 2 vol., Edizioni Polistampa, Florence 2004 (Studi su Dante a cura della Società Dantesca Italiana, 1); MARCO SANTAGATA, *Dante*, cit.

guiding star (p. 160) is to exaggerate, while the statement that Santagata sidesteps a difficulty by assuming the *Questio* was not written by Dante (p. 186n) is a trivialization of Santagata's view. Confusion is displayed over the chronology of Guido Novello's departure from Ravenna (p. 209 and 211) and over the dates of Boccaccio's visit to that city (p. 206 and 209); and was Ravenna's cultural environment really « vivace » (p. 210)? But such infelicities are not numerous.

What is of perhaps greater concern, in the book as a whole, is a lack of etiquette in the acknowledgement of debts to previous scholarship. A preference is expressed (p. xvii) for certain « great masters of the past », the paladins of the *nuova filologia*, which in the biographical arena means down to and including Giorgio Petrocchi (1978 and 1983). Subsequent work is characterized as derivative, superficial and therefore largely to be ignored. This, however, is a travesty of reality: during the past two decades a huge amount of valuable original work has been done in this area by scholars such as Mirko Tavoni, Giuseppe Indizio and Paolo Pontari. Pellegrini in fact makes good use of Tavoni and Pontari (who are afforded space in the bibliography), though without ever mentioning them in the text or including them in the index. Most strikingly, Indizio, who in recent years has done more than anyone to bring Dante's life into focus and whose work is frequently perceptible here, occasionally verbatim, is mentioned once, in a footnote (p. 79), in connection with a marginal issue, and appears in the bibliography as the author of only one study, whereas the parallel bibliographies of Brilli-Milani and Barbero credit him, respectively, with nine contributions and with seventeen.

Of course, the focus into which Dante's life can be brought remains glaringly imperfect, and consists mainly of intelligent hypotheses; Giorgio Inglese had the candour to subtitle his offering « a possible biography », while Santagata went so far as to subtitle his *Dante* « il romanzo della sua vita », even though it is anything but a novel or a romance. Pellegrini is at pains to smother competing hypotheses with his own. In his introduction (p. xix-xx) he expresses the wish to reach and presumably influence a wide and impressionable readership; but if I were asked to recommend a biography of Dante to novices or lay persons, this – for all its cherished and undeniable readability – is not the one I should select, because of its Verona-centric tendentiousness. Other accounts, most recently those by Barbero and Brilli-Milani, are far more open-minded about Dante's whereabouts during his exile.

FLORIAN HAMANN, *DAS RENAISSANCEABENTEUER, MUSLIME ZU BEKEHREN.*
EIN PHILOSOPHISCHER FELDZUG, WISSENSCHAFTLICHE
BUCHGESELLSCHAFT, DARMSTADT 2021, 283 PP., ISBN: 9783534404599.

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Dass die Eroberung von Konstantinopel am 29. Mai 1453 eine intensive Auseinandersetzung der westlichen Christenheit mit dem Islam und den Muslimen entfacht habe, ist eine weit verbreitete These, die durch die Beobachtung, dass Nikolaus von Kues als Reaktion darauf die Schrift *De pace fidei* abgefasst hat, unterstützt wird. Im hier zu besprechenden Buch will F. Hamann nachweisen, dass eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit der islamischen Religion und dem Koran bei einer Gruppe von Gelehrten bereits früher im Umkreis des Basler Konzils beobachtet werden kann. Der Autor spricht von der 'Generation Basel', zu der sieben Gelehrte gehören, die am Konzil in verschiedenen Funktionen teilgenommen haben und die zu Beginn des Buches vorgestellt werden (29–58): Johannes von Segovia, Johannes von Torquemada OP, Nikolaus von Kues, Heymericus de Campo, Ennea Silvio Piccolomini (der spätere Papst Pius II.), Jean Germain, Johannes von Ragusa OP. Bevor Hamann in einem besonders wichtigen Kapitel den Nachweis erbringen will, dass am Basler Konzil Entscheidendes für den Islamdiskurs des 15. Jahrhunderts vorbereitet wurde, erinnert er daran, was man zur Zeit des Basler Konzils vom Islam wissen konnte (59–97). In diesem Zusammenhang ist u.a. vom Dialog des Petrus Alfonsi¹ die Rede (64–67), aber auch von der ersten Koranübersetzung, die Petrus Venerabilis, der eine « intellektuelle und propagandistische Auseinandersetzung mit der fremden Religion » intendierte (67–74),² veranlasste. Nicht übersehen wird auch der « exzentrische Missionsansatz » von Raymundus Lullus (87–97) und in diesem Zusammenhang

¹ Es darf hier auf die wichtige, neue kritische Edition dieses bedeutsamen Werkes hingewiesen werden, die Hamann noch nicht zitiert: *Petri Alfonsi Dialogus*. Band 1: Kritische Edition mit deutscher Übersetzung. Herausgegeben von CARMEN CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, DARKO SENEKOVIC, THOMAS ZIEGLER, übersetzt von PETER STOTZ, SISMEL-Edizione del Galuzzo, Florence 2018.

² Vgl. dazu J. KRITZECK, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1964, sowie: PETRUS VENERABILIS. *Schriften zum Islam*, ediert, ins Deutsche übersetzt und kommentiert von REINHOLD GLEI, CIS Verlag, Altenberge 1985.

wird ebenfalls die Kritik des Pariser Kanzlers Jean Gerson an Lull besprochen.³ Hamann will zeigen, inwiefern das Basler Konzil als « Initialzündung » für einen veränderten Islamdiskurs betrachtet werden kann. Dies kann namentlich durch die in Basel beschlossenen Gesandtschaften nach Konstantinopel, an denen Johannes von Ragusa erheblich beteiligt war, sowie durch die Verhandlungen mit den Hussiten belegt werden (113–129); diese Verhandlungen haben nämlich mögliche Formen der Diskussion mit ‘Andersgläubigen’ auf die Probe gestellt. Vor allem aber ist die Benutzung des Koran durch Heymericus de Campo zu erwähnen (106–113). Bereits in seiner Studie *Das Siegel der Ewigkeit* (Münster, Aschendorff, 2006), die der Universalwissenschaft und dem Konziliarismus im Denken des flämischen Denkers gewidmet war, hat Hamann eine wirklich überraschende Entdeckung vorgelegt: In der Tat finden sich in der in Basel entstandenen *Disputatio de potestate ecclesiastica*, wo die Superioritätsfrage des Konzils ausführlich diskutiert wird, Argumente auf Grundlage des Koran:⁴

Der Niederländer kann falsche und häretische Prämissen aus dem Koran verwenden, um zu ekklesiologisch zutreffenden Ergebnissen zu gelangen (113).

Zur Erklärung und Rechtfertigung dieses doch merkwürdigen Vorgehens verweist Hamann richtigerweise auf die *Topik* des Aristoteles, wo gesagt wird, dass manchmal das Wahre durch Falsches deduziert werden kann.⁵ Damit wird verständlich, dass Heymericus « falsche und häretische Prämissen aus dem Koran » dazu verwenden kann, um wahre Aussagen zu bestätigen. Man kann also behaupten, dass diese Verwendung muslimischer Zitate für christliche Zwecke für die ‘Generation Basel’ « wegweisend » wurde (113). Dafür bringt das Buch eine Reihe überzeugender Belege.

Was die Zeit von der Spaltung des Konzils (1437) bis zur Eroberung von Konstantinopel (1453) betrifft, sind die Bemühungen von Jean Germain zu beachten (138–146). Er hat 1450/51 eine Schrift mit dem Titel *Débat du chrétien et du Sarazin* abgefasst. Zwar handelt es sich offensichtlich dabei vor allem um eine freie Übersetzung der in der von Petrus Venerabilis veranstalteten *Collectio*

³ Vgl. dazu R. IMBACH, « Notule sur Jean Gerson, critique de Raymond Lulle », in DOMINIQUE DE COURCELLES (ed.), *Les formes laïques de la philosophie. Raymond Lulle dans l'histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, Brepols, Turnhout 2018 (Subsidia Lulliana, 6), p. 139–157.

⁴ Zur Verdeutlichung dieses tatsächlich einzigartigen Sachverhaltes sei hier der Anfang eines derartigen Argumentes zitiert (*Siegel der Ewigkeit*, p. 306): « Ad idem secundum diffinitionem Alchorani lex poligamie est pocior lege monogamie, propter quod Machometus concedit nedum bigamiam, ymmo quoscumque luxurie concubitus, sed spiritualiter et mystice loquendo quisque discipulus externe sapiencie contra hic cum eadem quoddam coniugium nupcialie secundum illud Sapiencie 7 : quesivi michi pro sponsa habere eam ». In dieser Studie sind erhebliche Teile des *Disputatio* publiziert, die Argumente aus dem Koran S. 305–308, 310.

⁵ *Topica* VIII, 11; 162a8–11.

Toletana erhaltenen *Epistula Saraceni et rescriptum Christiani*⁶ und wie Tristan Vigliano zeigt, soll der scheinbare Dialog die Christen zu einem neuen Kreuzzug ermuntern,⁷ aber immerhin wurden auf diese Weise Informationen über den Islam in der Volkssprache verbreitet. Ein umfangreicher Teil der Studie von Hamann ist dem im September 1453 verfassten Religionsdialog *De pace fidei* von Nikolaus von Kues und seiner Rezeption gewidmet (147–167). Zwei Aspekte der ausführlichen Darstellung des cusanischen Dialogs verdienen nach meiner Auffassung Beachtung. Zu Recht betont Hamann, dass Nikolaus eine allegorische Deutung des Koran vorschlägt (155). Noch aufschlussreicher ist jedoch der Hinweis darauf, dass die Kernthese des Dialogs – *religio una in rituum varietate* – « keine ureigene Schöpfung des Cusanus » sei, sondern gleichsam eine Anspielung auf die *Doctrina Machumet* (159),⁸ ein Text, der im Codex Cusanus 108 erhalten ist:

Dic itaque si placet, quo sunt leges dei? Respondit: Una. Quid ergo dices de prophetis, qui te praecesserunt? Respondit: Lex quidem siue fides omnium una, sed ritus diuersorum nimirum diversi.⁹

Hinsichtlich der Rezeption des Dialogs ist in erste Linie der briefliche Austausch zwischen Cusanus und Johannes von Segovia faszinierend. Dieser berichtet in seinem Brief von Dezember 1453 von der Abfassung der Schrift *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*¹⁰ von der er sagt, dass ihr Ziel darin bestehe zu zeigen, « das man sich mehr um den Weg des Friedens als um den des Kriegs zur Bekehrung der Sarazenen bemühe » (165), ein Vorhaben, dem Cusanus in seiner Antwort beipflichtet: « Ego tamen, etsi omnino cum ipsis potius putem

⁶ Es handelt sich hier um die von Peter von Toledo erstellte Übersetzung des arabischen Werkes *Risalat al-Kindi*, welche immer noch in der Ausgabe von THEODOR BIBLIANDER, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis eiusque successorum uitae ac doctrinae ipseque Alcoran*, Basel 1543, vol. II, p. 1–20, gelesen werden muss. Vgl. dazu OTFRIED LIEBERKNECHT, « Zur Rezeption der arabischen Apologie des Pseudo-Kindi in der lateinischen Mohammedliteratur des Mittelalters », in A. SCHÖNBERGER, K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *De orbis Hispani linguis litteris historia moribus*, Festschrift für D. Briesemeister zum 60. Geburtstag, Domus Editoria Europea, Frankfurt 1994, vol. I, p. 523–538. Vgl. ebenfalls bei HAMANN, 71–72 sowie die Notiz zu Peter of Toledo von F.G. MUÑOZ, in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. III, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2011, p. 478–482.

⁷ Zum Vorhaben von Germain, das HAMANN 140–143 behandelt, vgl. die Deutung von TRISTAN VIGLIANO, *Parler aux musulmans. Quatre intellectuels face à l'Islam à l'orée de la Renaissance*, Droz, Genève 2017, wo das erste Kapitel dieser Persönlichkeit gewidmet ist. Nach meiner Kenntnis ist der Text von Germain noch nicht publiziert zugänglich, jedoch hat Hamann eine umfangreiche Teiledition von YVON LACAZE benutzen können, vgl. Anm. 40, 142.

⁸ Das ebenfalls unter dem Namen *Liber de doctrina Mahumet* zirkulierende Werk wurde von Hermann von Carinthia übersetzt, vgl. HAMANN, 73–74, sowie die diesbezügliche Notiz in DAVID THOMAS, ALEX MALLEY (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations Online I*, Brill.

⁹ Im Codex Cusanus 108, fol. 25va; zitiert 159 (nach der Ausgabe von BIBLIANDER, Band I, 189).

¹⁰ Edition und deutsche Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen von ULLI ROTH, I–II, Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 2012.

conferendum quam bellandum ».¹¹ Allerdings zeigt Hamann ebenfalls, dass sich Enea Silvio Piccolomini sehr intensiv für einen Kreuzzug gegen die Türken eingesetzt hat (177–185) und vor allem, dass ihn Cusanus in dieser Sache sogar unterstützt hat, so dass sich ergibt, dass das « herrschende Bild des Cusanus als Vorreiters für die religiöse Toleranz » revidiert werden muss (185). Im Gegensatz zu solchen kriegerischen Plänen darf das Bemühen von Georg von Trapezunt, der allerdings nicht zur 'Generation Basel' gehört, hervorgehoben werden. Er hat nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel (1453) eine Schrift verfasst hat, mit der er die Konversion von Mehmed II., des Eroberers von Konstantinopel, bezweckte (167–177).¹² Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen indes die Bemühungen von Johannes von Segovia (190–204), der ja bekanntlich im Gegensatz zu Heimerich und Nikolaus seinen konziliaristischen Standpunkt bis an sein Lebensende nicht aufgegeben hat. Zuerst ist daran zu erinnern, dass er sich um eine Neuübersetzung des Koran bemüht hat. Leider sind von diesem Unternehmen nur das Vorwort und kleine Ausschnitte bekannt.¹³ Er ist überdies der Verfasser einer bedeutsamen Schrift *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*.¹⁴ Die Adressaten dieser Schrift sind nicht die Muslime, sondern Johannes ist auf der Suche des richtigen Weges einer Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen. Er unterscheidet vier für die Christen mögliche Wege, um die Muslime zur Konversion zu bewegen: *via miraculi divini*, *via praedicationis*, *via belli*, *via pacis* (194–199). Seine Sympathien gelten dem vierten Weg, ist doch bei ihm eine « pazifistische Grundüberzeugung » (197) vorhanden und ihm schwebt eine Konferenz von Vertretern der katholischen Kirche und muslimischen Herrschern oder Gelehrten vor.

Ganz andere Überzeugungen findet man bei einem anderen Vertreter der 'Generation Basel', Juan de Torquemada OP, der im Auftrag von Papst Pius II. einen Traktat zur Widerlegung der Irrtümer des Islam abfasst (204–209).¹⁵ Obschon dieses Elaborat, das beabsichtigt die 40 Hauptfehler Muhammads zu widerlegen, keine « eigene Denkanstrengung » (207) enthält, war keinem Werk der Generation Basel ein so grosser Erfolg beschieden wie diesem « Musterbeispiel für das vorherrschende Islambild » (209), das noch im 17. Jahrhundert gedruckt wurde. Der 1458 zum Papst gewählte Piccolomini (Pius II.) « erhob den Türkenkrieg zu

¹¹ *Epistola ad Ioannem de Segobia*, in Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia, VII, Meiner, Hamburg 1970, p. 100.

¹² Der Traktat *Peri tes aletheias tes ton christianon pisteos* ist in einer zweisprachigen Edition publiziert von A.Th. KHOURY, CIS-Verlag, Altenberge 1987.

¹³ Vgl. dazu u.a. ULLI ROTH, RIENHOLD F. GLEI, « Eine weitere Spur der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia », *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (2011), p. 221–228. Das Vorwort ist ediert in der Dissertation von D. CABANELLAS RODRÍGUEZ, « Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico », Universidad de Madrid, Facultad de filosofía y letras, Madrid 1952, p. 292.

¹⁴ Zur Edition vgl. fn. 10.

¹⁵ *Contra principales errores perfidi Mahometi*; diese Schrift ist in einer Edition von 1606 (Rom) zugänglich. Eine kritische Edition wird von REINHOLD F. GLEI und CONCETTA FINIELLO im *Corpus Islamo-Christianum* vorbereitet.

einer zentralen Aufgabe seines Pontifikats » (223). Nachdem seinen Bemühungen zur Organisation eines Kreuzzuges kein Erfolg beschieden war (223–230), verfasst der Papst 1461 einen Brief an Mehmet II.,¹⁶ in dem der Papst dem Sultan die östliche Kaiserwürde anbietet, wenn er sich zum Christentum bekehre (vgl. 230–234). In Folge der Eroberung Bosniens ruft der Papst schliesslich doch zu einem Kreuzzug auf (Oktober 1463), aber sein Tod (1464) hatte das Ende des Vorhabens zur Folge. Indes ermöglicht dies ein erneutes Abenteuer für eine friedliche Bekehrung der Muslime, deren Promotor der bereits erwähnte Georgios Trapezunt war (235–244), der mehrere z. T. an Mehmed gerichtete Einladungen zu einer Bekehrung vorgelegt hat. Nach Hamamm belegt das Bemühen von Trapezunt, dass es sich bei den Bekehrungsversuchen der Frührenaissance keineswegs um «rhetorische Spielereien» (243) handelt.

Die bereits 1460/61 von Cusanus unternommene ‘Siebung des Koran’ (*Cribratio Alkorani*) bespricht Hamann ausführlich (210–221), da es sich zweifelsohne um eine der bedeutendsten Schriften der ‘Generation Basel’ handelt. Allerdings ist das Urteil Hamanns eher zurückhaltend. Er legt die Vielstimmigkeit in dem Werk zwar positiv aus, wenn er sagt sie zeuge davon, dass es sich um ein «Denken, das sich in Bewegung befindet» (210) handle, aber er urteilt zugleich sehr streng, wenn er die Auslegung des Koran als tendenziös bezeichnet (212).¹⁷ Allerdings gibt er zu, dass Cusanus Muhammad «eine positive Rolle im göttlichen Heilsplan» (217) zugesteht. Hamann verweist diesbezüglich auf Raymund Lull als mögliche Quelle. In seinem *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*¹⁸ praktiziert der Mallorquiner mehrfach eine *expositio moralis et spiritualis* des Koran.¹⁹ Das allgemeine Urteil über die Haltung des Cusanus ist jedoch recht kritisch:

¹⁶ *Epistola Pii II ad Mahumetum Turcorum principem*, ed. REINHOLD F. GLEI, MARKUS KÖHLER, BEATE KOBUSCH, Pius II.: *Epistola ad Mahumetum*. Einleitung, kritische Edition, Übersetzung, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, Trier 2001. Der Traktat von Torquemada ist die einzige Quelle dieses Briefes. Vgl. ebenfalls KLAUS WOLF, JONAS GÖHLER, *Papst Pius II. an Sultan Mehmet II.. Die Übersetzung der ‘Epistola ad Mahumetum’ durch Michael Christan*, de Gruyter, Berlin 2016. Es handelt sich hier um eine frühneuhochdeutsche Übersetzung des päpstlichen Briefes durch den Konstanzer Humanisten und Kaplan Michael Christan, ein interessantes Dokument zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Briefes von Pius. – Pius fehlt im Personenregister und Piccolomini ist unter Enea eingeordnet (278).

¹⁷ Für die Beurteilung der cusanischen Beziehung zum Islam und seiner Deutung desselben vgl. den wichtigen Aufsatz von ULRICH RUDOLPH, «Nikolaus von Kues und der Dialog mit dem Islam», *Der Islam*, 71 (1994), p. 95–108.

¹⁸ Hamann zitiert das Werk Lulls in der Mainzer Ausgabe von Lulls Schriften aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, aber es gibt davon eine kritische Ausgabe von PAMELA M. BEATTIE, OSCAR DE LA CRUZ PALMA, *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina*, XXXVI [CCC 274], Brepols, Turnhout 2015, p. 125–476. Das Werk ist ebenfalls enthalten in den *Opera selecta*, ed. VIOLA TENGE-WOLF, FERNANDO DOMINGUEZ REBOIRAS, vol. I, Brepols, Turnhout 2018.

¹⁹ Vgl. diesbezüglich FLORIAN HAMANN, «Der Koran als Autorität oder die Argumentation aus falschen Prämissen bei Nikolaus von Kues, Heymericus de Campo und Raymundus Lullus», in

Von vielen Theologen wird die Bereitschaft von Cusanus zum Religionsdialog in 'Über den Religionsfrieden' und der 'Siebung des Korans' als geradezu vorbildlich für den modernen Religionsdiskurs angeführt. Cusanus propagiere «Toleranz» zwischen Religionen. Nach einer genaueren Untersuchung der Texte lässt sich diese These kaum aufrechterhalten (220).²⁰

Die ausführlichen Erörterungen dieses Buches, die einerseits historische Fakten und andererseits schriftliche Dokumente beschreiben und deuten führen den Leser, aber auch den Autor zur Frage, was diese zum Teil widersprüchlichen Fakten und Gedanken der sog. 'Generation Basel' historisch bedeuten und was der Leser dieser Erzählung eines « philosophischen Feldzuges » davon halten soll. Als Erstes ist meines Erachtens die historiographische Ernte dieser Studie hervorzuheben: Hamann beleuchtet, erklärt und deutet bislang vernachlässigte und wenig beachtete Texte mittels einer Zusammenschau sowie dem Vergleich der Schriften und Laufbahnen von sieben Teilnehmern am Basler Konzil und er entdeckt auf diese Weise ein Netzwerk von Lehrinhalten und Thesen zum Verhältnis des westlichen Christentums zum Islam, das nicht nur neues Licht auf dieses historisch bedeutsame Thema wirft, sondern ebenfalls einen verdienstvollen Beitrag leistet zur historischen Betrachtung und Einschätzung der *intellectual history* im Umkreis und der Folge des Basler Konzils. Hamann selber folgert, dass die 'Generation Basel' ein ganzes Gefüge an Regeln für einen künftigen « Religionsdialog » (257) geliefert habe, darunter ist hauptsächlich die formelle Gleichrangigkeit der Teilnehmer sowie, wie bereits Petrus Alfonsi postuliert hat, die Voraussetzung gemeinsamer Autoritäten zu verstehen. Allerdings gilt es einzugestehen, dass die 'Generation Basel' gescheitert ist (258). Indes wäre es falsch zu folgern, dass es sich bei den in dieser Studie untersuchten Daten und Lehren bloss um eine « kuriose Fussnote zur abendländischen Geschichte » handelt (260), denn auf recht verschiedene Weise haben die Protagonisten der 'Generation Basel' nicht nur die Kenntnisse zu Kultur und Geschichte des Islam verstärkt, sondern ebenfalls zur Förderung des Verständnisses dieser Religion einen Beitrag geleistet.

Es kann nach meiner Einschätzung nicht übersehen und gelegnet werden, dass eine *historische* Untersuchung wie die vorliegende in einer Zeit, in der die Begegnung und die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam nicht nur rein theoretisch ist, sondern auch politische Relevanz besitzt, eine sehr behutsame Betrachtung verdient, nicht weil das Studium der Geschichte Wege und Lösungen unserer

KLAUS REINHARDT, FRANZ-BERNHARD STAMMKÖTTER (eds.), *Heymericus de Campo. Philosophie und Theologie im 15. Jahrhundert*, Roderer, Regensburg 2009, p. 128–133.

²⁰ An anderer Stelle ist sein Urteil noch härter bezüglich der *Cribratio*, er spricht von einem « Steinbruch von Diskussionsansätzen » (p. 210).

gegenwärtigen Probleme vermitteln könnte, sondern weil der Blick auf die Geschichte und ihre vertiefte Analyse helfen kann, die Voraussetzungen und die Situation des Betrachters zu hinterfragen.

MICHAEL J. B. ALLEN, *STUDIES IN THE PLATONISM OF MARSILIO FICINO AND GIOVANNI PICO*, ROUTLEDGE, LONDON–NEW YORK 2017 (VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES, 1063). XIII + 348 PP., ISBN: 9781472448385.

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The volume under review is Allen's second in the Variorum series of collected articles, eighteen in this case after the fifteen in the first (*Plato's Third Eye*, 1995). It also presents an opportunity to survey one of the most productive and consequential scholarly careers of the last half century. A PhD in English from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1970, after a BA and MA in English from Wadham College, Oxford, in 1964 and 1966 would not seem to be ideal way to embark on a lifetime devoted to studying a Renaissance Italian philosopher who wrote almost exclusively in Latin and whose translations from the Greek became indispensable to Western intellectuals into the nineteenth century. But such is one of the glorious paradoxes of Allen's career and, I might add, a testament to the training in classical languages he received earlier in life.

Allen does not need to be introduced, of course, to students of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). But for those outside this specialty taking stock of Allen's prior publications will provide perspective. After the publication of his revised dissertation in 1975 on Ficino's *Philebus* commentary (reprinted twice thereafter), he went on to publish *Marsilio Ficino and the Phaedran Charioteer* (1981), then a larger study of Ficino's *Phaedrus* commentary (1984), followed by another on Ficino's *Sophist* commentary (1989) and finally one on Ficino's interpretation of the fatal number in Bk. 8 of the *Republic* (1994). All the while, he kept unceasingly producing critically important articles on Ficino, apart from what one found in his books. A large batch of these articles were collected together in the already mentioned 1995 volume with the arresting (a favorite Allenian adjective) title, *Plato's Third Eye*. Allen capped off this series of books with a brilliant deep dive into Ficino's understanding of Christian and Platonic history that carried the title *Synoptic Art* (1998). There is irony in this title because the book was published before Allen could prepare an index for it and therefore provide the volume the surest way to give readers a synoptic view of its extraordinary historical erudition.

As a professor in the English Department at the University of California, Los Angeles until his retirement in 2012, Allen regularly taught Shakespeare and other

Renaissance authors to great success in addition to authoring and co-editing a series of volumes on medieval and Renaissance literature. Indeed, one can well argue that it has been Allen's expertise in literature that has allowed him to capture and express the mythic, allegorical, and, one might say, poetic elements in the writings of Marsilio Ficino. But whatever have been Allen's contributions to the study of English Renaissance literature, Marsilio Ficino has always remained the heart of his scholarship. Just as Ficino's translation of Plato held the field for centuries, so too, I suggest, will Allen's translations of Ficino, if not for centuries, at least for generations to come. His translation in six volumes of Ficino's *magnum opus*, the *Platonic Theology*, in Harvard's I Tatti Renaissance Library series (2003–2006) is a landmark accomplishment. He followed up this achievement with a revised translation of Ficino's *Phaedrus* commentary (2008), and then in two volumes (2015) in the same I Tatti Library series a translation of Ficino's commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, an utterly pivotal author for Ficino, who so wanted to interwine (Neo-)Platonism and Christianity.

We thus arrive at Allen's latest volume, one in which he treats not only Ficino but also Ficino's younger contemporary and sometime opponent, the gifted Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. But before proceeding further, let us step back and consider for a moment the *modus operandi et dicendi* that runs through Allen's writings and makes his scholarship so unique. Simply put, Allen is not only a scholar, and a great one at that, but also a stylist and weaver of allusions, parallels, and suggestive possibilities in a way that gives the reader a deeper insight into significances that perhaps Ficino himself did not fully grasp as he elucidated his Plato. Allen does not write poetry, but there is a certain evocative, poetic quality in what he writes. A good instance of this characteristic is the fourteenth essay in the volume, « To gaze upon the face of God again: Philosophic Statutory, Pygmalion, and Marsilio Ficino », first published in *Rinascimento* in 2008, wherein, to explain « our final accession to God » Ficino, according to Allen, argues (Essay XIV, p. 134):

For at this juncture language itself becomes the stone that is chipped away as we attempt to carve out, neither man's statue, nor the world's, not even the sun's, but rather the statue at last of God Himself, the ultimate conceptual statue to which we long to give the gift of life so that we ourselves might live everlastingly as worshippers of His transcendent form. Mystically, however, even as we try to sculpt him conceptually, He recedes from the very language by which we attempt to conceive of the divine; and we find that in the very process of trying to sculpt Him, that he is mysteriously sculpting us. As sculptor we will become indeed, in the climatic Pygmalion moment, the sculpted, the living stone under the awful majesty of God's living hand.

Without denying the correctness of Allen's reading of Ficino, it must be said that one would be hard put to find such elevated prose in Ficino's *Platonic Theology* or Platonic commentaries that quite corresponds to this insight that Allen has extracted from Ficino's discussion in *Platonic Theology*, IX, 3, of the mind's attempt to contemplate God.

Allen's *Studies*, however, are not without their more staid essays. Indeed, the book begins with a magisterial overview of Renaissance Platonism, followed soon after by an equally magisterial essay surveying Renaissance Neoplatonism. It is in this vein that Allen included in the volume his appreciation (Essay VII) of the one scholar who in his time dominated Ficino studies the way Allen has the last few decades, namely, Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905–1999). One can go further and say that with his *Supplementum Ficinianum* of 1937, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino* of 1943, and a series of seminal articles into the 1950s Kristeller laid the basis of Allen's Ficinian scholarship. Allen was as generous in his praise of the deceased Kristeller as Kristeller had been in encouraging the young Allen thirty years earlier.¹

In contrast to Kristeller's « essentially rationalist study » as Allen puts it (Essay VII, p. 18), Allen has become one of the foremost students of Ficino's "theosophical, demonological, prophetic, medical, and magical themes" (Essay VII, p. 17). Thus, we learn of the demonology arising from Pythagorean mathematics (Essay IV). Similarly, Ficino's *Timaeus* commentary introduces us to his understanding of the soul as arithmogony (Essay VI), and in exploring Ficino's « Christianized Neoplatonism » Allen explains that at its center there stood not the Nativity nor the Crucifixion, but the luminous Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor (Essay VIII, p. 239–240). Consequently, and not surprisingly, Allen argues that Ficino arrived at a « meditative ideal, a strange blend of Plotinian and Proclan metaphysics and Iamblichan daemonism [...] completely lost to Christianity » so that

one might well argue that Ficino's whole Platonic endeavour was heretical. Its goals after all were to become a sage not a saint, a magus not a worshipper, a choring angel not a sinner praying for forgiveness, and accordingly to achieve the ascent from human depth into daemonic and spiritual planarity, a corporeal levitation

¹ See Allen's expressions of gratitude in the *Acknowledgements* of his 1975 edition and translation of Ficino's *Phaedrus* commentary. We may note here that Allen has not commented on one possible point of contention. Kristeller had acknowledged in his *Marsilio Ficino and His Work after Five Hundred Years*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1987 (Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento. Quaderni di Rinascimento, 7), p. 13, fn. 29, that Allen was right to identify Proclus and not Plotinus, as Kristeller had argued in *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, as the chief inspiration for Ficino's system of five hypostases with the rational soul holding the central, third position. But Kristeller insisted that he was right to have asserted Ficino's originality in making quality the next hypostasis under rational soul, a contention Allen does not address either to agree or to demur.

even from the void of darkness into the purity, into the mystical 'glory' of light (Essay XII, p. 43).

In short, the true transgressive intellectual of the Italian Renaissance was not any theatrical public humanist whom Jacob Burkhardt might have nominated, but this mild-mannered Platonist philosopher working out the heretical implications of his assumptions alone in the confines of his study. Not that Ficino would have acknowledged the heretical radicalism of his philosophy. Hence, for instance, after accepting the Platonic doctrine of the « soul's ante-natal existence in an aethereal body » (Essay XI, p. 41), Ficino took « Plato's *Statesman*, or rather its great myth » as a work anticipating and conforming to Christian dogma and bearing witness to the belief both in a personal resurrection, at least for the purified philosopher, and in a final, or rather the final Resurrection of all men: (p. 43); but in doing so he was « implicitly rejecting (or subordinating) the traditional Christian notion of the final Resurrection of the ordinary elemental body in order to embrace the heterodox, if not completely unorthodox, notion of each liberated soul in its ascendant resurrection reacquiring after corporeal death its original spiritual envelope » (p. 44). As Allen notes in the last essay in the volume, Ficino believed he was advancing the cause of religion when in explicating Plato's *Epinomis*, he explains that « Iamblichus bears witness that this mystery of the Son's identity with the Father derives from Hermes, i.e., from such passages in the *Corpus Hermeticum* as 2, 14, 5, 9–11, and 14,4 » (Essay XVIII, p. 488). Interestingly enough, in comparing Ficino with his brilliant younger contemporary, the intellectually rambunctious Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Allen several times comments on Pico's 'medievalism' as he explicated in the *Commento* the mythology of Plato's *Symposium* in criticism of Ficino (Essay X). Taking to heart Crofton Black's characterization of Pico (*Pico's Heptaplus and biblical hermeneutics*, Leiden, 2006), Allen thus essentially reverses the usual portrayal of the relationship between the two Florentine thinkers.

The eighteen articles in the present volume do not encompass the full run of articles published by Allen on Ficino since his prior *Variorum* volume. He himself lists eight at the end of his preface that he omitted « for various reasons », one of which was certainly length since at more than 360 pages the present volume arrives at what is in effect the maximum size of a *Variorum* volume. Nonetheless, these *Studies* offer a comprehensive and representative view of Allen's meditations in the last two decades as he produced nine volumes of translations of Ficino's writings. In addition to Essays already mentioned, the volume includes studies on Ficino's understanding of language (Essays V and IX), on Ficino's approach to Plato's Second Letter (Essay XIII), Ficino's anti-Averroism (Essay XV), and Ficino's treatment of the myths of Eurydice and Prometheus (Essays XVI and XVII). Since Allen began his grand Ficinian enterprise with a massive 550 page book containing

an edition and English translation of Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Philebus*, the present volume is not only a necessary companion to his latest translations, but in a way also a fitting coda to a career-long engagement with the most influential philosopher of the Italian Renaissance. Editions are meant to provide the basis of critical analysis and interpretation. Allen's translations are *ipso facto* the necessary first step in interpretation, but only through the concomitant interpretative essays provided by these *Studies* do we get to see how Allen understood the texts he translated. In these essays Allen's philological labors blossom into historical analysis and intellectual insight.

LAURA STAGNO, BORJA FRANCO LLOPIS (EDS.), *LEPANTO AND BEYOND. IMAGES OF RELIGIOUS ALTERITY FROM GENOA AND THE CHRISTIAN MEDITERRANEAN*, LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS, LEUVEN 2021, 324 PP., ISBN: 9462702640.

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A PROPOSITO DI *LEPANTO AND BEYOND*

« The Battle of Lepanto, celebrated as the greatest victory of Christendom over its Ottoman archenemy, was soon transformed into a powerful myth »:¹ la potenza generatrice, sul piano delle rappresentazioni culturali e della produzione di simboli, scaturita dall'esito dello scontro navale del 7 ottobre 1571, è un fatto largamente noto. Consentono ora di approfondirlo, con rimarchevole ricchezza di apporti originali, i saggi riuniti nella miscellanea a cura di Laura Stagno e Borja Franco Llopis.²

L'impatto fu immediato, esteso ad ampio raggio e ostinatamente prolungato nel tempo. Rimase inciso come un segno indelebile nei diversi canali che alimentavano, intrecciandosi tra loro, l'immaginario dello 'spazio pubblico'. Lo contagio ramificandosi attraverso l'effervescenza di una campagna multimediale che abbracciò, come era abituale per gli avvenimenti di più alto rilievo in rapporto ai destini della collettività sociale, l'insieme eterogeneo delle forme di comunicazione rese disponibili nel mondo dell'Antico Regime europeo: dalla moltiplicazione delle memorie tramandate oralmente si fissò in una galassia sterminata di rielaborazioni scritte di carattere cronachistico, storico-memorialistico, poetico, oratorio, teatrale, e nello stesso tempo acquistò densità drammatica, oltre che universale concretezza visiva, percepibile in presa diretta, riversandosi in un fiume di invenzioni figurative, di allestimenti scenografici, di celebrazioni di carattere trionfale, di attestazioni materiali (medaglie, monumenti, creazioni artistiche) che interferivano con le forme espressive del culto religioso,

¹ LAURA STAGNO, « Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa: Giovanni Andrea Doria's and Other Aristocrats' Patronage. Portraits, Paintings and Tapestries », in EAD., BORJA FRANCO LLOPIS (eds.), *Lepanto and Beyond. Images of Religious Alterity from Genoa and the Christian Mediterranean*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2021, [p. 171–208], p. 171.

² STAGNO, FRANCO LLOPIS (eds.), *Lepanto and Beyond*. Dove non altrimenti indicato, i saggi che saranno citati nel corso dell'analisi si intendono tutti compresi in questa raccolta di studi.

del dibattito politico-giuridico, con le anime differenziate di una 'pubblica opinione' disseminata a ogni livello dell'edificio comunitario.

La chiave di volta dell'approccio privilegiato nel volume che discutiamo rimanda all'idea di 'multipolarità'. Decisamente policentrico era l'universo del mondo cristiano che si misurava, a fine Cinquecento, con la forza espansiva della potenza islamica. E interagendo con una pluralità di contesti storici, di interessi e di aspettative consolidati, l'influsso esercitato dal 'mito' di Lepanto si adattò ad assumere sfumature che ne definirono l'assetto sinfonico (anche lasciando completamente al di fuori del campo di osservazione i modi alternativi con cui fu riletto, nell'ambito avversario del fronte musulmano, il significato della battaglia tra la flotta ottomana e quella della Lega Santa egemonizzata dagli Asburgo di Spagna, a partire già dalla sua precisa portata sul piano degli equilibri militari). Policentrico era, in sé stesso, il sistema 'imperiale' della monarchia ispanica,³ e proprio la varietà degli attori coinvolti nel contrasto alla Mezzaluna islamica, ciascuno con la sua fisionomia specifica, le sue strategie competitive, le sue ambizioni spesso conflittuali di prestigio, aiuta a capire come mai ci fu « a plethora of memories of Spanish 'Lepantos' – with not just one Lepanto, and not even a singular Spanish Lepanto ».⁴ La memoria era sì condivisa, ma nel medesimo tempo creava un campo di tensioni polarizzate che si controbilanciavano non sempre del tutto armoniosamente, nutrendo volontà di appropriazione del capitale simbolico che non potevano non essere 'di parte', pilotate più nel senso dell'autopromozione che non in quello della perfetta concordia multilaterale. Se l'esaltazione dei meriti guadagnati da Giovanni d'Austria con la sua azione alla testa della spedizione antiturca poteva oscurare gli interessi superiori della cerchia più vicina al sovrano dei regni iberici (è un tema che ritorna più volte nei contributi della miscellanea), vi fu una mancanza di allineamento anche tra le pretese di monopolio avanzate dalla potenza asburgica e le rivendicazioni parallelamente coltivate dall'alleato veneziano.⁵ Il potere papale, a capo dello Stato della Chiesa nel centro della penisola italiana, aveva, da parte sua, il proprio accento particolare da imprimere allo sfruttamento dell'esito favorevole del confronto con la minaccia della Sublime Porta e dei suoi satelliti barbareschi;⁶ e la medesima cosa accadeva per la Repubblica di Genova, massicciamente coinvolta, con le galere armate dagli

³ Cf. STAGNO, FRANCO LLOPIS (eds.), *Lepanto and Beyond*, p. 197, 250.

⁴ È la conclusione del saggio di STEFAN HANß, « Event and Narration. Spanish Storytelling on the Battle of Lepanto in the Early 1570s », [p. 81–109], p. 101.

⁵ HANß, « Event and Narration », p. 88, 100.

⁶ Su alcuni degli echi più tardivi, sei-settecenteschi, dei contraccolpi della memoria di Lepanto nell'area del dominio pontificio si sofferma nel volume GIUSEPPE CAPRIOTTI, « The Image of the Turkish Slave in a Peripheral Area of the Pontifical States: The Case of the Cycle of Villa Buonaccorsi in Potenza Picena », p. 279–303. Inoltre, sulle divergenze di impostazione dei programmi iconografici realizzati direttamente nell'ambito della committenza papale, rispetto alle soluzioni privilegiate in altri contesti, si veda il cenno di p. 192–193.

aristocratici *asentistas* della sua élite di « imprenditori della guerra », ⁷ nel mettere in grado le forze navali della *Monarquía católica* di infliggere al nemico un duro colpo.

A questo riguardo, si deve ricordare che l'osservatorio genovese è il punto privilegiato di riferimento per l'intero impianto della raccolta di studi, come si evince già dal titolo che la qualifica. All'interno di una tale cornice, i dati ricavati dalla documentazione presa in esame conducono a dare speciale evidenza al modo in cui, nella contesa per il controllo della memoria collettiva in via di costruzione sull'evento della vittoria di Lepanto, si inserì il futuro *capitán general del mar* Giovanni Andrea Doria. Esponente di spicco del gruppo dirigente della marina militare genovese allestita da finanziatori privati, aveva svolto un ruolo di primo piano nella battaglia, alla guida dell'ala destra della flotta cristiana schierata per lo scontro decisivo nel golfo di Patrasso. Ma le fazioni rivali nell'accaparrarsi *leadership* e prestigio scaturiti dall'esito felice che si era prodotto ne criticavano apertamente lo stile di condotta assunto nella gestione delle leve di comando. Per tutelare la sua buona fama, che rischiava di rimanere compromessa, Giovanni Andrea Doria fu costretto a reagire. ⁸ Lo fece con abbondanza doviziosa di mezzi: lo sforzo di riabilitazione sostenuto si riflette nella serie dei ritratti che lo rappresentano nelle vesti di condottiero militare, e ancora più platealmente nel ciclo di dipinti a olio che documentano lo svolgimento dell'impresa di Lepanto nel suo insieme, dal momento di avvio nel porto di Messina fino all'epilogo del ritorno a Corfù dopo aver sbaragliato lo schieramento avversario. Questi dipinti erano stati commissionati a Luca Cambiaso; furono inviati in Spagna e finirono, dagli anni estremi del Cinquecento, nelle collezioni reali del palazzo dell'Escorial. A loro volta, i dipinti di autonobilitazione promozionale sono strettamente congiunti alla serie degli arazzi sul medesimo tema, tessuti a Bruxelles su cartoni sempre di Cambiaso, che decorano le pareti della 'sala di Enea' nel Palazzo del Principe a Genova – la sontuosa residenza privata dello stesso Giovanni Andrea Doria. Sulla base del loro modello, tra il 1592 e il 1594, fu probabilmente Lazzaro Calvi a realizzare i riquadri ad affresco, intervallati dalle raffigurazioni simboliche delle Virtù e della Pace, destinati a impreziosire con il gusto dell'epica guerresca di matrice aristocratica il soffitto di un salone del palazzo di famiglia degli Spinola. Lo giustificava il fatto che anche gli Spinola, come i Doria e altre illustri parentele dell'oligarchia finanziario-mercantile di Genova, avevano visto i loro uomini

⁷ Ne tratta soprattutto BASTIEN CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy: Reconsidering the Perception of the 'Other' in a Society of War Contractors (Genoa, Spain and the Ottoman Empire – Sixteenth Century) », p. 241–256.

⁸ Si vedano, in modo particolare, i contributi di EMILIANO BERI, « Accusation, Defense and Self-Defense: The Debate on the Action of Giovanni Andrea Doria in Lepanto », p. 157–169; STAGNO, « Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa »; CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy » (anche per quello che segue).

d'arme cimentarsi nelle acque di Lepanto sulle navi da combattimento messe al servizio della Lega Santa.⁹

L'analisi dell'iconografia autocelebrativa patrocinata da Giovanni Andrea Doria consente di mettere in luce un altro risvolto importante del ventaglio poliedrico di implicazioni riscontrabili nella produzione di memorie innescata dai fatti del 1571, che della giornata della battaglia costituiscono la lunga scia, molto mobile e frastagliata. Dalla proiezione degli interessi in cui affondavano le radici delle committenze artistiche – interessi a cui si piegavano le funzioni attribuite ai frutti che da quelle stesse committenze si originavano – si può passare a considerare anche la varietà dei linguaggi adottati, le priorità sottolineate, i punti di vista, tutt'altro che obbligatoriamente uniformi, che si decideva di mettere al centro delle iniziative celebrative, della più diversa natura, di cui si ambiva di farsi promotori. Emerge chiaramente, da questo versante, che la memoria di Lepanto era in grado di distribuirsi su una gamma di registri differenziati, e questi registri, invece di escludersi reciprocamente, riuscivano in vario modo a integrarsi tra loro, innestandosi nei codici di un paesaggio culturale a molte facce.

Proprio commentando i racconti tradotti in sillogi di immagini persuasive su impulso dei Doria, Laura Stagno pone in rilievo l'esistenza di una versione puramente « umanistica » (ma si potrebbe dire anche meglio: 'classicista') del mito di Lepanto, in cui l'esaltazione dell'impresa compiuta e l'apologia della grandezza dei meriti acquisiti dai suoi maggiori protagonisti sono infarcite esclusivamente di rinvii a figure della mitologia pagana, attingendo al florido repertorio allegorico di un linguaggio ostentativo che ignora (o forse, meno dualisticamente, relega nell'implicito?) ogni sottofondo religioso-edificante.¹⁰ D'altra parte, a riprova dell'impossibilità di scindere in due fronti rigidamente separati i lati molteplici di una simultanea elaborazione di simbologie convergenti, già lo stesso cantiere genovese, in sinergia con un ben più ampio paesaggio artistico e culturale esteso quanto meno all'intera cattolicità, è stato anche il teatro di una vivace valorizzazione della memoria dei fatti di Lepanto a scopo di acculturazione e di intensificazione devota.¹¹

La rilettura in chiave miracolistico-provvidenziale si annodò strettamente al vigoroso rilancio, in prospettiva universalista, del culto rivolto alla Madonna del Rosario: dal suo celeste soccorso si faceva derivare, infatti, l'aiuto determinante che aveva piegato a vantaggio dello schieramento cristiano le sorti della battaglia. All'incremento del prestigio riconosciuto alla più tipica icona che identificava la Regina della Vittoria contribuì la fioritura di nuove festività rituali, unite alla disseminazione di una rete di confraternite specializzate e alla fortuna resa ancora

⁹ STAGNO, « Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa », p. 196–197.

¹⁰ STAGNO, « Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa », p. 184–186, 194–196.

¹¹ DANIELE SANGUINETI, « Lepanto in Religious Iconographies: The Genoese Case », p. 137–155.

più dilagante di una forma di comunicazione con il sacro quanto mai semplificata nell'accesso, dotata di fascino e presa sicura anche a livello popolare. L'ibridazione tra le pulsioni religiose e i rapporti di forza venuti allo scoperto sull'arena dello scontro militare produsse la nascita di una versione 'politicizzata', in senso anti-ottomano, della pietà mariana tradizionalista. L'impatto dei tempi nuovi, teso a dare risalto alle virtù protettive del Santo Rosario, lasciò come eredità l'inserimento di scene di battaglie marine, chiaramente evocatrici del trionfo di Lepanto, nelle raffigurazioni dei misteri che, di norma, incorniciavano la rappresentazione centrale della Vergine Maria, contaminandone l'iconografia caratteristica. I nuovi leaders della cristianità vittoriosa – papa Pio V sul fronte del potere della Chiesa, Filippo II su quello delle potestà secolari – fecero il loro ingresso nelle cerchie di figure emblematiche a cui la Vergine offre in dono le corone per la recita della preghiera in suo onore. Più in generale, nella strutturazione dell'iconografia rosariana si introdussero, dalla fine del Cinquecento, i segni di rinvio al patronato garantito ai cultori della devozione nella vasta sfera dei rapporti con il mondo del mare nella sua globalità: non solo per ciò che concerneva il contrasto con il nemico esterno basato sull'uso della forza aggressiva, ma anche per la più pacifica navigazione sulle rotte marine e ogni sorta di contatto con le insidie dello spazio acquatico.¹² Proseguendo su queste linee, non vi è dubbio che altre, significative modulazioni dei variabili incroci e delle forme di interscambio o, in senso diverso, delle distinzioni di piani e di logiche dominanti, tra discorso politico, costruzione dell'ethos collettivo, alimentazione della coscienza identitaria e spirito religioso, avrebbero potuto essere scandagliate studiando a fondo il genere della trattatistica filosofico-civile sul pericolo turco. A fianco del *medium* delle rappresentazioni figurative, si sarebbe aperta un'altra finestra preziosa sull'intero universo della cultura intellettuale di un lungo Rinascimento europeo, che dalle scritture degli umanisti del tardo Quattrocento e di Erasmo arriva fino agli esiti più avanzati nel tempo come il *Discorso della lega contra il Turco* di Botero o alle metamorfosi secentesche delle sfide prodotte dal secolare confronto tra mondo cristiano dell'Occidente europeo e mondo mediterraneo sudorientale sempre più pervasivamente islamizzato.¹³

Più ci si addentra nella definizione delle procedure che hanno innervato l'assorbimento del tema di Lepanto nella cultura della prima modernità, più ci si

¹² SANGUINETI, « Lepanto in Religious Iconographies », in particolare p. 139–147.

¹³ Cf., almeno per un primo orientamento, BLYTHE ALICE RAVIOLA, *Giovanni Botero. Un profilo fra storia e storiografia*, Pearson-Bruno Mondadori, Milano-Torino 2020, p. 174–180; SIMONA NEGRUZZO, *La 'cristiana impresa'. L'Europa di fronte all'Impero Ottomano all'alba del XVII secolo*, Cisalpino-Istituto Editoriale Universitario, Milano 2019 (seconda ed. riveduta e ampliata). Per i precedenti rinascimentali (e ulteriore bibliografia) mi permetto di rinviare al quadro sinteticamente abbozzato da chi scrive in « Metamorfosi della Cristianità: popoli, stati e potere tra realtà italiana e contesto europeo all'aprirsi del Cinquecento », in corso di stampa su *Studium*, 118 (2022).

rende conto non solo della vastità, ma anche della complessità interna e della inesauribile plasticità di variazioni sui profili di traiettorie comuni che l'adozione di un'ottica transnazionale consente di cogliere. Non sorprende che questo allenamento al senso della pluralità elastica, seguendo la traccia delle testimonianze oggetto di studio nei saggi offerti da *Lepanto and Beyond*, finisca con il suggerire uno sguardo coerentemente rimeditato sul mondo del *beyond* in contrasto (o meglio: in rapporto dialettico) con il quale la memoria dei fatti di Lepanto ha tratto la miccia indispensabile di accensione. Viene subito demolito, da questo angolo visuale, l'appiattimento livellatore di una 'Alterità' sbrigativamente ridotta a un unico blocco granitico, contrapposto allo scudo altrettanto impermeabile di una 'Identità' chiusa a riccio, sui bordi settentrionali del bacino mediterraneo, in un atteggiamento esclusivo di lotta all'ultimo sangue per la sopravvivenza, in dissidio con il suo nemico mortale. Non si tratta di lasciarsi illudere dall'ingenuo ottimismo anacronistico di uno spirito di moderna tolleranza multiculturale. Senza bisogno di edulcorare tutta l'asprezza dolorosa di una catena di contrasti rimasta sempre contrassegnata da reciproche istanze offensive e dalla risoluta impossibilità dell'accettazione dell'altro da sé – portatore di una fede religiosa, dunque anche di una visione del mondo, radicalmente alternative alle proprie –, non vi è dubbio che scavare nell'alveo dei rapporti stabiliti tra le due sponde del contesto mediterraneo costringe a recuperare il senso del limite insito nel concetto di scontro di civiltà: questo almeno nella misura in cui lo si intenda, in forza di una estremizzazione unilaterale, come sigillo della contrapposizione tra due mondi solo violentemente ostili, solidamente omogenei e compatti al loro interno, schierati come falangi armate pronte ad annientarsi a vicenda e privi di qualunque filo di connessione in grado di perforare, attraversandole da parte a parte, le barriere della competizione territoriale così come gli attriti delle rivalità politico-economiche e i rifiuti imposti dalla repulsione culturale. Ragionando in questa ottica, lo spessore dell'estraneità non viene annullato, bensì « relativizzato », come scrive Steven Hutchinson nel suo lucido affresco storico sulle *Multiple Alterities in the Ottoman Empire*.¹⁴

Per prima cosa, diventa più agevole porre in pieno risalto le irriducibili diversità costitutive che si nascondevano dietro lo schermo della sudditanza al potere musulmano. Lungi dall'essere un corpo saldamente unitario, anche la sua area di sovranità si configurava, analogamente a quanto accadeva per i grandi complessi statuali dell'Occidente cristiano con cui era in lotta, come un assemblaggio di realtà variegata, conglomerate nel corso del tempo tra di loro, che portavano i segni vistosi dell'evoluzione subita dai sultanati di tradizione araba e mamelucca del vicino Oriente e dell'Africa settentrionale, della storia degli ultimi secoli del dominio bizantino, delle più recenti conquiste delle isole dell'Egeo e

¹⁴ Sempre nel volume su cui stiamo discutendo, [p. 67–77], p. 75.

lungo le coste greche, fra le popolazioni slavo-ortodosse dei Balcani meridionali e nella regione croato-ungherese: realtà tutte progressivamente riunite sotto il primato della casta politico-militare della nuova dominazione turco-ottomana, che cercava di rafforzare il suo primato sullo specchio del Mediterraneo entrando in urto con le potenze cristiane del bastione italo-iberico, da una parte, dall'altra stabilendo rapporti di non facile commistione, solo fino a un certo punto inquadrabili in una stabile alleanza bilaterale istituzionalmente compaginata, con le riottose entità degli Stati barbareschi dell'Africa maghrebina, a lungo rimaste esposte alle concorrenti mire annessionistiche e colonizzatrici dei sovrani delle corone iberiche e dei territori a loro sottomessi, dopo l'apogeo raggiunto dalla *Reconquista*. Infiltrandosi tra le pieghe di una architettura di potere islamico che non coincideva, d'altra parte, con l'Islam nel suo insieme, e nemmeno con l'area di diretta giurisdizione del ceppo ottomano diventato egemone su un articolato mosaico di terre circummediterranee, si potevano creare campi di forze che, invece di aprire all'esito della contrapposizione irriducibile e della guerra distruttiva, predisponavano le condizioni per instaurare margini di relativa coesistenza asimmetrica tra le minoranze etnico-religiose subordinate, anche di fede cristiana o di discendenza ebraica, e le reti avvolgenti dei gruppi dominanti musulmani.¹⁵ Tra settori e gruppi diversi dei due schieramenti non era completamente preclusa la capacità di gettare ponti di interscambio, non solo sul fronte delle servitù economiche e dei maneggi mercantili e finanziari, ma anche su quello delle contaminazioni culturali e degli usi sociali (prestiti a livello di circolazione dei saperi e delle conoscenze, influssi linguistici, pratiche condivise nella gestione della vita materiale; persino il ricorso al sistema schiavistico di sfruttamento della forza lavoro ridotta in condizione servile può essere visto come un filtro di collegamento che accomunava terre cristiane e terre musulmane in un gioco di contrappesi regolato dalla reciprocità delle norme di trattamento e dalla possibilità del riscatto che limitava, soprattutto per gli schiavi cristiani, la durata del periodo di asservimento coatto).¹⁶ Sappiamo da tempo, del resto, che non

¹⁵ A titolo di pura suggestione descrittiva, si vedano le fonti memorialistiche, in relazione a Tunisi e al regno di Algeria, riportate *ibid.* e a p. 76 (note 21–22): « Ce que j'ai vu à Tunis m'a convaincu que ces peuples sont humains » (Laurent d'Arvieux, 1666); « Le coeur de l'homme est le même partout » (Jacques Philippe Laugier de Tassy, 1725). Anche fuori dal Maghreb berbero, si potrebbero ricercare conferme di situazioni o almeno valutazioni simili in rapporto, per esempio, all'Egitto copto e ai Luoghi Santi di Palestina.

¹⁶ Alla realtà sociale della schiavitù e alle sue forme di rappresentazione nell'immaginario culturale, lungo le vie degli intrecci che mettevano in rapporto sponda cristiana e sponda musulmana del Mediterraneo, sono dedicati i saggi della parte terza di *Lepanto and Beyond*: ANDREA ZAPPÀ, « In the Sign of Reciprocity: Muslim Slaves in Genoa and Genoese Slaves in Maghreb », p. 259–278; CAPRIOTTI, « The Image of the Turkish Slave in a Peripheral Area of the Pontifical States »; MERCEDES ALCALÁ GALÁN, « 'Cet obscure objet du désir': Sex and Slavery in Early Modern Spanish Fiction », p. 305–320.

sempre trasparenti rapporti di negoziazione riuscivano a mettere in collegamento le diplomazie e i centri di governo se non altro della porzione della Cristianità meno direttamente soggetta alle minacce dei pirati barbareschi e delle flotte ottomane con la controparte degli 'infedeli', spingendosi disinvoltamente molto al di là del distanziamento bellicosamente polemico imposto dalla retorica del combattimento crociato onorata alla luce del sole. Questo avveniva quando e fino al momento in cui il nemico musulmano poteva tornare utile per tenere sotto scacco una potenza rivale che si affacciava sullo scacchiere mediterraneo (se ne servì in particolare la Francia, nella sua secolare politica di frizione con la casata imperiale degli Asburgo e con la corona di Spagna). Oppure poteva accadere che la combutta con i centri di autorità del fronte extracristiano venisse sfruttata come pedina da giocare in tortuose macchinazioni per ordire trame di mutuo sostegno da far scattare in caso di necessità, ma orientate anche alla possibilità di sfociare nella cooperazione attiva in vista di attacchi congiunti a un comune avversario nelle situazioni di più acuto conflitto intraeuropeo.

Nella tessitura delle interconnessioni tra i due mondi che poi si divaricavano per le loro vocazioni antitetiche di rafforzamento geopolitico e di difesa identitaria di un patrimonio di valori culturali e di principi religiosi escludenti si distinguevano soprattutto le società distribuite lungo la vasta cerniera di contatto che costringeva a confrontarsi e a interagire – ma allo stesso tempo separava gli uni dagli altri – i fedeli-sudditi delle opposte frontiere che venivano a collidere sui mari del Mediterraneo. Nel volume che stiamo discutendo si propone una motivata presa di distanza dalle « reductive schematizations » in base alle quali si tende a irrigidire la dialettica tra mondo cristiano egemonizzato dai re cattolici e mondo islamico-ottomano esaurendola nella giustapposizione di « two cultural macro-entities that are necessarily [ed esclusivamente, si potrebbe chiosare] antagonistic »; 'entità' fra cui si stabilisce, come conseguenza inevitabile, una linea di confine equiparata a una spaccatura (« a split ») in pratica invalicabile, refrattaria a qualunque forma di almeno parziale e compromissorio attraversamento, tale da creare circuiti di confluenza mediati da scambi di uomini, di merci, di idee, da aperture e chiusure di contrattazioni e di adattamenti reciproci.¹⁷ Alla schematicità di una concezione di confine ridotto a muraglia che discriminava le aree di dominio di blocchi di potere assolutamente incapaci di comunicare tra di loro e drasticamente contrapposti l'uno all'esistenza dell'altro, si può pensare di sostituire la più dinamica fisionomia di « a vast e fluctuating *limes* », « a moving front [...] with a diffused layout, constantly redefined according to the balance of power between the states but also according to the circuits that

¹⁷ CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy », p. 241 (in apertura del contributo che forse insiste nel modo più esplicito sulla necessità di adottare una simile prospettiva interpretativa, fondata sull'oltrepassamento della logica del contrasto bipolare reciprocamente oppositivo, da inglobare in una visione più eclettica).

constantly transgressed it ».¹⁸ Si annuncia come pista promettente per ulteriori approfondimenti l'idea di concentrare l'attenzione su questo « in-between » i cui abitanti si distinguevano per la capacità di dare vita a « intermediary societies who activated cross-border socioeconomic flows ». Se la 'ragione di Stato' spingeva alcune fra le potenze cristiane a inseguire il desiderio di recidere ogni forma di interscambio con il mondo ottomano, è anche vero che « confessionalism did not cut down political negotiations », e a maggior ragione « it affected even fewer economic ambitions of entrepreneurs who made the Other an important economic partner ».¹⁹

Il valore di questa regola di fondo viene sottolineato in relazione, in primo luogo, alla dimensione dell'economico, e può in effetti essere visto come il retroterra paradossale della stessa gestione del redditizio mestiere della guerra (in cui il nemico diventava la necessaria controparte di uno scambio da tenere sempre aperto). Ma si può ritenere che le sue ripercussioni non siano state meno rilevanti sul versante delle sollecitazioni e dei prestiti culturali. A fianco del caso genovese, in questo volume privilegiato, lo si potrebbe verificare scandagliando altrettanto intensivamente il caso veneziano, l'ambiente dell'Italia meridionale e quello della Spagna del sud, successivamente al crollo dell'ultimo resto del regno o sultanato nasride di Granada. La frontiera, oltre che nei termini di un « marker of opposition and conflict » (però non possiamo dimenticarci che ci sono stati anche questi aspetti di blocco, se non vogliamo scivolare in una nuova semplificazione ribaltata, solo capovolta di segno), poteva far sentire la sua influenza come « a link and a vector of interest sharing ».²⁰

¹⁸ CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy », p. 241.

¹⁹ CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy », p. 241.

²⁰ CARPENTIER, « The Necessary Enemy », p. 242. A lavoro ultimato, vedo che nuovi contributi su « Una memoria divisa? La battaglia di Lepanto nel 450° anniversario (1571-2021) » sono offerti da un numero monografico di *Proposte e ricerche. Economia e società nella storia dell'Italia centrale*, 44, nr. 86 (2021).

VALERY REES, ANNA CORRIAS, FRANCESCA M. CRASTA, LAURA FOLLESA, GUIDO GIGLIONI (EDS.), *PLATONISM, FICINO TO FOUCAULT*, LEIDEN–BOSTON, BRILL 2021 (BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY, 320), 357 PP., ISBN: 9789004358935.

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Valery Rees dedicated her intellectual life to Platonism by focusing on Ficino. Apart from her scholarly work, she is in charge of numerous editions, publications, workshops, and conferences that promote Ficinian studies in the broad sense. Her last accomplishment – along with Anna Corrias, Francesca M. Crasta, Laura Follesa and Guido Giglioni – is the volume of collected essays entitled *Platonism, Ficino to Foucault* (Leiden–Boston, Brill 2021).

It is a splendid volume originating in three conference panels held at the Xth meeting of the International Society for Neoplatonic Studies (Cagliari 2012). The papers focus on different aspects of the long Platonic tradition. The choice of Ficino as for a starting point is obvious, according to my understanding. Marsilio Ficino determined the course of Platonism in Western Europe. His translations, commentaries and original works shaped the way the Western European audience received the philosophy of Plato and of later Platonists for many centuries. Foucault's choice, as end point of the volume, is not so obvious. Still, Michel Foucault did have a genuine interest in Platonism. In his second volume of *The History of Sexuality* (The Use of Pleasure), as well as throughout several lectures he presents his original and thought-provoking insights into the Platonic conception of philosophy. Foucault's reception of Platonism proves the latter's lasting and multifaceted influence on European philosophy.

In the opening essay, « Philosophy on the Defensive: Marsilio Ficino's Response in a Time of Religious Turmoil », Valery Rees discusses the heated relation between Platonic philosophy and Christianity in fifteenth century Florence. Ficino, in order to persuasively reply to Savonarola's accusations, reoriented his philosophical program. Rees highlights the ways and the extent to which his philosophy was affected. Regarding the confluence of Platonism and Christianity, of seminal importance is Ficino's late work on St Paul, which expresses his belief that Christian theology is an organic part of ancient theology, as he understood it.

In « Ficino, Plotinus, and the Chameleonic Soul » Anna Corrias focuses on the reception of Plotinian psychology by Ficino. While there is a vast bibliography on

the subject, Corrias makes a persuasive case for Ficino's using Plotinian insights so as to support his belief in self-transformation. Corrias' paper, apart from its significance for historians of philosophy, could be also useful for scholars interested in transhumanism.

The third of the editors, Guido Giglioni, in his « Healing Rituals and Their Philosophical Significance in Marsilio Ficino's Philosophy », stresses his interest in theurgy. Namely, Ficino studies Iamblichus and other Neoplatonists in order to harmonize their views on theurgy with the Christian doctrines. His main aim is to contribute to the *concordia* between paganism and Christianity in the early modern world.

The torch passes to Angelo Maria Vitale's « A Platonic Light Metaphysics between St Augustine and Ficino: Girolamo Seripando's *Quaestiones CIX de re philosophico-theologica* », which comments on the relation of Platonism and Christianity according to Ficino. Vitale brings to light a mostly neglected treatise of Girolamo Seripando. The latter focuses on the metaphysics of light, a seminal subject for Renaissance Platonists. Vitale persuasively shows that Christian thinkers, like Augustine, contributed heavily to this discussion.

In chapter 5, « The Letter of Lysis to Hypparchus in the Renaissance », Eva del Soldato discusses the reception and influence of the pseudo-Pythagorean tradition on Renaissance Platonists. She holds that texts like Lysis' epistle to Hypparchus were of seminal importance for key figures, like Pico and Copernicus. Greek scholars, including Bessarion and George of Trebizond, played a major role in the dissemination of dubious sources.

In the next chapter, « Niccolò Leonico Tomeo's Accounts of Veridical Dreams and the Idola of Synesius », Nicholas Holland focuses on a mostly neglected figure, Niccolò Leonico Tomeo. His work has not been thoroughly studied by modern scholars, despite his contributions and innovative teaching in universities of northern Italy. Holland attempts to show that daemonology, which is an important aspect of *scientiae occultae* in the Renaissance, is founded also on Aristotelian grounds. Holland's argument is that Tomeo achieves a fruitful blending of Aristotelian and Platonic views on prophecy and daemonic interventions.

Pasquale Terracciano, in his « The Platonic Stain: Origen, Philosophy and Censorship between the Renaissance and the Counter Reformation », highlights a very interesting aspect of Renaissance Platonism. Particularly, Terracciano examines the reception of Origen by Francesco Zorzi, a well-known Christian Kabbalist. Origen's reception of Platonism was controversial and innovative. Moreover, he determined, more or less, the discussion about the so-called Christian Platonism in the ages to come. Terracciano shows how Reformation and Counter Reformation determined the reception of Origen during the sixteenth century.

The next chapter, « Francisco de Hollanda on Artistic Creation, the Origin of Ideas, and Demiurgic Painting » by Paula Oliveira e Silva, opens a new perspective of Renaissance Platonism, namely its influence on visual arts. Since the practical aspects of Platonism were mostly appealing to Renaissance scholars, and arts were the core of Renaissance civilization, the interplay between them is crucial for our understanding of this period. Moreover, Hollanda combines Christian and Platonic elements in art theory, attempting to renew Renaissance aesthetics.

In « 'Platonic-Hermetic' Jacob Böhme, or: Is Böhme a Platonist? » Cecilia Muratori brings forth the discussion of a seminal question for modern scholarship. Böhme was a major figure of Northern Renaissance. He was interested in any aspect of Platonism, mysticism included. Muratori aims to clarify Böhme's reception of Plotinus, because he finds Colberg's critique of Böhme's views as partial and misleading.

In the next chapter, « The Theory of Ideal Objects and Relations in the Cambridge Platonists (Rust, More, and Cudworth) », Brunello Lotti stresses his interests in major figures of Cambridge Platonism, a highly influential movement for the promotion of Platonism in the age of modernity. Lotti offers us a detailed overview of Cambridge Platonists' commitment to ancient and Renaissance Platonism. Furthermore, he argues that Cambridge Platonism could be perceived as a reply to Descartes' voluntarism, which was influential in the seventeenth century.

Following Lotti, Francesca Maria Crasta, in her "Platonism, Metaphysics, and Modern Science: Rüdiger and Swedenborg" traces the Platonic echoes in eighteenth and nineteenth century natural philosophy. She focuses on philosophers who were skeptical towards Cartesian mechanism and reappraised early modern vitalism as a counter exemplar to Descartes' philosophy. Plotinus' and Proclus' views, mediated by key figures of Renaissance Platonism, were crucial for the shaping of their alternative paradigm. Despite the dominant view that Platonist natural philosophy was out of date after the seventeenth century and the scientific revolution, Crasta argues that it was used by thinkers during the Enlightenment, so as to shape an alternative natural philosophy, based on both mechanism and vitalism.

German Idealism is one of the most influential movements in European philosophy. Laura Follesa, in her « Schelling and Plato: The Idea of the World Soul in Schelling's *Timaeus* », examines the ways Schelling perceived and used Platonic philosophy. According to Follesa, the influence of Plato to Schelling is discernible in the latter's early writings. Schelling read both Plato's dialogues and Ficino's works, so as to enrich his views on psychology and natural philosophy. Schelling is critical toward Plato and discusses critically the Platonic views about the World Soul. Although he appreciates the usefulness of the concept for Platonists, he does

not share their enthusiasm. Nevertheless, Platonic philosophy was a useful tool for the shaping of Schelling's ideas on absolute unity.

Pierpaolo Ciccarelli, in his « On the Phenomenological 'Reactivation' or 'Repetition' of Plato's Dialogues by Leo Strauss », focuses his interest in Leo Strauss' *The Political Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Its Basis and Its Genesis*, where Strauss discusses thoroughly Platonic political philosophy, so as to reappraise the relationship between philosophy and politics in the works of the Athenian philosopher. According to Ciccarelli, the concept of exactness is indispensable for an understanding of the differences between natural sciences and politics. He also holds that Strauss interprets Hobbes' return to Euclid as, in fact, a resort to Plato.

In the next chapter, – « Care of the Self and Politics: Michel Foucault, Heir of a Forgotten Plato? », Laura Candiottto examines the ways Michel Foucault, in his late years, studied the Platonic dialogues and used Plato's views so as to reshape crucial aspects of his own political philosophy, such as the « government of the self » and the « government of others ».

In « Dialectic in Plato's *Sophist* and Derrida's 'Law of the Supplement of *Copula*' », Arnold Oberhammer turns to ontology and focuses on Derrida's criticism of Emile Benveniste's treatise « The Supplement of *Copula*: Philosophy before Linguistics ». The author attempts to clarify the dispute between the two French scholars by resorting to Plato's *Sophist*. In fact, Oberhammer connects Plato, Heidegger and Derrida, focusing on Platonic negative theology.

Last but not least, Andrea Le Moli, in his « Image and Copy in French Deconstruction of Platonism », boldly enough, attempts to put in dialogue Plato, Derrida and Deleuze. According to him, Derrida and Deleuze, among other continental philosophers, fundamentally reappraise Platonic philosophy. Le Moli focuses on the discussion of metaphysics and language, providing his readers with rich material.

The volume is addressed predominantly to an audience familiar with the topic. The reader will find in the volume innovative approaches and a wide variety of topics, including a compelling introduction by the editors. The chapters cohere well with each other, despite their thematic variety. The volume offers important contributions, exemplifying some of the best scholarship to date, and provides a broad and rich discussion of the reception of Platonism in modern and contemporary Europe. In conclusion, the volume is a worthwhile addition to the subject's literature.

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NICOLA POLLONI, *THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RENEWAL OF LATIN METAPHYSICS: GUNDISSALINUS'S ONTOLOGY OF MATTER AND FORM*, INSTITUTE OF MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES – PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES, DURHAM–TORONTO 2020 (DURHAM MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MONOGRAPHS AND ESSAYS, 6), XIII+318 PP., ISBN: 9780888448651.

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In January 1175 a sheriff named Pedro donated an oven to the archbishopric of Toledo and signed the act of donation with the formula: « Bīṭro b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Yoḥan b. Ḥārīth. Quod est dicere Petrus filius Abderahmen qui fuit filius Iohannis filii Harit » (Biblioteca Capitulare Toledo, 42–40, fol. 63v, ACT E.8.A.1.6). Pedro’s signature follows the Arabic naming convention, listing the multiple generations of the parental line and explicitly showing the Mozarabic origin of the donor of the oven, whose Romance name suggests that he was assimilating the Latin culture. This episode of daily life offers a vivid image of the social and cultural nature of the late twelfth-century Toledo. A little less than a century after the conquest of the city by Alfonso VI, in 1085, Toledo presents itself as a place in which the presence of the Arabic-speaking world is still alive. Citizens of Mozarabic origin are in fact a significant part of the city’s population and in not rare cases occupy important social and political positions. Above all, the forms of Mozarabic culture, and among these the use of the Arabic language, continue to be central in the daily life of the Toledan community. This multilingual framework deeply marks the cultural life of the city, which after its inclusion in the kingdom of Castile finds its centre of gravity in the city cathedral and in its school, which becomes one of the largest and most active translation centres from Arabic to Latin in the Europe of the time.

This is the context in which the intellectual parable of Dominicus Gundissalinus is framed, to which Nicola Polloni dedicates a monographic study that focuses on the role of this author in shaping the forms and contents of philosophy in Latin. The study is in explicit continuity with recent works dedicated to Gundissalinus, in particular with those of Alexander Fidora, and deals with the different interpretations of this figure and his cultural legacy offered by scholars such as Nikolaus Haring, Karin Fradborg, and Charles Burnett. Therefore, At the centre of Polloni’s volume there is the attempt to re-read the figure of the archdeacon of the

cathedral of Toledo through a careful examination of his production, focusing on the nature of Gundissalinus's philosophical contribution and on the forms of his philosophical argument. In following this approach, the volume first offers an accurate historical contextualization of the twelfth-century Toledo and the 'school of translators', which sees Gundissalinus working alongside figures such as Gerard of Cremona, as well as a discussion of the links with other centres of European philosophical culture, in particular Chartres. Polloni also pauses to discuss the composition and nature of the textual corpus to be traced back to the archdeacon. In this way the study presents the reader with a picture of the attribution problems concerning three works, namely the *De immortalitate animae*, the *Liber mahameleth* and the *De scientiis*, and then proceeds to an analytical study of the contents of the four works whose attribution to Gundissalinus is certain.

Considering these four texts, it emerges the image of the variety of philosophical interests that feed Gundissalinus's intellectual work, as well as his focus on certain themes that become the pillars of his understanding of reality and of the order that governs it. The *De unitate et uno*, which is traced back to a first phase of Gundissalinus's production, discuss the notion of unity and in particular it analyses the implications and consequences of the principle according to which 'whatever exists, exists because it is one' (*quidquid est, ideo est, quia unum est*). On the contrary the *De anima* offers an analysis of the soul and of the major problems concerning it, that is its nature and definition, its composition and number, its origin and immortality as well as its powers. The *De divisione philosophiae* concerns the discussion of the epistemological features of the philosophical knowledge and of its inner division according to the various disciplines which are included in it. Finally, the *De processione mundi* contains an articulated discussion of the ontological and cosmological structure of the universe.

Gundissalinus's four works thus unfold a range of questions that concern crucial physical issues, such as those relating to the nature of the soul or the order of the cosmos, as well as metaphysical questions such as the discussion about the notion of unity or that relating to ontological principles that underlie the structure of the universe. To this, the Toledan archdeacon added the attention to the epistemological datum and to a clear definition of philosophical knowledge and its parts. Gundissalinus develops his own reflection on these topics through a close comparison with an articulated and plural philosophical horizon. As Polloni's text opportunely highlights, in the argumentation of these writings we can see the legacy of the Latin tradition represented by Boethius or by the translation of the *Timaeus* made by Chalcidius. And yet, Gundissalinus appears as one of the first Latin authors to directly resort to philosophical literature from the Arabic-speaking world. Thus, the *De unitate et uno* reveals itself to be structured on the basis of a thorough and meditated reception of Ibn Gabirol's *Fons vitae*, just as the *De anima* has behind it a profound understanding of the homonymous text by

Avicenna. And all the Arabic-speaking literature, in particular that which refers to the Avicennian philosophical matrix, is an integral part of Gundissalinus's entire production and emerges above all in the discussions of a metaphysical or ontological order present in the various texts.

Going deeper into the nature of the philosophy unfolded in Gundissalinus's works, Polloni specifies how the archdeacon's writings can be read as the intersection point of a sort of triple philosophical dialogue. In the first place, the Toledan philosopher proves to develop a constant confrontation with Latin authors close to him also on a chronological level. The study offers a close analysis of the careful reading of Hermann of Carinthia's *De essentiis*, which offers Gundissalinus the conceptual tools to define his own frame of reference for what concerns cosmological questions. The elaboration of essential concepts, such as the distinction of four different types of causality (creation, primary and secondary composition, generation), can be traced back to the inspiration of Hermann's writing.

On a more strictly ontological level, Polloni clarifies how it is the thought of Ibn Gabirol, in particular the content of the *Fons vitae*, which plays a crucial role in the development of one of the pillars of Gundissalinus's thinking, namely the notion of hylomorphism. A careful reading of Ibn Gabirol's work, in fact, gives him the opportunity to focus on the conceptual couples of matter / form and genus / species within the framework of a vision that tends to bring the dualism of principles back to unity. Thus, for Gundissalinus, the idea of 'unity in duality' becomes essential: in fact, it is understood as a formula that describes the actual being. In the opinion of the Toledan philosopher, therefore, the founding principle of the intimate structure of reality is the conceptual and metaphysical inseparability of the notions of being and unity in every existing reality. While distinguishing matter and form, these can never be seen as separate in things. On the contrary, every being is a 'unity of', that is a derived unity that can exist only as a union of two entities – matter and form – which nevertheless in reality are never separated from each other. On the basis of these principles, Gundissalinus is able to articulate this unity in duality in the different levels of reality: from the substantial level to the corporeal one and to that of the elements, according to a gradation that explains the different aspects of reality. The scheme, as Polloni notes, also involves the determination of the ontological function of God, who not only plays the role of absolute unity and uniqueness, but takes on the position of the Necessary Existence.

The introduction of the idea that there is a gradation in existence, that is, that reality is the result of a plurality of modalities of existence, refers to the comparison with the Avicennian philosophical tradition. This is an aspect which, as Polloni highlights, refers to the direct relationship that Gundissalinus develops with Avicenna's writings and to his translation work developed in connection with

Ibn Daud. In addition to the Latin translation of *Liber sufficientiae*, Gundissalinus is also responsible for that of the logic and metaphysics sections of al-Ghazali's *Summa theoricarum philosophiarum*, which is considered a sort of exposition of the Avicennian philosophical system. Polloni's study clarifies how Gundissalinus and Ibn Daud share a common philosophical root in the careful reception of Avicennian metaphysics. Of the latter the Toledan archdeacon acknowledges the modal ontology but in a combination with the aforementioned philosophical orientation of Ibn Gabirol. Polloni summarizes his analysis by observing: « Gundissalinus's emendation of his own ontology is a sort of theoretical update of Ibn Gabirol's ontology rather than a development of Avicenna's positions » (p. 261).

Nicola Polloni's study focuses on the fundamental elements of Gundissalinus's philosophical contribution. The choice of the scholar is to proceed by considering the textual corpus of this author in a unitary way but with the awareness of its chronological and doctrinal articulation. The historical-literary and biographical framework that opens the volume relocates the various writings both in the framework of the twelfth-century Toledo and in the different moments of Gundissalinus's life. At the same time, the analysis of the specificities of each of the four texts attributed to the archdeacon allows the reader to identify the set of problems from which the construction of the author's philosophical point of view develops. Polloni conducts this analysis with argumentative rigor and resorting to a close theoretical examination of the contents of the writings but starting from an accurate philosophical evaluation of the sources, lexicon, and textual characteristics of each text. This leads the reader into the discourse developed by Gundissalinus with the awareness of the philosophical and historical-cultural features that qualify each argumentative step of the Toledan philosopher.

It is a point of view that restores the unity of Gundissalinus's philosophical work and above all overcomes the distinction between the author of original philosophical works and the translator of Arabic philosophical texts. In fact, Polloni traces the intellectual portrait of an intellectual for whom the act of translating from Arabic into Latin is an essential step in his own literary production: it is an integral part of his work, inseparable from the act of doing philosophy. Translating Avicenna is thus philosophizing as much as composing the *De anima* or the *De processione mundi*. The Gundissalinus who inherits the philosophical tradition of the Latin language, masters Boethius and the *Timaeus*, or converses with Hermann of Carinthia, is the same who elaborates his own ontology drawing on Ibn Gabirol and Avicenna. And this reception of the Arabic-speaking philosophy that occurs through the act of transferring words, arguments and texts into Latin, is one of the rings in an intellectual chain that embodies the practice of philosophy.

Polloni's work has the merit of having offered a study that sheds light on a way of conceiving philosophy that goes beyond historiographic classifications that are sometimes used with excessive rigidity. Gundissalinus's intellectual parable and theoretical contribution represent one of the ways of doing philosophy that the twelfth-century Europe expresses: a form of philosophizing consistent with the context of the Toledo of the time and which also expresses the originality of the archdeacon. In fact, within the pages of this study, it emerges the portrait of an author who puts in dialogue the Latin tradition and the philosophy of the Arabic-speaking world and thanks to this merge is able to offer an essential contribution in the construction of the philosophical, particularly metaphysical, mind of the medieval Latin-speaking world.

JOSEF STERN, JAMES T. ROBINSON, YONATAN SHEMESH (EDS.),
*MAIMONIDES' 'GUIDE OF THE PERPLEXED' IN TRANSLATION. A HISTORY FROM THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO TWENTIETH*, CHICAGO UNIVERSITY PRESS,
CHICAGO, ILL. 2019, VII + 481 PP., ISBN 9780226457635.

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INTERPRETING MEANINGS

In the last decades, research and publications on Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed* have grown exponentially, due in part to the influence that Shlomo Pines's translation has exerted on academics. Yet it is unusual and great news to find a history that revolves around the transmission of the text through the most relevant translations and translators.

Josef Stern has noted (p. 5) that throughout its history the *Guide* has been read, commented on and criticized mostly in translation, not in its original Judeo-Arabic, that is, not the original Arabic *Dalālat al-hār'irīn* but the Hebrew *Moreh ha-nevukhim*, Old Spanish *Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados* and translations into modern languages. Despite the abundant scholarly literature on a vast range of topics of study linked to the *Guide*, there has been virtually no discussion of the fact that the texts that have generally been read are translations. In this sense, the volume under review tells a reception story which focuses on the translators' understanding of the book, their choice of lexicon and syntactical formulations, the desirability of consistency in translation, and the ways in which the translated text fosters the enhancement of a philosophical vocabulary in the target languages.

The volume is divided into two parts: « The History of Translations of the *Guide* » (chapters 1 to 11) and « The Impact of the *Guide* in Translation » (chapters 12 to 15) – my review is divided accordingly into two sections. In the first, I summarise the content of the chapters, for which I am indebted to the wonderful « Introduction » and the « Appendix – A Note on the Publication of Pines's Translation of the *Guide* », written by Josef Stern. Although mainly descriptive, the first section of the review enters one of the problems raised by the volume – guiding us to a particularly interesting discussion: the translation and the problems derived from the interpretation of meanings concealed in the pages of

substantial texts. In the second section of the review, I look into a question arising from that topic, for which Stern's « Introduction » acted as a 'guide'.

In Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed in Translation*, once again we confront the discussion about philological accuracy, consistency of translation, efforts to understand and transmit the meanings of the text, and the alibis that lie behind naïve searching for meanings: the dichotomy between extreme philological consistency – which can turn into inscrutable the content of the text – versus the need to convey and illuminate its meanings. Thus posed, the dichotomy could become an unattainable conflict. In addition to the volume's thorough analysis of the history of translations, process of transmission, reception and influence that the *Guide* had on thinkers, the reader will encounter an issue that runs across substantial sections: in translating a text, how far should philological rigour and coherence go? That is, is it legitimate to adjust accuracy in pursuit of meaning? Answering this question is certainly not the essential aim of the volume, but the content of some of its chapters will be of great help to those who are interested in addressing it. In this context, the chapters which deal with Shlomo Pines's translation and introduction to the *Guide* are particularly illuminating.¹

The first part of the volume presents a chronological survey of the translations of the *Guide*. The second examines the impact of early Latin translations on scholastic and Early Modern philosophy, as well as the impact of more recent modern-language translations on contemporary research on scholastic philosophy, medieval Islamic philosophy and modern philosophy – particularly the English translation promoted by Leo Strauss and carried out by Shlomo Pines.

I. Chapters 1-11

It was Samuel ibn Tibbon who made the first translation of the *Guide* into Hebrew (c. 1204), and who was the first thinker to carry out Maimonides exegetical, scientific and philosophical programme. His work and the recognition of his contribution as translator allow us to look into one of the great issues that the authors and editors of the volume present to us: translation as interpretation of meanings. For although I fully agree with Stern when he considers a truism to state that all translation is an interpretation (p. 15), this does not prevent us from reflecting on the process of appropriation involved in the translation of meaningful works of exceptional historical relevance.

In a famous letter to Maimonides, Ibn Tibbon asked for advice on how to approach the translation of the *Guide*. In his reply (September 1199), Rambam advised him not to translate literally, not to correlate every Arabic word and expression with a corresponding Hebrew expression, and not to keep strictly to

¹ MAIMONIDES, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. SHLOMO PINES, 2 vol., University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1963.

the Arabic syntax. He was to translate according to meaning, sacrificing syntactic and semantic accuracy in favour of a translation that conveyed clearly and legibly the overall meaning:

I shall explain to you everything presently, after I shall premise one rule: the translator who proposes to render each word literally and adhere slavishly to the order of the words and sentences in the original, will meet with much difficulty and the result will be doubtful and corrupt. This is not the right method. The translator should first try to grasp the meaning of the subject, and then state the theme with perfect clarity in the other language. This, however, cannot be done without changing the order of words, putting many words for one word, and vice versa, so that the subject be perfectly intelligible in the language into which he translates. This is the method Honein ben Ishak followed with the books of Galen, and his son Ishak with Aristotle's books, and for this reason their commentaries are clear.²

James T. Robinson has explained in the first chapter of the volume (« *Moreh ha-nevukhim*. The First Hebrew Translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* ») that in fact Ibn Tibbon followed not the directions of the master but the methods of his father (Saul ibn Tibbon), which brought about consequences already anticipated by Maimonides: while Ibn Tibbon succeeded in establishing a Hebrew vocabulary perfectly consistent with the Arabic original, the enormous difficulty in understanding the content of the original text was not reduced by the Hebrew translation. To make the original text more comprehensible to the reader, a second Hebrew version of the *Guide* was entrusted to Judah al-Ḥarizi.³ Unfamiliar with the subtleties and philosophical terminology that Ibn Tibbon knew, al-Ḥarizi produced a work much closer to the Hebrew literary tradition, but his attempt to avoid syntax and vocabulary full of Arabisms was unevenly applied.

In chapter 2, « Al-Ḥarizi's Translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* in Its Cultural Moment », Raymond Scheindlin presents the view that al-Ḥarizi's translation as a revision of Ibn Tibbon's which still echoes the intellectual atmosphere of al-Andalus when the literary values of the best period of Judeo-Arabic culture flourished. As new generations of readers unfamiliar with Arabic emerged but were deeply interested in the thought derived from Maimonides's work, Hebrew versions were in great demand. In turn, al-Ḥarizi's translation would serve as the basis for the first Latin and vernacular translations of the *Guide*.

In chapter 3, « *Dux neutrorum* and the Jewish Tradition of the *Guide of the Perplexed* », Caterina Rigo focuses on the Latin translations circulating with the

² MAIMONIDES, « Letter to Ibn Tibbon », in LEON D. STITSKIN (ed.), *Letters of Maimonides*, Yeshiva University Press, New York 1977, p. 93.

³ JUDAH AL-ḤARIZI, trans. *Moreh ha-nevukhim*, ed. ARYEH LEIB (LEON) SCHLOSBERG, notes by SIMON SCHEYER and SALOMON MUNK, 3 vol., Samuel Bagster & Sons, London 1851–1979.

titles *Dux neutrorum* (before 1243)⁴ and *Doctor perplexorum* (1629), based on Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation,⁵ the *Liber de parabola* (c. 1223) and *Liber de uno deo benedicto* (1520), both of which were partial translations.

The earliest translation in the vernacular was written in Old Castilian by Pedro de Toledo: *Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados* (completed in 1432, it combines the versions of Ibn Tibbon and al-Harizi).⁶ This topic is analysed at length in Luis Manuel Girón Negrón's chapter 4 « Pedro de Toledo's *Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados*: The Christian Reception of Maimonides's *Guide* in Fifteenth-Century Spain ». As stressed by Stern:

[...] the translation of Maimonides' philosophical classic is evidence of the central place in later medieval Spanish Christian intellectual life occupied by Hebrew and Jewish texts – ranging from the Bible and its exegesis to rabbinic law and homiletics – and by Jewish and converso scholars who were needed to translate and transmit them. (p. 9)

The intellectual environment that made it possible for Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to undertake such a translation commission in the late Middle Ages reveals circumstances of particular interest. Between the fifteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, only three new versions were translated into modern languages, almost always based on Ibn Tibbon's translation: the Italian *Erudizione de' confusi or Precettore de' confusi* (1583) by Amadeo de Musetto Recanati (Yedidya ben Moshe Recanati);⁷ the first (partial) English version, by James Townley (1827); and the French translation of by Salomon Munk (*Le guide des égarés*, 1856–66), which promoted renewed interest in Judeo-Arabic and its cultural, intellectual and linguistic context.⁸

Paul B. Fenton's chapter 5, « The Second Ibn Tibbon: Salomon Munk and His Translation of the *Guide* », focuses on Munk and his translation. In his commentary on this chapter, Stern returns to one of the fundamental issues involved in the volume (we will get back to the topic later this review): one of the consequences that Munk's translation and his critical study of the Arabic and Hebrew

⁴ See DIANA DI SEGNI, « Moses Maimonides and the Latin Middle Ages: Critical Edition of *Dux neutrorum* I, 1–59 », Ph.D. Diss., University of Cologne 2013.

⁵ For a recent analysis, see SAVERIO CAMPANINI, « *Perspicue et fideliter conversus*: Johannes Buxtorf the Younger's Translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* », *Yod. Revue des études hébraïques et juives*, 22 (2019), p. 133–154.

⁶ JOSÉ ANTONIO FERNÁNDEZ LÓPEZ (ed.), *Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados. Traducción cuatrocentista de Pedro de Toledo*, Riopiedras Ediciones, Zaragoza 2016.

⁷ See ALESSANDRO GUETTA, « *Erudizione de' confusi* by Yedidya ben Moshe Recanati, a Late Renaissance Italian Translation of Maimonides's *Guide of the Perplexed* », *Yod. Revue des études hébraïques et juives*, 22 (2019), p. 107–132.

⁸ MAIMONIDES, *Le guide des égarés: Traité de théologie et de philosophie*, ed. SALOMON MUNK, 3 vol., A. Franck, Paris 1856–1866.

manuscripts revealed was an extraordinary reaction against a Hegelian view of the history of philosophy that had always disregarded Arabic and Jewish philosophy. Munk was motivated by great interest in attaining a better knowledge of Arabic philosophy and of Maimonides's extraordinary familiarity with Islamic religion and theology.

In continuity with the philological rigour undertaken by Munk, the first complete English translation was produced by Michael Friedländer. Warren Zev Harvey devotes to his translation the sixth chapter of the volume « Michael Friedländer's Pioneering English Translation of the *Guide* ». He explores in depth the first version of Friedländer's translation (1881–85) and the second version published some years later (1904).⁹ Although the second version was published as an abridged one without introduction and notes, it became the most widely circulated version among the English-speaking readers, even after the appearance of the most influential and controversial modern translation by Shlomo Pines (1963).

Chapters 7 and 8 – as well as the above-mentioned « Appendix » by Stern – are devoted to Pines's translation. Written respectively by Sarah Stroumsa (« The Elegance of Precision: On Pines's Translation of the Literary Parts of the *Guide* ») and Alfred Ivry (« Pines's Translation of the *Guide*: Alternative Possibilities »), both chapters approach the topic from different perspectives. Before his translation was published, Shlomo Pines was recognised as an eminent historian of Arabic thought and science, yet it is after his translation that he became an academic celebrity. However, his translation has not been received without controversy, and has been the subject of deep analysis. Among the questions raised in analysing Pines's translation, one of them has been proved of particular relevance: does his translation suggest an interpretation of the text that is indebted to Leo Strauss, or does Pines reproduce Maimonides's own perspective?

In my opinion, that question holds a misconception that the volume under review can help to overcome: as such, Maimonides's perspective will not arise if in our effort to understand his work we do not try to discover the interpretations assumed in the translations. Without a proper approach to his intellectual context – the last chapter of the volume focuses on it – and a more accurate knowledge of the process of transmission and reception of his work, it is almost impossible to reach Maimonides's perspective. Although Stern believes that Stroumsa's and Ivry's approaches take opposing sides on the question, in fact, they analyse the problem from different perspectives which can be considered complementary.

⁹ MAIMONIDES, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. MICHAEL FRIEDLANDER, 3 vol., Trübner & Co.–Hebrew Publishing Co., London 1881–1885 (revised edition G. Routledge & Sons–E. P. Dutton, London–New York 1904).

In Stroumsa's view, the nature of Pines's perspective was already accomplished by his introduction to the translation. However, as translator, Pines helps Maimonides's text to speak for itself, without imposing his own interpretation on the Arabic original. Thus, Pines's linguistic, syntactic and lexical choices enable rather than obstruct a recognition of the text in its linguistic and intellectual context. It is these decisions that best contribute to strengthening the factors that Stroumsa most admires in Pines's translation: the scientific character of his project and the elegance in the way he executes his work. A 'character' which, in addition to an undoubted philological accuracy, it is clear – if we assume that, in a certain sense, his translation can be taken as a 'work in progress':

As a result of this rigorous method, Pines's translation allows us to verify, and at times to criticize, Pines's own analysis [...] as many will recall, he often concluded his lectures by saying that 'further research will confirm or disprove the results offered here' (or something to that effect). His translation of the Guide gives readers the tools necessary for conducting such further research. (p. 238)

The elegance of Pines's translation, Stroumsa writes, is perceived in his ability to gather not only the Aristotelian, technical and scientific Maimonides, but also the poetic Maimonides, the Sufi Maimonides, and a well versed connoisseur of the tradition of the metaphysical schools, but also a discouraged and hesitant Maimonides. Is Pines's translation letting Maimonides to speak without editing him, avoiding making him more coherent in the eyes of his readers? Stroumsa thinks so.

In his analysis of Pines's translation Alfred Ivry notes that, in the course of reading Pines's brilliant translation, he soon found himself missing a more ample critical apparatus that would allow him to grasp the choices of terminology and syntactical construction. Ivry believes that the absence of a real apparatus was not so much an editorial constraint as a deliberate strategy to allow Maimonides's work to express itself and each reader to grasp the text in accordance with his own philosophical level. In Ivry's opinion, elucidations on Pines's terminological decisions are much better found in his introduction to the translation than in a critical apparatus. However, Ivry is convinced that Pines favours a certain interpretation of the Guide which, despite the reservations that Maimonides expressed against it, stresses a notion of God and his relationship with the world in personal terms:

Believing that, Maimonides yet wrote in a way that gave God personality, and Pines translates Maimonides accordingly, making no attempt to alert the reader to the dissimulating character of Maimonides' text. Pines's translation thus keeps Maimonides's secret as he would have wished it kept, although it does not grant the English reader full awareness of the text's ambiguity. (p. 242)

Ivry's view is that Pines is trying to uphold Maimonides's own intention to speak exoterically, expressing the pious views of the community, while trusting that a philosophically trained reader to pick up a more subtle, less conclusive message in his work.

Tzvi Langermann's chapter 9, « Rabbi Yosef Qafih's Modern Medieval Translation of the *Guide* », focuses on one of the two most recent complete Hebrew translations of the *Guide* since the Middle Ages: Rabbi Yosef Qafih's translation of 1972.¹⁰ Langermann interprets this translation as representing an exceptional cultural and religious tradition of studies on Maimonides in Arabic that has survived for centuries – Qafih's native language was Arabic.

Aviran Ravitsky devotes chapter 10, « Michael Schwarz's Hebrew Translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* », to this translation of the *Guide* into Hebrew.¹¹ Schwarz's motivation is his conviction that the older versions are inaccessible to speakers of modern Hebrew. Hence, Schwarz does not accurately reproduce the use of the Arabic philosophical terminology employed by Maimonides but follows Maimonides's original advice: to grasp the essential meaning of the text above all else without losing philosophical precision.

The first part of the volume closes with chapter 11, Steven Harvey's « Key Terms in Translations of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* ». In distinguishing between the weakness and strength of medieval and modern translations, Harvey has used a landmark of particular interest to us, especially in relation to the second part of my review. As Harvey and several other contributors of this volume have stressed, the *Guide* challenges us with the dilemma that arises by deliberating between translations that are more literal in their quest for accuracy, and those that search for a better understanding of the text. Whether to hold a rigorous level of consistency of the Arabic philosophical terms employed by Maimonides at the expense of a potentially better understanding of the substance of the arguments. Harvey makes an analysis of the consistency of translation applied to some terms, both within the *Guide* and by comparison with some of the most relevant translations. His conclusion does not deviate from some of those already exhibited by other contributors to the volume:

There are many features of a translation of a carefully written work like Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* that commend themselves to a potential reader, and different readers will prioritize, whether consciously or subconsciously, which features are most important to them. [...] Maimonides did not write his book for everyone, but for one in ten thousand or, if we allow for literary hyperbole, for the very few. It is an intentionally carefully written book and very difficult to understand. Maimonides explicitly begged the reader not to explain its secrets, but

¹⁰ MAIMONIDES, *Moreh ha-nevukhim*, ed. YOSEF QAFIH, 3 vol., Mossad ha-Rav Kook, Jerusalem 1972.

¹¹ MAIMONIDES, *Moreh nevukhim*, trans. MICHAEL SCHWARZ, Tel Aviv University Press, Tel Aviv 1996.

he did leave the *kāmil* keys for understanding the *Guide*'s equivocal, amphibolous, and figurative language, and for apprehending its inner meaning, so that his intended reader might attain the desired happiness. (p. 328)

For Steven Harvey, in Maimonides's consistent and precise use of vocabulary there is a key function helping the well-educated reader to understand the thoughtful teachings held in the *Guide* – even if may be detrimental to a more common reader.

Before closing the first section of my review, I must return to Stern's « Introduction » where in addition to already quoted and analysed versions of Maimonides's *Guide* through several chapters of the volume, Stern opens a digression referring to eighteen complete or partial translations in different vernacular languages produced since the mid-nineteenth century – two of them from the Judeo-Arabic text: the Italian translation by Mauro Zonta¹² and the Spanish translation by David Gonzalo Maeso.¹³

II. Chapters 12–15

The second part of the volume focuses on the reception of the *Guide* among eminent philosophers beyond Jewish thought, and on the impact of the work on great readers and interpreters of medieval Latin thought, medieval Islamic or Islamicate philosophy, early modern philosophy and Anglo-American philosophy. Richard Taylor's chapter 12, « Maimonides and Aquinas on Divine Attributes: The Importance of Avicenna », offers an original investigation into Thomas Aquinas's reception of Maimonides. Analysing the intellectual context of Aquinas, Taylor incorporates an actor of extraordinary relevance: Avicenna. In his analysis of Aquinas's *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Taylor reinterprets some key features of Maimonides's thought, stressing the influence of Arabic thought on Aquinas, Avicenna in particular. Taylor's analysis encourages us « to study Aquinas's works in the context of his sources from the Arabic tradition, including Judeo-Arabic thinkers like Maimonides » (p. 363). For Taylor, what is especially relevant is not only that Aquinas reads Maimonides from the background of Avicenna but also that he reinterprets Avicenna from Maimonides or, as Josef Stern puts it: that he 'Maimonidizes' Avicenna.

The three sections of Steven Nadler's chapter 13, « *The Guide of the Perplexed* in Early Modern Philosophy and Spinoza », deals with a group of recognised readers of Maimonides. In analysing the reception of Maimonides's work in Early Modern Philosophy (Nadler focuses especially on the seventeenth century), he exhibits no doubts about the importance that Maimonides exerts on Spinoza, even though until very recently most Spinozists have overlooked and dismissed this intellectual

¹² MAIMONIDES, *La guida dei perplessi*, trans. MAURO ZONTA, UTET, Turin 2005.

¹³ MAIMONIDES, *Guía de perplejos*, trans. DAVID GONZALO MAESO, Editora Nacional, Madrid 1983.

relationship. In that sense, Nadler dwells on the influence that the improved knowledge of Maimonides provided by Shlomo Pines's translation may have had on English-speaking Spinozists. While acknowledging that Pines's influence has been of particular relevance, it was not the only and most important one among such Spinozists as Edwin Curley – ¹⁴ who also draws on the translations by Friedländer –, Munk and Goodman: « Has Pines's translation inspired a greater sensitivity in Spinoza studies in general to the Maimonidean context? My sense is that the answer to this question is probably no » (p. 384). To Nadler, if contemporary research has begun to assess and deepen the influence of Maimonides's work on Spinoza, it is not – at least not exclusively – due to the appearance of Pines's translation but, in general, to the new impulse that research in modern philosophy is achieving.

In chapter 14, « Shlomo Pines and the Rediscovery of Maimonides in Contemporary Philosophy », Kenneth Seeskin brings back the debate on Pines's translation in the context of contemporary thought. Interestingly, in contrast to Steven Nadler, Seeskin evaluates Friedländer's translation in a quite different manner: he often uses different words in English to express the same term in Arabic, even in the same passage and without explanation or justification. Pines's translation would have conveyed a much more rigorous reading of the *Guide*, becoming the standard for a diverse range of approaches, such as: those produced by researchers who have encouraged a reading of Maimonides from the context of the Judeo-Arabic culture in the Mediterranean basin; those who interpret him as a key link in the history of thought and within the Jewish context; and American scholars more interested in Maimonides's metaphysical and epistemological arguments within the general context of a history of thought. In general, Seeskin argues, Pines's translation is responsible for the interest that Maimonides's reading has achieved in fields as diverse as Anglo-Saxon analytical philosophy, in part due to the attention paid by Maimonides to the problems of language.

Among Seeskin's five headings of his chapter, he has devoted two to the controversy over the exotericism and esotericism of Maimonides's work – the problem of how to interpret the *Guide* raised by Leo Strauss, who addresses it in his own introduction to the translation. For Seeskin, the translation itself clearly expresses the ambivalence of Maimonides's position. Strauss's reading of Maimonides would have prompted him to ask himself a crucial question: is it possible that what in our time is assumed to be *wisdom* could be an appropriate model for measuring the thought of an earlier age?

Strauss's question allows us to get back to a fundamental thread of the volume: if assessing the translation, transmission and reception of a concept is already an

¹⁴ EDWIN M. CURLEY, *Spinoza's Metaphysics: An Essay in Interpretation*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA1969.

enormous challenge when we look across distant historical periods, what can it be said for a work such as the *Guide*? A work so deeply determined by the possibility of being interpreted in the double aspect of its projection – given the double exoteric and esoteric characters attached in the text. Seeskin states: « Strauss emphasized that we must take account of everything Maimonides said as well as the way he said it, and that whatever Maimonides' accomplishments as a metaphysician, we should not lose sight of the political dimension of his thought » (p. 396). While it may be possible to leave to the common reader the idea of Maimonides as holding a fixed set of positions which he either explicitly stated or tried to conceal, this is not the case, says Seeskin, with the works Maimonides composed for mature Talmudic readers initiated into philosophy.

Chapter 15, the last chapter of the volume, caps the wide range of perspectives offered in the volume. After reading Frank Griffel's « Maimonides as a Student of Islamic Religious Thought: Revisiting Shlomo Pines's 'Translator's Introduction' and Its Comments on al-Ghazali », one has the impression that this is the icing on the cake – something which really makes sense.

A connoisseur of Islamic thought, Griffel is also a researcher in topics that cover very specific and not widely known fields – something that can be seen in precise and well-documented studies such as his research on the roots and intellectual repercussions of Almohad doctrine.¹⁵

Frank Griffel evaluates the intellectual attitude of early Pines as nuancedly different from that of the « Introduction to the translation of the *Guide* ». In his doctoral thesis on the atomism of the kalam, Pines hinted at an attitude divergent from the research approach of classical German philology, a style that Griffel evaluates this way: « German philological studies – with all the merits of producing critical editions – puzzle us contemporary readers because of their unwillingness to engage critically and philosophically with the texts' teachings » (p. 404).

In Griffel's view, already in the 1930s¹⁶ Pines seemed more in tune with the work of masters such as Louis Massignon and the new trends that began to spread across Europe: not only to look for sources and influences but to analyse contents and to study the cultural environment of the texts. As an example: Pines did not follow the tradition of old masters such as Ignaz Goldziher who defended the idea of a final decline of an Islamic philosophy after Averroes. For Pines, there was not such a decline: one of the best examples that clearly contradicts a hypothetical crisis was the impetus of science from twelfth century onwards, a development

¹⁵ See FRANK GRIFFEL, « Ibn Tūmart's Rational Proof for God's Existence and Unity, and His Connection to the Nizāmiyya Madrasa in Baghdad », in MARIBEL FIERRO, et al. (eds.), *Los almohades: problemas y perspectivas*, CSIC, Madrid 2005, p. 753–813.

¹⁶ See SHLOMO PINES, « Some Problems of Islamic Philosophy », *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), 11 (1937), p. 66–80. See also SHLOMO PINES, « Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre Gräfenhainichen », Ph.D. Diss., Heine, Gräfenhainichen 1936.

unthinkable without the Arab contribution and the integration of Eastern and Greek elements.

To Griffel's surprise, when he read Pines's « Introduction » he discovered a style much closer to old the German philological tradition than to his earlier works: when he compares Maimonides with al-Fārābī, he makes an effort to find similarities and differences between the sources, something that would be laudable if, Griffel says, it was not because the aim of his « Introduction » is purely philological, bent on detecting and enumerating what Maimonides has read. A Shlomo Pines much closer to classic German tradition well rooted in Hegel.

Why, in what sense is the research into the sources of al-Fārābī so relevant to the tradition of German philology? For Griffel, this attitude makes sense if we place it in the context of a revival of German classicism and its search for an aesthetic and intellectual ideal anchored in a model of the history of philosophy as something strictly Greek linked to the immutable value of the original. Whatever hypothetically valuable Arabic philosophy might harbour it would only be so as much as it is closely linked to a Greek philosophical tradition which could display signs of originality. And indeed, this is something that Hegel denies to Arabic thought, Griffel remarks: « Underlying this paradox is, of course, a Eurocentric perspective on the history of philosophy. The historical value of Arabic philosophy lies in its role as mediator and transmitter of Greek philosophy to Latin Scholasticism » (p. 409).

But does Pines adopt such position? Griffel has no doubt that Pines's intention was to place Maimonides as a respectable authority among the greats in the history of philosophy, as a philosopher in his own right, on a par with Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Spinoza and Descartes – Maimonides as a well established chain among philosophical authorities. In this sense, the structure of Pines's « Introduction » follows a strategy that seeks to demonstrate Maimonides's connection to an intellectual tradition that ultimately goes back to Aristotle. Thus, when Pines dwells on the analysis of Arabic philosophy, he does not hesitate to comment on al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bājja and Ibn Rushd – all of them connected to an Aristotelian tradition translated into Latin.

It is only at the end of Pines's « Introduction » that we find a few pages devoted to other authors who for different reasons would be less respectable within the philosophical tradition rooted in Hegel – al-Ghazālī as one of them. It is interesting to see how Pines includes the author of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* into a short chapter devoted to the *mutakallimūn* of Islam. A curious paradox is revealed here, says Griffel. Pines is following the tradition of German classicism in two senses: on the one hand, he accepts an intellectual tradition that goes back to Aristotle – the great Arab thinkers being means of transmission and commentary; on the other hand, he only focuses on textual traditions.

Yet, where is the paradox? Some scholars could ask. For Maimonides himself acted that way, that is, he thinks of a philosophical textual tradition going back to Aristotle.

Almost nine centuries later, if we are seeking a comprehensive study of the *Guide*, including its sources and references, we have to explore a complementary panorama, and trace sources not declared by Maimonides, along with some non-textual traditions. Griffel illustrates this way: in a few centuries' time a scholar researching on the sources that nourished the thought of a relatively recent philosopher like Martin Heidegger could certainly go back to Plato and Aristotle, but he could not contextualise him or approach his thought in depth without reference to, among others, Husserl or Nietzsche.

We need to contextualise Maimonides's *Guide* in the context of the twelfth-century intellectual environment. Fifty years later than Pines's extraordinary work of introduction and translation, we know Maimonides's milieu much better. However, we may complement Pines's « with studies that look at Maimonides's closer intellectual environment, at the influence from Almohadism, or at his reactions to the work of Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī » (p. 427), as well as the crucial role exerted by al-Ghazālī in Maimonides's thought and his way of interpreting other thinkers – while Maimonides didn't cite al-Ghazālī, he did draw on this thought, particularly on the relationship between philosophy and scripture.

Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed in Translation combines a twofold quality. It is without doubt a reference manual for researchers in the field of the transmission and reception of knowledge – a masterly lesson on the problems of translation as interpretation of meanings from complementary perspectives. At the same time, focusing on such a masterpiece as the *Guide* is, this lesson plunges us into the inexhaustible debate between philology and philosophy, between the paramount difficulties undertaken in the quest for accuracy while uncovering the meanings of a text.

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BENTE MAEGAARD, RICCARDO POZZO, ALBERTO MELLONI, MATTHEW WOOLLARD (EDS.), *STAY TUNED TO THE FUTURE: IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURES FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES*, LEO S. OLSCHKI, FIRENZE 2019 (LESSICO INTELLETTUALE EUROPEO, 128), XXXVI + 190 PP., ISBN: 9788822266439.

MARGHERITA FANTOLI
KU LEUVEN



The volume *Stay Tuned to the Future: Impact of the Research Infrastructures for Social Sciences and Humanities* collects the papers presented at the conference that took place in Bologna on 24–25 January 2018. The event was held in conjunction with the ESFRI (European Strategy Forum on Research Infrastructures) Working Group on Social Innovation (23 January) and aimed at investigating the impact of Research Infrastructures (RIs) for Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH). The papers assume, as Bente Maegaard and Riccardo Pozzo state (p. xxxv: « The landscape is taking a favourable shape »), that RIs will grow in importance and size in the future: the discussion about their impact, especially for SSH for which they are a relatively new phenomenon, turns out to be particularly urgent.¹

In the documents of the European Commission presenting the strategy plan for 2020–2024, RIs are defined as « facilities that provide resources and services for research communities to conduct research and foster innovation ». ² The Commission cooperates with EU countries to avoid duplication of efforts, reduce fragmentation « in the innovation ecosystem », and develop infrastructures that can be competitive on the international level.³ The ESFRI is listed as the first initiative aimed at reaching these objectives. As its name indicates, the ESFRI is responsible for defining the long-term strategy and roadmap, monitoring ongoing projects, and impulsing new programs. ESFRI initiatives are distinguished in ESFRI

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- 1 It is not the goal of the volume to question such assumption. However, as Ana Proykova mentions (p. 173), there is not a complete agreement on the matter, see for instance JORIS VAN ZUNDERT, « If You Build It, Will We Come? Large Scale Digital Infrastructures as a Dead End for Digital Humanities », *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 37/3 (2012), p. 165–186.
 - 2 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/strategy-2020-2024/our-digital-future/european-research-infrastructures_en> (Accessed December 2021).
 - 3 <https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/strategy-2020-2024/our-digital-future/european-research-infrastructures_en> (Accessed December 2021).

projects and ESFRI landmarks: the first are « proposals of RIs with an adequate level of maturity », the second are « successfully implemented RIs ». ⁴ The roadmap 2021 features five landmarks and six projects for the SCI (Social and Cultural Innovation) area, that corresponds to SSH. The volume mainly discusses the landmarks, listed in the table below: ⁵

Name	Full name	Operation Start (Y)
CESSDA ERIC	Consortium of European Social Science Data Archives	2013
CLARIN ERIC	Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure	2012
DARIAH ERIC	Digital Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities	2019
ESS ERIC	European Social Survey	2013
SHARE ERIC	Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe	2011

Table 1: List of SCI Research Infrastructures

CLARIN and DARIAH are the two RIs associated with the field of the Arts and Humanities, while the remaining three (CESSDA, ESS, SHARE) belong to the Social Sciences. The goals of each of these RIs are discussed in the fourth section of the volume. ⁶

The general frame is set with two keynote papers. The following five chapters discuss each a different facet of the impact of RIs: « Conceptualisation of Impact », « Measurement of Impact and Research Infrastructures », « The Demand for SSH Research », « Social Science and Humanities ERICS and their Impact », « Increase of Impact through Interaction of Domains ». The main goal of the papers isn't to provide scientific studies on impact, nor fully innovative conceptualizations. Rather, these kinds of studies are here used as starting points for sharing doubts, expertise, best practices, global visions on the impact of RIs. Short bios of the contributors are included at the end of the volume (p. 175–180), where the readers can appreciate strong track records in managing and decision making, beyond excellent academic curricula. The concrete necessity of such discussions is clear:

4 <<http://roadmap2018.esfri.eu/projects-and-landmarks/>> (Accessed December 2021)

5 The table is a section of the document found at <<https://roadmap2021.esfri.eu/media/1290/tabella-part-1.pdf>> (Accessed December 2021).

6 A contextualisation of the emergence of the model of RIs and the implementation via the ERIC program, with a specific focus on DARIAH, is found in JENNIFER EDMOND, FRANK FISCHER, LAURENT ROMARY, TOMA TASOVAC, « Springing the Floor for a Different Kind of Dance: Building DARIAH as a Twenty-First-Century Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities », in JENNIFER EDMOND, *Digital Technology and the Practices of Humanities Research*, Open Book Publishers, Cambridge 2020, p. 207–234, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0192> (Accessed December 2021).

RIs are relatively new forms of organization for the domain of SSH. How can institutions, users, funders evaluate their output? This is relevant not only for designing an efficient funding policy, but also for improving the work and organization of RIs.

The contributions are divided into two main typologies: some concretely suggest parameters and pathways to assess and foster the impact of RIs for SSH, building on past experience, or on the ongoing work of similar organizations. The second group of papers takes a step back, questioning and trying to redefine the notion of impact for the Arts and the Humanities. This division roughly mirrors the distance between the two domains that here are assembled, the Social Sciences and the Humanities. Whereas for the former, the main challenge consists in finding reliable ways to correctly measure relatively well-defined factors, for the latter, an additional difficulty is given by the effort required for adapting the currently used metrics for research evaluation to the field of Humanities. This duality is somehow anticipated in Yves Gingras's highly informative paper, and emerges clearly in the fourth section of the volume.

In the first keynote paper, Žic Fuchs focuses on the notion of 'scientific excellence' and 'multidisciplinarity'. Current approaches bind the notion of excellence to scientific publications and patents, which results in measuring citations for the former and commercial value for the latter. However, such a definition is problematic for SSH in general and for RIs in particular, for which data curation and sharing represent a core business, whose impact is not easily assessed in terms of paper citations. According to Žic Fuchs, there is a general need for « conceptualising excellence in broader terms » (p. 5), not mimicking the methods used in other fields. On the second point, multidisciplinarity, Žic Fuchs states that RIs in SSH are especially suited for fostering multidisciplinary research, which appears to be a necessary feature of innovative research. These two lines (redefining excellence and fostering multidisciplinarity) come together in the consideration that the impact of RIs, and of the work of the scholars contributing to them, should be assessed taking into account precisely their contribution in creating multidisciplinary research. In the second paper, « The Specificity of the Social Sciences and Humanities and its Relation to Research Evaluation », Yves Gringras tackles specifically the 'perverse effects' of impact indicators, designed for natural sciences, on SSH research. The point discussed by Gingras is a very important one: descriptive bibliometrics show that research in the Arts and Humanities responds to very different trends than in Natural and (for some aspects) Social Sciences: single-authored papers, books, 'local' topics, and collaborations (vs international team-work) are much more frequent than in other fields. This is due to the different nature of the objects of study. Instead of forcing researchers to comply with evaluation standards modeled on different research communities, a much more reasonable approach would be to design evaluation

standards that are consistent with the current trends of the Arts and Humanities. Besides flawed evaluations, adopting the wrong indicators might also cause a decline in research quality because scholars would try to comply with these ill-defined standards by distorting their own working practices.

This first section has the merit of making very clear a crucial point: evaluation metrics need to be rethought for SSH, because they do not acknowledge the nature and practice of SSH research community, nor the specific challenges linked to the setup or RI. This is the ground on which all following sections implicitly build.

I. Conceptualisation of Impact. The first paper of this section, « The Impact of Big Data », by Elena Esposito, discusses assumptions that it would have been interesting to deepen here. RIs in SSH, generally constituted by databases, archives, software, are directly interested in the new challenges generated by the affluence of Big Data, as the diversity of the data and the difficulty in interpreting algorithms processing them. Since Big Data represent nowadays a major societal transformation, the impact of RIs dealing with them should be assessed taking into account their relevance for the society as a whole. Building on the comparison with Big Data analytics, which tends to be predictive more than explanatory, Esposito writes that RIs should consider their impact « on future developments rather than on past performance » (p. 30). The implications of this statement, however, are not fully developed: according to Esposito, we should give up the attempt of finding general criteria but rather prioritize flexibility for evaluation purposes. In the second paper, « Charting Impact Pathways of Investments in Research Infrastructures », Jelena Angelis, Elina Griniece, Silvia Vignetti, Alasdair Reid, describe the RI-PATHS project (2018–2020), whose aim is to develop a theoretical model describing the socio-economic impact of RIs given the large financial investments of public money they require. The model should conceptualize the causal mechanisms that link investments in RIs and the consequent impact of RIs. An extensive program of participatory workshops should ensure that such a model will be efficiently implemented and will benefit RI managers, policymakers, society, etc. It is worth mentioning that the project has indeed produced a handbook providing concrete guidelines implementing the plans described in this paper.⁷

This section acknowledges the difficulty in defining impact, but provides little guidance to the reader on how to reflect on this point: the first paper indeed, focusses on the very specific (and certainly pertinent) question of Big Data, and the second, given the early stage of the project described, provides generic directions but not yet fully formed reflections. However, the success of the RI-

⁷ ELINA GRINIECE, JELENA ANGELIS, ALASDAIR REID, SILVIA VIGNETTI, JESSICA CATALANO, ANA HELMAN, MATIAS BARBERIS RAMI, HENNING KROLL, RI-PATHS, <<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3950043>> (Accessed December 2021)

PATHS project shows that this kind of initiative is a valid tool to tackle the questions asked here.

II. *Measurement of Impact of Research Infrastructures*. The first paper of this section, «UK Data Service: Impact-Driven Approach to Service Delivery» (Matthew Wollard, Victoria Moody) is a concrete description of how a well-established public service has been measuring its impact and how this measurement becomes part of a mechanism that funders can use for decision-making. After defining the functions of the service and the channels activated to enhance the impact profile of the UK Data Service, the authors describe concrete initiatives, tracking efforts, case studies and categorization systems to properly showcase its impact. The main take aways from this paper, as also stated by the authors, are two: (1) Evaluating impact, in non-quantitative but qualitative ways, is possible for RIs, but (2) this requires self-targeted strategies and long-term implementations. The experience discussed in this paper is certainly transferable to RIs for the Social Sciences, which act mainly as data providers. The link to impact measurement, conversely, is less clear for the second paper, by Riccardo Pozzo and Vania Virgili, «Innovation for Inclusion and Reflection». Starting from the syntagma «Social and Cultural Innovation» used to discuss RIs connected with SSH, the authors introduce some of the key elements of Pozzo's philosophical approach,⁸ namely the fact that contemporary societies need to be inclusive and reflective. By providing space for cultural innovation, RIs can foster inclusion as they provide access to resources and consequently can be considered as «common goods» (p. 67).⁹ A reflective society is a society that, in a globalized world, can construct its identity through contact and enrichment. In the conclusion, the authors hint at the fact that the use of cell phones by migrants represents an entry point through for inclusion and reflection. Given the nature of the paper, it would have best complemented the texts presented in the first section of the volume. The third and last contribution, by Jean Moulin, has the title «Measurement of Impact of RIs: Use and Usefulness of Indicators» and reviews quantitative and qualitative indicators currently used for RIs. The contribution is based on the results of a survey conducted by the Expert Group of the Global Science Forum of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. First, criteria for establishing a typology of RIs are given; then the author distinguishes the different levels at which impact can take place (from local to «the whole European society», p. 73). Two main strategic objectives are given for RIs (scientific

8 Some of the given definitions, contextualized in Pozzo's broader philosophy, can be found on the page: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riccardo_Pozzo> (Accessed December 2021).

9 The statement is based on Pozzo's previous work, for instance R. POZZO, V. VIRGILI, «Governing Cultural Diversity: Common Goods, Shared Experiences, Spaces for Exchanges», *Economia e Cultura*, 26/1 (2016), p. 41–47.

leadership and support for innovation), and six dimensions of impact assessment (from scientific output to indirect economic impact) are presented in detail. In the last part of his contribution, Moulin gives some practical suggestions on how to apply these categories to the SSH RIs.

The section is overall very informative, and, in a way, encouraging, showing that a large amount of work, both on the systematic level (as Moulin demonstrates) and in concrete cases (Wollard and Moody) has already been done and will certainly benefit SSH RIs. Nonetheless, Pozzo and Virgili remind us that, as to cultural impact, conceptualization efforts are still necessary before establishing any concrete practice and measurement: as announced, the duality between Social Sciences and Humanities emerges very clearly here.

III. *The Demand for SSH Research*. This section is constituted of three papers, each tackling the question of how SSH research makes use of RIs, or might need to make use of RIs. The first paper, « Austrian Institutions as User of Social Sciences and Humanities Research Infrastructures », by Matthias Reiter-Pázmándy and Thorsten D. Barth reports on two projects by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research (BMBWF) aiming at mapping and fostering the use and visibility of RIs in Austria. The authors claim, among other things, that data for comparison, as, for instance, the number of users, should be collected for impact assessment purposes.¹⁰ The first project aimed at analyzing the use of large, international, RIs by Austrian institutions from 2013 to 2018. The most striking results are that two SSH RIs appear among the four most used RIs in Austria, and, that, when looking at the twenty-four RIs for which the BMBWF holds a membership, the total number of institutions using SSH RIs is largely comparable to the other fields.¹¹ The second project describes the attempt of creating an Austrian public database of RIs for sharing information, giving visibility, and fostering transparency of RIs. The authors outline the strategy for identifying RIs and for convincing researchers to register them. The third paper of this section, titled « Impact or Fertility » (Alberto Melloni), traces the evolution of the term « impact », from the original, ballistic, meaning, to the current trivialized « impact syndrome » (p. 96) that strongly influences research policies in many countries. Melloni expresses his reservations about such an approach, pointing out two implicit assumptions of the impact model that might not apply to research and RIs. The first is « time », because the impact is measured during the active research career, and acts on the short time of decision making. The second postulate is that

10 Counting users is a suggestion that emerges frequently in the volume. I find particularly interesting the statement by Romary and Edmond (p. 152–153) according to which the distinction between user and consumer does not really hold for the Arts and Humanities, the producers of data being generally the consumers as well: this increases the complexity of RIs dynamics.

11 49 for SCI, 61 for Physical Sciences and Engineering, 40 for Health and Food, 9 for the Environment.

we accept as valid the global ecosystem of research. Beyond that, for every positive impact, also a negative one should be assessed: resources and knowledge allocated for one RI might result in a decline of sectors that do not fit in the research agenda of the RIs. Hence Melloni suggests that « fertility » might be a better concept to exploit (p. 98), as it is turned to the long-term future and allows free blossoming of yet unforeseen or undervalued ideas. The last paper of this section, « Computers that Read and Understand (Almost): Language Technologies and Scientific Information Management », by David Pérez Fernández, Doaa Samy, Jerónimo Arenas-García, and Juan de Dios Llorenz González describes in general terms how texts can be mined using computer technologies. The authors hint at how these approaches can be used for supporting decision making, research policy etc., but do not go in-depth in analyzing any specific case that could demonstrate the utility of these technologies beyond academic research.

This section is very rich and heterogeneous, ranging from the conceptual paper of Melloni, to the concrete description of the Austrian current situation. Two important points emerge: the first is the large number of institutions subscribing to SSH RIs. This shows how compelling is the question of assessing their impact. The second point is Melloni's reflection about the 'negative impact': it is true that if we only reason in terms of concrete outcomes of RIs, we should consider carefully what fields are put in the background because of resource allocation to RIs. Reversing the perspective and looking at the generative aspect of RIs appears to me as a very appropriate metaphor, particularly suited, as I will discuss below, for the field of Digital Humanities.

IV. *Social Sciences and Humanities ERICs and Their Impact.* The fourth part of the volume is constituted of five papers, each dealing with one of the SSH ESFRI landmarks.¹² The first paper (« Impact of Social Science Data Services », by Ron Dekker), discusses the case of CESSDA, whose main goal is to promote the reuse of data for the Social Sciences. The analysis of the benefits is structured following the different stakeholders: service providers, researchers, research sponsors, and society. The diversity of the benefits described (from « scale effects » to « training ») is a clear anticipation of the difficulty of measuring the consequent impact (or « rate of success », p. 118) of CESSDA. The authors state in particular that there is a long and non-linear path between the intended goals and the effective impact obtained. The RI CLARIN is, in turn, presented by Franciska de Jong in the paper « CLARIN: Infrastructural Support for Impact through the Study of Language as Social and Cultural Data ». CLARIN provides access to digital language data, together with the tools needed for exploiting them. Its societal impact results from the data it preserves, which are keys for understanding « societal and cultural phenomena ». The data being multilingual, they are also

¹² See Table 1 above for the complete list.

well-suited for comparative studies and for capturing cultural diversity across Europe. CLARIN aims at playing a decisive role in the implementation of the FAIR principles for linguistic data publication,¹³ while improving the transparency and documentation of the algorithms applied. An example of the benefits of such work is represented by the publication of parliamentary corpora. Rory Fitzgerald and Stefan Swift author the paper « Measuring the Impact of the European Social Survey ». The European Social Survey (ESS) is defined (p. 131) as a « pan-European RI providing freely accessible data for academics, policymakers, civil society and the wider public ». It organizes a survey every two years « measuring social attitudes and behavior ». In order to measure impact, the ESS keeps track of registered users and as a deposited bibliography of publications using ESS data. Moreover, Google Scholar was used as a source in a recent study for understanding in which research areas and journal publications make larger use of ESS data. To increase sustainability, the RI increases the number of its member states (SUSTAIN project) and monitors closely dissemination activities (Impact Monitoring Tool). The study of non-academic impact has shown that several government bodies base policy decisions on the ESS work. Axel Börsch-Supan, with the paper « The Socio-Economic Impact of the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) » examines the impact of the RIs (SHARE) whose main goal is to tackle the phenomenon of ageing and in particular its consequences on the economy, society, employment in Europe and Israel. Three types of impact are described: on research (increasing number of users and publications based on SHARE data), on policymaking (illustrated by examples), and on employment (measured in terms of researchers hired by the RI, and contracts given to external agencies). In the last paper of this section (« A Tangential View on Impact for the Arts and Humanities through the Lens of DARIAH-ERIC »), Laurent Romary and Jennifer Edmond address the problem of defining impact for an Arts and Humanities Infrastructure such as DARIAH. The Arts and Humanities studies use human artifacts to understand our societies and cultures. Their impact consists thus in creating an informed, critical and open citizenship. DARIAH provides researchers with the tools necessary for being well-informed about the impact of technology on the Arts and Humanities. The authors identify three main areas of impact (p. 153): « fostering research excellence » (through networking and training), « supporting organizational efficiency and effectiveness » (with a focus on Open Access), and « promoting more fluid interactions between policy and practice » (by facilitating the redistribution of data, expertise and training). In the conclusion, the authors indicate two areas (network creation and the promotion of innovation) where CLARIAH should work in going beyond the boundaries of its area of action.

13 FAIR stands for Findability, Accessibility, Interoperability, and Reuse.

This section gives a practical shape to many points discussed in the previous parts of the volume by diving into the ongoing business of the discussed RIs. The section also displays very clearly the inherent differences between RIs for the Social Sciences and for the Humanities. ESS, SHARE and CESSDA are busy collecting and distributing data describing society: it is straightforward that the number of users, publications and decisions based on the data is a good indicator of the usability of these RIs. The situation for CLARIN and DARIAH appears more complex because both are involved with the transformation, on the level of sources, standards, and methods, of the way in which linguistic resources and human artifacts are gathered, preserved, conceptualized, and studied. This convincingly grounds the need for the change of perspective sketched by Esposito (thinking of the « future developments », p.30) and argued by Melloni (with the notion of « fertility », p. 98).

V. *Increase of Impact through Interaction of Domains*. The fifth and last part of the volume focuses on the interaction of domains and presents two papers. In the first (« Social Sciences, Humanities, and Exact Sciences: A Necessary Bridge to be Built »), Minh-Quang Tran suggests SSH and Exact Sciences (ES) should collaborate: SSH, for instance, should help in achieving a general social endorsement in the projects of fusion energy. However, the suggestion remains pretty vague (and, to my eyes, puts SSH in a position of servitude with respect to ES), despite the enthusiasm that emerges from the text. In the second paper (« Digital Infrastructures Interaction with Humanities Infrastructures »), Ana Proykova discusses at length the impact of digitization, in particular of the European Open Science Cloud (EOSC), to boost innovation in the Humanities.

The Specific Case of Digital Humanities and RIs

The volume has the merit of articulating, through the concrete problem of framing the complex work of RIs, several challenges that SSH research is facing nowadays. Narrowing down the discussion to the field of Humanities, I will develop some points emerging in the volume for which the existence of RIs plays a particularly important role in the domain of Digital Humanities (DH). This choice is motivated by the fact that both the Humanities RIs (CLARIN and DARIAH) focus on digital technologies¹⁴.

14 For the interaction, in the current research landscape, between the domains of Computational Linguistics (CLARIN) and Digital Humanities (DH) see RACHELE SPRUGNOLI, GABRIELLA PARDELLI, FEDERICO BOSCHETTI, RICCARDO DEL GRATTA, « Un'Analisi Multidimensionale della Ricerca Italiana nel Campo delle Digital Humanities e della Linguistica Computazionale ». *Umanistica Digitale*, 3/5 (2019), <<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2532-8816/8581>> (Accessed January 2022).

(a) *The function of the Humanities for the broader society.* Esposito, Gringas, Pozzo and Virgili, Melloni, Jong, Romary and Edmond, all raise the point very clearly. An answer that can be read in most of the papers is that Humanities research helps in better understanding our culture and thus improves the quality of societal relations. However, how this societal improvement should concretely take place is still not obvious. I think that a partial answer can be found in the observation by Reiter-Pázmándy and Barth (p. 87) according to whom non-academic institutions are also members of RIs. In the field of DH, GLAM institutions are the first natural non purely academic partners as they take care of the artifacts and heritage that are now undergoing digital transformation. Besides, they frequently take the lead in the digitization process. Models of collaboration between GLAM institutions and academia are currently studied and implemented,¹⁵ and initiatives such as the data reuse charter¹⁶ (described by Romary and Edmond, p. 155, as a shared initiative of DARIAH, CLARIN, and other actors) show that fostering these collaborations has high priority in DH working groups. Thus, the work related to digitization and digital exploitation of linguistics and cultural resources represents a realistic pathway to embed academic activities in the broader society: and RIs are concretely acting on this key process.

(b) *The need for training, trainers, and the role played by RIs in this respect.* This point clearly emerges in the description of the work of various RIs (see the papers by Dekker, De Jong, Romary and Edmond) and is especially central in the field of DH.¹⁷ This links to the broader question of the skills required to future Humanities scholars and of the ongoing transformation of the research landscape. Recently, Barbara McGillivray and colleagues of the Alan Turing Institute¹⁸ have claimed the need for a deep rethinking at the institutional level of the organization of Humanities research to concretely favor the hybridization with Data Science that

15 See JESSICA WAGNER WEBSTER, « Digital Collaborations: A Survey Analysis of Digital Humanities Partnerships Between Librarians and Other Academics », *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 13/4 (2019), <<http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/13/4/000441/000441.html>> (Accessed January 2022), for a survey on the topic. A number of ongoing initiatives encourage collaborations, as the FED-tWIN belgian program (<https://www.belspo.be/belspo/research/FEDtWIN_en.stm>), going well beyond DH, or the recent Biblissima+ call for funding based on combined expertise of conservation and research teams (<<https://www.irht.cnrs.fr/fr/actualites/premier-appel-manifestation-dinteret-biblissima-2021-2022>>).

16 <<https://datacharter.hypotheses.org/about>> (Accessed December 2021).

17 Cf. JENNY OLTERSDORF, MARKUS MATONI, CARSTEN THIEL, *DARIAH Report on researchers' service needs*. DARIAH. 2016. <<https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01351267>> (Accessed December 2021).

18 BARBARA MCGILLIVRAY, BEATRICE ALEX, SARAH, GUYDA ARMSTRONG, DAVID BEAVAN, ARIANNA CIULA, GIOVANNI COLAVIZZA, JAMES CUMMINGS, DAVID DE ROURE, ADAM FARQUHAR SIMON HENGCHEN, ANOUK LANG, JAMES LOXLEY, EIRINI GOUDAROULI, FEDERICO NANNI, ANDREA NINI, JULIANNE NYHAN, NICOLA OSBORNE, THIERRY POIBEAU, MIA RIDGE, SONIA RANADE, JAMES SMITHIES, MELISSA TERRAS, ANDREAS VLACHIDIS, PIP WILLCOX. *The challenges and prospects of the intersection of humanities and data science: A White Paper from The Alan Turing Institute*. Figshare. <[dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.1273216](https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.1273216)> (Accessed January 2022).

is now necessary to properly exploit digitized material. Training is one of the aspects discussed (McGillivray et al. 2020 p. 20–21). Despite the need for a broader implementation of such multidisciplinary programs, DARIAH (with DARIAH teach and DARIAH campus)¹⁹ and CLARIN (Teaching with CLARIN)²⁰ are at the forefront for providing open, online, reusable training material for researchers' self-training²¹. On this level as well, RIs are concretely acting on the most urgent challenges faced with the digital transformation of the Humanities.

(c) *Replacing the rhetoric of impact with the notion of fertility.* The problem is not limited to RIs, but in general to Humanities research. DH engages specifically with this point as it is based on interdisciplinary collaborations,²² whose experiments are often seen as driving forces opening new avenues for research and « cross-fertilizing » (a frequently used term) domains. In addition, on the concrete level, DH projects may require computing power that is not immediately accessible to Humanities Scholars or GLAM institutions.²³ Tobias Blanke and Sheila Anderson suggest the metaphor of ecosystems, where habitats (computing services) host communities (domain research crowds) generating niches (applications and services).²⁴ RIs are ideally suited for giving life to this scenario: they are distributed, flexible, bring together technological facilities (as high computing platforms), expertise, research communities, and, as we have seen, GLAM institutions. They are also free from the disciplinary distinctions characterizing academic organizations. In this sense, RIs, that fulfill the call for generative power, play a key role in the future development of DH.

In conclusion, the volume, from the very specific perspective of understanding the impact of RIs, raises relevant points around which the debate is still open, especially in the current practice of Digital Humanities research and institutional organization.

19 <<https://teach.dariah.eu>> and <https://campus.dariah.eu/> (Accessed January 2022).

20 <<https://www.clarin.eu/content/teaching-clarin>> (Accessed January 2022).

21 Obviously many other equally valuable initiatives exist, as the well-known, multilingual and peer-reviewed <https://programminghistorian.org/> (Accessed January 2022).

22 For a careful description of the DH field under this perspective, see MAX KEMMAN, « Boundary Practices of Digital HumanitiesCollaborations », *DH Benelux journal*, 1 (2019), <<https://journal.dhbenelux.org/journal/issues/001/Article-Kemman/kemman-main.tex.html>> (Accessed January 2022).

23 Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums.

24 SHEILA ANDERS, TOBIAS BLANKE, « Taking the Long View: From e-Science Humanities to Humanities Digital Ecosystems », *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 37/3 (2012), p. 147–164.

RICCARDO GANDOLFI, *LE VITE DEGLI ARTISTI DI GASPARE CELIO. 'COMPENDIO DELLE VITE DI VASARI CON ALCUNE ALTRE AGGIUNTE'*, LEO S. OLSCHKI, FIRENZE 2021 (BIBLIOTECA DELL'ARCHIVUM ROMANICUM, SERIE I: STORIA, LETTERATURA, PALEOGRAFIA, 504), 390 PP., ISBN: 9788822267023.

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From the beginning of the foreword by Alessandro Zuccari, it is remarked the fortunate circumstance that led Riccardo Gandolfi to discover, as part of his doctoral research, the autograph manuscript *Le Vite degli Artisti* by Gaspare Celio (1571–1640) preserved in the library of the Stonyhurst College in Manchester. The work had been disappeared since the Seicento and was scarcely mentioned in a couple of sources, mainly in Giano Nicio Eritreo's *Pinacotheca* (1643). Degree in Art History and graduated in Archival, Paleography and Diplomatics, Riccardo Gandolfi put his experience as official staff at the Archivio di Stato di Roma to work on a thorough archival research, with this critical edition as a result. Regarding the structure of the original manuscript, Celio's text is preceded by a presentation to Giovan Vittorio de Rossi, in which the author declared his intention to resume and extend a previous text initiated in 1614, thereby transforming it into the *Vite*. The following is an introduction to the reader and some final dedications to Paolo Giordani, Sebastiano Vannini and Francesco Maria Torrigio. The central focus of the manuscript consists of a collection of celebrated artists' biographies by means of which Celio tried to contradict the underlying intentionality of the selection included by Giorgio Vasari in his highly influential *Le Vite de' più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori*. From this standpoint, Alessandro Zuccari emphasises the importance of Gandolfi's discovery so as to gain access to a whole picture of the theoretical context in Seicento art.

Indeed, the edition of the unpublished Celio's *Vite* due to Riccardo Gandolfi provides relevant information about anecdotes and details of the life and works of many artists, but more importantly, the book entails an innovative approach to crucial aspects in the realm of historiography. In this line, Zuccari states that the manuscript is not merely a compendium of Vasari's *Vite* intended to make it much

easier and manageable to the readers, albeit this objective was apparently Celio's declared intention. Actually, despite being constituted by comments and additions to Giorgio Vasari's book, the text written by Gaspare Celio certainly has conceptual entity in its own right. Celio engaged with a critical reading of Vasari and did not avoid entering into an argument on the risk of partiality. Thus Celio included his own opinions and new informations or added new biographies that were absent in Vasari's *Vite*. In this respect, it is noteworthy the careful investigation undertaken by Gandolfi in order to elucidate the sources used by Celio, who probably read only the first edition of Vasari's *Vite*, known as *Torrentina* (1550), and ignored the second, published by Giusti (1568). Apart from this, Celio obtained valuable first-hand information from his network of contacts among prominent artists of the moment, such as Federico Zuccari, Niccolò Circignani, etc. Hence Celio enriched the theoretical corpus contained in Vasari's work. In this sense, Gandolfi compares the contributions made by Celio to those by Vasari, finding out their significant differences. Gandolfi also remarks that Celio wrote a more synthetic version of Vasari than his rival Giovanni Baglione, as was said by Giovanni Bellori, who had access to Celio's *Vite*, thus influencing his *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architecti Moderni* (1672).

Sometimes Celio included himself in certain biographies and tried to give the image of a multidisciplinary artist in the Renaissance style. However, he was primarily a painter, but also made some occasional incursions into civil architecture. On the basis of the direct observation of art works, in his *Vite*, Celio changed several author attributions and also proposed new ones. In order to analyze such a multifaceted nature of the manuscript, the edition conceived by Riccardo Gandolfi has three main sections: (1) a chronological study of the structure and sources of the text and an exploration of its central purposes, (2) the comments and additions made by Celio on the pages of his volume of the first edition of Vasari's *Vite*, kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, which gives a clue as to how Gaspare Celio approached Vasari's famous book, and (3) the full text of *Le Vite degli Artisti* found in Manchester. All this is preceded by a succinct but well-formulated biographical account of Gaspare Celio in his facets as a painter and writer. Here it is interesting to note that before the recent discover of the *Vite*, Celio was basically known for his *Memoria*, a brief guide of Rome in which he listed the art works of the principal churches in the town, adding some remarks about preservation and restoration. Above all, Riccardo Gandolfi's investigation ultimately puts its finger on the most relevant and singular aspect of Celio's manuscript, which is none other than emphasizing the great influence of Rome on the Renaissance artists, as well as counteracting the centrality that Giorgio Vasari conferred to Florence.

I. [...] Se [Vasari] non havesse havuto incontro la Scrittura, haveria detto che il primo huomo fuesse creato in Toscana

Riccardo Gandolfi insists on the idea that the principal objective of Gaspare Celio's *Vite* is to proclaim the relevant influence of the city of Rome in the scenario of Renaissance art instead of the widely accepted view that praised Florence as the focal point. In Celio's opinion, such a general view is due to Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*, which had a huge impact on critical literature and forged strong cultural stereotypes about artists, this way establishing a sort of official discourse about Art History focused on Florence. In the same vein, Celio argued against Vasari's undisputed authority and complained about the many inadequacies of his book simply because Vasari made every effort to legitimate his region of provenance, Tuscany. This is arguably the reason why Vasari intentionally chose a wide range of biographies of numerous artists that worked in the capital. On the contrary, Celio vindicated his own beloved town, the Eternal City, in the conviction that it had been deliberately neglected by Vasari. In the words of Riccardo Gandolfi, « [...] il principale obiettivo dello scritto è in realtà quello di rimetere Roma al centro del discorso » (p. 29). This purpose becomes evident by considering the comments that Celio wrote in the margins of his edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*. The use of irony and a few touches of humor served the biographer to expose Vasari's biased view. In this context, Gaspare Celio consciously tried to subvert the prevailing theory developed by Vasari, pointing out its contradictions and calling into question some of its central statements concerning the origin of the perspective quadratura and other modern plastic techniques that Vasari located principally in Florence.

For instance, in Filippo Brunelleschi's biography, Vasari praised the ability of the Florentine artist to build the most novel and impressive architecture. To this respect it is telling the satirical observation by Celio: « [...] e che Giorgio [non] havesse visto Panteone, ne Terme Diocletiane, ne le Anto[ni]ne, et era stato [a] Roma molto » (p. 82). Gaspare Celio thus remarked Giorgio Vasari's intentional forgetfulness and highlighted the illustrious predecessors that surely influenced Brunelleschi's talented mind. Vasari was also unequivocal in his praise for the great figures of painting in Florence, therefore he dedicated dithyrambic eulogies to Masaccio, Uccello, etc., as if they were the sole creators who gave birth to the Italian Renaissance. Here it is quite revealing that Celio characterized these artists with pejorative euphemisms strategically located in their biographies. In these circumstances, Celio showed his commitment to the vindication of Rome's artistic heritage, its ruins and magnificent monuments, classic architecture and painting, stating that they were the influential legacy that led to renewed interest in the fields of perspective, geometry and proportions, which is crucial to understand the great achievements of the Renaissance. As explained by Riccardo Gandolfi: « Roma, come si è visto, rappresenta il centro della costruzione teorica di Gaspare Celio [...] ».

Se per Vasari furono gli artisti toscani a favorire il rinnovamento delle arti, per Celio la preminenza di Roma si manifesta attraverso le opere in essa custodite » (p. 41–42).

Consequently, Celio emphasized the fundamental role of ancient Rome in the education of renowned artists such as Michelangelo and Raffaello Sanzio. Interestingly, this gave rise to some intriguing anecdotes, for instance, the admiration that Celio felt for Michelangelo was not an obstacle for negative comments about his bad temper and other problematic aspects of his life. Such an ambivalent approach makes sense inasmuch as Michelangelo was undoubtedly the most relevant figure within Vasari's theoretical corpus. Likewise, in line with the above, Celio argued that Raffaello's *Isaiah* was inspired by the decorations of the Bath of Diocletian instead of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, as Vasari had established. That said, Celio disagreed with Vasari even in the opinion about the posture of the body and position of Michelangelo's head when he was painting his mentioned masterpiece. Then it could be said that Gaspare Celio himself fell prey to the same incoherence that he previously denounced in Vasari, in the sense that he also rewrote some biographies for his own intentional purpose. What is more, Celio did not confine himself to simply adding several remarks on his book of Giorgio Vasari nor did he introduce some comments. Apart from that, he frequently expanded or reformulated the content of many biographies and also added new ones, which thus substantially changed the canonical list uplifted by Vasari.

Just to mention a few revealing examples, Federico Zuccaro's biography is one of those that were considerably expanded by Celio, especially taking into account that he personally knew Zuccaro and his environment. The biography of Giulio Romano is also longer in Celio's *Vite*. Not casually, the biographer created a link between Romano and Raffaello concerning the artistic education of the latter in the Eternal City as well as the influence received from the Baths of Diocletian and Hadrian's Villa (Tivoli). In addition, Celio partially provided new facts about artists such as Sofonisba Anguissola, Federico Barocci, Francesco da Volterra, and Tomaso Laureti, and added the complete biographies of Pompeo Cesura, Domenico da Passignano, Henrico Golzio, Iacomo della Porta, Giovanbattista Pozzi, Antonio Tempesta, Agostino and Anibale Carazzi, and also Caravaggio, among others. Celio finished his *Vite* with two sections, the first dedicated to Greek and Latin painters and sculptors mentioned by Pliny the Elder, and the second dedicated to architects referred by Vitruvius. A last part is constituted by a full index of names of living artists.

II. Adunque era la pittura, et il musaico in Roma avanti Cimabue

As has been seen, it can be inferred that Gaspare Celio's work is intended to topple the city of Florence from the pedestal where Giorgio Vasari put it, while

proclaiming the supremacy of Rome. On the one hand, Celio managed to fulfill this task by dispelling common myths around the aura of the Florentine artists, especially Cimabue and Giotto, who were supposed to be at the origin of Renaissance painting. Indeed, the fact of locating the beginning of this kind of artistic achievements in the figure of Cimabue has become commonplace in the theoretical construction of Art History spread by Vasari. Then it constitutes one of the targets refuted by Celio, who looked for early precedents in Rome. Thus, in the introduction of Celio's *Vite*, the author traced the genealogy of the primacy of Roman art and highlighted the façade of Cortile del Paradiso, decorated « 564 anni avanti la nascita di Cimabue ». On the other hand, Celio also argued in favor of artistic techniques that were used in Rome long before they arrived in the region of Tuscany. This is the case with mosaics. In particular, Celio complained about the lack of veracity of Vasari's text, which stated that the mosaic technique first came from Venezia and arrived in Florence without referring to the Roman artists who knew the technique much earlier. Celio pointed out that there have always been mosaics in Rome and mentioned Pietro Cavallini as an expert in the field before Giotto.

Then, it is no coincidence that the first biography of Celio's *Vite* is dedicated to Cavallini. According to Gandolfi: « Per delegittimare la figura di Cimabue in favore di Cavallini, Celio sceglie di porre la sua biografia in seconda posizione, riassumendola in modo estremamente sintetico e inserendovi un commento negativo [...] » (p. 103). So, the choice and location of the biographies are neither accidental nor trivial issues. The specific way in which they were arranged framed an internal order with clear theoretical implications depending on the author's intention. In line with the above, Celio noticed that the tradition of mosaics among Roman artists had been obliterated in Vasari's *Vite*. That is why Gaspare Celio could not stand the enormous, but inconsistent, recognition given to Cimabue. « Celio, orgogliosamente romano, non tollera ad esempio che Vasari ignori la fiorente tradizione del mosaico medievale nell'Urbe, che sia Cimabue ad aprire l'elenco dei pittori, o che sia sottovalutato il decisivo influsso delle antichità romane, compresa la pittura, sui grandi artiste del Rinascimento » (p. 29). That said, Celio did not only criticized the agreed preeminent role of the Florentine artists who were considered to be the fathers of the Renaissance, and the many inaccuracies about artistic techniques spread by Vasari, but he also denounced the marginality of Roman classic art. Precisely, as Celio was interested in restoring Rome's influential role in the artistic sphere, it was absolutely necessary for him to vindicate the ancient monuments that left their mark in the artists of the Cinquecento.

Therefore, the purpose of *Le Vite degli Artisti* by Gaspare Celio was basically to amend Giorgio Vasari's intentional arbitrariness. It is interesting how Celio raised suspicion about the incontestable truth of Vasari's text just by adding the expression « secondo il Vasari » in the middle or at the end of certain phrases,

which made the reader realize that, in effect, the information contained in the book was displayed according to Giorgio Vasari's point of view. Ultimately, Vasari's *Vite* was its author's interpretation in favor of Tuscan art. Plenty of sentences of this sort appear throughout the whole text with the clear objective of discrediting the supposed superiority of Florence against Rome. Such a confrontation between Celio and Vasari reached the extreme of affecting architectural orders, specially regarding Tuscan and Compound orders, which can be appreciated in the additions to Vasari's first edition. Be as it may, as said earlier, Celio could not escape from his own preferences, likes and dislikes. He was enthusiastic about Correggio but relegated Parmigianino and problematized Caravaggio. These intriguing implications become even more evident thanks to the practical criteria used in Riccardo Gandolfi's critical edition of Celio's *Vite*, which printed Vasari's basic text in black and highlighted the parts by Celio in red. This method enables a direct comparison between the two authors and combines both texts in one, as it were. This promotes a transverse reading of the material and makes it clear how Celio interacted with Vasari's work by easily locating the additions, subtractions and modifications of the text, which thus serves the reader to get a clear idea of the interpretative changes that it underwent.

III. *Rewriting the Foundations of Art History*

The recently rediscovered manuscript of Gaspare Celio somehow constitutes the written testimony of a new 'version' of Art History that did not exist until now, before Riccardo Gandolfi's book came to light. Celio's text offers new insight into the hidden face of Art History away from official narratives. It would be no exaggeration to say that the study of Art History has been traditionally characterized by Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* as one of its most relevant founding principles and 'sacred book'. In fact, when Art History appeared as such in the XVIII century, Vasari's work was considered a canonical text and the first reference source in the field of Art History by definition. In this sense, Julius von Schlosser described Giorgio Vasari as the « true patriarch and father of the church of Art History », and Berenson saw him as the « Herodotus of Art History ». That being the case, it is remarkable to find a « Celio antivasariano ». It is indeed fascinating to see how, just a few decades after the publication of *Le Vite de' più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori*, Gaspare Celio dared to question the established criteria and speak against the hegemony of Vasari's discourse. What is more, it is intriguing to discover that, as Gandolfi points out (p. 9), Celio was systematically marginalized by the historiography of Art History during the Ottocento, while Vasari served as a cornerstone. If according to Georges Didi-Huberman, Art History was born three times – Pliny, Vasari, Warburg – Gandolfi might add a fourth time dedicated to Celio.

Gaspare Celio thus changed the approach to Art History so as to make it pivot on Rome rather than on Florence, a gesture that might have had important consequences for the development of historiography inasmuch as it entails a profound rereading – and rewriting – of official Art History. Therefore, the text conceived by Celio has a broader scope than a compendium. Certainly, the text introduced transversality, decentralization and non-hegemonic narratives. Here, one might wonder whether the manuscript had any influence on authors of the time or later. Given that it disappeared quite soon, one might conclude that Celio had little echo among artists and theorists, except Bellori. Further investigation on this respect and a more extensive contextualization of the general scenario of Renaissance historiography would have strengthened Gandolfi's in-depth analysis, especially bearing in mind that Celio seemed to be one of many authors who promoted critical bibliography against the centrality of Florence at that time. Gandolfi just remarks that

Nel corso del Seicento si moltiplicarono le confutazioni del primato dei toscani da parte de scrittori interessati a ridare prestigio e preminenza alle proprie tradizioni regionali: esemplari sono gli scritti di Ridolfi (1648), Scannelli (1657) e Soprani (1674), come importante fu la critica di Malvasia, impegnato a nobilitare la scuola bolognese contro il parere di Vasari [...] [e] le *Considerazioni* di Giulio Mancini [che] contiene un organico quanto erudito attacco alla parzialità del Vasari [...] (p. 29-30).

In order to gain a more precise idea of this situation, a comparison between the history of the text's influence and the development of the biographical genre in the Renaissance would have been of interest, particularly regarding the authors which wrote artists' biographies before and after Vasari. On the one hand, some relevant precedents were, for instance, Lorenzo Ghiberti's *I Commentarii*, which located the origin of painting in Cimabue and Giotto. Antonio Billi and Anonimo Magliabechiano's books also repeated this cliché. On the other hand, remarkable imitators of Vasari were Raffaello Borghini (*Il riposo*) and Karel van Mander (*Schilderboek*), without forgetting Carlo Ridolfi's *Le Meraviglie dell'arte o vero le Vite degli illustri Pittori Veneti e dello stato*, Giambattista Passeri's *Vite de Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti che anno lavorato in Roma morti dal 1641 fino al 1673*, and Roger de Piles's *Dissertations sur les ouvrages del plus fameux peintres*. On a different note, Celio's *Vite* also included comments about materials and techniques and gave guidance on how to prepare pigments and utensils. In this regard, the text recalls Cennino Cennini's *Trattato della Pittura*, which served the Renaissance artists to learn these practical skills. Some remarks on this topic would have broadened Gandolfi's research. In any case, the present edition makes a great discovery of a source that was supposed to be lost and gives a complete account of an interesting counterpoint in the historiography of Art History.

CECILIA MURATORI, *RENAISSANCE VEGETARIANISM: THE PHILOSOPHICAL AFTERLIVES OF PORPHYRY'S 'ON ABSTINENCE'*, LEGENDA, CAMBRIDGE 2020 (ITALIAN PERSPECTIVES, 46), 276 PP., ISBN 9781781883389.

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The book under review is the 46th volume of the series *Italian perspectives*, a collection of works devoted to Italian culture under an innovative and interdisciplinary approach. The author, Cecilia Muratori, is Research Fellow at the Centre for Anglo-German Cultural Relations (Queen Mary University of London) and has dedicated several works to Renaissance animal ethics with special attention to the distinction between animals and humans. Now, with *Renaissance Vegetarianism: The Philosophical Afterlives of Porphyry's 'On Abstinence'*, she focuses on the interest that Porphyry's *On Abstinence* aroused in the Renaissance, warning in the first lines of the introduction that the title contains a deliberate, but useful anachronism. As Muratori points out, although the term 'vegetarianism' was not coined before the nineteenth century, the concept did actually exist under other denominations, such as 'abstinence'. While the word 'abstinence' refers to what it is excluded in one's diet, 'vegetarianism' suggests what is permitted.

Ancient authors addressed the issue of avoiding meat by discussing the philosophical question of whether diet affected the human being's way of thinking and attitude towards life. Porphyry maintained that abstaining from the consumption of any kind of animal product – and not only from meat – prepared the body and the mind for spiritual purposes. From this starting point, later philosophers have discussed this topic with a wide range of arguments: not only from a health, religious and anthropological point of view, but also from a psychological and moral perspective. Porphyry represented a turning point in the development of vegetarianism. He revised previous literature on the topic, such as Theophrastus's or Plutarch's texts, and, at the same time, his influence on Neoplatonics was crucial for the continuity of his ideas. In the Renaissance many of these ancient works were rediscovered and largely quoted: from Plutarch's *Bruta animantia ratione uti* and *De esu carnum*, to Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, as well as some Hippocratic and Galenic texts. However, Porphyry's *De abstinentia ab esu carnum* was the star among them. This is the guiding thread of Muratori's book: how *De abstinentia* became an authority for arguing on the

benefits and disadvantages of a meat-free diet in the Renaissance philosophical context. With that aim, the author explores the theoretical background of vegetarianism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and analyzes the impact of Porphyry's arguments in the philosophical environment of the Renaissance. His work brought about the opening of new paths of understanding as well as controversies.

Muratori's book is organized around the four main intertwined topics discussed in Porphyry's work that caught the attention of Renaissance thinkers: (1) Sacrifice, (2) Health, (3) Otherness, and (4) Rationality. These constitute the four chapters of the volume.

The first chapter entitled « Sacrifice » analyzes the link between sacrifice and eating flesh. Since pagan religions ask for sacrifices to the Divine, the question that arises is if the vegetarian philosopher should abstain from religious practices as well. At this point, Porphyry adopts a compromise solution: he argues that killing an animal does not imply eating it. With this answer, Porphyry avoids criticizing pagan religious practices and, by mentioning Theophrastus's *On Piety* he suggests at the same time that slaughtering animals to the gods is the result of a process of corruption. Nevertheless, sacrificing animals on the altar was not a common practice in the Renaissance anymore. At that time, intellectuals were much more interested in analyzing the contrast between the Neoplatonic and the Christian traditions since the latter rejected all kinds of pagan practices. The other central issue under debate was whether rituals involving animal slaughtering had a positive influence on the gods.

For early Renaissance readers Porphyry's original controversy between sacrificing and eating animals was then a secondary, yet not completely disregarded matter. Muratori begins exploring the intellectual context in which Basil Bessarion's work emerges. More precisely, she examines Capuchin friar Jacques Boulduc's *De ecclesia ante legem* (1626), George Gemistos Plethon's *De differentiis Platonis et Aristotelis* and George of Trebizond's *Comparatio philosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis*. Her analysis shows how Bessarion uses Porphyry's arguments in his *In calumniatorem Platonis* to freed Platonism from pagan traits and thus making it compatible with Christianity.

The main part of this first chapter is devoted to Marsilio Ficino's translation of *On abstinence*, whose comments focus on Platonic demonology – as it can be inferred from the title, *De divinis atque daemonibus*. In his work, Ficino intends to conciliate Porphyry's and Iamblichus's Platonic approaches towards different issues including sacrificial rituals. The efficacy of rituals and the presence of daemonic intermediaries is at the core of the discussion. Muratori explains how, like Bessarion, Ficino eventually focuses on the compatibility of Christianity with the Platonic theology and demonology by trying to connect Christian ritual and sacrifice. To that end, he does not forget the problems of eating animals and animal

rationality. The chapter continues with a brief discussion on the symbolism of sacrifice in connection with the definition of humanity in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones*. Finally, it addresses Francesco Zorzi's *De harmonia mundi* whose analysis of the religious foundations of vegetarianism tries to make pagan philosophers compatible with Christianity.

The second chapter deals with the effects of a meatless diet on health. According to Porphyry, a vegetarian diet strengthens the body, which is in turn essential for the mind. Within this logic, the philosopher must follow a fleshless diet since a strong mind is needed for his activity. Consequently, Porphyry defends the superiority of vegetarianism and warns about eating meat's bad influence on health. But he admits an exception: that of athletes, soldiers, sailors, etc. They need to eat meat, while the philosopher does not. This idea is taken up by Ficino who in his *De vita* discusses about the nourishment appropriate for each kind of person depending on the activity they carry on. The content of this second chapter is closely linked to medicine, particularly to Galenic treatises such as *De alimentorum facultatibus*, widely disseminated in the Renaissance. Arnau de Villanova, the medieval author of *De esu carniū*, wrote on the polemic vegetarianism of the Carthusian order pointing out the strong link between meat diet and religion. His defense of a fleshless diet and his analysis of its consequences on health under a medical perspective was followed by the works of Jean de Gerson and Erasmus for whom meat consumption was not a divine precept. In his *De esu carniū*, but also in his *Colloquia*, Erasmus focuses on the health consequences of abstinence from eating meat mainly considering the physical state of the body, rather than religious or moral matters. At last, Erasmus shows many points in common with Galen in focusing on health and considering abstinence from meat as an exercise of self-control.

The chapter pays special attention to the works of Girolamo Cardano, whose work is especially remarkable for its interdisciplinary approach. Under an eclectic perspective that combines philosophy, medicine, and metaphysics Cardano analyzes the impact of consuming meat on the human being – mainly on health and character, following Galen – as well as on the world's development. Accordingly, he was extremely observant of his own diet, and he took note of the effects of the type and quantity of meat he ate, on his state of health at a given age, etc., thus trying to determine the properties of foodstuff. However, like Hippocrates, Cardano thought that food not only affected health, but also other characteristics, such as behavior. In that sense, eating a beast's heart would lead the person to be crueller. Nevertheless, Cardano claimed that nature owes its perfection to meat-eating which contributes to the hierarchical divisions among different species. Consequently, he stresses that eating flesh is closely related to a higher intelligence and, ultimately, to the superiority of human beings. Julius Caesar Scaliger replied to these arguments in his works – *Exotericæ exercitationes*

and *Thenoston* – by emphasizing Cardano’s contradictions regarding the link between meat-eating, lifespan and hierarchical order of living beings. In her analysis, Muratori points out how Scaliger’s arguments are based on Porphyry’s ideas.

The third chapter adopts an anthropological perspective to discuss the implications of the diet in different populations, especially about its effects on people’s intelligence. Plutarch and Porphyry already associated not eating meat with having a superior philosophical aptitude and provided comparative examples to illustrate their positions. In turn, Renaissance intellectuals used extreme cases for their discussions as new geographical discoveries permitted to compare, among others, Vegetarian Brahmans with American cannibals, and to debate on their cultural differences. Other connections are established between the Ancient and Renaissance world through the comparison between Scythians’ and Americans’ anthropophagy practices, in order to elucidate whether ‘necessity’ justifies cannibalism. This question opens a controversy that Renaissance authors approached in different ways, yet with the shared belief that cannibal practices are intolerable within the human community. To explore this controversy Muratori goes through different works: Montaigne’s skeptic essay *On Cannibals* that points out the similarities between Europeans and those populations that perform cannibal practices; the entries «Anthropophagi» of Voltaire’s *Dictionnaire philosophique*; the book *Le relationi universali* of Giovanni Botero that suggests the irrationality of cannibals when practicing their savage behavior; some travel reports such as Columbus’s *Libretto* or Vespucci’s *Mundus novus*; Botero and Della Porta’s ideas; Pierre Petit’s debate on the causes and effects of cannibalism, which suggests that these practices are caused by an underlying disease, and the influence of the controversy between Cardano and Scaliger in Giulio Cesare Vanini’s *De admirandis naturae reginae deaeque mortalium arcanis*, among others. The chapter closes with a depiction of the figure of the Brahmans and their vegetarian virtues, showing that they were a feasible model for Renaissance philosophers despite their proximity to Porphyry’s ideal.

The fourth chapter is rooted in the question of whether animals’ rationality is an argument that supports vegetarianism. The debate, that was the starting point of the *querelle de l’âme des bêtes* opened in the seventeenth century, developed into two main positions with different ethical implications: the thesis of the rational animal defended by D’Acquapendente and Montaigne and that of the animal-machine proposed by Descartes in his *Discours de la méthode*. The *querelle* partially ignored Descartes’s distinction between mind and soul because these authors wrongly understood that lack of mind and sensation meant lack of life. Nonetheless, in Descartes’ view, even though animals were deprived of mind they were not necessarily devoid of soul, that is, of life and sensation. Then the question of whether the lack of rationality implies a lack of sensation and the concern on

whether animal language was a sign of rationality strongly aroused among Renaissance thinkers. Both ideas were central in Porphyry's work and lead to a third question: whether the vegetable world could feel or not. Porphyry believed that eating plants is suitable for the philosopher because they do not have sensations nor rationality. In his *De brutorum loquela* Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente, trying to harmonize Aristotle and Porphyry's statements, defended that animal language shows its rationality regardless of the degree of complexity of that language. On the other hand, Montaigne underlines that the lack of understanding through language between humans and animals is mutual, that is to say, they are on an equal footing. In his *Discorso sopra tutti li parlari* Girolamo Giovannini da Capugnano claims that human superiority is part of the divine plan and concludes that there is no gradation between animals and humans because they are qualitatively different. In turn, Tommaso Campanella not only used Aristotle and Porphyry's arguments to substantiate his position, as d'Acquapendente and Girolamo Giovannini did, but also Telesio's ones to claim that humans should not abstain from eating animals. At the very last, Campanella argued that plants can feel, but we need to eat them, invalidating Porphyry's reasoning on the legitimacy of killing and eating animals. The chapter ends with Pierre Gassendi's support of Porphyry's arguments. In his *Syntagma philosophiae Epicuri* and *De vita et moribus Epicuri*, Gassendi provides an Epicurean re-interpretation under *On abstinence's* light linking vegetarian practices to the frugal way of life that every philosopher should follow.

This book's Bibliography (p. 230–253) presents a useful division between primary and secondary sources. It seems to me exhaustive and updated. Finally, a brief Index (p. 254–259) mainly containing proper nouns is included at the end of the book. Some common nouns also appear in it (as « elements », « elephant » or « emotion »), probably because the author considers them relevant in relation to the topic.

All things considered, Muratori's work provides us not only with an overview of philosophical thinking on vegetarianism from ancient authors to their reception by Renaissance but also with interesting keys to understand the issues that worried intellectuals of those times. Her analysis gives the main clues of the reception of Porphyry's work and shows how crucial it was for the evolution of vegetarian thinking that is still strongly present in our days. The rigor of the research and the excellent way the contents are presented with a simple but accurate drafting make this work accessible and fascinating for scholars as well for curious readers.

SARAH STROUMSA, *ANDALUS AND SEFARAD: ON PHILOSOPHY AND ITS HISTORY IN ISLAMIC SPAIN*, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, PRINCETON–OXFORD 2019 (JEWS, CHRISTIANS, AND MUSLIMS FROM THE ANCIENT TO THE MODERN WORLD, 3), XXI + 220 PP., ISBN: 9780691176437.

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The subject of this book is not new, as her author readily admits (p. 189: « the story that I have presented here has been told many times »), but its interest lies in its revolutionary approach, combined with the exceptional expertise of Sarah Stroumsa. Indeed, if works, more or less well informed, on the history of philosophical thought in al-Andalus exist today in profusion, it is infinitely rarer to have in one's hands a study in which the cultural components of this history are not investigated side by side but in an integrated manner. Thus, contrary to the usual treatment of discussing in separate chapters the Muslim, Jewish and Christian contributions – the famous 'España de las Tres Culturas,' according to the time-honoured and somewhat overused formula –, such artificial separations are nowhere to be found here. Referring in her introduction to an article she previously wrote in the same field, Stroumsa makes her point as follows:

What we call Islamicate philosophy was created and developed by Muslims, Jews, and Christians. The flow of ideas between these communities was never unilateral or linear, but rather dialectical and interactive. It created what I have proposed to call 'a whirlpool effect', where, when an idea falls, like a drop of coloured liquid, into the turbulence, it eventually colours the whole body of water, changing its own colour in the process. To fully understand the development of philosophy among Muslims, therefore, one must also study its development among Jews and Christians (...). Furthermore, to the extent that Muslim, Jewish, and Christian medieval philosophies were forged in the same historical context, they must be studied together, like the interlaced warp and weft of a single, multicoloured fabric, woven on a single loom. (p. 11–12)

The title *Andalus and Sefarad* given to this essay reflects both its focus and its main objective. Assuming with right that in terms of cultural development the contribution of the Christians was, if we except the medical art, considerably less important than that of the other two communities of the Iberian Peninsula,

Stroumsa reserves most of her attention to the role played by the Jews from the tenth to the twelfth century. She also contends that, far from being a mere appendix to the intellectual history of the Andalusī Muslims, those Jewish thinkers, whether poets, philosophers, theologians, or scientists, actively participated in this history and proved to be instrumental in a more original and to a much greater extent than has ordinarily be assumed thus far.

Preceded by an introduction that usefully sets the tone and contextualizes the discussion, and in so doing challenges certain preconceived notions such as *convivencia*, five chapters make up this resolutely decompartmentalized survey which in no way claims to be an exhaustive treatment of the history of philosophy in al-Andalus. Chapter 1 (« Beginnings ») is concerned with the tenth century and the emergence of philosophy and rational thinking within the Peninsula, stemming from the East. Discussing there the works of Ibn Masarra, whose controversial but influential figure paved the way for much of this development, Stroumsa observes various reminiscences from the *Sefer Yešira* (the Book of Creation), suggesting that the Jewish compound was present from the very beginning of philosophy in al-Andalus. Reminding us that philosophy in medieval Islam never was detached from theology and law and that the scholars' affiliations were usually better defined to these theological schools than to the philosophical ones, Chapter 2 (« Theological and Legal Schools ») is essentially concerned with what the author calls « the phantom of Andalusian Mu'tazila » (p. 73). Contrary to what many modern scholars have assumed, Stroumsa argues that there never was such thing as a fully-developed Mu'tazilī school on the Iberian soil. Rather, she shows that « the Karaite community of al-Andalus provides a definite link that can explain the introduction of a substantial body of Mu'tazilite books and ideas to al-Andalus, which became present not just as floating notions or anxious rumours but as full-fledged works containing coherent teachings » (p. 76). Chapter 3 (« Intellectual Elites ») brings us back to philosophy, showing through the examples of Averroes, Maimonides, and others how similar were the philosophers' intellectual backgrounds, models, concerns and aspirations, regardless of whether they were Muslims or Jews, sometimes leading to genuine friendships such as that of Ibn Bājja and the Jewish physician Abū Ja'far Yūsuf Ibn Ḥasdāy. Chapter 4 (« Neoplatonist Inroads ») retraces the development and survival of Neoplatonism across the Peninsula. Incorporated through the introduction to al-Andalus of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, the *Nabatean Agriculture*, the Jābirian corpus and other syncretic works permeated with Ismā'īlī compounds, Neoplatonism appears at first to be vigorously endorsed by 'bāṭinī' thinkers such as Ibn Masarra or Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurtubī, the author of the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*. Later on, due to the threat posed by the competing Fāṭimids to the Sunnī central power al-Andalus, and to the resulting fear of persecution for those within the Peninsula overtly adopting Ismā'īlī-inspired ideas, we see this Neoplatonism

keeping a low profile for various generations only to re-emerge later, and in more diffused manner, with someone like Ibn Ṭufayl. But this is only part of the story. The flame of Neoplatonism continued to be kept alive in al-Andalus by a constellation of Jewish scholars – let us limit here to recall the names of Ibn Gabirol, Moses Ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi, but there were countless others – who were not targeted by the same anathemas as their Muslim companions. In the history of this ‘two-pronged philosophical trajectory’ that Stroumsa narrates, an emblematic case is the eleventh/twelfth Muslim philosopher al-Baṭalyawṣī, whose *Kitāb al-dawāʾir* is known in at least five medieval translations into Hebrew, whereas it remained mostly ignored among Muslims. Chapter 5 (« Aristotelian Neo-Orthodoxy and Andalusian Revolts ») is equally of a great value. It shows how the philosophical map of al-Andalus was extensively redrawn and how « largely in response to Platonizing authors (especially Avicenna) as well as to the challenges presented by Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, Andalusian *falāsifa* explicitly identified with the Peripatetic tradition, and strove to strengthen the authority of Aristotle and his commentators » (p. 124). Stroumsa shows that, if the names of the major Andalusī philosophers of the twelfth century – Ibn Ṭufayl, Averroes, and Maimonides – are indeed inextricably linked to the Almohads, it would be wrong to regard the Almohad state as a carefully and strategically planned philosophical regime and even more erroneous to view the above scholars as the philosophical arm of this regime:

Both Ibn Ṭufayl and Averroes were recruited to serve the Almohads, but their thought – whether Neoplatonic or Aristotelian in character – did not replace the Almohads’ mostly Ashʿarite doctrine. Moreover, both of them disagreed with the Almohad on fundamental points of dogma. As for Maimonides, as a (crypto-)Jew, he was of course not part of the Almohad administration, and escaped from their territory in 1165, apparently as soon as had the opportunity to do so. (p. 146–147).

With her relentless erudition (perceptible throughout in an impressive array of notes and as well as in a list of bibliographical references that occupy more than forty pages), her gift for lucid exposition of rich and often complex material, and her talent for offering new research perspectives, Sarah Stroumsa has definitely succeeded to write an essay which will remain for decades as a major contribution to the history of medieval philosophy.

WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *QUESTIONS ON SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY*,
INTRODUCTION AND CRITICAL EDITION BY FRANCESCO FIORENTINO,
ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY JOHN SCOTT, ASCHENDORFF, MUNSTER
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William of Alnwick was a Franciscan theologian whose positions are still largely unexplored and whose works unedited. He is mainly remembered as the secretary of John Duns Scotus and as an opponent of Pope John XXII in the debate on the poverty of Christ.

Francesco Fiorentino, in his volume on the *Questions on Science and Theology* (translated into English by John Scott),¹ besides editing the first six questions of the *Prologue* of the commentary on the *Sentences* and the two *quaestiones de scientia*, gives an overview not only on the edited questions, but also on William of Alnwick's life and works, providing a genealogy of the manuscripts in which they are reported,² almost one century after Athanasius Ledoux's monumental study on the *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibile* and the *Quodlibet*.³

First of all, William of Alnwick was born in Northumberland (c. 1275), then he went to Paris at the beginning of the fourteenth century, where, as a pupil of Gonsalvus of Spain, he met Scotus and where he read the *Sentences*, between 1313 and 1315. Subsequently, after having been in Oxford (c. 1316) as the forty-second Franciscan regent master, he went to Paris (c. 1317) and to Montpellier (1318–1320). In those years, he wrote both the *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili* and the *Quodlibet*. Finally, the *Determinationes*, his philosophically most important work, were written in Bologna (1321–1323), while the debate on the poverty of

¹ As stated by Fiorentino in the acknowledgments: « This critical edition derives from my project of research 'Le trasformazioni dello statuto scientifico della teologia agli inizi del XIV secolo: il caso di Guglielmo di Alnwick, socius di Giovanni Duns Scoto e vescovo di Giovinazzo', ended in 2012 at the university of Bari 'Aldo Moro', in collaboration with the Town of Giovinazzo ».

² WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FRANCESCO FIORENTINO, English translation by JOHN SCOTT, Aschendorff, Munster 2020 (Archa Verbi. Subsidia 18) [henceforth, ed. FIORENTINO], p. 1–3.

³ GUILLIELMUS ALNWICK, *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili et de quodlibet*, ed. ATHANASII LEDOUX, Quaracchi, Florence 1937 [henceforth, ed. LEDOUX].

Christ, which took place at the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order held in Perugia, is dated 1322. To avoid the measures taken against him, he was forced to go to Naples at the court of Charles of Anjou and a few years later, in 1330, he was consecrated bishop of Giovinazzo. Alnwick died in Avignon in 1333.⁴

This foreword, useful to better frame an author who certainly played a leading role in the early Scotism, terminates with the justification of a new edition of the above-mentioned questions. As Fiorentino points out, the previous editions by Joachim D'Souza (*Prologue*, q. 1) and Stephen Brown (*Prologue*, q. 2) are incomplete because they are not referring to all the manuscripts reporting those questions: the first one does not consider the MS Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 732 and he « deliberately refrained from transcribing from A and P » – MS Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, 172 and MS Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 291 – « §§89-108 and 241-321 of the first prologue question » (p. 3), while the second one does not take into account the MS Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 291,⁵ so « Brown has handed down an imperfect text, in which the second question is also shorter than the one in P » (p. 3).⁶

The introduction is divided into seven sections. The first part is devoted to a framing of Alnwick's works, with a very detailed list of his questions and the references to the manuscripts in which they are reported. This tool can greatly help the scholars. In particular, Fiorentino presents a precise overview of the questions of the commentary on the *Sentences* (p. 4–9), the *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili*, the *Quodlibet* and the *Determinationes*, to which he adds two *Aliae*

⁴ The information about Alnwick's life are taken from WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, p. 1–2, and from GUIDO ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. D. 2, q. 1–3? Chiarimenti sulla tradizione manoscritta di Guglielmo di Alnwick », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* [henceforth, AFH], 92/1–2 (1999), p. 117–142, here p. 137–140. It is noteworthy that according to Alliney (*Ibid.*, p. 138), the *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili* and the *Quodlibet* are ascribable to 1316, while according to Fiorentino « it is to this period between Oxford and Paris that we date the discussion of *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili*. Then he moved on to Montpellier where he completed the quodlibetal questions » (WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, p. 1). On this issue, see WILLIAM DUBA, « Continental Franciscan Quodlibeta After Scotus », in CHRISTOPHER SCHABEL (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages: The Fourteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2007 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 7) p. 569–649, here p. 598–600.

⁵ Brown states: « Our edition of Alnwick's questions is taken from *cod. Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, 172* (fol. 11v–20v). V. Doucet has described this manuscript in great detail and has argued most convincingly against M. Schmaus that it is authentic work of William of Alnwick. The first two books of Alnwick's *Sentences* are also found in *cod. Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana, 291*. We have used only the Assisi manuscript for this edition and employ the letter A to indicate it » (STEPHEN F. BROWN, « Sources for Ockham's Prologue to the Sentences – II », *Franciscan Studies*, 27 (1967), p. 39–107, here p. 63).

⁶ These elements are pointed out by Fiorentino not only in the introduction (WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, p. 3) but also in the critical apparatus (*Ibid.*, p. 82, 92, 154, 206, 210, 252, 254, 276, 292, 314).

*Determinationes*⁷ and five *Quaestiones variae*, so called and numbered by the editor in an « arbitrary » way because they are not found in the main manuscripts containing Alnwick's works (p. 12–14).⁸

This scheme, along with Ledoux's study, is the most comprehensive attempt to catalogue William of Alnwick's works, but, for the sake of completeness, we have to carry out two remarks: firstly, the editor correctly cites the manuscripts which witness Alnwick's questions, but in a few cases he does not indicate all the questions reported in them; secondly, especially with regard to the *Determinationes*, there are a few further manuscripts that are not quoted in the introduction, probably because the main focus of the volume is the commentary on the *Sentences*.

Regarding the first point, we will consider the following manuscripts: MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 318, MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6768 and MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laureanziana, Plutei 31, dext. 8. Firstly, Fiorentino refers to the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 318 with regards to *Determinationes* 10, 16, 25 and the first *Quaestio varia*, but he does not mention *determinatio* 6, present, albeit incompletely, on fol. 227ra–237va.⁹ Secondly, in Fiorentino's scheme the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6768 reports only the second *determinatio* and the second *quaestio varia*, but Annaliese Maier, in her description of this manuscript, listed also other Alnwick's questions, namely the first two questions of the *Quodlibet* (fol. 78r–80r, 80r–83v)¹⁰ and the following determinations: « Det. 2 (fol. 89v–95r neu),¹¹ 8 (fol. 65r–69r), 9 (fol. 69r–74r), 10 (fol. 51v–55r), 11 (fol. 55r–59v), 17 (fol. 83v–89v), 18 (fol. 59v–65r), 23 (fol. 11r–12v), 24 (fol. 12v–15v), 25 (fol. 75v–78r), 26 (fol. 95r–97r), 27 (fol. 97v–98r) », ¹² to which are

⁷ These two questions, entitled *Utrum intellectus agens sit substantia separata* and *Utrum consilia evangelica includant perfectionem* are called *Quaestiones aliae* by Ledoux (GUILLIELMUS ALNWICK, *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili et de quodlibet*, ed. LEDOUX, p. XVIII).

⁸ As stressed by Fiorentino, the expression *Quaestiones variae* and *Aliae Determinationes* is not found in Alnwick's works, but we will refer to those questions with the denomination proposed by Fiorentino (see p. 14, here Fiorentino defines his numbering as *arbitrary*).

⁹ We did not have access to Maier's analysis of MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 318 (ANNALIESE MAIER, « Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des italienischen Averroismus im 14. Jahrhundert », *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 33 (1944), p. 136–157). This information is found in DOMINIC VELIATH, « Three Determinationes of William of Alnwick on the intellectual soul (Text and Study) », Ph.D. Diss., Salesian University, Rome, December 1967, p. LXXI.

¹⁰ The reference is taken from ANNALIESE MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », *Manuscripta*, 8/2 (1964), p. 68–82, here p. 70, fn. 9.

¹¹ The term *neu* indicates the new numbering of the *folii* proposed by Maier (see MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », p. 68–69).

¹² MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », p. 70, fn. 9.

added *determinatio* 5 – numbered by Maier as 44a (fol. 242r–246v)¹³ – and a further disputed question on the plurality of forms (fol. 172r–173v).¹⁴ Finally, the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laureanziana, Plutei 31, dext. 8, indicated by Fiorentino as F and cited as witness of the two *aliae Determinationes*, reports also a few further *Determinationes*:¹⁵ 9 (fol. 83ra–89va), 8 (fol. 89va–95rb), 11 (fol. 95rb–100va), 10 (fol. 100va–104vb), 5 (fol. 106ra–110va), 6 (fol. 110va–115ra), 7 (fol. 115ra–118rb), 18 (fol. 119ra–126rb).¹⁶

As for second point, we will take into account the following manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, lat. 15805, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B.VII.9, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 533 and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 609. Specifically, as noted by Girard Etzkorn, the Parisian manuscript, on fol. 20r–26v, contains two of Alnwick's determinations, i.e. 2 and 18.¹⁷ Moreover, the Basel

¹³ MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », p. 79.

¹⁴ MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », p. 75. This question was transcribed by Veliath in the appendix to his doctoral thesis (VELIATH, « Three Determinationes of William of Alnwick on the intellective soul (Text and Study) », appendix, p. i–xv). It is remarkable that in addition to these questions Maier seems inclined to attribute to Alnwick all the questions reported on fol. 1–20, 51–100 (new numbering) and the question 22 of the last *quatenus* (fol. 201r–202r), entitled *Utrum intentiones secundae sint subiective in intellectu vel in rebus* (See MAIER, « Die italienischen Averroisten des Codex Vaticanus Latinus 6768 », p. 70–71, in particular fn. 11, and p. 76). Lambertini criticizes this latter attribution (ROBERTO LAMBERTINI, « Intentions in Fourteenth-Century Bologna: Jandun, Alnwick and the Mysterious 'G' », in STEN EBBESEN, RUSSELL FRIEDMAN (eds.), *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition. Acts of the symposium The Copenhagen school of Medieval philosophy, January 10–13 1996, organized by The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters and The Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen*, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen 1999, p. 431–451).

¹⁵ The element is noted by Veliath who points out that in the second part of Florence manuscript (fol. 79v) there is written « Quaestiones magistri Guillelmi Amoyc anglici lectoris Bononiae », confirming that the determinations were drawn up in Bologna (VELIATH, « Three Determinationes of William of Alnwick on the intellective soul (Text and Study) », p. xx). This attribution is also stressed by: VICTORIN DOUCET, « Descriptio codicis 172 bibliothecae communalis assisiensis », *AFH*, 25 (1932), p. 257–274, 378–389, 502–524, here p. 386–387, fn. 3: « Cod. Plut. 31, dext. 8 Bibl. Laurentianae Florentiae continet (f. 79v–126r) determinationes 5–11 inclusive necnon 18^{am}, et insuper duas alias quaestiones quae inter Determinationes Vat. Lat. 1805 non inveniuntur », CELESTINO PIANA, « Una 'determinatio' inedita di Guglielmo Alnwick O.F.M. (1333), come saggio di alcune fonti tacitamente usate dall'autore », *Studi francescani*, 79/1–2 (1982), p. 191–231, here p. 192, and LAMBERTINI, « Intentions in Fourteenth-Century Bologna », p. 435).

¹⁶ We did not have access to the volume *I manoscritti datati della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze. Plutei 12–34*, TERESA DE ROBERTIS, CINZIA DI DEO, MICHAELANGIOLA MARCHIARO (eds.), SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Florence 2008, and currently not even to Veliath's doctoral thesis in which he reports the list of disputed questions by Alnwick in the Florence manuscript (« Three Determinationes of William of Alnwick on the intellective soul (Text and Study) », p. xxxix–xli), so the indication of the folii is based on our own independent analysis.

¹⁷ Girard Etzkorn states: « The first part of this section contains the second (according to the numbering of MS Vat. Palat. lat. 1805) of Alnwick's *Determinationes* as described by A. Ledoux in his edition of Alnwick's *Quaestiones*. The question is entitled: 'Utrum in maiori quantitate

manuscript reports the three determinations on the soul: 5 (fol. 33ra–39vb), 6 (fol. 39vb–46ra) and 7 (fol. 46ra–50rb).¹⁸ Thirdly, as for MS Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, 533, Peter Burkhart points out that it witnesses the following determinations: 11 (fol. 68ra–72vb), 2 (fol. 72 vb–78ra), 8 (fol. 78ra–82va), 9 (fol. 82va–87ra), 10 (fol. 87ra–90vb), 5 (fol. 90vb–95va), 6 (fol. 95va–99vb), 7 (fol. 99vb–102vb), 17 (fol. 104ra–107ra) and the first question of the *Quodlibet* (fol. 107ra–107vb).¹⁹ Finally, with respect to the MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 609, Burkhart stresses that it reports the first *quaestio de scientia* entitled *Utrum scientia possit advenire intellectui absque omni mutacione interius noviter intellectus* (fol. 26ra–26vb).²⁰ After a comparison between Fiorentino's edition and the text of MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 609, we can assume that Burkhart's attribution of this question to Alnwick is plausible, albeit the author of the question in Leipzig manuscript is not explicitly mentioned. Although this contribution does not aim at analyzing the Leipzig manuscript in detail, we can advance the hypothesis that the question reported there represents an abbreviated version of the first question on science that ends at §95.²¹ Indeed, at a first comparison between Leipzig manuscript and Fiorentino's edition, we can see an overlapping in structure, in their arguments (albeit they are not identical in both sources) and in their conclusions.²² Whether this question is really

continua sunt plures partes in potentia quam in minori'. (fol. 20ra–22va) However, it begins in the middle of the question. The beginning has been supplied on fol. 31ra–va by the same (?) scribe who transcribed fol. 40–60. As far as I have been able to determine, Ledoux was unaware that this question was found in MS Par. Nat. lat. 15.805. The next question proves to be question 18 (again according to the numbering of MS Vat. Palat. lat. 1805) of Alnwick's *Determinaciones*. It is entitled: 'Utrum voluntas humana possit movere se ad actum volendi' (fol. 22va–26vb). Its contents were summarized by Ledoux » (GIRARD J. ETZKORN, « The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15805 », *AFH*, 80 (1987), p. 321–333, here p. 322–323).

¹⁸ This information is taken from: GUSTAV MEYER, MAX BURCKHARDT, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis. Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften*, vol. I: *Signaturen B I 1 – B VIII 10*, Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, Basel 1960, p. 687–688. This manuscript was analyzed also by Prospero Stella who noted the presence of these three determinations (PROSPERO T. STELLA, « The Basel Codex, Universitätsbibliothek, B VII 9 e Pietro Di Baume », *Salesianum*, 42 (1980), p. 73–113, here p. 73).

¹⁹ PETER BURKHART, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig*, vol. II: *Die theologischen Handschriften (Ms 501 – 625)*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1999, p. 70–71.

²⁰ BURKHART, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig*, p. 270. In describing this question, Burkhart refers to MSS Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 291 and 295 and to Doucet's study on the MS Assisi, Comunal Library, 172 (p. 259–262), in which the scholar mentions, with reference to the first question on the science, the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1012, which Fiorentino rightly takes into account in his edition together with the two Padua manuscripts.

²¹ The numbering of the paragraph refers to Fiorentino's edition.

²² We would like to emphasize that the synoptic work carried out is not intended to be conclusive. Furthermore, a similar issue has been stressed by Victorin Doucet as regards the MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1012: according to him, this manuscript on fol. 110r–112r

attributable to Alwnick, and how it relates to the version given in the manuscripts taken into account by Fiorentino in his edition, remains an open question.

In spite of these small additions, which, certainly, will not definitively complete the entire catalogue of Alwnick's works that Fiorentino provides in his introduction, it is noteworthy that such a systematic effort, as pointed out by the editor, allows to observe which distinctions are added or missing in each manuscript and to assess which philosophical cores are explored in depth in different works. In particular, the editor underlines the following topics (p. 10–11): the proper location of a scientific habit, the formal distinction *ex parte rei*, God's knowledge of things different from Himself, the eternity of the world, the human knowledge in relation to God, the definition of time, the principle of individuation, the status of the soul, the human beatitude.

The second section of the introduction is dedicated to the description of the « witnesses » of the questions edited (paragraph 2), followed by sections devoted respectively to « the commentary on the *Sentences* » (paragraph 3), to the « *Quaestiones de scientia* » (paragraph 4), to « the variants » of the manuscripts (paragraph 5) and to « the editing criteria » (paragraph 6).

It could be interesting, for the present purposes, to reconstruct the debate on the relationship between the manuscripts reporting the questions that Fiorentino and Scott deal with in their volume, since it represents an issue that has been addressed several times in the introduction and that has to be unraveled in order to understand the complexity of the edition analyzed here.

As highlighted in the second section (p. 15–17), Fiorentino analyzes the following manuscripts:

1. Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, 172 [henceforth, A]
2. Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 732 [henceforth, C]
3. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 291 [henceforth, P]
4. Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, 295 [henceforth, P1]
5. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1012 [henceforth, V]

It is noteworthy that none of these manuscripts contains all the questions edited and that, as Fiorentino points out, their order in the manuscripts is also different, indeed the ninth question of the *Prologue* is the first one in P (p. 19). So, for the sake of clarity, we report in full Fiorentino's list of the questions with the reference provided by him of the *folii* in which they are copied (p. 4):

reports a question similar in structure and conclusion to Alwnick's first question of the *Prologue*, but then he does not draw conclusions about its authorship (DOUCET, « *Descriptio codicis 172 bibliothecae communalis assisiensis* », p. 259, fn.1).

1. Prologus, q. 1, *Utrum ab eodem intellectu eadem obiecta possunt esse credita per fidei adhaerentia est scita per rei evidentiam*: A, fol. 1r–11v; C, fol. 1ra–6rb; P, fol. 13ra–20vb.
2. Prologus, q. 2, *Utrum theologia sit scientia speculativa vel practica*: A, fol. 11v–20v; P, fol. 20vb–27vb.
3. Prologus, q. 3, *Utrum habitus practicus et speculativus distinguantur principaliter per obiecta vel per eorum fines*: A, fol. 20v–25r, C, fol. 10rb–12va, P, fol. 27vb–31va.
4. Prologus, q. 4, *Utrum finis sit propria operatio intellectiva an alterius potentiae operatio bona*: A, fol. 25r–29v, C, fol. 12vb–14vb, P, fol. 31va–35ra.
5. Prologus, q. 5, *Utrum theologia in Scriptura canonica explicata sit proprie scientia*: A, fol. 29v–34r, P, fol. 35ra–38va.
6. Prologus, q. 6, *Utrum notitia intellectiva fruitioni ultimi finis conformiter elicit sit simpliciter practica*: A, fol. 34r, P, fol. 38va–39va.
7. Prologus, q. 9 or Quaestio de scientia 1, *Utrum scientia potest advenire intellectui scientis absque omni mutatione a parte sui intellectus noviter intelligentis*: P, fol. 6vb–12vb, P1, fol. 44ra–49vb, V, fol. 41v–45r.
8. Quaestio de scientia 2, *Utrum scientia possit causari in intellectu nostro a Deo immediate sine obiecto praeostenso*: P1, fol. 49vb–51rb, V, fol. 39r–41v.²³

The main problematic point concerns, primarily, but not exclusively, the complex relationship between A and P. In order to frame the debate on this issue and to show how Fiorentino copes with it, we will briefly go over the most remarkable positions according to a chronological order.

The first to address the issue was Victorin Doucet who, in 1932, described the manuscript here indicated as A. According to Doucet, A and P are two different versions of the first and second book of the commentary on the *Sentences*.²⁴ Secondly, almost forty years later, Prospero Stella states that P and A are not the result of different teachings, but P gives an *Ordinatio* and A a *Reportatio*.²⁵ Thirdly, Joachim D'Souza, stressing several transcription mistakes in A and P and their different argumentative structure, deduces that they are copies, however « thought independent, the two codices appear to have a common source, and a rather proximate one », ²⁶ called *Scriptum*, « of which Cod. P, containing the longer text, is a fairly integral transcription, while Cod. A, preserving the shorter text, is

²³ As mentioned, this list is found in WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, p. 4. However, we must stress that, although the titles and the indications of the folii in which they are found in the manuscripts are taken verbatim from p. 4, the list given does not include all the questions of the prologue, which are instead catalogued in Fiorentino's list.

²⁴ DOUCET, « Descriptio codicis 172 bibliothecae communalis assisiensis », p. 272, fn .1 and p. 518.

²⁵ PROSPERO T. STELLA, « *Illi qui student in Scoto*. Guglielmo di Alnwick e la haecceitas scotista », *Salesianum*, 76 (1968), p. 1–87 (331–387, 614–641), here p. 66 (620)–67 (621). In Stella's edition, the Padua manuscript constitutes the reference codex, indicated as D.

²⁶ JOACHIM D'SOUZA, « William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason », *Salesianum*, 35 (1973), p. 425–488, here p. 428 (the quotation is taken from p. 428, while the arguments from p. 426–436).

a deliberate abbreviation ».²⁷ Subsequently, Stephen Dumont, in the introduction of his edition of the eighth question of the *Prologue*, states that both C (which he refers to as K) and P « are independent copies of a common source and represent a revision of A », thus disagreeing either with Doucet's view that P and A report different teachings, and with Stella's view that they contain an *Ordinatio* and a *Reportatio*.²⁸ Bassi, who edited the seventh question of the *Prologue*, agrees with Dumont's opinion and, in addition, she observes that although P is longer not only because of the number of questions copied, but also because of the length of each argument, while « A turns out to be generally more precise both in the indication of the place of the passage and in the quotation itself ».²⁹

Moreover, at the end of last century, Guido Alliney refers to these studies to show his own conclusion. Firstly, we should note that he divides the manuscripts reporting the *quaestiones de tempore* into three groups: the MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conv. Soppr. VII C 6;³⁰ the MSS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 869, P and A,³¹ V (to which he refers to as V2) and C (indicated by Alliney as K).³² According to his analysis, the MS Vatican Library, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 869 « would be earlier than P and A; then because the proximity between V1 » – MS Vatican Library, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 869 – « and P is remarkable, it follows that A must be an abbreviated version of P ».³³ This argument allows him to propose the following stemma: one manuscript – called X – is the source, from which the MS Vatican Library, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 869, P and a third copy (of which A would

²⁷ D'SOUZA, « William of Alnwick and the Problem of Faith and Reason », p. 435. The *Scriptum* is dated 1313–1315 (*Ibid.*, p. 436).

²⁸ STEPHEN D. DUMONT, « The Univocity of the Concept of Being in the Fourteenth Century: John Duns Scotus and William of Alnwick », *Medieval Studies*, 49 (1987), p. 1–75, here p. 32. The quotation is taken from the same page.

²⁹ MARIAELISABETTA BASSI (ed.), « La settima questione del Prologo del 'Commento alle Sentenze' di Guglielmo di Alnwick », in GUIDO ALLINEY, LUCIAVO COVA (eds.), *Parva mediaevalia. Studi per Maria Elena Reina*, Università degli Studi di Trieste, Trieste 1993, p. 133–156, here p. 130–131, the quotation is taken from p. 131 (translation by the author from Italian to English).

³⁰ According to Alliney (ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 129) the MS Naples, National Library, Conv. Suppr., VII C 6 constitutes « a first redaction of Alnwick's commentary » (*Ibid.*, p. 129, translation by the author from Italian to English). This manuscript is quoted several times by Fiorentino (WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, p. 2–3, 6, 10, 18), who adds to the fundamental conclusions advanced by Alliney, the hypothesis that « N or a part of it may have been brought by Alnwick to Naples, where he could revise some questions on the second book, for example those on creation and time, and take part in the debates at the Studium sancti Lorentii » (*Ibid.*, p. 2, see also p. 18).

³¹ The questions reported in these manuscripts are dated in the Oxonian period (ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 140).

³² ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 137.

³³ ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 130 (translation by the author from Italian to English).

be a revision) would depend.³⁴ Instead, in contrast with Dumont's position, V and C « report the text of a different teaching »³⁵ and they share a common position on the problem of time, but they are different, because « V2 » – here V – « is always shorter, less precise in argumentative passages, but essentially faithful to K », here C.³⁶ So, the overall conclusion Alliney reaches is that all the questions considered do not change in the position they report, but in the targets on which they focus, an element that would confirm the idea that V and C represent later versions of the same questions, perhaps to be ascribed to Alnwick's period in Montpellier (1318–1320).³⁷

Finally, Fiorentino, recalling Bassi's and Alliney's conclusions, firstly notes that A and P differ not only in their respective lengths or because one may represent a *Reportatio* and the other an *Ordinatio*³⁸, but also in the degree of depth with which the topics are addressed and because P witness only the first two books of the commentary on the *Sentences*, while the A reports four books (p. 18). For « we are faced with two distinct commentaries which could reasonably correspond to two different readings » (p. 18). Secondly, with regard to the questions on science, Fiorentino, taking up the index of V, states that « the two questions on science and the quodlibetal questions appear to be contemporary » (p. 19), confirming what has been hypothesized also by Alliney.

The study on the variants proposed in the fifth section (p. 20–25) turns out to be detailed and allows us to observe in a more in-depth way the relationship between the manuscripts. Fiorentino, with reference to the questions of the *Prologue*, observes that P, A and C are independent copies, and that « P generally adds the text of A in the margin, sometimes also adopted in C, in the revision phase » (p. 20). According to Fiorentino, P is the last version of the commentary on the *Sentences* that we possess – although probably not the last in an absolute sense, given the peculiar collocation of the first *quaestio de scientia* at the beginning

³⁴ ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 130–131. The hypothesis of a copy prior to P is also confirmed by Fiorentino who reports that the scribe copying the sixth question of the *Prologue* states that it was transcribed « from a notebook which included this question first and had a *deletio* which is not found either in A or in P » (WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, p. 22–23).

³⁵ ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 131 (Translation by the author from Italian to English); as for his comparison with Dumont's thesis, see *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³⁶ ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 132 (translation by the author from Italian to English). On the relationship between these two manuscript see *Ibid.*, p. 131–134.

³⁷ ALLINEY, « Quaestiones de tempore o II Sent. d. 2, qq. 1–3? », p. 136–137. The hypothesis that V and C reports question discussed in Montpellier is advanced at p. 141–142.

³⁸ According to Fiorentino « if an *ordinatio* may be considered more extensive than a *reportatio*, perhaps because the reportator was in a hurry, then P becomes the *ordinatio* and A the *Reportatio*. Instead, if it is thought that a *reportatio* may be longer than an *ordinatio* thanks to the master's greater concision, then P becomes the *Reportatio* and A the *Ordinatio* » (WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, p. 18).

of the *Prologue* and not at the end of it – and it is a revision not only of A,³⁹ but also, as regards the questions on science, of P1 and V (p. 25).

In conclusion, although the question of the relationship between P and A is still unresolved, these authoritative theses share a preference for the use of P as the reference manuscript of their edition, probably because it is considered a more complete text from the argumentative point of view.⁴⁰ This choice is also taken by Fiorentino, who in his edition uses P as the main reference, indicating in the apparatus the omissions and *addenda* of other manuscripts (p. 26).

Finally, following Fiorentino's arguments, we come to the last section of the introduction, titled « fundamental contents » (paragraph 7, p. 26–37) and devoted to two main topics that run through the questions at stake: the status of theology and its definition as a speculative science.

In the first paragraph of section (p. 26–30), starting from the first question of the *Prologue*, Fiorentino shows that « Alnwick defines the epistemological status of faith, opinion and science on the basis of two criteria, namely evidence and the assent of free will » (p. 26). As pointed out by Fiorentino, knowledge and faith require the assent of free will and so do both their operation, i.e. reflecting and believing, but the second one is more meritorious because it is ordered to a more important end, namely the salvation (*Prologue*, q. 1, §197, p. 134–135). Nevertheless, knowledge and faith are distinct on the basis of the grade of evidence of their object: the latter is based on authorities, while the former is based on an object that it intends to know; in this sense Fiorentino consistently emphasizes that the science Alnwick refers to is a syllogistic demonstration (p. 26–27). However, faith and knowledge should not be understood as opposed or impossible, indeed Alnwick defends the idea « that faith and knowledge in the same intellect and with respect to the same object are not formally inconsistent » (*Prologue*, q. 1, §161, p. 116–117)⁴¹ because the same person could « assent to some truth because of a demonstrative proof and [to assent to it] at the same time because of the authority of the speaker » (*Prologue*, q. 1, §232, p. 150–151).⁴²

³⁹ Instead, C « is influenced by a series of contaminations handed down by both A and P or by a lost witness very similar to both of these » (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

⁴⁰ Except for Brown, who uses only A in his edition (see fn. 5) and to some extent also Alliney because he edited separately the three versions of the questions on time: the first edition regards N, the second one P, A and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 869 – in this case P is the reference manuscript for the edition –, and the third one regards C (GUIDO ALLINEY, *Time and Soul in Fourteenth Century Theology. Three Questions of William of Alnwick on the Existence, the Ontological Status and the Unity of Time*, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 2002 (Biblioteca di Nuncius, 45), p. LXIII).

⁴¹ See also Augustine's authority on this issue, WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, *Prologue*, q. 1, §221–222, p. 146–149.

⁴² See also WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, §299, p. 184–185.

Fiorentino links this topic to *Prologue*, question 5, in which Alnwick asks if theology as derived from Scriptural texts is a science. Here, after having criticized Thomas Aquinas, Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines and William of Ware, Alnwick shows his position, built on a real distinction between the *habitus fidei* and the *habitus theologiae* (*Prologue*, q. 5 §98–101, p. 506–509): the former implies the assent « at the command of the will to some truth concerning things that are to be believed on account of divine authority » (*Prologue*, q. 5 §100, p. 508–509), whereas the latter is a science « with which the awareness of faith begins and which is completed by necessary reasons » (*Prologue*, q. 5 §101, p. 508–509). So, theology needs faith but it is strengthened by study, although we have to be aware of the weakness of the human intellect (*Prologue*, q. 5, §103, p. 508–511). These *rationes necessariae* represent the focal point of Fiorentino's interpretation: if this element is connected with the Augustinian position, it is possible to note a shared solution between Alnwick and Peter of Tarantaise (p. 28), otherwise, if it is considered together with the « defence of the Catholic faith by apology and Isaiah's sentence » (p. 29) it shows a certain similarity with Raymond Lull's thesis.⁴³

In the second paragraph of the section (p. 31–37), which terminates the introduction, Fiorentino copes with the subject of the second question, namely, the status of theology. After having contrasted John Duns Scotus's, Giles of Rome's and Godfrey of Fontaines's opinions, according to which theology is respectively a practical science, it is neither speculative nor practical, but affective, and it is both speculative and practical, Alnwick affirms that theology is a speculative science (*Prologue*, q. 2, §130–131, p. 258–259) because theoretical contemplation, which is also posited by Aristotle as the highest happiness, is what makes it possible to love God, hence « the love of God is not action » (*Prologue*, q. 2, §148, p. 264–265). So, Alnwick, after criticizing Robert Cowton's arguments and recalling Alexander of Hales and Henry of Ghent, defines theology as « wisdom (from flavor) which moves towards the good » (*Prologue*, q. 2, §190, p. 284–287). Fiorentino, after having showed how Alnwick criticizes the theses of Giles of Rome and Godfrey of Fontaines, focuses on his relationship with John Duns Scotus (p. 31–33). The editor demonstrates how often « Scotus's opinion is not copied verbatim but it is summarized by Alnwick, albeit with a high degree of precision » (p. 33),⁴⁴ then he proceeds in explaining how Alnwick interprets and rejects Duns Scotus's concept of *praxis* (p. 33–35) and his definition of theology as a practical science (p. 35).

Certainly, the overview proposed by Fiorentino allows not only a clear explanation about Alnwick's position, but also a better understanding of his relationship with his own sources and with some of his contemporaries, but an in-

⁴³ On these topics see also FRANCESCO FIORENTINO, *Conoscenza scientifica e teologia fra XIII e XIV secolo*, Edizioni di Pagina, Bari 2014 (Biblioteca filosofica di Quaestio, 19), p. 207–218.

⁴⁴ Alnwick's relationship with Duns Scotus is also stressed by CLAUS ANDERSEN in his review of the volume analyzed here, in *AFH*, 114/3–4 (2021), p. 669–672.

depth analysis of all the edited questions would help more the reader.⁴⁵ Since Andersen, in his review of Fiorentino's edition, already summarizes the questions precisely,⁴⁶ we will just frame the themes that Alnwick treated in the questions not analyzed by Fiorentino in the introduction.

Firstly, the sixth question deals with the enjoyment of the final end and the possibility for this *notitia intellectiva* to be practical or speculative (*Prologue*, q. 6, p. 526-527). Alnwick, explicitly recalling the second question of the *Prologue*, states that it is speculative (*Prologue*, q. 6, §18, p. 534-535).⁴⁷

Secondly, another philosophical core is constituted by the third and the fourth questions of the *Prologue* that cope with the distinction between practical and speculative habit. The speculative habit is distinguished from the practical one *principalius* for its object, while the practical habit is distinguished from the speculative one *principalius* for its end (*Prologue*, q. 3, §84, p. 362-363).⁴⁸ On this end Alnwick focuses in the fourth question.

Thirdly, the two questions the science deal with gnoseological issues. The first *quaestio de scientia* copes with the possibility for the intellect to know something without entailing a change in itself. Alnwick endorses this view if the knowledge is regarded as relation, but there is an intrinsic change if it considered as the foundation of this relation and this intrinsic change also causes an accidental change in the knowledge considered as a relation (*Prologue*, q. 9 sive *Quaestio de scientia* 1, §103-104, p. 604-605).⁴⁹

The last question has already been analyzed in-depth by Fiorentino in the section devoted to William of Alnwick of his *Conoscenza scientifica e teologia fra XIII e XIV secolo*.⁵⁰ Here Alnwick deals with the possibility that « that knowledge strictly speaking of God and of matters that must necessarily be believed can be brought about by God directly in the intellect of a pilgrim without there being a concurrent object in its motive nature or in its nature as being evidently shown beforehand » (*Quaestio de scientia* 2, §15, p. 664-665). Alnwick criticizing John of Reading and sharing John Duns Scotus's conclusion, states that God's will can cause any effect

⁴⁵ Fiorentino probably avoids to provide such an analysis because he already dealt with Alnwick's philosophical position about the status of theology in his volume *Conoscenza scientifica e teologia fra XIII e XIV secolo*, p. 206-223.

⁴⁶ See AFH, 114/3-4 (2021), p. 669-672.

⁴⁷ See also WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, *Prologue*, q. 6, §32, p. 542-543.

⁴⁸ On the effects of this position on moral acts see WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, *Prologue*, q. 3, §85-89, p. 364-367, §134, p. 390-391.

⁴⁹ See also WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, *Prologue*, q. 9 sive *Quaestio de scientia* 1, §11, p. 550-551, §132, p. 618). Alnwick states that knowledge is considered *ad se* it is the first species of quality, while if it considered *ad aliud* it is a relation (*Ibid.*, §51, p. 572-575). We note that Scott translated the term « aequivoce » with « ambiguously », but this term in the Scholastics was connotated with a strongest meaning.

⁵⁰ FIORENTINO, *Conoscenza scientifica e teologia fra XIII e XIV secolo*, p. 219-223.

and the intellect is « an appropriate receptacle for the acceptance of any habit involving knowledge and its acts » (*Quaestio de scientia* 2, §59, p. 686–689), so there is no medium required.⁵¹

In conclusion, Alnwick's questions turn out to be very tangled, not only in terms of the complex manuscript tradition, but also in their internal structure, consisting of manifold references to the positions of his contemporaries that he criticizes, so that it is often difficult to reconstruct and analyze the structure of his arguments. For although John Duns Scotus's thought plays an important role in the development of Alnwick's views, he is not the only philosopher with whom Alnwick is in constant dialogue – this is the reason why Ledoux and Stella defined him respectively a « scotista independens »⁵² and an « antiscotista a ratione veduta ».⁵³ Indeed, among the most authoritative sources, in addition to John Duns Scotus, we find Avicenna, Averroes, Augustine, Aristotle (along with his commentators, quoted in the critical apparatus, such as Eustratius of Nicea and Michael of Ephesus) and Boethius as well as Anselm of Canterbury, Richard of St. Victor, Thomas Aquinas, Aegidius Romanus, Godfrey of Fontaines, William of Ware, Robert Cowton, John of Reading, Alexander of Hales, Henry of Ghent. Their positions are highlighted by Fiorentino in the titles he gives to the paragraphs of the Latin text and in the critical apparatus (some of them are also analyzed in the introduction), with the result of making the dense web of references to these positions immediately recognizable by the reader, facilitated also by a clearly edited Latin text, an extensive introduction and a valuable English translation.⁵⁴

⁵¹ All the argument provided to defend this opinion are based on God's omnipotence and his being a first cause: see WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, ed. FIORENTINO, *Quaestio de scientia* 2, §58–82, p. 686–697.

⁵² GUILLELMUS ALNWICK, *Quaestiones disputatae de esse intelligibili et de quodlibet*, ed. LEDOUX, p. IX.

⁵³ STELLA, « *Illi qui student in Scoto*. Guglielmo di Alnwick e la haecceitas scotista », p. 641 (87).

⁵⁴ WILLIAM OF ALNWICK, *Questions on Science and Theology*, p. 26.

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As stated by the editor Massimiliano Traversino Di Cristo in his *Foreword*, the volume *Giordano Bruno: Law, Philosophy, and Theology in the Early Modern Era* gathers contributions resulting from different installments of the *Festival bruniano*, namely the editions of Geneva 2015 and Tours-Wittenberg 2018. This heterogeneous collection addresses a vast range of issues concerning Bruno's philosophy and expresses a plurality of views, while also following some fundamental outlines. The volume consists of four sections (*Law, Theology, and Politics in Bruno's Philosophy and his Time*; *Giordano Bruno's Philosophical Reform. His Infinite and the Notion of Vicissitude*; *Ethics, Law, and Philosophical Discourse on Soul and Immortality*; *Religious Warfare, European State-Building, and Literary Polemics*) and its chapters are written in English, French, and German. Scholars with different backgrounds and theoretical approaches are brought together, thus offering a variety of insights and research perspectives. The fact that some contributors have authored more than one chapter is balanced out by the variety of topics they cover.

A common thread to various chapters in the volume is the concept of law, which Bruno illustrates in his *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* as divided into human, natural, eternal, and divine. Bruno's conception of law is the subject of Matthias Kaufmann's essay. The author considers the paragraphs devoted to law in Bruno's *Spaccio* to be the actual core of his moral reform. While highlighting the influence of both Dominican education and Machiavelli's views, Kaufmann argues that Bruno introduces some modifications to Aquinas' classification of law since he attributes to eternal law, not divine law, the ability to punish or reward. Thus, Bruno displays a notion of justice that takes place entirely within the realm of nature, with no need for any divine intervention. Kaufmann highlights that for Bruno, human beings have a fundamental awareness of right and wrong, which leads to an expectance of punishment, hence a moral conscience. Nonetheless, in Bruno's perspective, human thoughts are relevant only as long as they translate

into deeds and build strong social bonds, thus fostering peaceful social coexistence.

Raffaele Carbone addresses Bruno's conception of human law by comparing it to that of Montaigne. After showing that the two authors examine and discuss previous definitions of natural and human laws, Carbone observes that Bruno tends to conceive of law as a means to seek social harmony. In Bruno's perspective, good human laws do not contradict natural laws. Albeit stating that natural laws exist and should be restored in social life, Montaigne highlights the arbitrariness of human laws and declares that their foundations are somewhat obscure.

Jean-Paul De Lucca investigates Bruno's and Campanella's views on law and religion by taking into account Bruno's *Spaccio* and Campanella's *Ateismo trionfato*. He points out that Bruno considers human religions as social constructs, whereas Campanella thinks religion is a natural phenomenon. Although Campanella did not mention Bruno directly, the latter seems to be an ideal target for the critiques expressed in *L'ateismo trionfato*. Nonetheless, some similarities between Bruno's and Campanella's perspectives exist. For instance, both authors share the idea that Truth and Good are one and the same and stress the importance of prudence. De Lucca argues that the shared aim to restore religion leads both to criticize the Reformation and condemn atheism.

In her first essay (section 1), Angelika Bönker-Vallon focuses on Bruno's conception of divine providence, and from this angle she addresses his conception of law. To this end, she analyzes the well-known passage of the *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* in which Bruno states that the gods take care of « minuzzarie », i.e., everyday events and details. Bönker-Vallon argues that Bruno's conception of providence revolves around the idea that the divinity, whose infinite *potentia* is mirrored by the infinity of the universe, introduces a kind of cosmic peace among things, whose existences are somehow connected and in tune. Thus, even the smallest changes happen in order to maintain an overall balance. By referring to Bruno's *De minimo*, Bönker-Vallon suggests that the notion of universal providence is developed through mathematical models, which highlight the connection between contrary elements and the divine unity. On a moral and political level, such a conception of providence implies the need to build concord through laws and customs. This is the reason why Bruno's religion is an invitation to accept differences and constitutes a universal humanism. Overall, the contributions that address the topic of religion and human law agree in representing Bruno's moral thought as tolerant and inclusive, focused on tangible social interactions rather than orthodoxy.

The chapters devoted to cosmology and those who address the notion of *vicissitudine* – i.e., the eternal transformation of all natural things – touch upon Bruno's conception of natural law. As regards Bruno's cosmology, Miguel Ángel Granada examines Bruno's notion of space and its relationship with God. In

Bruno's perspective, the notion of infinite space is necessary since both experience and logic exclude the possibility of its end. Granada argues that Bruno comes to identify space with a notion of matter embracing bodily and incorporeal things. Ultimately, such kind of matter appears no different from the divine principle that forms reality from within. This interpretation is carried out through references to the philosophical dialogues published in London and by focusing on the later work *Lampas triginta statuarum*.

In his first essay (section 2), Paul Richard Blum addresses the concept of infinity in both Bruno's and Cusanus' philosophical perspectives. Although it is known that Bruno drew inspiration from Cusanus' views, their conceptions of infinity significantly differ since they have dissimilar theoretical meanings. Through an analysis of some geometrical examples taken from Cusanus and quoted by Bruno in his *De la causa*, Blum points out the main differences between these two authors. He argues that Cusanus' philosophy had a solid theological foundation and attempted to make God as understandable to the human mind as possible. Instead, Bruno focused on the infinity of the universe: his notion of infinity allowed him to give a solid and coherent philosophical explanation of an ever-changing multitude of finite beings.

In other essays, the concept of *vicissitudine* is tackled through references to Bruno's poetic and theatrical works. Ingrid D. Rowland's chapter focuses on *Degli eroici furori*. While exploring passages related to vicissitude, Rowland points out possible literary and pictorial influences. Similarities and differences between Bruno's wheel of metamorphosis and the wheel of vicissitude described in Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* – whose engraving was attributed to Albrecht Dürer – are discussed. Rowland also points out the influence of Dante and compares Bruno's conception of time to that of Titian as portrayed in the painting *Time Governed by Prudence*.

Vicissitudine also constitutes the subject of the first chapter by Sergius Koderá. The author focuses on Bruno's *Candelaio* and argues that this work is not just a reenactment of Bruno's philosophy but contains original theoretical developments as well. Koderá argues that the features and instruments of Renaissance directly inspired Bruno's conception of change and transformation. In addition to analyzing passages where vicissitude is addressed, Koderá interprets some *coups de théâtre* as visual representations of how shifting human lives are, and how plastic they make individual identities and social orders.

In his second essay (section 4), Koderá analyzes *Candelaio*, by focusing on its settings. After pointing out that *Candelaio*'s descriptions of the locations were much more accurate than those of other Renaissance theatrical works, Koderá argues that Bruno wanted his readers to experience the metropolitan space of Early modern Naples in all its complexity. Koderá then suggests that Bruno's

personal experiences in Naples might have inspired his philosophical conception of space and place, which he conceives as productive and ever-changing realities.

Candelaio is also addressed by Elisabetta Tarantino, who highlights some similarities between Bruno's comedy, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. After noting that the two English comedies carry out significant critiques against the puritans, Tarantino suggests that polemic references to the Reformation in *Candelaio* might be one of the reasons why English writers took an interest in it. As she retraces the plot of Bruno's comedy, Tarantino highlights possible references to French Huguenots and the St. Bartholomew Massacre.

Two chapters provide original insights on Bruno's conceptions of psychology, namely of both universal and human soul. Dilwyn Knox focuses on *De lumine seu spiritu universorum*, a paragraph of *Lampas triginta statuarum* where Bruno tries to describe how the principle of all things produces the multiplicity of the universe. By referring to *Lampas* as well as to the documents of Bruno's trial, Knox argues that Bruno is concerned with the status of individual souls and appears to think that they are not just parts of the World Soul. Knox suggests that the comparison between the World Soul and a broken mirror (whose fragments have independent reflections while also being linked and part of the same whole) may come from patristic literature on the Eucharist.

In his second essay (section 3), Paul Richard Blum provides an interesting interpretation of Bruno's *Cabala del cavallo pegaseo*. He suggests that this satirical work should be read as a study on human psychology that questions existing theories (e.g., Averroes' and Ficino's) by showing their limits. As a result, Bruno appears to refute the idea that the soul is shaped solely by the body while also rejecting the opposite theory, namely that the soul has absolute preeminence over the body. Moreover, human beings are represented as close to animals, but they also maintain some kind of superiority.

Angelika Bönker-Vallon furtherly addresses the human status within the scale of being in her third essay (section 3), which examines the role of the story of Adam and Eve in 16th century anthropologies. After showing how the story was employed in debates over native Americans and illustrating its role in Protestant self-apologetic discourses, Bönker-Vallon focuses on authors who, like Paracelsus and Montaigne, questioned the role of Adam as well as the superiority of humans over animals. Although she casts some doubt on the fact that some passages of *De monade* and *De immenso* address the existence of pre-adamites, Bönker-Vallon argues that Bruno plays a significant role in this process: his conception of a universal life contributes to suppressing any possible hierarchy between humans and other natural beings.

Angelika Bönker-Vallon also offers an interesting perspective on Bruno's theory of communication as she approaches his philosophical thought from the

point of view of the sociology of knowledge. In her second chapter (section 2), Bönker-Vallon explores Bruno's views on building a convincing theory, one that, in addition to having a solid theoretical foundation, is persuasive and can lead people to change their minds. Bönker-Vallon analyzes Bruno's cosmology as presented in *Cena de le ceneri* and *De immenso*, to suggest that a good theory results from both careful consideration and strong logic. Moreover, an innovative truth becomes convincing when presented as connected to past theories, a correct combination of elements that have already surfaced in the past.

Numerous essays in the volume draw comparisons between Bruno's views and those of other authors. Thomas Leinkauf's chapter addresses a source and a target of Bruno's criticism. He observes that Bruno's and Luther's views on freedom and human action differ significantly since one of them only deems relevant exterior deeds, whereas the other values inner life above all things. This crucial difference leads the two authors to give religion different meanings: Luther's idea of religious zeal appears dangerous to Bruno, who sees religion as a set of social tools that should be employed to build stronger communities. Although both aim to improve social life, the focus of their perspective is different, namely on God and on nature.

Bruno himself was a source for other authors. By considering *Cena de le ceneri* and *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi*, Hilary Gatti suggests that Galileo knew Bruno's work and kept it in mind while writing his own. Gatti argues that Galilei first became acquainted with Bruno's theses during the years spent in Padua as a guest in the house of the polymath Gian Vincenzo Pinelli. Although it cannot be established with certainty how Galileo came across *Cena de le ceneri*, it is likely that Pinelli's entourage, which included learned men from all Europe, played a crucial role to this end. On top of offering a table of textual references, Gatti suggests that the unidentified thinker mentioned in Day 3 of Galileo's *Dialogo* and criticized for depicting a new cosmology without coherently developing it could, in fact, be Bruno himself.

Other chapters address authors contemporary to Bruno, whose thought showed some similarities to his. Among these, Elizabeth Blum's essay juxtaposes Giordano Bruno's and Tommaso Campanella's philosophical perspectives on the individual and universal soul, and remarks that both philosophers developed a conception of the universe that revolves around magic. Blum argues that, although they reject the Aristotelian definition of the soul as the form of the body, both Bruno and Campanella stress the materiality of the soul while also trying to safeguard its immortality. However, they have different theoretical goals: Bruno highlights the relevance of the body in shaping discursive and intellectual abilities. On the contrary, Campanella adopts a Christian perspective and declares that the human mind is individual and immortal, despite stressing the materiality of the soul in his first works.

Other chapters are not devoted to Bruno's philosophy but rather inquire into authors and works that Bruno probably knew or exhibit some similarities to his theories. Albeit not addressing Bruno's texts directly, these essays help paint a bigger picture and could lead the readers to make new, fruitful connections between Bruno's works and those of other relevant thinkers.

In his first essay (section 1), Alberto Bondolfi focuses on an early writing by Francisco de Vitoria, *De potestate civili*. Bondolfi thus shows that in the 1520s and 1530s, Vitoria expresses views that would be later developed in his most known works. Vitoria displays a conception of power different from the traditional *appetitus societatis*, and instead based on human conscious choice to build solid political orders. Bondolfi suggests that Vitoria's views are influenced by his critiques of the *comuneros'* protests against the Spanish monarchy. Instead of recognizing the power of the Papacy, Vitoria believes the monarchy to be the best form of governance and the highest expression of a divine design.

In his second essay (section 4), Bondolfi analyzes different views on the right of resistance within the *Confederatio Helvetica*. Zwingli admits that resistance is allowed against tyranny, whereas Calvin's positions evolve according to historical circumstances. Initially aiming to persuade the French monarchy that Calvinists could be good subjects, Calvin later became more radical as he wished to consolidate the independence of his church. Beza and John Knox – although in different ways and contexts – both recognize resistance as a right of the subjects whenever their sovereign becomes a tyrant, i.e., breaks his contract with them by not performing his political duties.

Alain Wijffels focuses on Alberico Gentili. After describing Gentili's biography, Wijffels highlights the influence of *mos italicus* on Gentili's views – an interest that translates into the idea that legal experts are also political counselors that can prevent decision-makers from making mistakes. Wijffels then focuses on the problematic relationship between law, politics, and religion in Gentili's works. He observes that the priority of the legal and social point of view over the theological one becomes clear in Gentili's remarks about the possibility of stipulating agreements with people of other creeds.

Maria Stefania Montecalvo focuses on Celio Secondo Curione, and explores its activity as editor of classical texts as related to his engagement in the Reform. The edition of Cicero's *Philippics* and its prefatory writings are especially examined. Montecalvo points out that Curione aimed to convey a message of religious tolerance and defense of freedom, which he conceived as a peaceful political option guaranteed by laws, especially by the monarchic (but not tyrannic) government. Montecalvo observes that Curione's activity as a classicist reveals his attempts to create political theories that foster good political decisions in the present. Curione shared these views with his pupils in Basel, and the reading of the classics was a relevant part of their moral and political education.

Raffaele Ruggiero examines François Baudouin's *De Institutione historiae universae et eius cum Iurisprudentia coniunctione* (1561). While highlighting the existing connections between Baudouin's writings and the legal, historical, and prominent political thinkers of his time (such as Cujas and Erasmus), Ruggiero points out that historical accuracy and a strong moral drive inspire Baudouin's conception of law. Baudouin's dissertation on the jurisprudence of Quintus Mucius Scevola (1558), where the importance of *aequitas* is especially stressed, constitutes an excellent example of his aim to achieve justice through erudition.

Overall, this collection of essays that Bruno's philosophy still attracts scholarly interest and curiosity, and it encourages further studies as well as new interpretations.

DRAGOS CALMA (ED.), *NEOPLATONISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES*, VOL. 2: *NEW COMMENTARIES ON THE 'LIBER DE CAUSIS' AND 'ELEMENTATIO THEOLOGICA'* (CA. 1250–1500), BREPOLs, TURNHOUT 2016, 983 PP., ISBN: 9782503554747.

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La fortuna degli *Elementi di Teologia* di Proclo nel mondo latino è indissolubilmente legata al commento prodotto da Tommaso d'Aquino sul *Libro delle Cause*. L'Aquinate ha infatti orientato la ricezione del neoplatonismo greco da parte dei pensatori medievali illustrando la relazione esistente tra il *Libro delle Cause* e gli *Elementi di Teologia*, nonché l'analogia tra la struttura gerarchica del cosmo presente nel *Libro delle Cause* e quella descritta dallo Pseudo-Dionigi l'Aeropagita nella *Gerarchia Celeste*. L'influenza dell'inquadramento proposto dal domenicano mostra tutta la sua evidenza nella tradizione di commento del *Libro delle Cause*. L'assimilazione del neoplatonismo di matrice procliana negli ambienti di cultura latina è stata oggetto di numerosi e validi contributi come quelli offerti da R. Klibansky, P.O. Kristeller, H.-D. Saffrey, W. Beierwaltes, S. Gersh, C. Steel e L. Sturlese; quest'ultimo ha inaugurato studi pionieristici sulla ricezione di Proclo presso i domenicani in Germania, completando anche l'edizione del commentario di Bertoldo di Moosburg sugli *Elementi di Teologia*. Il *Libro delle Cause*, il quale è da ritenersi come il risultato di una traduzione e del successivo adattamento degli *Elementi di Teologia* di Proclo, mostra inoltre una seconda linea di influenza. Si tratta del neoplatonismo di Plotino arabo, retaggio del contesto in cui esso è stato verosimilmente prodotto in lingua araba nella Baghdad del nono secolo. Gli studi sulla tradizione arabo-latina del *Libro delle Cause* sono stati avviati nel diciannovesimo secolo da D.B. Haneberg e O. Bardenhewer, proseguendo nei preziosi lavori di G. Endress, R. C. Taylor, C. d'Ancona, E. Wakelnig. Citata a partire dal dodicesimo secolo da Alano di Lilla poco dopo essere stata tradotta, la traduzione latina del *Liber* è stata oggetto di insegnamento ed è stata commentata fino alla prima metà del sedicesimo secolo. Gli studiosi hanno infatti avuto a disposizione ben otto commentari quali quello di Roger Bacon, Alberto Magno, Tommaso d'Aquino, Sigeri di Brabante, Pseudo-Enrico di Gand, Egidio Romano, Jacob di Gostynin e Crisostomo Javelli. Tuttavia, le ricerche sembrano essersi concentrate su un corpus di testi ristretto costituito da soli sei commentari editi quali quelli di Roger Bacon, Pseudo-Enrico, Alberto, Tommaso, Sigeri, Egidio.

I due volumi curati da D. Calma, *Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages. New Commentaries on Liber de causis and Elementatio theologica*, rispondono all'esigenza di condurre un'esplorazione dei commentari manoscritti inediti – o solo parzialmente editi – presenti nella tradizione occidentale latina del neoplatonismo procliano. Infatti, sebbene l'influenza del neoplatonismo nelle università e negli *studia* dell'Europa centrale sia stata poco studiata, essa ha certamente costituito un interesse di grande rilievo. Nonostante ciò, con la sola eccezione del lavoro di C. D'Ancona, i commentari manoscritti sono stati trascurati fino a questa data. Il punto di partenza dell'indagine avviata da Calma non è infatti rappresentato dagli studi pionieristici di A. Pattin sul *Liber* ma dal meticoloso lavoro di R. C. Taylor, i cui risultati sono stati condensati nel 1984 nella pubblicazione di due liste di manoscritti. La prima lista consta di 237 manoscritti che trasmettono il testo del *Libro delle Cause*, mentre la seconda lista presenta 31 manoscritti contenenti i commentari latini di esso. Calma ha osservato pertanto come le liste non siano state ad oggi adeguatamente ispezionate. Infatti, della seconda lista contenente i commentari latini, solo ventuno di essi costituiscono commentari 'unici' e solo sette tra questi sono stati stampati. Rimanevano così ben quattordici commentari da scandagliare. Essi hanno rappresentato la base dello studio collettivo proposto da Calma, il quale ha così condotto alla scoperta di altri sessanta commentari latini da aggiungere ai quattordici indicati da R. C. Taylor. I commentari sono stati prodotti tra il tredicesimo e il sedicesimo secolo in università, *studia* di ordini religiosi e scuole, tra Francia, Italia, Regno Unito, Germania, Polonia, Repubblica Ceca, Svizzera. Ciò sembra suggerire l'esistenza di una continuità nella ricezione del neoplatonismo greco-arabo nell'occidente latino capace di inglobare nella stessa comune impresa tanto la traduzione del *Libro delle Cause* per opera di Gerardo da Cremona, prodotta nel tredicesimo secolo, quanto il commentario di Ambrogio Fiandino, vissuto nel sedicesimo secolo e autore di uno degli ultimi commentari disponibili. Sette dei quattordici commentari inediti presenti nella lista di Taylor sono stati studiati in *NeMA I* e *NeMA II*, quindi editi interamente o parzialmente. Questi due volumi mostrano come i commentari trattati non si configurino come testi del tutto indipendenti gli uni dagli altri bensì come risultato di una tradizione esegetica incentrata sul *Liber de causis* e, seppur con minor frequenza, sulla *Elementatio Theologica* che tiene in conto del lavoro dei propri predecessori adottandoli, criticandoli, superandoli. Le caratteristiche di questi commentari riflettono quindi delle scelte autonome operate dai commentatori medievali e mostrano la loro posizione rispetto a un'eredità filosofica con la quale interagiscono riferendosi esplicitamente ad altri commentari dello stesso testo, o viceversa utilizzando riferimenti impliciti, come

ripetizioni o frammenti di argomenti presentati da altri autori, o ancora perpetrando la continuazione di un modello ermeneutico mediante la ripetizione delle stesse questioni rispetto a specifiche problematiche. Gli autori e i testi trattati in questa serie presentano infatti una unità tematica che trascende la diversità geografica e cronologica che sembra puntare nella direzione di una ripresa consapevole del neoplatonismo dopo il 1280 non solo a Parigi, ma anche nella Germania ‘albertista’, dove esso ha assunto i connotati di una alternativa filosofica agli insegnamenti parigini. La scommessa di Calma è la seguente: il neoplatonismo di Proclo e del *Liber de causis* è stato intenzionalmente dislocato da Parigi in Germania, a Tolosa e nell’Europa centrale, forse attraverso Colonia. Questo aspetto è stato messo in luce dal secondo volume collettivo di *Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages* (NeMA II), il quale ha per oggetto i commentari inediti prodotti tra il 1300 e il 1500. I commentari oggetto di questo studio sono in numero di sei e riguardano la parafrasi al *Liber de causis* di John Krosbein, la *Sententia Procli alti philosophi* di un anonimo commentatore della *Elementatio Theologica* di Proclo, la *Questio de quolibet* di Henry of Geismar, le *Questiones super Librum de causis* attribuite a Johannes Wenck, l’anonima *Theologia philosophorum parcialis*, infine il percorso del *Libro delle Cause* presso l’università parigina.

Con *A Medieval Companion to Aristotle: John Krosbein’s Paraphrase on Liber de causis*, Calma illustra le caratteristiche dell’opera di commento condotta da J. Krosbein sul *Libro delle Cause* e sugli *Elementi di Teologia*. La perifrasi di J. Krosbein, ad oggi poco nota agli storici della filosofia medievale, è sopravvissuta attraverso cinque manoscritti: 1) Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 2050B (olim Panton 85)2, fol. 60r-67v (= Ab); Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS Wernigerode Za 27, fol. 90v-91v (= Hw); 3) Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, VI.99, fol. 111va-119va (= Ve); 4) Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS II. 8057, fol. 107r-142v (= Wa); 5) København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny Kgl. S. 26 fol., fol. 50r (= Ka). John Krosbein, della cui biografia abbiamo solo alcune indicazioni, potrebbe aver completato la sua attività di commento sui lavori autentici e pseudoepigrafici di Aristotele e sugli *Elementi di Teologia* prima del 1410. I suoi commenti sono stati studiati in diverse città tedesche, sia presso gli *studia* dei domenicani a Colonia, dei benedettini a Brilon, degli agostiniani a Venezia, sia presso le *scholae pauperum* (Kammin) e le università. Questo dato sembra indicare che i commentari di Krosbein possano aver contribuito alla diffusione del neoplatonismo in Germania, estendendo peraltro il proprio raggio di influenza fino a Praga e Cracovia. Alberto di Colonia è certamente un importante punto di riferimento per Krosbein, come si evince dal commentario al *Libro delle Cause*, il quale richiama il *De causis et processu universitatis*. Ciò emerge nella sua metafisica della luce e nell’impiego delle

medesime *auctoritates*. Anche la scelta della parafrasi come modello esegetico potrebbe essere un altro elemento di rimando ad Alberto. La fortuna di Krosbein, la cui parafrasi è stata erroneamente considerata da alcuni esegeti medievali e dallo stesso L.M. De Rijk come una nuova traduzione, è parzialmente legata anche a questo dato poiché i commentari sono stati impiegati come testi propedeutici agli studi filosofici, trovando così ampia diffusione. La relazione tra Krosbein e Alberto di Colonia resta comunque intrigante e complessa, poiché la parafrasi segue il testo del *Libro delle Cause* in modo tale da non esplicitare sempre la propria dipendenza dal commento albertino, servendosi piuttosto di analogie e impiegando sinonimi dei termini scelti da Alberto. Tuttavia, la presenza di Alberto nel commentario di Krosbein al *Libro delle Cause* è incontestabile. Il numero dei manoscritti individuati e l'ampia rete della loro diffusione attestano come Krosbein abbia avuto un ruolo significativo nella ricezione dell'albertismo e del neoplatonismo in Germania e nell'Europa centrale anche oltre il quindicesimo secolo. Infine, l'analisi delle dottrine presentate dalla parafrasi si concentra attorno alcuni nuclei tematici quali la metafisica della luce, il ruolo delle intelligenze nel mondo sublunare, le sostanze separate.

Il secondo saggio *Sententia Procli alti philosophi. Notes on an Anonymous Commentary on Proclus' Elementatio theologica*, porta la firma di F. Retucci e si configura come uno studio dettagliato e preciso sulla fortuna degli *Elementi di Teologia* nell'occidente latino attraverso un commentario anonimo datato intorno alla prima metà del secolo quindicesimo. Portato per la prima volta all'attenzione degli studiosi solo nel 1985 da parte di H. Boese, il testo si è conservato in tre testimoni manoscritti: 1) Halle / Saale, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Wernigerode Za 27, (fol. 90v–91v), 1435–1436 (=Hw); 2) København, Kongelige Bibl., Ny Kgl. S. 26 fol. (fol. 44r–49r)11, 1480 (=Ko); 3) Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. II. 8057 (fol. 107r–142v)17, 1432 (=Wa). Per quanto riguarda il testo, H. Boese aveva già notato nel suo studio sulla traduzione latina di Guglielmo di Moerbeke come questi manoscritti non trasmettessero il contenuto integrale degli *Elementi*, piuttosto un commentario anonimo non esaustivo in cui solo 147 delle 211 proposizioni originarie vengono trattate. Inoltre, il testo di Proclo così come trasmesso dai manoscritti HwKoWa, presenta delle peculiarità che ne attestano il distacco dall'edizione standard degli *Elementi* difficilmente ascrivibili ad un errore del copista e, verosimilmente, dovuti alla scelta consapevole del commentatore di operare una modifica del testo per servire uno scopo pedagogico, quindi traducendo alcuni termini dal greco in latino per rendere il testo più comprensibile agli studenti. Esempi di queste trasformazioni si riscontrano nelle seguenti proposizioni: 9, 10, 14, 31, 43, 55, 60, 64, 80, 97, 115, 123, 124, 157, 177.

Come ha notato lo stesso Boese, il commentatore ha tentato di apportare delle migliorie al testo laddove il manoscritto greco di Moerbeke era corrotto e il testo latino era stato lasciato incompleto. F. Retucci nota quindi come l'interpretazione che l'Anonimo commentatore offre con questo lavoro frammentario presenti una certa analogia con i correttivi apportati da Bertoldo di Moorbург. Tuttavia, l'anonima *Sententia Procli* presenta nulla più che una spiegazione, seppur lucida e puntuale, dei contenuti di ogni proposizione procliana trattata, costruita con una struttura sillogistica ed esemplificata in riferimento al testo. L'*Expositio super Elementationem theologicam Procli* di Bertoldo presuppone invece un lavoro filosofico indipendente di natura ben più articolata e complessa. Infatti, sebbene sia riscontrabile una certa somiglianza dottrinale, l'interpretazione di Bertoldo punta a una completa ricostruzione dei principi metafisici della realtà attraverso una appropriazione cristiana della dottrina platonica, mentre l'Anonimo si concentra su una spiegazione didattica di Proclo nella cornice cristiana. Le autorità filosofiche cui fa riferimento sono infatti meno rappresentate rispetto a quelle teologiche, come Anselmo, Agostino, Pseudo-Dionigi, Nicola di Amiens, la Bibbia. Per quanto concerne invece l'attribuzione della *Sententia Procli*, il testo è stato certamente composto tra il 1335-1340, quando Bertoldo ha scritto la sua *Expositio*, e il 1432 quando il manoscritto più antico (Wa) è stato copiato, ma non è possibile allo stato attuale risalire all'identità del commentatore. Dall'analisi dei manoscritti emergono tuttavia sufficienti elementi per poter azzardare che sia la *Sententia*, sia i commenti agli *Elementi* e alla *Metafisica* conservati in Hw e Wa, appartengano allo stesso autore. Questi ultimi condividono affinità tematiche e stilistiche, intrise di 'albertismo', e sono state riportate insieme negli stessi manoscritti. Per quanto riguarda l'origine geografica, è possibile supporre che esso sia stato prodotto in Germania come sembrano suggerire il manoscritto di Halle (Hw) e le affinità riscontrate con Bertoldo di Moorbург; diversamente in Polonia nel contesto dell'università di Cracovia, nota per la sua scuola 'albertista' nella seconda metà del quindicesimo secolo.

Il terzo saggio, *Cause and Causality in Henry of Geismar's Questio de quolibet*, saggio composto a quattro mani da D. Calma, I. Székely, tratta della trascrizione di una questione disputata presso l'università di Erfurt nel 1414 da parte di Enrico di Geismar all'epoca del suo rettorato. Il testo analizzato è stato tramandato da due manoscritti, uno più completo conservato a Erfurt Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA 4° 236, fol. 29r-33v (=E) e l'altro, meno esteso, custodito a Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek, C 639, ol f. 111r-114r15 (=U). I due manoscritti presentano dunque due versioni non identiche della *questio* di Enrico in cui le difformità riguardano la struttura logica e le scelte lessicali. Scritta forse dopo la disputa

quodlibetale, realmente avvenuta, la *questio* di Enrico si concentra sul primo teorema del *Liber de causis* secondo il modello aristotelico della causalità. Tra le sue fonti, Enrico emula senza citarlo il commento al *Liber de causis* attribuito a Adam di Bocfeld, contenuto nei manoscritti Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Sop. G. 4, 355, fol. 90rb–98vb (=F) e Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI, 1 (2821), fol. 1ra–53va (=V). Recupera anche Alberto di Colonia e il *De causis et processu universitatis a causa prima* (lib. 2, tr. 1, c. 5, p. 65, l. 82–85), oltre che Tommaso d'Aquino e il suo commento al *Liber* nelle sue scelte lessicali e tematiche. È sorprendente come Enrico non menzioni Proclo, riferendosi al *Libro delle cause* come opera aristotelica. Tra le autorità da lui prese in considerazione figurano inoltre lo stesso Aristotele, Averroè, Avicenna, Temistio, Boezio, Nicola Damasceno. Il testo della *questio*, in linea con la tripartita parafrasi albertina, può essere diviso in tre parti: la prima vede gli argomenti a favore e contrari con le rispettive risposte, segue la spiegazione della prima parte della prima proposizione del *Liber de causis* « causa primaria plus influat » secondo il commentario erroneamente attribuito a Adam di Bocfeld, infine la spiegazione della seconda parte della stessa proposizione. La parte più estesa della *questio* di Enrico si concentra sull'analisi della validità del primo teorema ben radicata nel modello causale aristotelico. Questo approccio, osservano gli autori, è alquanto inusuale tra i commentatori del *Liber de causis* nel quindicesimo secolo e molto più vicina alla tradizione esegetica latina precedente alla scoperta dell'origine procliana del testo per opera di Tommaso. Roger Bacon, lo Pseudo-Enrico di Gand e lo Pseudo-Adam spiegano infatti il *Liber* seguendo il medesimo approccio, operando una distinzione tra cause intrinseche ed estrinseche, in accordo con *Metafisica*, V, 1013a18–30.

Enrico, quindi, offre una interpretazione saldamente ancorata al modello aristotelico, difendendo la tesi secondo cui la causa finale è la causa delle cause, come dimostrato dallo stesso Aristotele in *Fisica* (II, 7, 198a 15–22) e *Metafisica* (V, 1013b 25–27). A discapito della sua brevità, la *questio* di Enrico di Geismar contiene una riflessione originale sul tema della causalità, realizzando una sintesi personale tra le problematiche e il vocabolario impiegato dai commentatori parigini della prima metà del tredicesimo secolo, specialmente Tommaso, scelta che D. Calma e I. Székely trovano interessante se inserita nel contesto della massiccia influenza che il commento albertino e quello di Giles di Roma hanno saputo esercitare nel quindicesimo secolo.

Il quarto capitolo è occupato dal saggio di M. Meliadori, *Le Questiones super Librum de causis attribuite a Johannes Wenck. Concezione, fonti e tradizione manoscritta del commento*, in cui lo studioso illustra la struttura, il metodo e le fonti del commentatore anonimo delle *Questiones super Librum de causis* che R. Haubst ha

individuato nel 1951 nell'apertura del codice di Mainz, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Hs. I. 6103 (fol. 2r-38r) e attribuito a Johannes di Wenck il quale, negli anni della presunta stesura, viveva il proprio periodo parigino e 'albertista'. Il commento, esteso per 37 folia, tratta tutte le proposizioni del *Libro delle Cause* distinguendo un corpus di venti questioni visibilmente influenzate dalla parafrasi albertina sotto il profilo dottrinale. Lo studio di M. Meliàdò beneficia inoltre dell'individuazione di altri cinque codici del quindicesimo secolo testimoni delle *Questiones*. Questo è il caso di Erlangen-Nürnberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 498; Praha, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapituly u svatého Vita, Cod. M.55 (= cat. nr. 1411); Praha, Národní Knihovna České Republiky, Cod. I F.25; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mc 103; Vodňany, Meřtské muzeum a galerie Vodňany, Inv. Nro. 1206 (= sub Sign. G 11 R). Per quanto riguarda la datazione del commento, la pista seguita dall'autore ripercorre la tradizione manoscritta del commento al *De hebdomadibus*, di cui il commento di Erlangen e quello di Mainz trasmettono il contenuto insieme alle *Questiones super Librum de causis*. La composizione viene datata pertanto intorno agli anni Venti del XV secolo. Per quanto riguarda il modello esegetico adottato da Wenck, esso si mostra fortemente influenzato dalla parafrasi di Alberto, senza però adottarne lo schema parafrastico, preferendo piuttosto la forma classica del genere letterario della *questio*. Tuttavia, al pari di Alberto, la tecnica compositiva di Wenck si serve di una divisione in trattati. I primi due trattati sono costituiti rispettivamente da sei e otto questioni, il terzo contiene invece due questioni, il quarto ne riporta ben cinque compendiate in un'unica *quaestio*, infine il quinto ne presenta solamente due. Tutte le questioni esposte sono ricollegate ai teoremi del *Libro delle Cause*, del quale tuttavia Wenck non indica esplicitamente la paternità. Possiamo perciò dedurre l'adozione della proposta del Coloniese che vede in David Iudaeus il 'commentator et etiam collector' del *Liber*. Viceversa, se consideriamo il commento al *De hebdomadibus*, Wenck potrebbe aver ritenuto il *De Causis* come opera di Al-Farabi. Per ciò che riguarda i temi del commento, essi ripercorrono per contenuti e *auctoritas* interrogate il *De causis et processu* albertino. Le *Questiones*, secondo M. Meliàdò rappresentano un documento di singolare importanza nella storia della ricezione latina del *Libro delle Cause* e della loro diffusione manoscritta, rispecchiando da un lato l'influenza dell'albertismo, dall'altro la natura e lo sviluppo dei dibattiti filosofici della prima metà del quindicesimo secolo.

Il quinto contributo al volume *NeMa II* è rappresentato da *Theologia philosophorum parcialis. Un commentaire sur le Liber de causis* di A. Baumgarten e si occupa dell'eredità filosofica delle raccolte manoscritte custodite nelle biblioteche dell'Europa centrale. I manoscritti delle biblioteche di Praga, Breslavia e Cracovia

presentano infatti numerose affinità nella scelta fonti selezionate e delle tematiche trattate riconducibili al genere dell'elogio della filosofia. Il commentario anonimo al *Liber de causis* contenuto nei manoscritti Breslavia, Ossolineum, 734, fol. 1r-30v (= W1), Wrocław, BU, 6130, Milich., II, 78, fol. 176ra-193va (= W2), Kraków, Bibl. Jagellonne, 2088, fol. 300r-322v (= K), Praha, Metrop. 1599 (O.15), fol. 63r-81r (= Pr), è stato assunto come caso di studio per esaminare la produzione filosofica delle università centroeuropee tra la fine del Trecento e del Quattrocento, le sue caratteristiche, e il suo rapporto con il tomismo. L'Anonimo opta infatti per la selezione di alcuni passaggi del commento dell'Aquinate al *Libro delle Cause*, che però non vengono sempre citati, adottando inoltre anche posizioni tratte da altri autori che, assumendo la forma di *quaestiones*, trattano temi di rilievo per i pensatori del tempo spaziando dalla pluralità delle facoltà dell'anima, alla distinzione tra ente ed essenza, fino alla natura degli universali. Per quanto riguarda la struttura del commento, esso è dotato di un prologo che rientra nel genere letterario delle lodi protrettiche della filosofia e di venti sezioni distinte (ventuno in W1). Il commentario è stato verosimilmente composto per essere distribuito tra gli studenti, come mostrano i frequenti richiami presenti sia nel prologo che nelle ultime righe del testo. Il terminus ad quem per la sua stesura è l'anno 1454, mentre il terminus a quo è probabilmente il 1407. La sua fonte principale è il commento dell'Aquinate e tuttavia, precisa A. Baumgarten, questo Anonimo non può essere definito tomista. Infatti, nota l'Autore, il prologo attinge a piene mani da un'opera oggi considerata come pseudo-tomista, il *Commentario alla consolazione della filosofia* di William di Wheatley. Un esempio rivelatore è certamente quello della tesi della felicità intellettuale e della supremazia della vita filosofica sostenuta nel prologo, la cui origine non è tomistica, bensì ascrivibile al maestro Boezio di Dacia e ampiamente citata nell'opera di William di Wheatley. Per quanto riguarda il titolo *Theologia philosophorum parcialis*, esso sembra rimandare alla funzione attribuita dall'Anonimo al proprio commento. Questo commento anonimo al *Libro delle Cause* si configura infine come testimone fondamentale dello stile di commento sviluppato a Cracovia durante la prima metà del quindicesimo secolo, oltre che dell'espansione e delle peculiarità del genere protrettico.

Il saggio di L. Miolo rappresenta infine il sesto e conclusivo contributo al volume *NeMa II. Liber de causis in libreria. Pour une mise en perspective du Liber de causis dans la bibliothèque du collège de Sorbonne* porta a compimento lo studio condotto sul *Libro delle Cause* e sulla sua influenza sui pensatori medievali tra il 1300 e il 1500 concentrandosi sul viaggio dal testo presso l'Università di Parigi. La ricerca non si occupa delle peculiarità e delle oscillazioni dottrinali riscontrate nelle opere di

commento degli autori medievali bensì di un'altra grande, inestimabile fonte di informazioni. Quella offerta dalla documentazione normativa e dalle notizie intorno alla storia e all'utilizzo dei manoscritti reperibile presso le biblioteche. L'indagine tratta anzitutto della considerazione dell'altalenante contesto normativo caratteristico dell'Università di Parigi nel tredicesimo secolo rispetto all'introduzione dei testi aristotelici e neoplatonici nel proprio curriculum, ripercorrendo così le tappe degli statuti universitari intorno alla composizione dei curricula tenendo in considerazione gli eventi più significativi che hanno condotto al loro successivo consolidamento. L'idea di fondo che viene promossa da L. Miolo è quella dell'impossibilità di dissociare lo studio del *Liber de causis* presso l'università parigina dalla dimensione educativa dell'istituzione. La circolazione delle idee viene quindi ricondotta alla circolazione dei testi tra studenti e insegnanti, ragione per cui lo studio degli statuti e dei provvedimenti episcopali che hanno avuto per oggetto la condanna di questo pseudoepigrafo aristotelico (1277), conducendo a una delle maggiori crisi dell'Università di Parigi, viene seguito dall'analisi delle letture integrative condotte dagli studiosi medievali del *Libro delle Cause* (MS Ripoll 10942), oltre che dall'indicazione delle prime attestazioni testo del *Liber* nei cataloghi della biblioteca. L. Miolo prende inoltre in considerazione la lista delle donazioni e dei lasciti di manoscritti contenenti il *Libro delle Cause* o i suoi commentari avvenute tra il 1272 e il 1310, oltre che i documenti relativi alla circolazione e alla lettura del *Liber* presso l'università fino al secolo quindicesimo.

Conclusioni. I documenti studiati e presentati in questo secondo volume sembrano confermare la legittimità dell'estensione del giudizio di S. Gersh sul neoplatonismo in Germania, secondo cui Proclo avrebbe veicolato il platonismo accrescendone progressivamente il richiamo, al pensiero medievale europeo *in toto*. Le possibilità di dilatare lo spazio della ricerca a partire dai risultati di questo lavoro sono molteplici; tuttavia, la traccia più solida e fruttuosa che allo stato attuale appare percorribile è quella dello studio tra le relazioni intercorrenti tra 'albertismo' e neoplatonismo, di cui una delle voci più rappresentative è certamente quella della tradizione 'albertista' nell'interpretazione del *Libro delle Cause*.

